





EVERY new year seems special; a portent of things different, of new departures, of resolutions and solutions, but possibly also of setbacks and disasters.

Such expectations may be fanciful, however. The year 1988 may be simply more of the same, a Mk 2 version of 1987.

The state of emergency seem likely to remain in force, a few more external sanctions may be imposed and a few more multinational companies may leave, with neither achieving their intended effects.

The economy seems likely to pick up a few points but not enough meaningfully to reduce unemployment. There may again be perpetual talk of power-sharing and negotiation with very little consequence.

The Government and black spokesmen may again drone away, talking past each other with boring predictability, like political back-ground music with some occasional percussion in the form of one or another horrifying but soon forgotten act of sabotage.

Yet 1988 is a special year. From 1984 to 1986 the country experienced its worst and most disastrous internal instability, and 1987 was a year in which the economy and the society at large started to pick up the pieces and to count the costs. In a sense both the Government and the extra-parliamentary resistance movements went into a phase of consolidation and regrouping.

The new year, therefore, seems likely to be a lull, an interlude in what is becoming a familiar but costly and tragic pattern of violent resistance and repression.

The most important issue of 1988 will be whether or not we misread this interlude as a return to "normality" or whether we recognise it as a brief respite which must be used well and urgently to build a basis for a stable future.

The great temptation will be to think that 1988 is the beginning of a fairly protected period of relative quiet, and to postpone the urgent steps that are required.

We should bear the following in mind. Our economic recovery seems very fragile and considerably dependent on Government spending as opposed to new private investment. Government expenditure, which is over budget at the moment, could quite easily restimulate inflation, a cardinal factor among others undermining confidence in the private sector.

Hence the recovery may flag and 1989/90 may have to be a period of tight discipline and cooling off. If this coincides with increased sanctions or other negative factors we could easily go back into recession not long after 1988.

Recession in South Africa is very much more than a swing in a business cycle. Every episode of unrest



**LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER**  
Director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, looks at prospects and scenarios for the new year . . .

1988

A new beginning . . . or just a lull in the tragic pattern for South Africa?

In South Africa has coincided with economic setbacks. This applied to the Sharpeville disturbances of 1960/61, the mass strikes of 1973, the 1976/77 "Soweto" school unrest in Natal and, of course, to the most recent massive unrest.

While the economy is by no means the only factor in the unrest mix, the indications are that we can ill afford another serious downturn in the business cycle unless there are other political and social structures in place to cope with the stress.

The new year may be our only chance to begin to build these structures.

With all the sublime arrogance of an academic political observer, I would like to suggest what has to be tackled. The agenda is forbidding.

The following, at least, seem to be the major issues to be addressed in 1988.

The abolition of influx control was an important reform, but it has highlighted the need for a comprehensive new plan for our cities. The existing townships are critically overcrowded and, in the absence of residential alternatives, have become lethal pressure cookers.

Only the few emergent middle-class blacks who have found accommodation in the new grey areas have secured an escape. Yet the last thing South Africa needs is more huge townships which perforce will have to be farther and farther away from places of work and commerce.

We simply do not have the pool of administrative skills to manage more large townships with all their myriad problems. Neither do we have the public funds to provide the infrastructure and housing on the scale demanded.

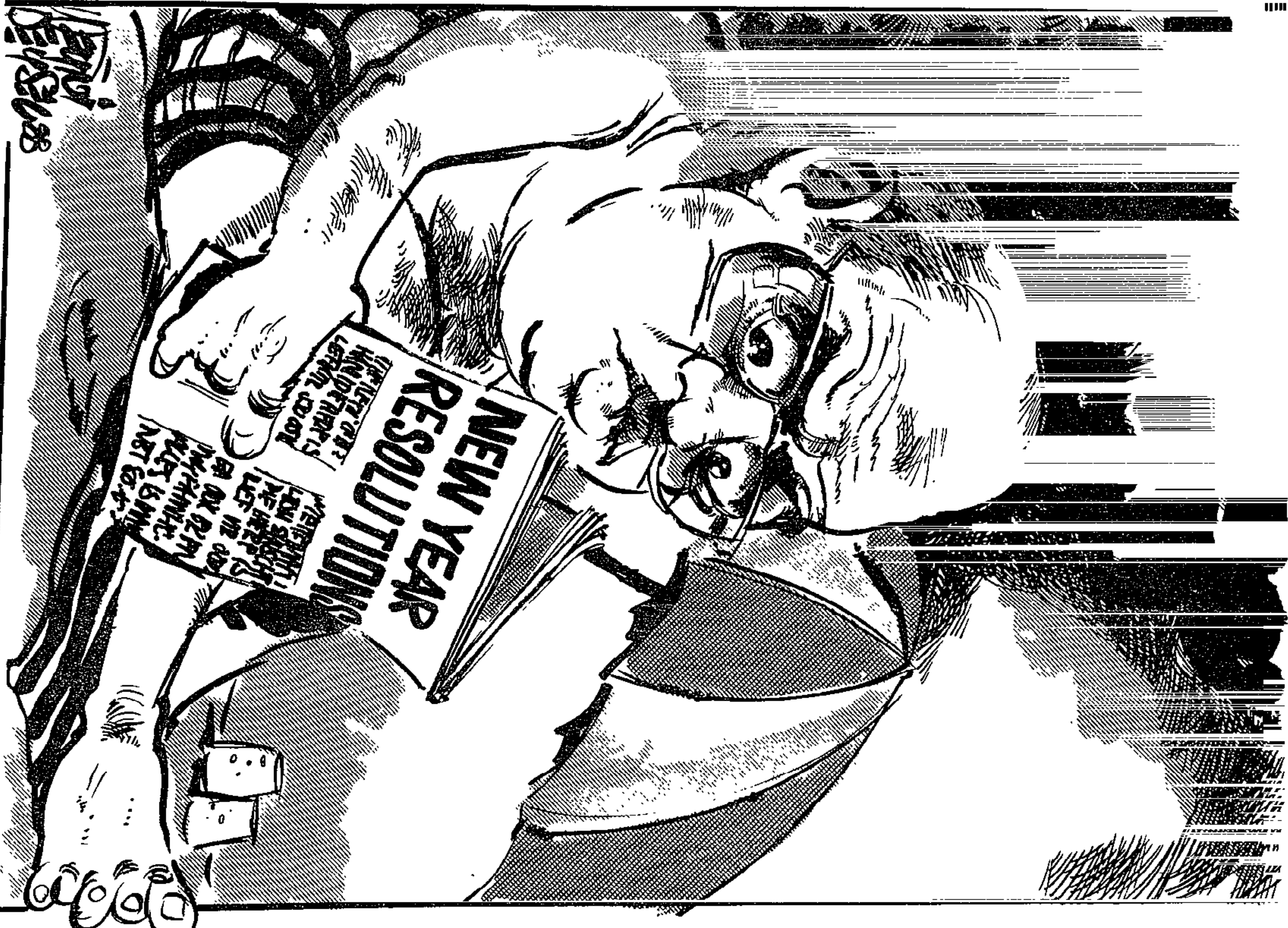
We do, however, have spaces in our metropolitan areas for small mini-settlements for workers and their families which can be managed by existing white local authorities, which have the most adequate repository of skills. If necessary on an agency basis acting on behalf of the regional services councils.

Supervised self-help housing and, if security of tenure is provided, loan finance from the commercial sector could provide the accommodation. Such an approach will be a breakthrough with our planning traditions, but we must at all costs avoid creating more huge peri-urban "ghettos" which we now know to be cauldrons of political ferment and of scant benefit in terms of quality of life.

A second socio-political challenge is more far-reaching.

In accepting the basic recommendations of the President's Council on Group Areas, the Government has acknowledged the reality of a "common" or integrated sphere of social existence in addition to the "own affairs" dispensation to which it is committed.

Within the realities of the present power dispensa-



tion, this "common sphere" can become South Africa's route of transition and its safety valve, provided its promise is recognised and it is generously implemented. It need not only apply to residential neighbourhoods but should become a general principle applicable to other institutions as well.

by, f.e. example, can we not introduce as a complement to the present segregated public schools an "open stream" of educational institutions run by the national Department of Education and Culture?

Admittedly, this would cost a great deal of money, but it will most certainly not be the first time that politics has demanded its price, and some existing segregated institutions may choose to become open. The same principles could be applied to other institutions, including the local-government franchise, albeit with checks and balances.

There is no room for de-

tail in this article, but the important issue is the principle. An "open sphere" could be a route away from fundamental apartheid, and it could give substance to the ideal of freedom of association and disassociation — it will not go away.

Under the circumstances it would seem appropriate for the Government and the various participants, mainly the KwaZulu leadership, to work out a compromise for an interim phase of implementation which need not finally and fundamentally compromise anyone's basic political principles.

This would also allow time in which attempts could be made to involve some of the parties which did not participate in the initial exercise, including the extra-parliamentary movements.

The right wing calls it a sell-out of white security, while the extra-parliamentary movements and important overseas audiences are equally adamant that it is white domination in disguise.

Much as one hesitates to call for yet another commission or committee, a body which can formulate a range of hypothetical op-

tions round the concept of power-sharing would not require the Government to commit itself, and may just reassure some of the actors who are hanging back at the moment.

In most respects, 1988 does not seem likely to be a happy year.

All the strategies of conflict on all sides are likely to continue despite the relative surface calm. One would hope, however, that 1987 has shown all the contending parties that there are no quick fixes and no single stranded answers.

As befits the start of a new year, a little optimism is called for. Perhaps 1988 will offer the various antagonists time to ask some fundamental questions and suggest solutions.

One would hope for example, that the next time the Government reimposes the state of emergency it combines the announcement with a series of proposals and concrete steps aimed at making its termination possible.

Equally, one would hope that the disinvestments and sanctions proponents in the US Congress ask themselves just precisely how sanctions are supposed to end apartheid.

They might also commit themselves to the principle that, before any new sanctions or disinvestment measures are introduced, the particular black employees of the firms to be affected should be fully and fairly consulted, as the Germans recently did with the black coal miners.



# Country to go to polls in October?

17/6/85

5/1/88

304A

Staff Reporter

SPECULATION is mounting that the National Party will call a general election at the same time as the municipal elections in October.

Sources in parliamentary opposition circles believe the NP may have no choice but to call an early election if it is to avoid the embarrassment of its plan for white elections in 1992 being blocked by the Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

Some sources believe the most expedient time for the Nationalists to hold a general election would be October when municipal voters go to the polls, rather than 1989 — the deadline for an election.

They point to the fact that an election infrastructure would already be in operation and that a dual election was likely to cost less.

## PROBLEMS

While Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha is tight-lipped on the issue, the director-general of his department, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said there was nothing to stop parliamentary and municipal elections being held simultaneously.

"In principle it can be done. There may be some logistical problems. For instance, there could be as many as five municipal divisions within one electoral division. But these

could probably be overcome," he said.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party, said he believed a dual election could involve "a few organisational problems".

However, if the National Party saw fit to hold a general election in October, the CP would "see to it that we're better prepared than ever before".

The acting-chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal executive, Mr Douglas Gibson, feared a dual election could cause "great confusion".

## WELCOMED

Electoral and municipal boundaries differed greatly and while postal votes were allowed in parliamentary elections, they were not allowed in municipal elections.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse, son of party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said rumours of an October election "are news to me".

"But an election then would suit us fine," he said.

~~It was also welcomed~~ by the Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates.

The NP needs the support of all three Houses to postpone the elections.



John Malcomess



Louis le Grange

# Parliament to open five days early

CARL THOMPSON 5/1/88

30414

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Parliament will begin five days earlier than scheduled for reasons which the government declines to specify, amid speculation by the opposition that the early opening is to push through controversial new parliamentary procedures.

The procedures, the opposition charge, will drastically increase the power of the National Party Chief Whip and abolish the no confidence debate.

Government's attempts to implement these procedures into the constitution were frustrated last year by the House of Representatives.

Since the new rules would alter the constitution, they need to be passed by all three Houses of Parliament.

Parliament will reconvene on February 1, five days before the official opening, which was scheduled for February 5 when Parliament adjourned in October last year.

Speaker Mr Louis Le Grange said yesterday certain technical aspects had to be concluded, but would not say what these were.

The note announcing the advanced date carried no explanation, but the chief whips of the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party, Mr John Malcomess and Mr Frank Le Roux, speculated that government's eagerness to pass drafted changes to the Parliamentary Standing Rules and Orders, could have motivated the earlier date.



# Mbeki release: dashed hopes

17665 6/1/88

306A

From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Dr Piet Koornhof has told American television viewers that the release of ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki has yet to produce the results the South African Government was seeking.

The release was a conciliatory move and it was clear the Government wanted in return a conciliatory move by "other parties involved".

But that had not happened, the South African Ambassador said during a fireside discussion on the future of South Africa broadcast to about 30 million viewers yesterday.

The two-hour discussion by a panel of five was held before an audience of about 40 people at Dr Koornhof's Washington residence.

Dr Koornhof said the South African Government had made a serious attempt before Christmas to deal with security prisoners. Mr Mbeki's name was the first to go before an advisory council and he was released shortly afterwards.

The concept was that if the Government made this conciliatory move it would lead to conciliatory moves by the other parties that would then lead to further "developments with regard to security prisoners".

And this would lead to the negotiating process along the lines of the mandate given to the Government by the electorate last May — a new constitution to enable all the people to take part at all levels.

"These conciliatory moves have not been forthcoming and for the moment therefore the process has soured. I hope only temporarily."

Dr Koornhof said he wanted the embassy to be a symbol of what South Africa was becoming in the post-apartheid era — friendly, open and hospitable.

There were three approaches to change, he told viewers. They were sanctions and embargoes, revolution and reform.

Dr Koornhof said it was important to find ways of getting the different parties round the table, and once they were there the world would see a new South Africa.

It was also important for Americans to ask how they could make a major contribution to help the process off the ground.

Over the years, he said, important governmental structures had been introduced at local, regional and provincial levels in which all South Africans could participate — so the problem was in a much more advanced state of solution than many people thought.



Koornhof



Mbeki

All that remained was how to get all the people to take part in top-level government.

"I can't tell you the answer, or how to unlock the situation," Dr Koornhof said.

Mr Alan Keyes, a prominent black conservative, former assistant secretary in the US State Department and now a Washington policy analyst, said the key to democracy was the private sector — and everything possible had to be done to strengthen that sector.

When democracy was viewed from that perspective the US imposition of sanctions on South Africa was not only a bad solution but a mad solution, he said.



3048 8/8/87 6/1/88

**T**HOSE WHO argued back in the early Sixties that an end to whites-only government in South Africa would not come until the end of the century were dismissed as hopelessly conservative and even at times "racists". The winds of change were said to be irresistible, immediate and at gale force.

It is my personal conviction that the president of the US who takes office in January 1989, if he should serve two full four-year terms, may well be the first to welcome a democratically elected South African head-of-state to the Oval Office.

January 20, 1997, is almost a decade from now and less than three years from the end of the 20th Century. If mankind can put a man on the moon with a decade's commitment, it is not impossible that the SA of 1997 will be a country in which democracy has been established, human rights of all citizens and groups are respected, racial harmony is the rule rather than the exception and concerted efforts are being made to develop the full potential of all men and women.

**I**t is also not impossible that SA, on that date, will be a country in which the children of today's South Africans, black and white, will be locked in a brutal and bloody civil war.

Americans who genuinely care and wish to see this beautiful country and its 33-million inhabitants reach their full potential and destiny must recognise, however, that it is South Africans who will make the choices. We Americans can only contribute to the atmosphere in which they make them.

If this contribution is to be meaningful, and not merely benign neglect, we need policies — and, more importantly, practices — that will combine a very active commitment to working to end apartheid with measured restraint in the face of pressure to usurp the right of black South Africans to evolve their own leaders and of all South Africans to participate in formulating the ultimate political structures of the post-apartheid era.

**I**n fashioning a policy that will contribute to creating an environment in which SA can move with minimal bloodshed toward democracy, US policy-makers need to accept several realities.

One is that US-SA relations are entering their most crucial years. Another reality is that economic sanctions cannot serve as the principal building block of a sustainable and responsible policy.

With further economic sanctions

# South Africa: an unconventional Republican view

PHILIP L CHRISTENSON

A senior professional staff member of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee

With further economic sanctions now virtually eliminated as a basis for a policy towards SA, says Christenson, either a Republican or Democratic successor administration will have to seek out positive ways to promote change — without prescribing — rather than dwell on the negativism of sanctions

now virtually eliminated as the basic building block of US (or, indeed, Western European) policy toward SA in the foreseeable future, it seems to me that those whose task it will be to forge an effective policy for either a Republican or Democratic successor administration will have to opt for a variation of the long-standing policy of active participation in the promotion of internal political evolution.

Dare we say the two words that have been used recently to describe such a policy? No, we cannot.

The words "constructive" and "engagement" are both applicable, but the combination of the two has taken on so many different meanings for so many different constituencies, both in the US and in SA, that the term can no longer be used in any South African context.

**B**ut whatever language is employed (a nameless policy would be best), the emphasis should be on seeking out positive opportunities to promote change in SA rather than on the negativism of economic sanctions.

In 1983, Senator Nancy Kassebaum (Republican), then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's sub-committee on Africa, introduced legislation creating a new programme to provide grants of up to US\$10 000 for projects in SA that promote "a more just society" or "aid victims of apartheid".

The size of each grant was deliberately limited with the objects of pressing the US Embassy in Pretoria into contact with a wide range of individuals and groups.

It was implicit that official US government grants to projects would extend to official US interest and protection.

Too often we have missed opportunities to send a clear message of



□ KASSEBAUM ... grants

our opposition to apartheid.

For sound humanitarian reasons, we provided assistance to the victims of apartheid who were forcibly removed in 1983 and 1984 from their homes in the village of Mogopa in the Transvaal to be resettled elsewhere. That money could have been better used to promote change in SA had we provided our financial and other assistance before rather than after the removal.

If Mogopa had been made a focal point for some US aid programmes, the SA authorities would have had to face the decision of bulldozing projects funded by US taxpayers. Such public confrontations with the apartheid system would do much to improve US official standing in the black community in SA.

If we can establish a minimal level of credibility among blacks, it would enhance the possibility that we might be able to play a role in furthering a less violent evolution of SA.

This is not to say that the US should make all its decisions on the

basis of black demands or expectations. Rather, we should conduct ourselves in ways that leave no doubt that we are fully committed to a democratic outcome, in the full sense of the term "democratic".

There is perhaps — and I emphasise the word perhaps — a useful role for Americans, official and unofficial, as interlocutors between black and white South Africans and between those inside and outside the country.

We can play that role, however, only by invitation — an invitation that must be earned to be extended.

If SA is to avoid a violent disintegration of its society, those who wish to contribute to positive change need to explore the possibilities of external assistance in the area of communication. There is a possible role for us in helping various factions cut through stereotypes and ameliorate some of the hostility and suspicion.

**O**ne danger that may arise over the next decade is that the US could become too deeply involved in SA's evolution, too prescriptive about the structure of a "truly democratic" government and too specific about "legitimate" and "credible" leaders.

Only South Africans have the right to sit down and negotiate their country's future and to determine the structure of the historic compromise needed to avoid large-scale racial violence.

I work for an institution, the US Senate, which is the product of a historic compromise 200 years ago between this new nation's large and small constituent states.

If Britain can have a Queen, and Americans a Senate that gives 40 times more influence to a voter in sparsely-populated Wyoming than to a voter in California, then it

seems to me that there is a broad range of "democratic" outcomes that can be envisioned in SA.

The greatest challenge to US policy-makers in the years just ahead may be to resist the seductive lure of neo-colonialism and to respect black South Africans' ability and sole right to forge their own compromises.

We must show uncharacteristic restraint in prescribing for SA, for two reasons.

**F**irst, 25-million black South Africans are going to have more leaders emerging than any American 8 000 miles away will be able to identify. There are and always will be a multiplicity of special interest groups in this diverse society.

Second, we must resist trying to choose black leaders, for the simple reason that we do not fully understand the complex criteria of leadership in black South African society.

If we are to relate meaningfully with a post-apartheid SA, we are going to have to start looking at relationships within that country through South African prisms.

**A**nd this means setting aside our stereotypes of blacks, coloured, Afrikaners, English-speakers and all other aspects of a society that never was quite the morality play we perceived it to be and is becoming more complicated with each passing day.

□ Extracts from an article in CSIS Africa Notes, a publication of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington. Christenson served as an adviser on African affairs to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Republican members from 1981 to 1987. Before that he was associate director of the US SA Leadership Exchange Programme.



CAT 7/1/88  
6/1/88  
PW'S

'secret' 3064A

## business meeting

Staff Reporter

TOP businessmen and representatives of the private sector have been invited to a "top secret" meeting in Cape Town with the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, early in February.

A spokesman for the office of the State President last night confirmed such a meeting is to take place, although he declined to comment on the agenda, adding that the list of delegates was highly confidential.



Mr P.W. Botha

The meeting is scheduled for February 4, just three days after the official opening of Parliament on February 1, called four days early to push through what the opposition believe are controversial new parliamentary procedures.

This meeting with the highly select group of businessmen is a far cry from the widely publicized Carlton conference or the economic meeting to debate the Margo commission report last October.



# **'Secret' Botha meeting mystifies SA business**

*Capt. Tink 7/1/88 304A*

By CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

PLANS by President P W Botha to hold a "secret" meeting with select business leaders at Tuynhuys on February 4 has the business world completely mystified.

All a spokeswoman for Mr Botha's office will reveal is the date of the meeting, stressing that the list of delegates and the agenda is "confidential".

Businessmen likely to be on the invitation list expressed total ignorance of the meeting yesterday, or expressed confusion as to its purpose. Even the Department of Finance, which would normally be involved with any contact between government and the private sector is, purposely or otherwise, disclaiming any knowledge of the meeting or what its agenda may be.

What has emerged since knowledge of the proposed meeting was leaked this week is that representatives of organized commerce and industry are not on the invitation list. Nor have the chief executives of some of the country's leading financial institutions received any invitation from Mr Botha's office to the Cape Town meeting.

It is also apparent the message in the invitation to those businessmen who have received it has not been phrased in a manner sufficient for some of them to drop everything and accede to Mr Botha's bidding.

Barlow Rand chief executive Mr Warren Clewlow has, for example, turned down the invitation on the basis that he will still be on holiday. Others have equally indicated that February 4 is an inopportune time to gather at Tuynhuys.



# Why we are waiting



No society is left leaderless for long. A leadership vacuum is as much abhorred by nature as any other. The risk when one occurs, of course, is that it might be filled by an opportunist who

turns out thoroughly undesirable.

This is what happened in inflation-torn Germany between the world wars and in most African countries that sought the political kingdom, which they mistakenly believed would bring uhuru for all, in the Sixties and Seventies. It is not impossible that it could happen here.

The intellectual climate of the country is poised for change. Yet government is unable or unwilling to accommodate that aspiration; and protestations to the contrary have worn its credibility pretty thin. So the field is open for a charismatic pragmatist, probably from the ranks of Afrikanerdom.

If the last general election illustrated anything, it was that a large English-speaking swing vote has emerged that is more easily swayed than in the past and is becoming increasingly important to the National Party. But there is little evidence that English-speakers voted Nationalist out of deep conviction. Rather, they were driven to it in desperation when the PFP shot itself in both feet — the Nats will have to make a real adjustment to hold any genuine English-speaking involvement.

This could strain traditional party mechanisms — there are already signs that the NP in Natal is not quite sure how to handle its new English-speaking supporters. Such an accommodation will impose new leadership demands on the party hierarchy.

The formation of the Independent movement showed that, as in the PFP, within the ranks of traditional government supporters were many who no longer accepted the old answers blindly. But just as the leadership of

Having lurched through the more alarming manifestations of the current crisis, government shows little ability to do other than rely on the military. But where are the opposition leaders who could fill this vacuum? They too are strangely silent.

the PFP lost its grip, so subsequent internal squabbling has damaged the Independents to such an extent that neither Wynand Malan nor Denis Worrall may still be a viable leader of a viable new party — and white politics, at least, is still a matter of party politics.

The election demonstrated, too, that a significant body of Afrikaners finds the rigorous neo-Verwoerdian logic and clear policies of the Conservative Party's Andries Treurnicht mightily attractive.

There is much in Treurnicht's style — though not in his policies — that is not unlike the singlemindedness of Britain's Margaret Thatcher and to some extent of the US's President Ronald Reagan. Their clear and unequivocal exposition of policy and objective — sometimes in the face

of entrenched conventional wisdom — has become increasingly characteristic of other Western governments. Decisive action entrenched their credibility.

Of course, Dr Verwoerd provided just that kind of leadership in this country in the Fifties. The direction was disastrous, but his leadership won enormous voter support as he progressively stripped every tribe but the Afrikaner of effective democratic rights.

In sharp contrast is the irresolute character of the present P W Botha administration, a deficiency eroding its credibility in all but the important area of security, ironically despite valiant efforts to reverse the trend of Verwoerd's misrule.

Defence is, of course, enormously important. And government's protection of our borders, containment of terrorism and reduction in township violence are impressive achievements that should not be underestimated or relaxed. But they give no more than time to find durable social, political and economic accommodation for the majority of South Africans. The State of Emergency — by definition a temporary phase — is becoming uncomfortably part of everyday life.

Obviously in recent times a high political priority had to be placed on security. Both the severe recession and the activities of those who saw an opportunity for revolution had fermented substantial discord. It is possible that if the pace of political reform had been maintained in these circumstances, the revolutionaries would have been given inadvertent support.

Nor do we underestimate President Botha's reforms so far. He has certainly given more people participation in the lower layers of government than any previous Nat leader. And that is important. For democracy has to be learned.

All Botha's predecessors were moving in the opposite direction, progressively eroding the freedoms of ordinary folk, especially those of colour. So, in those terms, Botha's actions look quite radical.

Botha's great strength is that he was able to recognise and acknowledge the economic folly and ultimately socially explosive nature of Verwoerd's separate development. His

great weakness is that not only has he stopped doing anything about that direction, neither he nor his Constitutional Minister Chris Heunis offer any clear or inspired view of the future. Botha is most likely the John the Baptist of a post-

apartheid society, not its Messiah.

Having created homelands and separate coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament, the Nats have gone on to remove influx control, which was not effective anyway, and allowed much greater social intercourse (including mixed marriages) as well as black trade unions.

The creation of black municipalities has met at best with mixed success, and the new urban and provincial layers of local government, which include black appointees, have yet to be tested.

The FM supported the creation of the new Houses of Parliament, despite their obvious inadequacies, because we were deluded into believing that they were the beginning of a period of inspired leadership that would lead to more creative political reforms. In the event, they crystallised the inadequacies of a leadership soon swamped by inertia.

Though it may have been necessary that the reform process be stalled or delayed because of the need for greater security, reported incidents of unrest have fallen sharply. But there has been nothing since then to indicate that the administration knows where it should be going or has any determination to get there.

Instead it has fallen back on what used to

**"And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch" —**  
*Matthew 15:14*



**Independent Worrall ... fading with a flourish**



— and mutually fed — by leadership weakness from the opposition.

Where is our new Tielman Roos? No longer Wynand Malan or Worrall; surely not Eglin or Hendrickse. If it's true that countries get the governments — and, by extension, the oppositions — they deserve, we must be a sorry bunch.

We don't even have a David Owen or Shirley Williams in sight.

White-dominated SA has shown an amazing resilience since 1948. Prophets of gloom have invariably been made to look silly. But the period between now and the end of the century must surely be vital in resolving our fate, one way or the other.

Given that the present dispensation is, like it or not, not sustainable to infinity, we need a far higher quality of leadership from politicians, white and black, government and opposition, than anything we experienced in 1987.

If such leaders can't be found, maybe we should all Pack For Perth. ■

JSE — THE YEAR AHEAD

## After the roller-coaster

Confident forecasts on how the JSE might move during 1988 are rare this January. Too many had their confidence badly shaken during the traumatic events of 1987. As the head of one large institution points out, "all of the institutions made wrong forecasts last year."

He is right there: though most professionals expected the market to rise in 1987, and many said from about midyear that it was overheated, few foresaw either the extent of the rise or of the subsequent collapse — and very few got out in time. The sheer high drama, the severe shocks to professional egos, the ruthlessness of the market in retreat — all brought home lessons about the riskiness of forecasts. One merchant banker found the year fascinating: "This is a once-in-a-lifetime event," he comments.

To many it was more than fascinating — it was traumatic. The JSE Actuaries Overall index leapt from 1 972 to a high of 2 804 on October 19, before dropping 12% on October 20 and ending the year 35% below the peak. Industrial shares did better on the rise, the index climbing from 1 424 to a high of 2 268 (59%), but falling by more or less the same as the Overall index (36%).

Star performer was diamonds. This index led the bull stampede with a climb of 70% in the first 10 months, but had collapsed by 50% by end-December, as overseas investors sold out in panic. Until the market ground almost to a halt in December — generating fears about stockbrokers' profitability in 1988 — the broking firms were enjoying their best-ever year, with trading volumes at 3 038m shares in the first 11 months against the previous high of 1 605m for all of 1986.

These record prices led to a rush of new listings which totalled 201 by the end of

**Last year was the year of the switchback as the JSE shot up to record highs only to plunge off a precipice. In this environment, it is small wonder that the professionals seem as uncertain about the outlook as everyone else.**

November. The level of oversubscription of new issues leapt as potential stags scrambled for shares and expected to receive only a small percentage of their application.

Unit trusts also benefited. The man in the street who did not trust himself enough to pick his own shares in many cases gave his funds to the trusts to invest. Inflows rocketed from R499,9m for the whole of 1986 to R980,6m for the first nine months of 1987. Figures for the last quarter are not yet available, though most trust managers have made reassuring noises.

But all good things must come to an end and the hangover from the JSE party was harsh. The JSE recorded one of the biggest falls of any stock exchange, as foreign investors sold here to realise some liquidity and local small investors panicked and sold in droves. Brokers' administration systems creaked under the strain and the JSE computer collapsed altogether, resulting in short hours of trading when investors were frantic to sell.

Share prices were marked down on very small volumes and a broker came up with the theory that any publicity for a company was bad, as it brought the attention of investors to that share, which they then sold. Excellent corporate results failed to stem the tide and prices dropped like stones as shareholders told traders to sell at any price.

In the calm after the

storm, dealers settled into a pattern of low volumes and few rumours. Volumes dropped from 12m shares per day in July and a high of over 20m in October to about 5m in early December.

Eventually, most of the investing community told everyone to wait until the new year, packed their bags and went on holiday, hoping that some sea and sand would put it all into perspective.

Now that the new year is here, the burning question is what to expect in 1988? A large number of small investors are likely to stay out of the market whatever the prospects, but most professionals remain uncertain too.

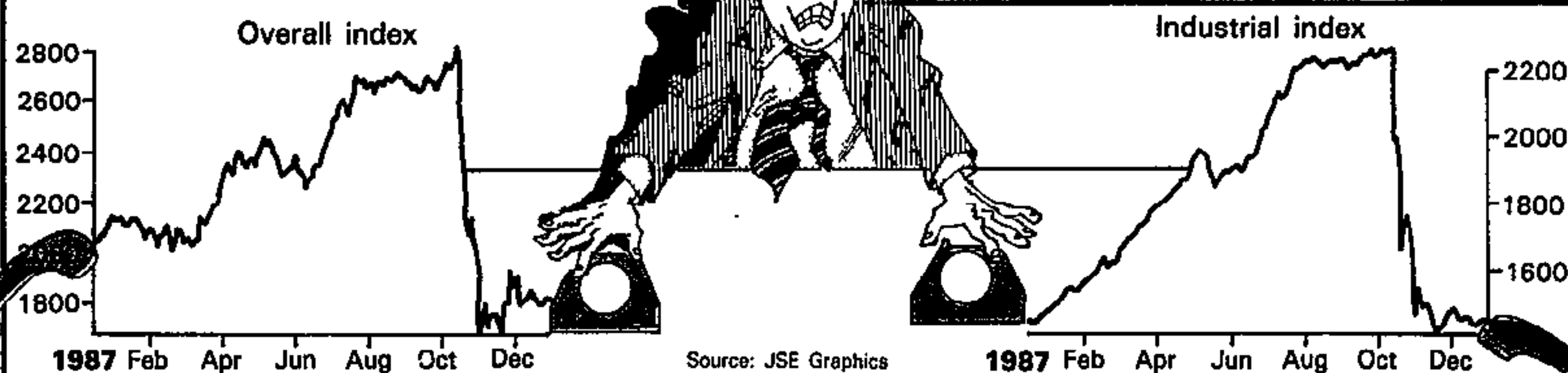
The gold price is the crucial factor, all agree, but forecasting this is notoriously dangerous. The prophets of doom, who have for years advanced the theory that world financial markets would collapse, leading to a rocketing gold price and then depression, have been proved wrong until now.

Gold has reacted relatively sluggishly to the major developments of recent months and, with inflation overseas at low levels and the possibility of recession staring investors in the face, there seems little to push bullion up. It is likely that the gold price rise will be equal to the fall in the dollar against other currencies, but few are optimistic about a rise in the gold price in yen or Deutsche-marks.

Davis Borkum Hare's David Giese says he is cautiously optimistic, believing the gold price will rise in both rand and dollar terms. But Giese is worried, as are all other analysts, by the high rate of increase in mining costs and the probability of labour unrest. So he suggests investment in mines which are not exposed to the National Union of Mineworkers and which can lift tonnage milled and recovery grades.

Jan Calitz, executive director, investments, at Southern Life, thinks a rise to over US\$485/oz is a strong technical buy signal, but Richard Stuart of stockbroker Martin & Co believes the gold mining industry will struggle. "They will need R1 000/oz or more to maintain profitability," he says. He discounts the importance of the rand

### Trading frenzy





— and mutually fed — by leadership weakness from the opposition.

Where is our new Tielman Roos? No longer Wynand Malan or Worrall; surely not Eglin or Hendrickse. If it's true that countries get the governments — and, by extension, the oppositions — they deserve, we must be a sorry bunch.

We don't even have a David Owen or Shirley Williams in sight.

White-dominated SA has shown an amazing resilience since 1948. Prophets of gloom have invariably been made to look silly. But the period between now and the end of the century must surely be vital in resolving our fate, one way or the other.

Given that the present dispensation is, like it or not, not sustainable to infinity, we need a far higher quality of leadership from politicians, white and black, government and opposition, than anything we experienced in 1987.

If such leaders can't be found, maybe we should all Pack For Perth. ■



**Big chief**

The National Party is expected to try to strike a deal with the Labour Party, to win support for radical changes to parliamentary procedures when parliament resumes in Cape Town on February 1.

The unexpected resumption of the session indicates the NP's determination to push through the procedural reforms rejected by the LP last year. (Technically, parliament is still in session. It merely adjourned at the end of last year. It will be prorogued a day or two before the official opening of the new session on February 5).

The changes proposed by the Nats include greater powers for the (Nat) Chief Whip and joint debates involving all three houses (but separate voting).

FINANCIAL MAIL JANUARY 8 1988

The new rules were approved by majorities in the Houses of Assembly and Delegates, but referred back to the Standing Committee on Rules and Orders by the House of Representatives.

An LP source tells the FM that no deal has yet been struck on the package, and the party remains opposed to the powers the new rules will give to the chief whip and to separate voting.

The NP regards the changes as a significant reform and was surprised by the LP's rejection last year.



# AWB threatens campaign to halt EL tourism

D/D 9/1/88  
304A

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**  
EAST LONDON — The Border branch of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is threatening to halt tourism to the city by distributing videos of crowds on the Eastern beach over New Year if the city council does not put a stop to blacks using beaches.

The AWB's area secretary, Mr Nic Slabber, said a visitor had made a video recording of the "happenings" and unless something was

done, "copies will be sent to as many towns as possible, the Conservative Party and all right-wing publications and organisations.

"The video will be proof of what people are subjected to and I doubt whether anybody would in future look forward to spending a holiday in our city."

"A Mr Du Toit from Steynsburg has vowed civil law action against the council for having told him that the

beaches were reserved for whites and so misled him into coming here to spend his holiday."

A law existed for action to be taken against blacks who "invaded" white beaches and the "mere fact" that more than 50 000 were allowed onto the Eastern beach — which was only suitable for 13 000 — on New Year's day was an incident in itself.

Mr Slabber said the Cape Provincial Administration was to blame

because it had taken control of beaches in August.

The city council was previously to blame, he said.

He said 50 written complaints had been handed to the police but they had indicated they could not take action unless suitable notice boards were erected by the city council.

It now appeared the government was responsible for not erecting notice boards.

He said he would like to know from the council the cost of the clean-up.

He said a city councillor, Mr Donald Card, had pleaded for the opening of all beaches to allow an even spread of black bathers but he said this would result in blacks at all the beaches and no white bathers.

Mr Slabber said only Orient Beach was free of black bathers on New Year's day and this was because the AWB "took it upon themselves to keep it white".

He said the beach issue was seen as an immediate cause of concern. The AWB had shelved other projects and was devoting its time to having a petition drawn up "against the abuse of East London beaches".

It is a striking characteristic of our present times that many South Africans who were opposed to the extremes of apartheid, and many who actively resisted it, and some who actually suffered under it, stand together today in defence of their country. Most of these are white, but that is an inevitable consequence of our history.

It is also characteristic of our present times that those who never supported the National Party, and many who actively opposed it, do not waste their breath and their time in blaming everything on the Government. The crisis is too urgent for that, and many of us use our breath and our time in coming to the defence of our country and its economy, in face of the adverse effects of sanctions and disinvestment.

## Root of problem

This does not in the least alter the fact that our present critical situation is to a very large degree due to the policies of the National Party and the Government. Apartheid was alive and well before 1948, and in fact the then Prime Minister, General Smuts, with the help of a large number of prominent white citizens of Durban, was edging towards a kind of Group Areas Act.

He did not however go the whole way, largely because he was about to become the chancellor of the ancient University of Cambridge, and because he was one of the leading spirits in the formation of the United Nations Organisation.

But Dr DF Malan, who defeated Smuts in the general election of 1948, had no such handicaps. He embarked on a programme of racial legislation the like of which the world had never seen before, and the like of which it will never see again.

Dr Malan was a leading minister of the powerful Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and had the almost unanimous support of the church for

# Story of great chances, great men thrown away



**Renowned South African author Alan Paton, who celebrated his 85th birthday yesterday, looks back on the events of the fifties and asks: Can the National Party recover the ground it lost through its own recklessness?**

his racial legislation. He is today looked upon as one of the "best" of our National Party Prime Ministers, but he must be regarded as the political creator of apartheid policy. He must bear therefore the great share of the responsibility for the alienation of the African, Indian, and coloured people from their white countrymen.

An equally great share of the responsibility for this present state of alienation must be borne by Prime Minister Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd (1958-66). Some would say that his share is greater. If the National Party was fanatical about racial separation, the arch-fanatic was Verwoerd. He was ruled by passion, not by reason. He had no idea of the limitations of governmental power to reconstruct South African or any other society, nor any idea of the economic cost of such reconstruction.

The National Party committed grave perhaps irretrievable errors in the fifties. They silenced three black leaders who had gifts equal to any of their own Luthuli, Matthews and Sobukwe. Their treatment of these three can only be described as shameful. Not one was a revolutionary. They were democrats, believers in the rule of law. They were

three distinguished speakers, but all were silenced. They could have taken part in the government of the country with distinction, but their participation was not part of the National Party Plan for the new South Africa.

At some time in the fifties Luthuli was recovering from a serious illness in McCord Hospital, Durban. I went to see him and he told me of his dream of the night before. He dreamt that he was the Prime Minister of South Africa and that he had appointed me as his Minister of Education. That was the kind of country that we lived in, and I like to tell this story of the nearest I ever came to high position in the Government.

## Schools destroyed

We do not produce Luthulis, Matthews, and Sobukwes any more. They were products of mission schools and many of their teachers were white men and women. All three recorded their debts to these schools, which were all destroyed by Verwoerd, who considered that they were teaching black boys to grow up to be black Englishmen. Verwoerd set back black education 30 years, and when

it will recover, no one knows.

These events of the fifties led inevitably to Sharpeville. In 1960 the African National Congress and the breakaway movement, the Pan-Africanist Congress, under its leader Sobukwe, decided to break the pass laws. On March 21 1960, Sobukwe defied the laws and was arrested.

At Sharpeville, 69 Africans were killed when the police opened fire on a vast crowd of demonstrators whose sheer mass threatened to bring down the fence around the police station. The police fired in panic, but thereafter in some more terrible. The shooting condemned around the world and on March 28, 1960, the Government declared the ANC and the PAC to be illegal organisations.

The consequence of the ban was that the movements went underground. So did the leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, the greatest black figure of the fifties. In 1964 he and others were sent to life imprisonment, and in 1990 Mandela is still there. Now the Government does not know what to do with him. If he dies in prison, the Government will have committed another irretrievable error.

That is the story of the five great chances and great men thrown away, by a Government whose arrogance we pay for today. It is these events of the fifties that have made the progress of reform so unutterably slow. Can the National Party recover the ground that it lost through its own recklessness? On the answer to that question the future of South Africa depends.



# Boshoff quits Tuks to start a new 'life'

By Carina le Grange

Ned Geref Kerk theologian, Professor Carel Boshoff has resigned from the University of Pretoria to start a new career in extra-parliamentary politics. He will leave the university at the end of March.

He told The Star this morning he wanted to find a solution for the "inevitability of black majority rule" which threatened minority groups such as the Afrikaner.

Asked whether his decision indicated that he had no confidence in the present parliamentary structures and parties and the constitution, Professor Boshoff said: "I believe I can make a better contribution, outside rather than in Parliament."

Professor Boshoff's move followed that of other Afrikaner leaders who have opted for extra-parliamentary activities though usually from the left wing of the political spectrum like Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

## AFRIKANER 'FREEDOM'

Professor Boshoff said he had never considered a political career, but would work with any organisation that supported his aim of "freedom of the Afrikaner in his own country".

Professor Boshoff said the reason for his decision to resign and take the new direction was the "state of emergency" in which the Afrikaner people found itself.

Professor Boshoff has played an increasingly important and substantial role in right-wing Afrikaner politics over the past years, and while he remained within the so-called Establishment teaching at the Ned Geref Kerk theological school in misiology and science of theology — he has long been involved with right-wing movements such as the Afrikaner Volkswag.

As leader of the Volkswag, Professor Boshoff (60) is already involved in organising a commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek in opposition to celebrations planned by the Establishment's Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurorganisasies (FAK).

He is also chairman of the Ned Geref Bond (NG League), a body within the NGK which opposes decisions by the Church to open membership to all races.

In terms of the

# R75 000 spent by SA on ads in the Scottish press

JOHANNESBURG — The Government has spent R75 000 in the past three months on advertisements in Scottish newspapers to counteract "the disinformation campaign".

South Africa's Consul-General in Glasgow, Mr Sandie Shaw said he spent the R75 000 in the Scottish Press to counteract negative publicity.

Meanwhile, the Glasgow-based Scottish South African Society (SSAS) said the consulate had helped to meet postage costs of its pro-South African journal and paid for refreshments during meetings. This was, however, denied by Mr Shaw.

The chairman of SSAS, Mrs Helen Hodgins, yesterday said the consulate helped to meet postage costs for the journal, which in its third issue carried a scathing attack on the ANC.

Mr Shaw, who is on holiday in Pretoria, said he had rendered neither the society nor its journal any financial assistance. He did, however, distribute 1 000 copies of the journal in South Africa as official Foreign Affairs mail.

He circulated copies of the bulletin to gain publicity for the 500-member Scottish society, he said.

The South African ambassador to Washington, Mr Piet Koornhof, last year embarked on a similar project to the Scottish advertising campaign to improve South Africa's image.

In November Mr Koornhof spent an estimated R140 000 on a survey of about 200 000 Americans' opinions on reform in South Africa and sanctions.

Last week the same embassy paid at least \$12 000 for an 8mm videotape of a seminar held in the ambassador's living room.

Seminar participants included Mr Koornhof, the former Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Alan Keyes, and the Gazankulu Chief Minister, Mr Hudson Mtsanwisile.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday said the department would not disclose its budget for these individual projects.

"It's a drop in the ocean compared to anti-apartheid propaganda," he said.

He said it was the function of embassies and consuls to run advertising campaigns, mail shots, distribution of newsletters, media liaison and guest programmes.

He added that no Dutch newspaper was prepared to place the same advertisement that South Africa sponsored in the Scottish papers. — DDC



14/1/88  
13  
January 14 1988

# Boshoff (304K) priority is Afrikaner homeland

Pretoria Correspondent

The leader of the Afrikaner-volkswag (AV), Professor Carel Boshoff, said yesterday that the establishment of a homeland for Afrikaners was one of his priorities.

Professor Boshoff (60) resigned this week from his post as professor of missionary science at the University of Pretoria "to devote himself to the freedom of the Afrikaner in his own country" — and, in this, the provision of "a home territory" was of paramount importance.

Professor Boshoff and his wife, Mrs Anna Boshoff, who is the eldest daughter of the late Dr H F Verwoerd, have close links to the controversial Vereniging van Oranjerwerkers (VVO) through Mrs Boshoff's brother, Hendrik, who is a senior office-bearer of the VVO.

The VVO has already named the town and district of Moritzburg as the focal point of its professed aim to establish an all-white Afrikaner homeland. Professor Boshoff's resignation from his post at Pretoria shocked political and religious circles, fuelling speculation that he aimed to politicise the AV and throw its formidable resources behind the Conservative Party (CP).

The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he welcomed Professor Boshoff's new initiative.

"The CP has no problems with his aim of ensuring freedom for the Afrikaner in the country of his birth. This is also the aim of the CP. If he is spared, Professor Boshoff could yet play a vital role in the cultural destiny of the Afrikaner," Dr Treurnicht said. The use of the word "cultural" instead of "political" is construed to mean that Dr Treurnicht does not see Professor Boshoff as a factor in the bitter political struggle between the

Afrikaner left and right wings. But Professor Boshoff strongly denied that he had political aspirations, saying he intended working outside existing political and parliamentary spheres.

An announcement, in which he expected to set out fully his intentions for the future, could be expected shortly, he said. Professor Boshoff refused to comment on speculation that he would shortly resign from the NGK and throw in his lot with the all-white Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK), which split from the NGK last year and has since opened its own school of theology in Pretoria.

3049  
141188

## AWB breaks up Minister's meeting in Standerton

STANDERTON — Teargas was fired at last night's National Party meeting in Standerton after supporters of the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging shouted the speaker down and demanded a debate between the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, who was due to speak, and AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Later, stinkbombs were dropped and the meeting was adjourned for half an hour.

As people were leaving the hall there was a power failure and the centre of the town was plunged into darkness.

The trouble broke out soon after the meeting started when AWB supporters loudly requested Song No 7 during a community sing-a-long. The centre of the AWB flag is composed of three sevens.

When the meeting was opened, the chairman was shouted down.

There was brief silence during the prayer in which a plea was made for tolerance.

After the prayer pandemonium broke loose again.

One of the AWB supporters asked if he could raise a point of order before the meeting started and suggested that this would be an opportunity for a debate between Mr de Klerk and Mr TerreBlanche. The chairman said that after Mr de Klerk's speech an opportunity would be given for questions.

This did not suit the AWB supporters who comprised about a third of the 600 people at the meeting. The chanting started again.

The chairman called for order. He then said the meeting would be adjourned to 8.30 pm. While chants of "TerreBlanche" and "AWB" continued, teargas was fired into the hall.

People started leaving the hall to escape the fumes and a number of stinkbombs were released. — Sapa.



# WITNESSES

Care Trans 14/1/88 (45) 3044

# Stood

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Former National Party Information Minister Dr Connie Mulder, who died this week, will not take the secrets he promised to disclose in Parliament to his grave — his son Pieter has taped all Dr Mulder's info secrets over the past six months.

And the contents of those taped interviews are due to be released in a book before the end of the year by Mr Pieter Mulder, a CP candidate in the coming Schweizer-Reneke by-election.

But should he win the election, Mr Mulder intends to reveal his father's secrets to Parliament even earlier.

Dr Mulder — the NP's former "crown prince" who fell from grace when the Info scandal broke in 1978 and later became a prominent figure in the CP — died in hospital on Tuesday night.

He returned to Parliament last year after beating the NP in the Randfontein constituency. He was ill for most of the year, but was confident of returning to Parliament this year.

After winning his seat for the Conservative Party, Dr Mulder had often threatened to "tell the whole story" and expose other cabinet ministers' roles in the Information debacle.

Mr Mulder jr said yesterday of his father and the proposed book: "Many of the things he said were not secrets to us — the fact that President P W Botha, (Mr) Vorster and other cabinet ministers knew about the Info scandal — but for many people, I suppose, this still has to come out."

"The tapes and book were done not only in a bid to put forward his side of the story, but also to outline his whole career — he had a very interesting life."

**Connie Mulder: The man who almost made it.**  
**SEE PAGE 7**

In addition, the tapes reveal inside information on top-level cabinet meetings and South Africa's links in Africa, Mr Mulder said.

Mr Mulder is a former communications professor at the University of Potchefstroom who lost last year's election contest in Potchefstroom to the former Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis le Grange.

Meanwhile, there is speculation the CP is likely to ask Dr Mulder's other son, Dr C P Mulder, to replace his father as candidate in Randfontein.

Dr Mulder jr stood as a CP candidate in Gezina in last year's election but lost to the NP by about 1 000 votes.

National Party leaders have been fulsome in their praise of Dr Mulder, and the SABC last night gave extensive coverage to his long political career.





**Mulder better leader than PW — Rhodie**

*Accus 14/1/88 30cA*

From NEIL LURSEN

The Argus Foreign Service  
 WASHINGTON.— Dr Connie Mulder should have been Prime Minister of South Africa and would have made a better job of it than Mr P W Botha, according to Dr Mulder's close associate and friend, Dr Eschel Rhodie.

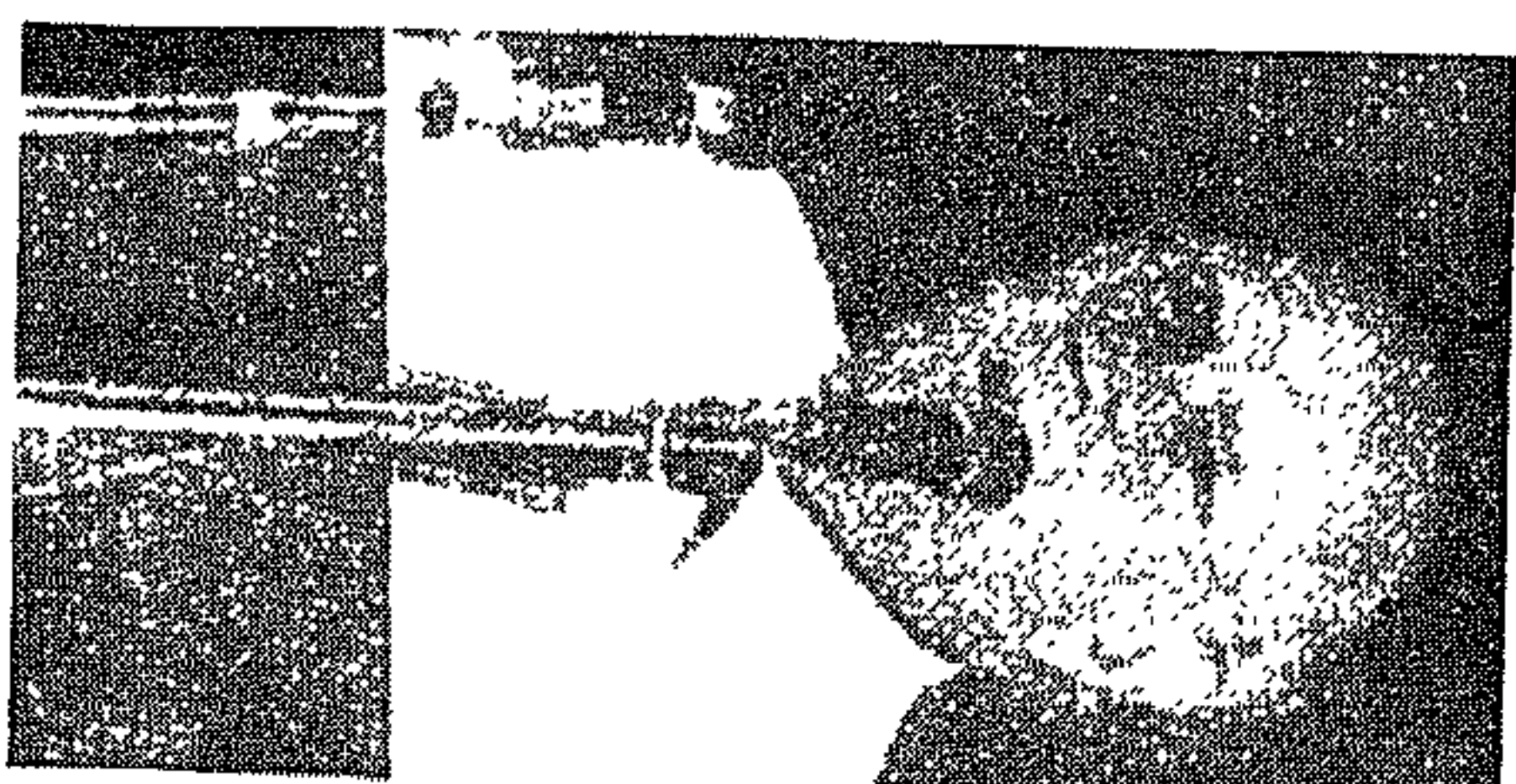
Dr Rhodie, who served under Dr Mulder as South Africa's Information Department chief, now lives in Atlanta, Georgia, where he is a businessman and nurses grievances about the way he and Dr Mulder were treated during the Info scandal.

Dr Rhodie said yesterday that South Africa was in a mess and that it was not brought about by Dr Mulder.

**"BETTER SHAPE"**

"If he had been Prime Minister the country would be in far better shape than it is now because Dr Mulder was a conservative ... a JRA ... st.

# Punch-up, gas: FVW's challenge to Dr T



By PETER FABRICIUS  
 Political Staff

THE leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk, today challenged the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to say whether he supported the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's disruption of last night's NP by-election meeting in Standerfontein.

But Dr Treurnicht refused to rise to the bait and said he would reply in his own time. "He is a bit hasty," he said.

Mr de Klerk said it was wrong to blame the AWB entirely for the disruption of his meeting, where fighting broke out after he rejected an AWB challenge to debate with AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche.

He had evidence that Mr Chris Botha, the CP candidate who stood against him in Vereeniging in last year's general election, was in the thick of the fighting.

**"Has no control"**

"The political significance is that it proves that the CP either has no control over the AWB or that it supports this



"Certainly, Afrikaners would not be as divided as they now are. With regard to blacks, he believed in reaching out and was, for instance, able to establish a good relationship, with Chief Gatscha Buthelezi."

Dr Rhoadie said that Afrikaaner politicians who "stabbed Connie Mulder in the back and spread lies about him" had contributed to his early death by creating in him the inner stress and turmoil that he could never escape.

"Unlike myself, who ranted and raved in public, Connie kept things bottled up and he remained always the perfect gentleman, courteous to all."

#### "DYING INSIDE"

"So because of the trauma he suffered during the Info affair, he was dying inside for 10 years — always keeping it inside."

"Medical specialists will tell you that this kind of inner stress will lead to things like cancer. It contributed to Vorster's death and it contributed to Connie's death."

Dr Rhoadie said that, ironically, he had received just yesterday a Christmas card from Dr Mulder.

"Normally, he did not write on Christmas cards but perhaps he had a premonition because in this one he thanked me for my loyalty and friendship down the years. And, sadly, he said he thought he would recover from his illness. So news of his death comes as a shock."



Pictures: SABC-TV

**HIGHVELD HECKLER:** A heckler of a National Party meeting in Standerton last night joins his Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging cohorts in chanting "Terre/Blanche! Terre/Blanche!" during a speech by the Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr. F. W. de Klerk. Police had to use teargas when fighting broke out. Mr. de Klerk completed his speech an hour late — by candlelight.

#### "REVENGE"

Dr Rhoadie said Dr Mulder prepared notes for a speech in Parliament on the Info affair in which he would have put certain questions to the President. Now that speech would not be made, but it should be read into Hansard as though he had made it.

"Connie said he did not want to come straight out with the speech on his return to Parliament because he did not want people to think he was out for revenge."

Dr Rhoadie said arguments over whether Dr Mulder would have been a good or bad Prime Minister were irrelevant.

"The fact is that he should have been Prime Minister — and this is what has made his early death so tragic."

"He would have done a lot of the things that Botha achieved, but without the hatred and the splits. It is tragic for South Africa."

#### "CP territory"

"We will be prepared next time, we won't be put off."

Some Nationalist Party posters in Standerton last night advertising Mr de Klerk's meeting said the town would be NP again, but CP posters, often attached to the same tree, stated: "This is CP territory, the Nats can only dream."

A spokesman for the Standerton police, who deployed about 50 men at the request of the NP, said: "One could expect trouble at future NP meetings."

The police had prior information that the meeting would be disrupted, the spokesman said, and "we managed to put out the fire before it really started."

At one stage police opened teargas canisters to control the crowd, he said. A scuffle ensued but no one was seriously injured.

NP candidate and local attorney Mr Hennie Erasmus said he expected a "challenging" election campaign but saw no reason to hold closed meetings for NP members only.

### Belgium mum on Passtoors report

**PRETORIA.** — The Belgian Embassy in Pretoria and the Department of Foreign Affairs kept mum today on reports that Belgium would expel three South African officials over Helene Passtoors's continued imprisonment.

The Dutch-Belgian citizen is serving a 10-year sentence at Kroonstad prison for treason. She is now facing an additional charge of trying to escape in December.

"Well-placed" sources were quoted this week as saying that the Belgian Government had ordered the three South Africans to leave.

**Press curbs**  
In terms of the state of emergency regulations, news, pictures and comment are restricted.

to this and decide. If he wants to continue with this alliance with the AWB — formal or informal."

He has admitted AWB membership, his caucus, so he can't wash his hands and say he doesn't know what is happening in the AWB.

"He must use his caucus members to stop this sort of thing or we must conclude that he is in agreement with this sort of action or can't control it."

Mr de Klerk said that in spite of the disruption — and a coincidental power failure — the NP had eventually had a "very good" meeting. Though it had been closed to non-NP members after the fighting, by the end it was open again and CP members had asked questions.

#### Full confidence

"We ended with almost 500 people in the hall and were given a vote of full confidence."

He said he had no reason to criticise the police, who were reported to have stood back during the earlier disruption, intervening only when fighting broke out.

"I don't think police should intervene unnecessarily but when fighting breaks out and people refuse to leave when they ought to, that's when the police should come into play."

Mr de Klerk vowed that the NP would not allow its by-election campaigns in Standerton and Schweizer-Feneke to be disrupted.

"We will not allow the political message of the NP to be suppressed by political thugery."







# New political group for whites

304A Sash 14-20/1/88

A NEW political organisation has been formed by United Democratic Front activists to organise whites in the Western Cape.

The formation of the Cape Democrats follows the launch of the Mowbray and the Gardens Youth Congresses, which aim to organise white youth.

All three organisations have been formed in response to an ultimatum by the UDF (Western Cape) earlier this year that membership of the Front can only be through organisations.

"The UDF's decision forced us to look at ways in which we could take organised whites into the Front, even though we had started three years ago to debate the idea of a progressive political organisation for whites," said a member of the

Cape Democrats steering committee.

"The organisation was formally constituted and a declaration adopted."

## Disillusioned

According to the committee member, the Cape Democrats would try to reach liberal whites who were disillusioned with parliamentary politics, and young professionals.

"Over the next three months, we will draw up a constitution and build up our formal membership. Once we have more than 500 members, we will hold a launching conference, probably in March next year.

"We are debating whether the organisation should seek affiliation

to the UDF, but this will only be resolved once the organisation has been formally launched. In this way, our whole membership can take part in the decision.

"The Cape Democrats will be specifically for people who want to participate very directly in the democratic movement. It will identify itself very closely with the democratic movement.

"We will have a close relationships with organisations like the Black Sash and ECC. There is even a strong possibility of overlapping membership in these cases.

## Challenge

"We will differ from the NDM and the PFP because we will be an explicitly extra-parliamentary grouping. The NDM and PFP straddle extra-parliamentary and

parliamentary organisation.

"It would be important for us to talk to the NDM and the PFP, even though there will be important political differences between us."

Did he not envisage that there would be much resistance among whites to the organisation?

"We don't envisage the organisation being a major popular force in the short term. We won't be able to rival the PFP, for instance. But there are many whites in Cape Town who are disillusioned with the parliamentary approach. They would like to be part of the democratic movement.

"Our challenge will be to get to this group of people and to create an organisation in which they will feel comfortable, and which will maintain their interests."

CAPE TIMES 14/1/88

# Boshoff vows to free the Volk

304A

PRETORIA. — One of Afrikaner politics's leading right-wing figures, Professor Carel Boshoff, has retired from the University of Pretoria to devote himself to the "struggle for the freedom of the Afrikaner".

Prof Boshoff, who turned 60 recently, is said to have extra-parliamentary plans, but could not be reached for comment yesterday.

The controversial academic heads the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV), a "cultural" organization which has links with the Conservative Party and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AV is organizing functions to commemorate the Great Trek in opposition to festivities being planned by government-sponsored cultural bodies.

He also chairs the NG Bond, which is fighting verligte Dutch Reformed Church initiatives from within the church.

Prof Boshoff said in a statement yesterday that government policy would bring about black domination throughout South Africa.

"The state of emergency in which the Afrikaner nation finds itself as a result of government policy, has directly influenced my decisions," he said. — Sapa



# Ex-MP abused position, says HNP

## Stofberg 'wanted to disband party'

Pretoria Correspondent

The Herstigte Nasionale Party has accused its former chief secretary Mr Louis Stofberg of attempting to disband the party by influencing its members to join the Conservative Party.

In the latest edition of *Die Afrikaner* — the HNP's mouthpiece — Mr Stofberg is attacked in a full-page statement by the HNP's planning committee who met this week to discuss the Stofberg resignation.

According to the committee, Mr Stofberg did not resign because of the HNP's decision to stand in Standerton, but had apparently informed Mr Jaap Marais several weeks before that he planned to end his service with the party.

In spite of Mr Stofberg's denial, the HNP still claims that the former HNP MP for Sasolburg was suffering from depression as a result of his defeat in the general election.

"It's a pity that he could not accept his defeat in Sasolburg. Like so often happened, he projected his personal frustrations on the HNP and started to verbally kill the party and disband it," the statement says.

The planning committee states that days after the general election, Mr Stofberg applied more pressure on the HNP leadership to disband the party, regardless of implications.

The committee says it could see two reasons why Mr Stofberg wanted to disband the party, namely: to save him the problem of resigning, and it would give him the opportunity to freely find a new political "home" to satisfy his aspirations.

"There is evidence that Mr Stofberg seriously abused his position of trust by adopting a sympathetic view with people who left the HNP for the CP and behind the back of the HNP leadership he negatively influenced executive

committee members and other HNP members to promote the disbanding of the party, therefore isolating the leadership."

In response, yesterday Mr Stofberg told the *Pretoria News* he was not prepared to start a personal feud with Mr Marais or the HNP, adding that most of the allegations made in the article were untrue or distorted.

"I don't ever remember telling Mr Marais a few weeks before my resignation that I intended to leave the party.

"I was also shocked to see from the article in *Die Afrikaner* that the planning committee held an unofficial meeting in my absence on November 26."

Mr Stofberg said it was "nonsense" that he went behind the leadership's back and tried to disband the HNP.

# On PW's birthday, old foe Connie dies

By a strange quirk of fate the former information minister, Dr Connie Mulder, died in hospital on Tuesday as the man who thwarted his quest to become South Africa's prime minister was celebrating his 72nd birthday.

It was President PW Botha who defeated Mulder when the National Party caucus voted to choose a successor to John Vorster as prime minister in September 1978.

As Transvaal leader of the NP, Mulder would almost certainly have won had it not been for the Information Scandal. Mulder and the controversial secretary for information, Eschel Rhoodie, were the main political casualties of the scandal.

At its core, the scandal involved the expenditure of secret funds to win and buy friends abroad and at home for the government. One of the key

projects was covertly to finance the founding of the pro-government newspaper, *The Citizen*, with an estimated R32-million.

Irregularities in the use of the secret fund were wielded as a weapon against Mulder by his enemies in the NP. One of his key foes in the NP was PW Botha, then the minister of defence. Another was Pik Botha, then South African ambassador to the United States. Money was diverted from Defence to the secret fund. PW Botha denied he knew how the money had been spent.

Pik Botha drew 22 vital Transvaal votes away from Mulder in the first round of voting in the NP caucus,

By PATRICK LAURENCE

thus enabling PW Botha to edge ahead of Mulder by 78 to 74 votes. In the second round nearly all Pik Botha's votes went to PW Botha, enabling him to become prime minister and, later, president.

Mulder, who lied in parliament when he denied state money had been used to fund *The Citizen*, fell from grace quickly. He resigned in rapid succession from the cabinet, from the Transvaal leadership of the NP and, finally, from parliament itself.

But Mulder maintained he had been made a scapegoat for the Information

Scandal, insisting the full tale had yet to be told.

Within months of leaving parliament, he founded the National Conservative Party to help him achieve that end. But driven by a desire to tell his side of the info scandal from the legally privileged benches of parliament, he joined the Conservative Party when it was founded by Andries Treurnicht in 1982.

He took the first step toward his aim when he was elected MP for Randfontein in last year's general election, winning the begrudging admiration of his foes for his tenacity.

But he never made the speech which he hoped would clear his

name. He collapsed in parliament last year, having spoken only a few times about partition and the need for a white homeland, which he named Suidland.

Mulder died of heart and kidney failure at the age of 62. The underlying cause of his death was reported to be cancer, described by the CP as degenerative bone disease.

Mulder unintentionally struck a blow at his erstwhile colleagues in the NP when he died. He confronted the NP with another tough by-election against the CP. Two are pending already, one in Standerton (where AWP zealots disrupted an NP meeting on Wednesday night) and Schweizer-Reneke.

Beeld speculated yesterday that Mulder's death might tip the balance in favour of an early general election.



# AWB 'involved in by-election'

ELSABE WESSELS

STANDERTON — The radical white Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has entered the by-election for Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke in force said AWB organiser Patric van der Merwe.

An estimated 250 chanting and shouting AWB followers wrecked a National Party meeting in Standerton on Wednesday night where Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk was to talk.

The meeting resumed after the AWB went to its own venue to hear leader Eugene Terre'Blanche speak.

The majority of AWB supporters were from northern Transvaal towns such as Phalaborwa and Pietersburg. Only about 30 were from Standerton, Van der Merwe said.

Yesterday the NP and CP acknowledged the "important role the AWB was playing in activating support for white right-wing sentiment".

STANDERTON — Conservative Party attitudes to Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging strategy and tactics was highlighted by party members here yesterday.

This follows the AWB's disruption of a National Party meeting in the town on Wednesday night, when police intervened in fist fights between Nationalists and chanting AWB supporters.

CP supporters who did not wish to be named, said yesterday they were shocked by what they called "AWB thuggery". They thought party leader Andries Treurnicht should "set the record straight".

Treurnicht, who was challenged by Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk to dissociate himself from the AWB yesterday rejected De Klerk's demand, saying it was De Klerk and not he who was answerable to the AWB.

"De Klerk should explain to them why he released a communist," he said. He

# AWB bullying not CP style'

ELSABE WESSELS

said he repeatedly rejected violence and thuggery.

Treurnicht accepted De Klerk's challenge to a TV debate "if De Klerk refrains from 'foul play'", he said, and added that while he was prepared to meet De Klerk on his terms De Klerk was scared of a public debate.

CP candidate Rosier de Ville said the incident had nothing to do with the CP.

"We did not organise it and violence is not CP style," he said.

He added he could not see anything wrong with the AWB action though. "The AWB is an independent organisation," he said.

● See Comment — Page 6

# Division threatening CP over AWB association

304A

D/D 15/1/88

STANDERTON — Division was threatening in Standerton's Conservative Party ranks yesterday over the party's association with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

This follows the AWB's disruption of a National Party meeting here on Wednesday night, when police intervened in fist fights between NP and chanting AWB supporters.

The Standerton District Commandant, Major Adriaan van Zyl, yesterday said no complaints had been received and no charges pressed.

CP supporters said yesterday they were shocked by what they called "AWB thuggery". They thought the CP party leader, Mr Andriés Treurnicht, should "set the record straight".

Pressure is now on the CP leader to dis-

tance himself from and address his party's relationship with the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, and his militant storm troopers.

Mr Treurnicht, who was challenged by the NP leader of the Transvaal, Mr F. W. de Klerk, to dissociate himself from the AWB, yesterday rejected Mr De Klerk's demand saying it was Mr De Klerk and not he who was answerable to the AWB.

"De Klerk should explain to them why he released a communist," he said, and repeatedly rejected violence.

"Can I then demand of Mr De Klerk and the NP leader, Mr P. W. Botha, to repudiate their contribution to the disruption of United Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party meetings."

Mr Treurnicht ac-

cepted Mr De Klerk's challenge to a TV debate "if De Klerk refrains from 'foul play'," he said, but added that Mr De Klerk was scared of a public debate.

According to eyewitnesses of the fracas, the fist fighting was started by Nats who became agitated with the AWB chanting.

Meanwhile, the AWB has entered the by-election for Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke in force, the Standerton organiser for the AWB, Mr Patric van der Merwe, said.

While insisting the extreme right-wing, khaki-clad brigade had no interest in party politics, Mr Van der Merwe warned the AWB would have a strong presence in the next few weeks.

"We are taking to the platform," he said.  
— DDC



## Labour insists PW acted unlawfully

ROGER SMITH

3044

A CONSTITUTIONAL confrontation between the Labour Party and President P W Botha may have been averted by the resignation of Education Minister Carter Ebrahim, but the LP still maintains Botha's refusal to sack Ebrahim immediately was "unconstitutional".

LP PRO Peter Hendrickse said in Uitenhage yesterday the party believed Botha had no discretion in

such a case.

"Botha must answer to the public and the voters how he was prepared to use the situation for his own ends."

He said the LP had received legal opinion that it had had a case.

But with Ebrahim's resignation, this fell away.

## ANOTHER VOICE

HARALD PAKENDORF



THIS will be the year in which we will hear a good deal of the right wing in white politics.

Not surprising, what with a number of by-elections in the offing, a mini-general election in the form of nationwide municipal elections in October and the possibility of a general election in the next two years.

But then we are already hearing noises from the right.

Loudest was the AWB chanting FW de Klerk into silence at Standerton, a portent of the level of the politicking between the Conservative Party (CP) and the National Party (NP) in Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke and Randfontein.

And there is Professor Carel Boshoff going on pension so he can give his fullest support to the resurgence of the right.

Plus the festivities celebrating the 150th year of the start of the Great Trek.

There will be two sets of festivities — the NP-organised one through its cultural affiliate, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) and the CP's, arranged through its FAK equivalent, the Afrikaner Volkswag.

Guess who heads the latter? Recently pensioned Carel Boshoff.

There is little new in all this — there was not one Trek 150 years ago anyway, nor two but several — and breaking up political meetings was a favourite pastime of some of those in the establishment who now frown on the AWB.

Equally old is the constant claim the NP has to be careful of the right lest it loses power at the next election. This has led to a dictum which says you have to have little reform in order that you may have some reform.

It is by now almost a cliché to warn of the danger from the right and to use it as an excuse not to think too much about those, the majority, who don't have the vote at all.

Yet there is truth in the near-cliché to warrant some attention.

Not that the CP and the multitude of organisations to its right — yes, there are those — can wrest political control from the NP.

Transvaal NP leader De Klerk has been saying for some time the CP has already peaked. Even if he is not correct in his view, this year will be of vital importance to the CP. If it does not grow, it will be reasonable to assume that it HAS peaked.

It cannot be satisfied with the progress it has made so far.

Since its beginnings in the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria in 1982, it has shown little growth. The support it then had it still has. But not much has been added.

The by-elections since 1983 prove it, and so does the general election of last year. Results have given the CP the same level of support throughout this period. Not good for a right-wing party in a time of serious internal unrest and violence, extreme foreign pressure and sanctions, plus a strongly declining economy.

That its support is strong, however, is clear. It had the support of some 27 percent of the white electorate on May 6 last year.

Since then opinion polls have indicated a slip down to 23 percent.

But then the NP has also fallen from around 51 percent to 44 percent, with only the groupings to the left of the NP showing growth — that was, however, before the Malan-Worral split.

But as a base as to where the CP's level of support stands, one can guess the maximum is 30 percent.

Even with the distortions inherent in our electoral system, that is not nearly enough to more than scare the NP.

The CP and its cohorts are important for another reason, though.

There are two strains of thinking on the right. One says, as Hendrik Verwoerd did, that SA is white except for the traditional

homelands where blacks will live. The other, that SA is black except for those parts which whites will carve out for themselves.

Black homelands and a white homeland are the two strains then.

At the heart of both is a desire and a need which is universal — for a people to have its own country. It is an approach one can hardly quarrel with.

Its purely

theoretical base is an acceptable one.

As Carel Boshoff correctly says: It is unethical and impractical for a minority to govern a majority. Meaning what is happening in this country today.

This was exactly what his late father-in-law, Verwoerd, maintained.

Again a view with which virtually nobody will disagree.

It is what one does in practice, though, which makes the situation difficult. Although there are solutions possible in between the two extremes, ultimately SA must either be partitioned or seen as one country.

The problem Boshoff and others face is that partition, or separate development, has been tried. It was tried at a time when whites made up 20 percent of the population. They will be half of that by the end of the century.

And why should anybody believe Treurnicht will succeed where Verwoerd and Vorster failed?

And when will they be able to begin to push through their approach?

By present indications, not after this general election whenever it is held. The one after that will be sometime in the mid-90s and we will be much, much further down the road towards making SA one country.

Should the CP get into power sometime in the '90s, it would be far too late to try then what Verwoerd could not do when the world was not looking, the economy was booming and he had the support of the electorate.

Yet the fundamental desire for those on the CP side coincides with that of many, many Afrikaner and whites in general, namely the right to self-determination.

That is a factor in the broader SA political context which will have to be dealt with — as much as the desires and aspirations of blacks insofar as they are expressed through the ANC and what it sees as its groupings.

This year will be a timely reminder — as much as the Freedom Charter is a reality, so is the Volkswag.

Right wing  
will take  
centre stage  
this year

17/11/88  
ST

304A



# Boshoff forms 'think tank' for the right

*S/Times*  
17/1/88  
(304A)

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

A NEW conservative think-tank to act as a clearing-house for information to rightwing organisations is being formed by Professor Carel Boshoff.

Details of the movement will be made public this week, but Professor Boshoff, a son-in-law of Dr Verwoerd, denied that he was moving into active politics to try to reconcile various conservative groupings.

"I don't see myself as the guru of the conservative movement. I want to render a service rather than fill a leadership position," he said.

## Academic

Professor Boshoff resigned this week from his teaching post at the Dutch Reformed Church's School of Theology at the University of Pretoria to devote himself full-time to his new venture.

"We will stay outside the realm of party politics. We will not recruit members but will be a purely academic organisation concentrating on research and information distribution," he said.

All conservative groups would be able to call on it for help.

"I am not at all perturbed by the proliferation of conservative groupings," he said. "It is typical of a liberation movement. We saw it in the early '70s when the liberals



CAREL BOSHOFF  
"Outside party politics"

were in the ascendancy. There will be much more unity once the conservatives take over power."

He strongly denied that he had been forced by the university authorities or the DRC to resign from his teaching post.

A commission from the church met him last year to discuss his role in the Dutch Reformed League (NG Bond), a conservative pressure group formed to protest against the DRC's decision to open its membership to blacks.

He also had no plans to leave the DRC and join up with the newly formed Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK). His brother, the Rev Adam Boshoff, was one of the DRC ministers to resign and join the APK.

Professor Boshoff said he was still very much involved in the internal debate in the DRC.



# DRIES vs FW

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

**THE FIRST** face-to-face television debate between two political leaders is on track.

It will be a South African first when Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht meet on the small screen.

The National Party and SABC executives have in the past resisted pre-election TV debates.

Both Mr de Klerk and Dr Treurnicht have now agreed in principle to a debate. Mr de Klerk said he would ask the SABC to propose a format and a mutually acceptable chairman would be sought.

Mr Kobus Hamman, the SABC's deputy director-general in charge of news services, said the corporation's stand was that it would accede to a debate if the parties agreed.

The format, length and chairmanship of the debate could all be controversial issues and much bickering may still precede a final go-ahead.

Once agreement is reached, though, the debate could prove to be the most-watched political event on TV in recent times.

The main reason such debates are seldom seen is that it is normally the tactic of a challenger to try to goad his opponent into a face-to-face public debate.

The "title holder" normally ignores the challenge because there is little to gain in his winning the contest if he is already ahead in the field.

## Title

By agreeing to participate, however, the "title holder" opens the possibility that the challenger could win, or at least gain publicity for his views that he might otherwise not have had.

As representative of the party in power, Mr de Klerk can be seen in the role of the "title holder" — although in this case it was he who issued the challenge.

Nevertheless, the fact that there is going to be a debate is already to Dr Treurnicht's advantage.

Mr de Klerk's challenge was made at this week's disrupted NP meeting in Standerton, where a by-election is to take place on March 2. Fists flew and police used teargas to subdue the crowd after rowdy right wingers prevented the meeting from getting under way.

It appeared this week the NP can no longer rely on tactics it adopted after the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging sabotaged a meeting in Pietersburg in 1986.

The NP's senior director of information, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, said the party now advertised meetings under the chairmanship of a particular person. This pre-empts a procedural disruption whereby dissenters try to elect a sympathetic chairman at the opening of a meeting as happened at Standerton.



Squaring up for a showdown — Mr F W de Klerk and Dr Andries Treurnicht

## PW may settle for compromise on election

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

AN early general election this year has been ruled out, but speculation continues that March 1990 has been earmarked for the country's next national poll.

This is the date said to be favoured by Mr Botha as a provisional compromise on the impasse created by the President's bid to extend to 1992 the life of the Parliamentary session that ends next year — and the Labour Party's refusal to allow it.

Parliamentary confidants of Mr Botha have said the President does not favour calling an early election this year in order to avoid what he would see as the indignity of being forced into an election by LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

## Celebrations

Mr Botha has apparently told people in his circle that 1988 is a year for celebrations, not elections. The country's official calendar is crammed with ceremonial dates, including Mr Botha's 10th anniversary as head of state, and the National Party's 40th as the ruling party.

Parliament's statutory five-year term of office expires on September 4 1989. Constitutionally, Mr Botha then has 180 days in which to call a general election — allowing him to have one on the



PW BOTHA  
1990 option suits him

first Wednesday of March 1990 if he wishes.

The 1990 option would suit Mr Botha in a number of ways.

It would credit the tricameral Parliament's "junior partners" with real powers, providing useful ammunition for defence of the system.

At the same time, March 1990 is more than two years away, giving Mr Botha plenty of time to capitalise on people's short memories and to organise matters to his own advantage.

One of these is likely to be a strategy to weaken the LP. Mr Hendrickse believes Mr

Botha will try to split the party.

It would also allow the NP to make a cool assessment of the performance of the right wing in the local authority elections, scheduled for October.

The 1990 option may suit Mr Botha in a far more personal way, too.

He confided in a member of his circle some months ago that his principal reason for wanting to postpone elections to 1992 was to create an opportunity for him to retire at the end of 1988.

## Adequate

Mr Botha's concern would be for his successor to have enough time to establish himself in the job before going to the voters.

However, the idea of moving elections for the three Houses of Parliament from a general affairs function to an own affairs issue is being examined.

This would mean the three Houses would be elected independently for their respective five-year terms, much the same as the two Houses of the US administration are.



SUNDAY TIMES, January 17 1981

# AN

## Tune in for what could be the biggest political bun fight ever on TV

304F

### Tactics

The NP also decided to place "right of admission" signs outside meetings. This allowed organisers to call on police to enforce the right, if needed.

Dr. Geledenhys could not confirm that these measures had been used at Standerton. He said disruptive tactics similar to those of the AWB, used by the NP in the past, took place in a different political climate when violence was not the political instrument it is today.

"We can't condemn violence in black politics and then condone it in any form in white politics," he said.

# Idasa man's July murder still open - Ciskei police

CP Correspondent

THE investigation into the murder last year of Eric Mntonga, Border regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, is continuing, a spokesman at the publicity directorate of the Ciskeian police confirmed this week.

Mntonga, a former member of the Mdantsane Committee of Ten and a prominent member of the South African

17/1/88 (304A)  
Allied Workers' Union - which is banned in Ciskei - was found dead in his car near Tamara, Ciskei, in July last year.

A post mortem found he died of severe head wounds.

Stating that the case was "still open," the spokesman for the Ciskeian police said: "Any time we get a suspect, we will inform you."

While the investigation was continuing, he added, there could be no inquest. - Ana.



Eric Mntonga



# Axeed Minister refuses to quit

Cape Times 18/1/88

304A 287

By CLARE HARPER  
Education Reporter

**AXED Minister of Education and Culture, House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, announced he would not resign his portfolio last night and said it was the prerogative of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to "hire or fire" him.**

But the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, later told the Cape Times that Mr Ebrahim "clearly does not understand Parliamentary convention".

"I have followed the first convention by asking him to resign. Tomorrow I shall be going to the State President to ask him to cancel his appointment," he said last night.

Mr Hendrickse said that it was by convention that the leader nominates ministers who are then appointed by the State President.

Parliamentary sources said last night it would be "unprecedented" for the State President to refuse.

Earlier Mr Ebrahim said he was within his rights to support the postponement of elections until 1992. He told the Cape Times he was asked to resign from the Ministers' Council by Labour Party leader

Mr Allan Hendrickse because he was evidently "not in agreement on strategies".

"We are fighting an unacceptable and corrupt education system. Whomever is minister is irrelevant," Mr Franklin Sonn, president of both the Cape Teachers' Professional Association and the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa (UTASA), commented.

Mr Yusuf Gabru, president of the Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU), dismissed Mr Ebrahim's firing as "irrelevant".

Mr Ebrahim, who is also the leader of the Cape Peninsula region of the LP, said he was given a mandate by the Cape region to propose the amendment which opposed that of Mr Hendrickse's congress in Pretoria to hold elections in 1989.

## Apology

Earlier this month the Labour Party congress endorsed a motion that unless the Group Areas Act was scrapped it would not give support to an amendment to the constitution that would allow elections to be delayed until 1992.

• Sapa reports that the director general of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, apologized to Mr Ebrahim over a radio news report broadcast yesterday.

A statement by Mr Eksteen was read on SABC TV News last night saying a radio news bulletin yesterday inadvertently said the political staff of the SABC reported that Mr Ebrahim made "a number of blunders since his appointment in 1984".

"This does not represent the SABC's standpoint and the corporation is not aware of any such blunders that Mr Ebrahim might have made."



Mr Carter Ebrahim



Mr Allan Hendrickse

# New party to be launched

A NEW political party which aims to transform SA, its economy and its image, is to be launched in Johannesburg tomorrow by women's rights campaigner Adeline van der Spuy.

She described the Universal Bond Party's manifesto as an "evolution of democracy".

Van der Spuy said: "I have been preparing for this for 18 years.

"I have come to the conclusion that we need a total transformation of our country, our economy, our image —

SUSAN RUSSELL

everything."

"We are not correctly constituted — it is a very serious situation.

"I intend to take advantage of it. We are planning to move into that gap."

The party had four main objectives: stabilise the constitutional situation, get own currency, transform the call-up and education.

Van der Spuy said the party also wanted to give dignity back to black people as well as their land.

"We have worked it all out. We have changed the borders and we will show it to people on Tuesday," she said.

Another party aim was to oust the National Party from power.

"We want members of the National Party to join us."



PRESIDENT P W BOTHA has  
refused to dim-

January 19, 1988

A CONSTITUTIONAL crisis may be looming following the refusal of Minister of Education and Culture Mr Carter Ebrahim to budge from his post after being fired by his boss, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

Labour Party sources are convinced that the National Party lies behind axed Mr Ebrahim's refusal to resign from his post.

They said that it was clear that the National Party was trying to use Mr Ebrahim to crush Mr Hendrickse and to remove his opposition to President Botha's plans to postpone the next general elections to 1992.

Labour Party insiders are sure that Mr Ebrahim has been advised by the National Party to refuse to budge. They fear that this might mean that President Botha could refuse to endorse Mr Hendrickse's decision to fire him.

Constitutional experts said yesterday that President Botha would provoke a constitutional crisis if he refused to endorse the firing of Mr Ebrahim.

# Crisis may be looming over firing of Minister

## Advice

A spokesman in the President's office would only say that it was the President's constitutional right to appoint and dismiss members of Ministers Councils.

Mr Hendrickse himself said yesterday that though the State President had the constitutional right to refuse to endorse his decision, "Westminster convention demanded" that he should accede to the request from him.

He said the situation was similar to that of the Queen of England who formally had the right to appoint members of the government but in fact always followed the advice of the prime minister.

Mr Hendrickse said he would be drafting a letter to the State President asking him to dismiss Mr Ebrahim. The letter would be delivered to the State President at Tuynhuis at about lunch time.

The National Party establishment has showed signs of mobilising behind Mr Ebrahim.

SABC television gave him a lengthy interview on Sunday while Mr Hendrickse had none, and SABC director-general Mr Riaan Eckstein personally apologised to Mr Ebrahim for a report earlier which said that Mr Ebrahim had made several blunders in his portfolio.

## Elections

Mr Hendrickse wrote to Mr Ebrahim last Monday asking him to resign because of his opposition to Mr Hendrickse's decision not to give the go-ahead for the postponement of the elections until President Botha scrapped the Group Areas Act entirely.

A major power struggle between Mr Hendrickse and Mr

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT



PRESIDENT Botha.

Ebrahim has been brewing since the labour Party's national congress in December at the Skilpadsaal, Pretoria when Mr Ebrahim spoke out against Mr Hendrickse on this issue.

He said Mr Hendrickse's tactics were contrary to the spirit of negotiation and co-operation with the Government of

the day in which the Labour Party had entered the system in 1983.

It was obvious then that Mr Hendrickse was highly displeased and there were strong suggestions — not denied by Mr Hendrickse — that Mr Ebrahim's position was in jeopardy.

The Labour Party has for some time feared that



REV Hendrickse

the National Party is trying to sow dissent in the ranks of the party in an attempt to break off a faction of the party that would support President Botha's plans to postpone the elections.

The strategy is based on the knowledge that several members of the Labour Party caucus fear that if they have to go to the polls again in 1989, they will not have yet served the seven-and-a-half years necessary to qualify for a pension.

## Threat

The size of this faction is unknown. Mr Hendrickse himself said yesterday that he did not think it was more than 10 of the 71 serving Labour Party MPs.

But if this faction combined with the new United Democratic Party of Mr Jac Rabie it would represent a sizeable threat to Mr Hendrickse, though not necessarily a big enough one to unseat him.

Much of the opposition to Mr Hendrickse in the House of Representatives is based on criticism that he has been too co-operative with the National Party and so it would be inconsistent for these MPs to oppose him on this issue.

Mr Ebrahim would not comment on the issue at all yesterday.



## The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting

media directly. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publi-



# Business Day

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20 1988

50c (45c + 5c tax)

L and CAPE 80c (71c + 9c tax)

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

For ge

## PFP 'Young Turks' sharpen up their swords

DOMINIQUE GILBERT  
Chief Reporter

"YOUNG Turks" in the PFP are to hold a "think-tank" meeting in Port Elizabeth next month to discuss the direction and extensions to the political base of the party.

Party leader Colin Eglin has not been informed about the meeting, but the PFP's Robin Carlisle last night said Eglin would today be invited to attend the meeting if he so wished.

Eglin confirmed Carlisle had tried to contact him and said he would speak to Carlisle today.

A main PFP organiser described the meeting as a "desperate" bid to "do

something sensible and rid the party of its inertia".

Several PFP members yesterday pointed out the party's federal executive was to meet mid-February where similar issues were to be discussed.

Carlisle, said to be the organiser of the meeting, said he was not alone in organising what he termed an "informal gathering". He stated emphatically the meeting had "nothing to do with Young Turks breaking away".

He said: "I am 46 and by no means a Young Turk."

On the meeting, he said: "It is an attempt to preserve liberal values in SA. Of prime concern is the maintaining and the strengthening of the PFP which is the last refuge of liberal values. To destroy it would be disastrous."

A source said some of those who would take part hoped it would lead to various alliances with coloured and Indian representatives in Parliament "who are beginning to show they can wield political power" and, possibly, even the Independent Movement's Denis

Worrall.

He said while the meeting was not organised in an attempt to bring about a break-away, there was a distinct feeling within some quarters that the PFP should disband and that a major split in the PFP could result.

Former PFP MP Brian Goodall confirmed he would attend the meeting. He did not expect it would lead to a split within the party and said: "To put it into perspective, the left in SA is in shambles. This cannot continue but the

● To Page 2

## PFP 'Young Turks' sharpen their swords

PFP is still the only vehicle for liberalism.

"We will be discussing the political future of liberalism. This is an important meeting."

But Carlisle said: "This meeting is no power set-up and not of great significance. It flows out of the last federal council meeting in Johannesburg in November which also considered the prime topic for discussion in left-leaning parliamentary circles for sometime."

PFP's Peter Soal, who will not attend the meeting because "Parliament will be in session", said he was aware the

From Page 1

meeting would take place. However, as far as he was aware, it would not involve a major split or concentrate on the recent leadership issue in the party and would cover ground which was to be discussed by the party's federal council.

Carlisle said only PFP members, including some from the caucus and regional bases, would attend the meeting but could not say how many would be present.



# PFP backs LP's call for Dias boycott

By BARRY STREEK

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday backed the call by the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, for a boycott of the Dias Festival unless all beach apartheid was lifted.

The PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, said the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, had the power to resolve the present confrontation by simply declaring the whole Cape Province coastline open.

"That's the only morally correct

policy to adopt," he said.

"If his long-standing foot-dragging on open beaches (particularly in the case of Port Elizabeth) is a guide to his personal views, however, it seems that Mr Louw is personally a believer in beach apartheid.

"In that case he deserves all the opposition he is now receiving to his pet project, the Dias Festival, and I wish Mr Hendrickse strength to his elbow in the stand he has taken."

Mr Hendrickse was "quite right to insist that all beach apartheid be lifted, permanently and not temporarily,

as a precondition for any participation by the coloured community in the Dias Festival.

"It is naive nonsense for Mr Louw to suggest that the Dias Festival is a purely cultural event," Mr Hulley said.

It has also been reported that the chairman of the Cape Regional Dias Festival Committee, Professor Richard van der Ross, said he supported the Cape Festival because there was not the "slightest hint" of apartheid.

## Gardens restoration proposals

Municipal Reporter

MRS Gwen Fagan, a well-known architectural and botanical researcher, should be appointed to study the history of the Company Gardens, the town planning committee recommended on Monday.

The research project, for which Mrs Fagan would be paid R12 500, would be the precursor to the drawing up of proposals for the restoration and improvement of the Gardens.

The city planner's department also recommended that Mr John Rorke of the Kirstenbosch Herbarium should be engaged to assist Mrs Fagan in drawing up an inventory of all plants in the Gardens, along with their ages and life expectancies.

## Terrorism prevents peace in SA — PW

BEST thing on the box in the first half of the week



# Ebrahim Shovdowm: Hendrickse hits back

1/6/85 20/1/88

304A



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

The Rev Allan Hendrickse makes a point during his Press conference today. With him is Mr Chris April, Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Representatives.

By TOS WENZEL, Political Correspondent  
A SPECIAL Labour Party caucus meeting has been called for tomorrow to demonstrate to President Botha that dissident Minister Mr Carter Ebrahim does not enjoy significant support in the party's parliamentary ranks.

Making this announcement today, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, accused Mr Botha of "delaying tactics" by his refusal to dismiss Mr Ebrahim as Minister of Education in the House of Representatives.

Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Botha had turned down such a request although it was supported by the rest of the Ministers' Council in the House and despite parliamentary convention that he should follow advice given to him by the council.

In a letter to Mr Botha, Mr Hendrickse referred to clauses in the constitution, among others that in regard to own affairs the President must act on the advice of the Ministers' Council concerned.

In his reply Mr Botha chose to refer to another clause in the constitution which refers to a Minister enjoying majority support in a House.

Mr Botha said that to help him in the exercising of his discretion with regard to the continued ministerialship of Mr Ebrahim, there must be greater clarity on the measure of majority support for Mr Ebrahim in the House.

Mr Hendrickse said today he doubted whether Mr Ebrahim had the support of as many as six other Labour MPs.

## Split

He thought Mr Botha was waiting for the no-confidence debate in the Representatives early next month hoping a major split would develop in the Labour Party in the meantime.

"I see this as a delaying tactic to allow Mr Ebrahim to build up support which he does not have."

In the meantime a ridiculous situation would prevail in Mr Ebrahim's portfolio of coloured education as he would continue to act as representative of the President but would not be allowed to attend meetings of the Ministers' Council.

He wondered how Mr Ebrahim would be able to function without the support of the council.

Mr Hendrickse told the teachers' corps and students that he hoped the matter would be sorted out as soon as possible.

He also announced that Labour MPs had today walked out of the standing constitutional committee of Parliament, of which Mr Ebrahim is a member, in protest against Mr Botha's failing to honour the constitution.

## "Mockery"

Mr Botha, he said, had made a mockery of the whole concept of own affairs autonomy on which the constitution was based.

It has been obvious for some time that Mr Ebrahim was becoming more pro-Nationalist and pro-Government. This had at times become an embarrassment in the constitutional committee through some of his sharp attacks on the Progressive Federal Party there.

Meanwhile, messages of support for the party had come from regions all over the country.

He thought support for the party was increasing and an

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

P.T.O.



ter. Stones were thrown at the Minister.

NOW WE HAVE THE ANSWER

## Ebrahim showdown in Labour row

(Continued from page 1)

option could be to call for an early election.

The party's head committee is meeting today to discuss Mr Ebrahim's position before tomorrow's caucus meeting.

In his letter to Mr Hendrickse, Mr Botha said he did not want to interfere in the internal political arrangement of the Representatives as long as this took place in a constitutional way.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Botha seemed to be hoping for a major split in the Labour Party which would lead to his losing his position as chairman of the council.

He saw the President's latest action as a retaliation for his

earlier refusal to cooperate in having the white general election postponed till 1992 unless the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

It was "absurd" to hope that there would be a major split in the party.

### LOYALTY

Sketching the background to his clash with Mr Ebrahim, he said that he had expected loyalty to his leadership

If Mr Ebrahim's amendment at the Pretoria congress which called for a more conciliatory attitude had been passed, he (Mr Hendrickse) would have had to resign as leader

Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the PFP, said today that Mr

Botha's reaction was "shocking".

'Here is a case of the President playing small-time politics. After all, Mr Hendrickse is a chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and leader of the majority party.

"Mr Botha's action not only makes a farce of the concept of collective Cabinet responsibility but takes the country one step further away from representative parliamentary democracy and one step closer to domination by the President."

Mr Ebrahim said today that he had nothing to add to his earlier comments. He was staying on as Minister of Education

# PW refuses to fire Minister

24/1/88  
PRESIDENT Botha will not fire Mr Carter Ebrahim as Minister of Education in the House of Representatives unless he has been assured that Mr Ebrahim does not enjoy majority support there.

Mr Botha makes this point in a letter he has sent to the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the leader of the Labour Party.

This was the reason Mr Botha gave for turning down a request by Mr Hendrickse for Mr Ebrahim's dismissal as Minister of Education in the House of Representatives.

Mr Hendrickse's has alleged that Mr Ebrahim has shown disloyalty to him.

In a letter to Mr Botha Mr Hendrickse pointed out certain provisions of the constitutions as well as conventions from the time of the Westminster system. He maintains that the President must follow his advice and pointed out that his request had the support of the rest of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

## Clause

One clause in the constitution lays down that, in matters to do with "own affairs" of different race groups the President must act on the advice of the Ministers' Council in question.

Mr Botha chose to concentrate on another clause which lays down that a Minister must have majority support in a House. It does not state that this must be the support of the majority party.

Mr Ebrahim said yesterday that he had nothing to add to his earlier comment. He was staying on his job as Minister.

The Labour Party's head committee met yesterday to decide on Mr Ebrahim's future and he may be expelled from the party.



Labour walks out of committee

# Botha's 'no' plunges SA into crisis

CAPE TOWN — THE refusal of President P W Botha to dismiss Carter Ebrahim as Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives has plunged SA into a constitutional crisis, with the Labour Party (LP) yesterday staging a protest walkout from the parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs.

In doing so, it has summarily brought to a halt any constitutional legislative developments in the parliamentary pipeline.

The LP, led by Allan Hendrickse, has resolved to boycott the standing committee — of which Ebrahim is a member — until such time as he is fired or resigns as a minister.

Hendrickse said Botha's actions "make a mockery of the constitution" and rendered his party's participation in discussions on constitutional affairs meaningless.

An angry Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, accused the LP of holding up important reform legislation, including freehold rights for blacks.

Heunis said the dispute surrounding Ebrahim's position in the House of Representatives Minister's Council should have no effect on the functioning of Parliament and the possible delaying of freehold legislation for blacks could mean it would take years before freehold rights could be transferred to them.

## Political Staff

He said: "This will inevitably only delay the process of reform in general and improving the quality of life of black communities in particular."

But a defiant Hendrickse said last night that if the constitution was being put aside, as had been done, "it makes a mockery of continuing participation in deliberations about constitutional affairs". He said the LP's boycott action did not apply to other parliamentary committees.

Parliamentarians and political commentators said the crisis threatened to further destroy whatever credibility the tricameral system had left.

The CP said Botha was a victim of his own constitution while the PFP accused him of playing small-time politics.

The LP has called an emergency caucus meeting this afternoon and indications are Hendrickse, who is also chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, will receive an overwhelming mandate from the majority.

Only one LP MP, Nic Isaacs, the regional secretary of the party in the western Cape and MP for Bishop Lavis, has publicly expressed support for Ebrahim, while at the same time expressing loyalty to the party.

Hendrickse said he doubted whether Ebrahim would get the support of six

● To Page 2



P. J. O.

## Botha plunges SA into constitutional crisis

other MPs, while other MPs said he would be lucky if he got five other supporters.

Although some MPs would not discuss "internal" party matters with the media, the overwhelming majority publicly supported Hendrickse.

Hendrickse said he was not surprised but he was certainly encouraged by the support and confidence that had been expressed.

He said: "P W Botha has clearly misread the spirit in the LP, particularly by using words to the effect that he has to have time to find out whether Mr Ebrahim has majority support."

However, he was "hopeful" that the caucus meeting, which he did not expect to last long, would resolve the issue.

Hendrickse said: "I will inform the President about the caucus decision." He also said Ebrahim had been given notice of the caucus meeting but he did not know whether he would be attending.

Yesterday, CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said: "P W Botha is trying to solve the problems he himself created by dividing the LP."

"The President is obviously a victim of his own creation."

He also said the move would radicalise coloured politics and make Hen-

drickse angry. Hartzenberg said: "It is a big blow to the President's intentions — and to his constitution."

PFP leader Colin Eglin said the concept of ministerial responsibility evaporated in these circumstances and demonstrated "a shift to the domination of the President over Parliament."

"It makes something of a farce of the government's own concept of own affairs — in an own affairs House, the President not the House determines who holds positions."

In spite of statements by Botha that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of the own affairs houses, "here is the President directly interfering."

"He is using his office for small-time politics. This should not be the case, but one should expect it from a President who is also the leader of the NP."

Eglin said what was of real significance was not the constitutional details "but the fundamental difference between the government and the LP over the issue of apartheid."

"Until the government comes to terms with this, this kind of constitutional mumbling and bumbling will recur regularly."

From Page 1



By BARRY STREEK

**LABOUR PARTY** MPs yesterday surged to support their leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, in his confrontation with President P W Botha over the attempt to dismiss the controversial Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim.

The Cape Times spoke to 30 of the 71 Labour Party MPs. Only one — Mr Nic Isaacs of Bishop Lavis — was prepared support Mr Ebrahim.

The majority backed party leader Mr Hendrickse, although some were not willing to disclose their views to the press.

The Labour Party has decided to challenge Mr Botha at an urgent caucus meeting today to demonstrate support for their leader — and isolate Mr Ebrahim.

At the same time, opposition parties in Parliament criticized Mr Botha for refusing to dismiss Mr Ebrahim and accused him of jeopardizing his own tricameral constitution.

The Conservative Party said the President was a victim of his own constitution, the Progressive Federal Party accused him of playing small-time politics and the Labour Party alleged he was making a mockery of the constitution.

Last night Mr Hendrickse said he was not surprised by the support, but he was encouraged by the confidence that had been expressed.

### Inform the President

"P W Botha has clearly misread the spirit in the Labour Party, particularly by using words to the effect that he has to have time to find out whether Mr Ebrahim has majority support," he said.

However, he was "hopeful" that the caucus meeting, which he did not expect to last long, would resolve the issue.

"I will inform the President about the caucus decision," Mr Hendrickse said.

He also said Mr Ebrahim had been given notice of the caucus meeting, but he did not know whether he would attend.

Yesterday the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said: "P W Botha is trying to solve the problems he himself created by dividing the Labour Party. The State President is obviously a victim of his own creation.

"It is a big blow to the President's intentions — and to his constitution," Dr Hartzenberg said.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said the concept of ministerial responsibility evaporated in these circumstances and demonstrated "a shift to the domination of the State President over Parliament".

"It makes something of a farce of the government's own concept of own affairs — in an own affairs House, the State President, not the House, determines who holds positions."

In spite of statements by Mr Botha that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of the own affairs Houses, "here is the State President directly interfering.

"He is using his office for small-time politics. This should not be the case, but one should expect it from a State President who is also the leader of the National Party," Mr Eglin said.

What was of real significance was not the constitutional details "but the fundamental cleavage between the government and the Labour Party over the issue of apartheid.

"Until the government comes to terms with this, this kind of constitutionally mumbling and bumbling will recur regularly," Mr Eglin added.

Mr Hendrickse said President Botha's actions "make a mockery of the constitution" and rendered his party's participation in discussions on constitutional affairs meaningless.

● LP 'delay reform' —

# Hendrickse MPs back

Cape Times 21/1/88  
3044

# 'In Govan Mbeki's league

304A  
Sample  
21-27/1/88

PORT ELIZABETH — The Eastern Cape leader of the first black political party to announce its intention to participate in the National Statutory Council claims he was recognised overseas as an authentic national black leader in the same league as Govan Mbeki.

At the Eastern Cape launch of the United Christian Conciliation Party last Sunday, Tamasanqa Linda, also said he was a threat to the African National Congress.

The launch was attended by 130 people, 60 of which were municipal police hired by Linda to protect him during the rally, according to a policeman who declined to be named.

In his speech, Linda, a

former town councillor, accused the United Democratic Front of being manipulated by foreign forces in what he described as the politics of polarisation.

He was against the UDF's "intimidatory tactics", he said.

He also attacked the Progressive Federal Party, saying it was using blacks in the townships for its own political purposes because it was frustrated in Parliament.

Linda said the UCCP would insist on freedom of association for political purposes.

"People should be free to join the political party of their choice," he said.

His party aimed at "bringing about political

change in South Africa and a negotiated settlement for all groups".

This would happen when the UCCP represented blacks "in parliament" in October this year.

Outlining the aims of the UCCP, Linda said his party would insist on devolution of power.

Leaders had to be elected who could come together "to set the course of the country in a single parliament. If the new system is to be hammered out, as seems likely, we want to have a say in its creation," he said.

He called for apartheid and statutory discriminatory laws to be eliminated so that all South Africans might have equal opportunities in all spheres of life. — PEN



# Business Day

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21 1988

50c (45c + 5c tax)

AL and CAPE 80c (71c + 9c tax)

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

**KRUGER RAND**  
UP TO 5 000 WANT  
FOR SPOT CASH  
ROSEBANK (011) 786-1330  
JOHANNESBURG KRUGER RAND EXCHANG

## 60 PFP members for meeting Eglin didn't know about



● EGLIN

ABOUT 60 members of the PFP's second-echelon leadership are to attend the coming Port Elizabeth meeting which was organised without the prior knowledge of party leader Colin Eglin.

Eglin, who was informed about the meeting after Press reports, said yesterday he was not opposed to individuals organising discussion groups but that meetings organised with a degree of conscious exclusion and secretiveness would, in his opinion, run the risk of being "divisive".

DOMINIQUE GILBERT  
Chief Reporter

In light of developments, Eglin said he had suggested to chairman of the PFP Federal Council Ken Andrews to consider bringing forward to February 30 a planned meeting of the extended federal executive.

Although he was subsequently invited to attend the meeting, Eglin said yesterday he had parliamentary commitments and it was "highly inappropriate" for

him to be involved in the meeting now that he was aware there had been selective invitations.

The exclusively PFP meeting is to be attended by most regional and provincial chairmen, some caucus members, defeated candidates in last year's general election, and some constituency chairmen although it is intended mainly for second echelon leaders.

It has been organised by former PFP secretary-general Robin Carlisle, Border region chairman Errol Moorcroft

and PFP strategist Janne Hofmeyer. Lead-in talks will be given by Hofmeyer, political scientist David Walsh and MP Dave Dalling.

Although a final agenda has not been drafted, topics will include the bottom-line and non-negotiables of liberalism and its preservation, and short and long-term strategies which include possible

### Second-tier PFP leaders to meet for talks

groups.

According to sources the discussions will surround possible re-alignments with various Parliamentary groups including Indian and coloured parliamentarians, Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement, and "across the spectrum" extra-parliamentary groups from Denis Worrall's Independent Movement, the Black Sash, the Five Continents Campaign, the Five Freedoms Forum, the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba, Inkatha and the UDF.

● From Page 1

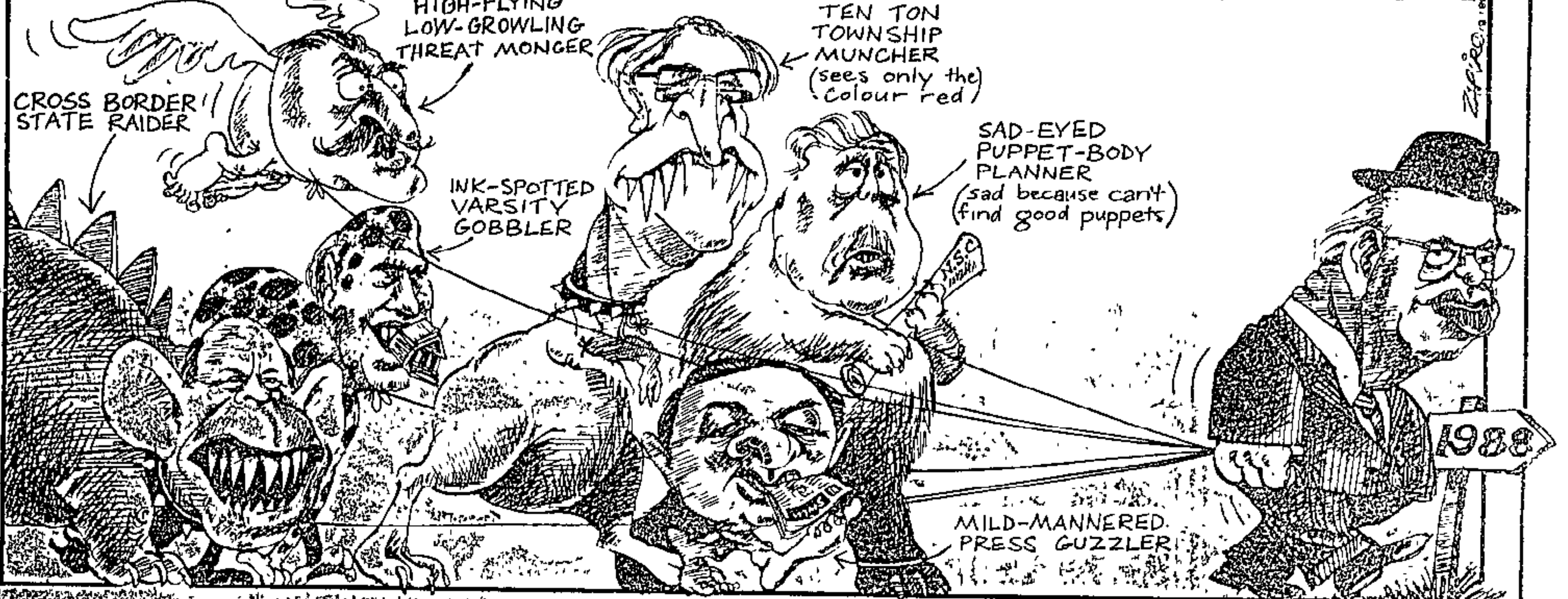
Some anti-UDF delegates say they will lobby for a finer division between the PFP and the UDF because they believe party links with the UDF has a "radicalising" effect. The PFP, they say, should rather aim at unifying moderate liberals into a stronger and effective opposition to government.

Carlisle yesterday denied that defections or a mass breakaway and disillusionment in the PFP leadership had been a motivation for the meeting.

● CARLIS



# THE STATE PRESIDENT TAKES HIS PETS FOR A WALK



THOSE who oppose the Government and its policies will be more severely repressed in 1988 than before. This grim picture emerged when SOUTH asked a spectrum of people committed to change what they envisaged for the year ahead.

Jan Theron, general secretary of the Food and Allied Workers Union: "We're expecting a lot of difficulty in 1988. The Government is moving ahead with its Labour Relation Bill which is the most severe attack on the labour movement since 1976."

"It's a clear attempt to roll back some of the gains workers have made."

"Employers are also taking an increasingly hostile attitude towards trade unions, in particular Cosatu."

"However, we're confident we have the full support of our members which gives us more than enough strength to fight back."

The Rev Lionel Louw, president of the Western Province Council of Churches:

"I think the political crisis will deepen this year as the intransigence of the Government becomes more evident."

"The resistance of the people will consequently harden as they struggle to bring in a new dispensation."

"This situation will increase the polarity between the Government and the people."

"I don't think the church is going to have an easy time. In my opinion it will be subjected to more persecution from the side of the authorities."

Crispian Oliver, chairperson of the End Conscription Campaign in Cape Town:

"There is a new mood of defiance amongst conscripts, many of whom refuse to serve in the SADF, but are determined to remain in South Africa. We will inevitably see many more conscientious objectors this year."

"There will be much pressure on the Government to ease existing legislation around conscription. But while the hawks in the Government hold sway, we will continue to witness a hard-line security approach."

Peter Jones, senior member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo):

"In 1987 there was the stimulation of negative divisions and conflict within the black community and between different components of the broad liberation movement."

"Perhaps in 1988 the leaders of the oppressed people will accept that liberation is a social process; the success of which depends on the successful mobilisation of all sections of the black community."

"Simply put, my appeal is for political honesty and mature leadership in 1988 - one black death is one too many."

## Grim year ahead

WITH South Africa three weeks into 1988 it looks as if the year ahead will be just as grim as last year.

In the past 21 days the death toll in the Maritzburg area has increased by almost 40 as the feud between Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu rages on.

The Director of Publications, Mr Braam Coetzee, has vowed to be more stringent with the media.

The Dias Festival has become a public fiasco.

The Rev Allen Hendrickse sacked Mr Carter Ebrahim, his Minister of Education and Culture.

And Percy Qoboza, valiant editor of City Press, died on his 50th birthday.

What else could unfold in the next 49 weeks?

David Abrahams, secretary of the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco):

"In 1988 we can expect the Government to go all-out to smash organisations like Cayco and Sayco."

"Our priorities this year are to rebuild our organisation and to campaign vigorously for the release of our 40 comrades on Death Row. We will also be calling for the boycott of the municipal elections later this year."

"Despite all odds we have survived during the State of Emergency and we will continue to do so in 1988. The support of our youth will see to that."

Frank van der Horst, president of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos):

"The new year is already marked by a continuous growth and strengthening of Sacos and its affiliates."

"The attack by the Regional Services Councils to take our fields away

or to place them under control of management committees and community councils will be strongly resisted throughout 1988."

"Already major battles are taking place in Elsies River, Atlantis, Kraaifontein, Paarl and Steenberg/Retreat."

"Every sports person and all community organisations must rally to the defence and support of the rights of non-racial sports organisations in their drawn-out battle for control over their sports fields."

Yusuf Gabru, president of the Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu):

"1988 is going to be a difficult year for all concerned with education. The year has started with a crisis created by both the Department of Education and Training and the Department of Education and Culture."

"By closing schools and making students register at central venues



Lionel Louw



Lionel Davis

venues against the wishes of the community, the DET has shown that it will do everything in its power to disrupt and close the schools."

"The transfers of Duke Ngcukana and Peter Carls are a clear indication that progressive teachers will continue to be victimised in 1988. However, Wectu is convinced that the progressive teachers and their organisations will meet the challenge that faces them in 1988."

John Ernstzen, general secretary of the South African Municipal Workers Union (Samwu):

"This year, much more than ever before, workers must get involved with their union structures at all levels and play a more significant role in union affairs. Unity and organisation are important watchwords because this year we must be prepared to face the onslaught that appears to be coming from the Government."

"We hope that in 1988 municipal

workers will consolidate the gains they made in 1987."

Zubelda Jaffer, community activist and media officer at the University of the Western Cape:

"The time is now to muster all our forces and increase the pressure for apartheid to be finally destroyed. History demands of us a total commitment to this goal."

"Thousands have already given their lives so we can be free. We have to ensure that they have not died in vain. 1988 will be a decisive year in taking us closer to our goal."

Lionel Davis, spokesperson for the Community Arts Project (Cap):

"With increased State repression the role of culture has been firmly placed on our political agenda. The formation of the Congress of South African Writers is an example, and the recent CASA festival in Amsterdam have helped to assist in the awareness of culture as a weapon of struggle."

"We hope to see the consolidation of gains made in '86 and '87. It is not unreasonable to think that the State will try to repress all progressive cultural activity in 1988."

Jan van Eck, Independent MP for Claremont:

"The NP Government will use 1988 to continue with its total onslaught on those to the left and right of it."

"In an attempt to strengthen the Nationalist laager and bridge political divisions between itself and those to the left and right, it will increasingly resort to militarisation by substantially increasing the number of cross-border raids and casing on all 'patriotic' South Africans to support these acts of aggression as being in the interests of South Africa and the maintenance of Christian civilised values."

"To the extent that it succeeds in this political misuse of the SADF it will effectively undermine the ability of parties to its left and right to get the political issues of racial policies back on the agenda."

"Growth of the parties to the left of the Government will therefore remain small."

Yusuf Pahad, general secretary of the Western Cape Traders Association:

"In 1988 we will see higher inflation and a much higher unemployment. The fiscal drag could increase taxation on individuals."

"Without foreign capital it won't be possible for the Government to achieve a growth rate and they will be forced to find ways of increasing revenue."

"Local companies will probably take over more foreign companies registered in this country. There should also be further expansion of supermarkets and convenience stores in traditional black areas."



# Indaba cuts staff at end of campaign

DURBAN — The Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba has reduced its staff by 14 members to 50 as a result of the organisation's shift from its communication campaign, associate director Peter Mansfield said yesterday.

This reduction in staff reflected a "maturing" of the Indaba's strategy.

The organisation was, however, recruiting additional staff for its implementation study, which was due to begin this year.

Last year the Indaba was active in a "highly intensive and successful communications campaign" involving more than 100 meetings a month.

## Proposals

Millions of pamphlets outlining the Indaba's proposals were also distributed, Mansfield said.

This activity would continue at a lower level of intensity in 1988, though its focus would "shift to negotiation regarding the proposals" and an implementation plan.

The coming year would be less labour intensive and the decision to cut staff reflected this reality, he said.

More than 3 000 individual and corporate donors had given their support to the Indaba, Mansfield said, and indications were that a similar level of support could be expected in 1988. — Sapa.

30/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

28/11/87

# Row brews in PFP over meeting without Eglin

ARGUS 21/1/88 (3064)

## Political Staff

A MAJOR row is brewing in the Progressive Federal Party over a controversial strategy meeting planned by the party's "second echelon".

Mr Colin Eglin, party chairman, said he would not go to the meeting because it was organised in secret and he was invited only after reports appeared in the Press.

Other PFP sources denied this and said they approached him earlier but were "stone-walled".

## Liberal values

It is clear, though, that plans for the meeting in Port Elizabeth — to discuss the future of liberal values and the PFP's role — were well advanced before Mr Eglin was told.

After the strong opposition from Mr Eglin the meeting now seems to be in jeopardy. Mr Eglin said he was not opposed to PFP members "throwing ideas around", but because of the way the meeting was organised it would be "divisive".

Asked if he would try to stop or discourage it, Mr Eglin said: "I've made my point of view on the meeting very clear. If people decide to go ahead with it, in spite of the opposition of the leader, then they must."

Mr Eglin also indicated that he regarded the meeting as a slight on his leadership as he and the rest of the leaders had themselves been involved in several "parallel" efforts in same direction — including attempts to form broad alliances with other groups to safeguard liberal values.

"I find this most unusual, especially as a significant number of the people involved have direct access to the extended federal executive of the party."

"I don't want to discredit all the people who are going. I'm not sure if those who accepted invitations knew of the circumstances. They may well have laudable motives."

Mr Eglin said the organisation of the meeting reflected the "frustration of people in opposition to the left of the National Party, especially after last year's elections".

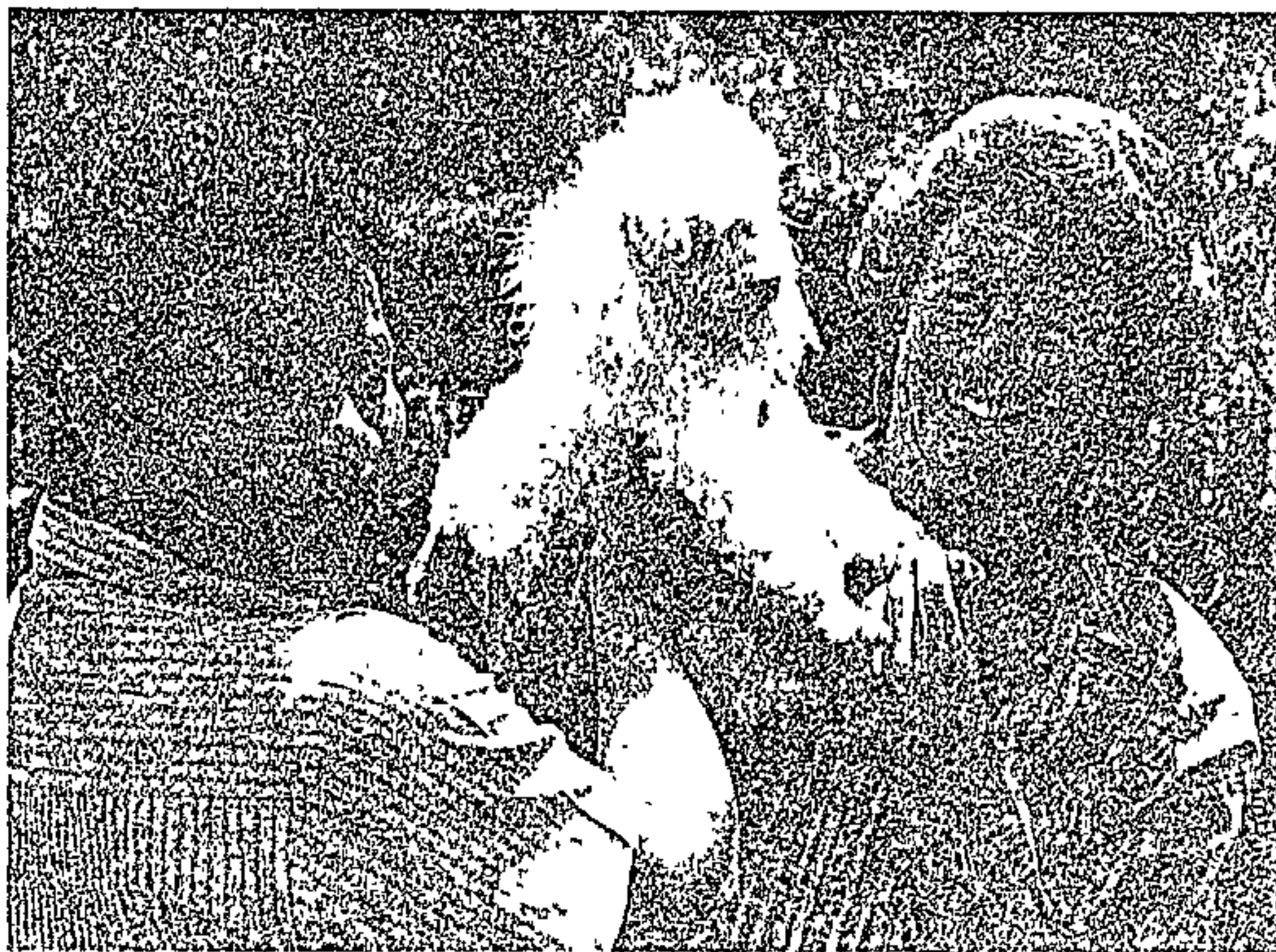
## "Surprised"

A main organiser of the meeting, former PFP secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle, said he was "surprised" by Mr Eglin's reaction.

"My view is that nothing should be done which will harm the cause of liberalism or the PFP," he said.

He would not comment on why a need was felt for such a meeting.

The object is to discuss "ways of extending the liberal base", the non-negotiables of liberalism, and strategies, including possible coalitions with other groups, other organisers said.



Picture: IIM McLAGAN The Argus

Ming is reunited with Lady Bromley at her Kenilworth home, thanks to Mr Edward Thomas who found her on December 23.

## Ming enjoyed her fling — now she's back home

By TYRONE SEALE, Staff Reporter

A TOY poodle that disappeared from Kenilworth two days before Christmas has returned home — after a holiday in Durban.

In the weeks following December 23, Ming, who belongs to Sir Rupert and Lady Bromley of Johannesburg, had a fling that would make any human jealous.

From Kenilworth she went to Mitchell's Plain, met a new family and a new canine friend, had a holiday in Durban and travelled back to Mitchell's Plain, thriving on the love of her new family.

## INSEPARABLE

Lady Bromley takes up the story: "We came to Cape Town on December 11 to bring our son to boarding school and brought Ming along because we felt she might be lonely."

"She and her mother had been inseparable until her mother died a few months ago."

"On December 23 we left her at our cottage and when we returned she had escaped."

"We placed an advertisement in The Argus, and I called the SPCA, the Animal Anti-Cruelty League, animal hospitals and other places."

Meanwhile, on December 23, animal lover Mr Edward Thomas of Mitchell's Plain bumped into the lost dog in Kenilworth.

"The dog seemed completely lost and lonely. I took her home with me, fed her and she was fine after that," Mr Thomas said.

She was renamed Tracy and introduced to Spotty, the family's terrier.

"They got on very well and when we left for Durban on holiday I took both of them with me. Tracy was extremely attached to me and I loved her very much."

"When I came back this week, I wanted to get Tracy back to her owners. I looked through old copies of newspapers and eventually found the advertisement about her."

"It was difficult parting with Tracy, but I felt better once she was back with her owners."

The poodle was returned to Lady Bromley yesterday.

"I was astonished when Mr Thomas contacted me, she said."

"I'm glad to have her back. It's obvious she liked Mr Thomas very much."

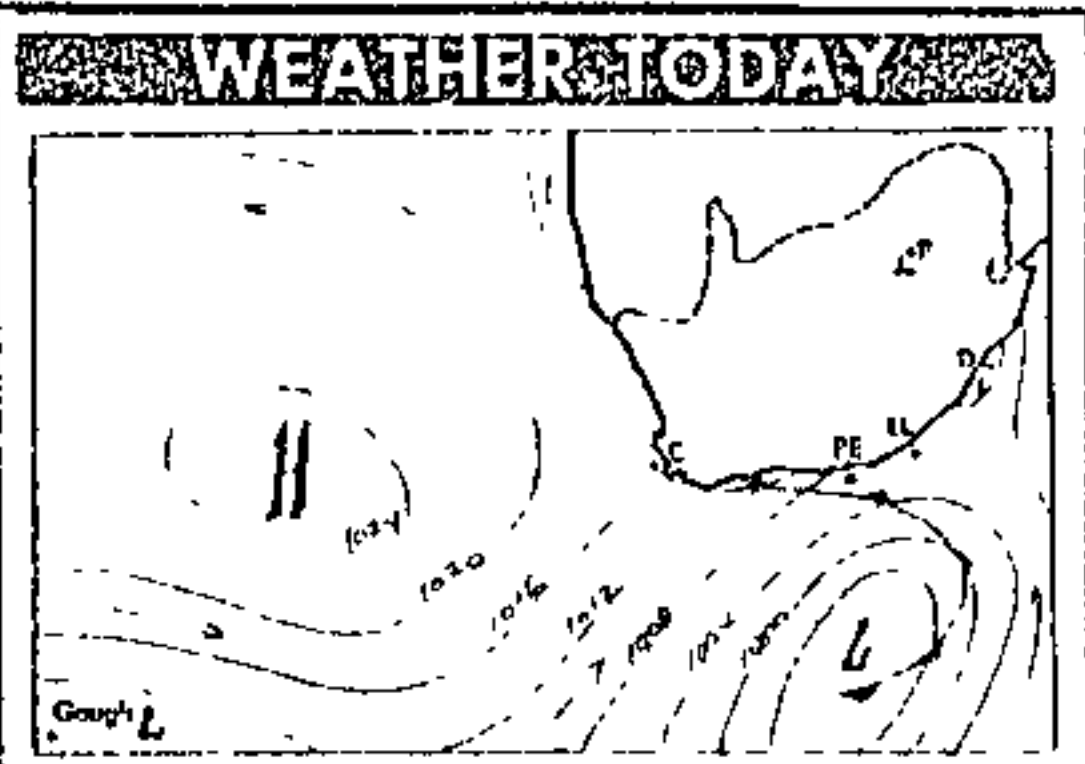
## House 'repairable' after freak accident

Staff Reporter

SEVEN families occupying a Bree Street house which was badly damaged when a runaway lorry smashed two bedroom walls will be able to continue living there.

The anxious families were warned the house might have to be demolished after the accident on Tuesday.

However, after an inspection by a city council engineer the house was pronounced "repairable".





21/11/88 8900y (P) 304A

DURBAN — Support for the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba remained strong, a new survey said yesterday.

## Indaba support 'still strong'

The market research survey canvassed 1 002 white voters from six Natal constituencies — Maritzburg North (NP), Durban Central (NDM), Umbilo (NP), Durban North (PFP), Umhlanga (NP) and Pinetown (PFP). The survey, conducted by Research Surveys last month, showed that 54% of the people tested supported the Indaba proposals for an elected, power-sharing government for the region, against 13% who rejected them.

Another 21% were neutral, with the remaining 12% "don't knows or can't say". "The survey also shows majority support for the Indaba within the ranks of NP voters,

with 40% supportive compared with 23% opposed," an Indaba spokesman said. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha is a party to the Indaba.

In reply to the question "in a general election which party's candidate would be ideal" 40% said the NP, followed by 21% for the PFP. The Worrall-led Independence Movement gained 15%, the CP 4%, Wynand Malan's NDM and the NRP 3% each.

Indaba director Professor David van Wyk said he found the survey results "gratifying" for several reasons.

He said the results corroborated "entirely" results of previous research conducted

by a different market company. In addition, the Indaba support-base among white voters had "firmed and expanded" despite the belief by some that last year's election results were a "major reverse" for the Indaba.

"Thirdly, and mainly, because they show that the degree of our acceptance within the NP continues to grow steadily.

"Being aware as we are of the critical importance of governmental approval of our proposals, we cannot help but be pleased by confirmation of the extent of NP voter support for the Indaba and the process of change generally," Van Wyk said. — Sapa.



© BUTHELEZI

304A  
21/1/88

NEWS FOCUS -

# Broedertwis divides former Nat bastion

"STANDERTON is Conservative Party territory — the Nats are dreaming."

This CP slogan may be wishful thinking, but it adequately reflects the bitter political *broedertwis* tearing the small eastern Transvaal town apart.

At stake is victory in the March 2 by-election constitutionally forced by CP MP Rosier de Ville's disqualification for being a state employee when elected to Parliament last year.

De Ville is confident of holding the seat, but he is facing a charged-up NP eager to regain stature after its humiliating defeat in rural Transvaal during last year's general election.

## Turning point

Historically, the Standerton constituency symbolised NP victory. It was here that General Jan Smuts, then Prime Minister, was defeated by General J B M Hertzog's secretary Wennie du Plessis in the 1948 general election which put the Nats into power.

Sacrificing Standerton to the CP in the May 6 election may still be remembered by Nats as another turning point — the day the first of their former rural strongholds fell into the hands of their new, right-wing opposition.

NP candidate Hennie Erasmus is putting up a brave fight with the help of efficient NP machinery. In terms of manpower, money and resources, it is a difficult show to beat.

But Erasmus is facing a tough conservative electorate. Right-wing sentiment is rampant among the mainly farming and blue-collar constituents. And CP candidate De Ville is cashing in on his electorate's gripes.

"Eskom and the miners cost us

## ELSABÉ WESSELS



□ TREURNICHT ... nominated the election," a Nat party worker said, underlining the problems facing his party.

Nats acknowledge that dissatisfaction is rife among white mineworkers at Evander, a notorious Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging stronghold. Most of the miners blame their misfortunes on the rise of black trade unions on the mines.

Eskom workers in Standerton and Volksrust have been vociferous about working conditions at power stations in the area. Although Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk promised to "look into the matter", CP talk is whipping up strong anti-government feeling among white workers.

Although the largely conservative agricultural community had provided Nats with a "safe seat" in the past, disgruntled farmers were fast losing faith in government's maize-price fixing and subsidy control, De Ville said at the CP office.

"We are fighting on bread and butter issues," he added.

There is still acrimony between De Ville, former NP regional manager, and the Nats over his defection to the CP. The 1983 advent of the CP split traditional NP followers down the middle.

And although the HNP has nominated Attie Treurnicht, brother of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, to take part in the three-cornered fight, there is no sign yet of HNP participation, which means increased CP support from the right wing.

## Formidable

Several forces are at work. The Nats are relying heavily on the Afrikaans Press and the SABC to capture votes. NP celebrities, including State President P W Botha and several Cabinet Ministers, have been called on to address crowds to help their side secure a victory.

While they lack Cabinet stars, the CP has a formidable ally in AWB leader Eugene Terre'blanche.

"Without the AWB, the strengthening of a right-wing alliance would not have happened so fast," says De Ville. The AWB confirms Terre'blanche is to address several meetings in the constituency before election day.

To a certain extent, CP and NP chances are even. The CP captured the seat with a 952 majority last year, while the Nats secured a 2 181 victory in 1981.

"Over-confidence lost us the seat. We forgot how to work," says NP regional manager Nic Oosthuizen.

Now the party machinery has been turbo-charged to avenge the humiliation.

But the CP is committed to holding this "prime seat" to prove its supremacy in the north.

(Report by Elsabé Wessels of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)



B/10  
304A  
21/1/88

## Slabbert plans to expand Idasa

INSTITUTE for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) policy and planning director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday he would be spending more time in Johannesburg this year to expand Idasa's activities.

Slabbert, who is based in Cape Town where he lectures and runs a

PATRICK BULGER

political consultancy, said he wanted to set up "a more effective office for Idasa in Johannesburg".

He said the organisation at present had a small office in the city. The result of the expansion plan would be that he would spend more time in Johannesburg.

CAG Tribs 21/1/88

# Ex-Nat MP is jailed, won't appeal

304A

Own Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM. — Lawyers acting for former deputy minister of co-operation and land affairs Hennie van der Walt will not appeal against the effective five-year jail term he began yesterday.

Van der Walt, 52, was sentenced here by regional court magistrate Mr P A J Kotze yesterday to 10 years' jail, half of which was suspended, for financial and land transactions he conducted on behalf of clients while he practised as a lawyer at Sannieshof from 1970.

He originally faced 28 counts of fraud, alternatively theft. He admitted 15 counts of theft, of which the court convicted him.

Delivering a one-hour verdict, in the presence of the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr Louis le Grange, and Conservative Party MP Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Mr Kotze said there were mitigating circumstances. Van der Walt had fallen from a position of prestige in society, and had lost both his political and legal careers.

He said Van der Walt was ill with diabetes and had shown remorse for his crime. However, the court had to consider that the crimes were committed over many years and the interests of the community had to be considered.

He said Van der Walt could not have stolen the estimated R800 000 because of any financial need.

The nature of the crime was such that a long prison term was warranted.

A legal spokesman for Van der Walt said yesterday there would be no appeal against the sentence.

When the sentence was handed down Van der Walt shook hands briefly with Mr Le Grange and friends.



3044

THE clash between Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and President PW Botha yesterday moved closer to a showdown in which there can only be one winner.

The LP parliamentary caucus yesterday ratified an earlier decision by the party head committee to expel the pro-Botha rebel, Carter Ebrahim, who serves as Minister of Education and Culture in the coloured ministers' council.

For strategic reasons, however, the LP will only announce the expulsion at a meeting of the Peninsula region of the LP tomorrow.

Ebrahim is the Peninsula chairman and has insisted that he has a mandate from the Peninsula region for his softer approach to Botha. The timing and the venue of the announcement is calculated to crush him in his own region.

Hendrickse's joust with Botha started in August last year over the Group Areas Act. It has since kindled revolt in the LP and become a duel to the death.

As the leader of the rebellion in the LP, Ebrahim has received at least tacit support from Botha, a man who responds vigorously to any challenge.

The simmering crisis came to a head when Hendrickse wrote to Ebrahim last week asking him to resign as Minister of Education and Culture in the "coloured cabinet" or ministers' council.

Ebrahim refused to quit voluntarily, forcing Hendrickse to write to Botha requesting him to sack the LP rebel.

# High noon draws near in the PW vs Hendrickse duel

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Botha, however, declined to dismiss Ebrahim until it was clear whether or not he commanded majority support in the coloured chamber.

Hendrickse's retort to Botha was to charge him with delaying a decision in order to give Ebrahim an opportunity to canvass support.

Hendrickse's letter to Ebrahim was a sequel to the bid by Ebrahim to persuade the LP congress last month to resolve its differences with Botha over the Group Areas Act by negotiation instead of confrontation.

But the LP congress voted overwhelmingly in favour of Hendrickse's demand that Botha abolish the Group Areas Act.

The clash arose from Botha's quest to postpone a constitutionally prescribed general election for all three houses of parliament. The constitution lays down that an election should be held by September 1989.

But Botha, having held an election for whites last May, wanted to defer

the 1989 election until 1992. He was prompted in part by reluctance to engage in political combat with the CP so soon after last year's whites-only poll.

To postpone the 1989 election, Botha needed the concurrence of all three parliamentary chambers.

Hendrickse, however, set a price and tag to his agreement: a commitment from Botha to repeal the Group Areas Act. It was a price Botha could not pay.

Confronted by Hendrickse's challenge, Botha dismissed him from the national cabinet, where he was Minister without Portfolio.

That was in August last year. Early in the same month, Botha castigated LP MPs in a speech to the coloured chamber or house of representatives.

Hendrickse's rebellion against Botha is the fulfilment of a pledge he made when, in January 1983, the LP first decided to participate in the tri-racial parliament: the LP would use its position in parliament to fight apartheid from within.

But for more than two years after the LP entered parliament in September 1984, Hendrickse did little or nothing to satisfy his critics that he had not "sold out".

But a year ago Hendrickse began his rebellion against apartheid from within when he dived into "God's own sea" from a beach reserved for whites in Port Elizabeth.

He was publicly chastised by Botha and forced to apologise. But, faced with criticism from coloured people over his climbdown, he again hoisted the flag of revolt in August when he put a price tag — abolition of the Group Areas Act — on Botha's quest to defer the 1989 election.

Since then relations between Botha and Hendrickse, and between the NP and the LP, have deteriorated rapidly. Ebrahim appears to be outnumbered by Hendrickse loyalists: 76 of the 85 coloured MPs are LP men, all but a handful of whom are expected to declare for Hendrickse. Ebrahim, however, has one factor in his favour.

To qualify for the generous parliamentary pension, coloured MPs have to serve for seven-and-a-half years. If a compromise is reached with Botha, the 1989 election will be deferred until 1992 and even those MPs who are defeated at the polls will be assured of pensions.

Hendrickse, however, hopes that his stand against Botha will recoup lost popularity for the LP in the coloured community.

A tough test of wills lies ahead.





AWB leader Eugene Terre'blanche waves more than the proverbial finger at a black journalist who photographed him at Info man Connie Mulder's funeral last week

BOA

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP



# Ebrahim quits his post

CHT Times 22/1/88

30 C/A



**BREAKING THE NEWS ...** Mr Allan Hendrickse (middle), with the Labour Party caucus behind him, announces the resignation of Mr Carter Ebrahim (on his left) yesterday evening. Picture: OBED ZILWA

By BARRY STREEK

IN A surprise move last night, Mr Carter Ebrahim announced his resignation as the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

Mr Ebrahim, who is to remain a member of the Labour Party, said he would submit his resignation from the Ministers' Council in writing to President P W Botha on Monday.

The Labour Party leader and Chairman of the Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, announced Mr Ebrahim's decision after a three-hour emergency meeting of the party caucus, which was attended by all but five of the party's 73 MPs.

"I have nothing else to add," Mr Ebrahim said afterwards.

His resignation will avert a split in the LP — and avoid political embarrassment for President Botha who earlier this week refused to dismiss

Mr Ebrahim after being asked to do so by Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Ebrahim's backtracking on his stated determination not to resign is a significant political victory for the LP leader and a serious setback for the small group of MPs pushing for a more conciliatory approach to the government.

It is also clear that President Botha's decision not to dismiss Mr Ebrahim backfired to the benefit of the LP leadership, which has now consolidated itself around Mr Hendrickse and his policies.

During yesterday's caucus meeting, which was addressed by Mr Hendrickse and Mr Ebrahim as well as a number of other MPs, speakers stressed that the National Party would gain from a split in the LP but that the only way division could be

To page 2

From page 1

CHT Times 22/1/88

30 C/A

avoided was if Mr Ebrahim resigned as minister.

Towards the end of the meeting, one of his supporters, Mr Nic Isaacs, MP for Bishop Lavis, who had earlier urged party unity, called for a ten-minute adjournment so that Mr Ebrahim could reconsider his position.

After consulting some of his colleagues, Mr Ebrahim told the caucus that he would resign as minister.

Mr Hendrickse is likely to become acting Minister of Education and Culture for the time being.

Mr Ebrahim said afterwards that he had taken the decision to resign "at the meeting".

Mr Ebrahim and Mr Hendrickse are to meet on Monday morning to submit a formal letter of resignation to President Botha, as well as arranging a handover of office.

Mr Hendrickse will also repeat his request to Mr Botha to be made acting Minister of Education and Culture.

No formal resolution was put at the caucus meeting but Mr Hendrickse said he was grateful for the support he had received.

Mr Hendrickse said there was "no talk" of expelling Mr Ebrahim from the party and Mr Ebrahim himself said: "I remain a member of the party."



# Dhlomo: Need for new Afrikaner-Zulu pact

*Cape Times 22/1/88*  
DURBAN. — The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, yesterday called for a new Afrikaner-Zulu covenant of reconciliation to heal the political wounds inflicted on the two groups by the Battle of Blood River.

Addressing a conference in Pretoria on perspectives of the Great Trek, Dr Dhlomo repeated the call made by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the launch of the KwaZulu-Natal Joint Executive Authority last year for a new Afrikaner-Zulu Covenant.

"Finally, to those Afrikaners who interpret Blood River and the Great Trek as justification for the creation of yet another exclusive Afrikaner state in a South Africa of the 1980s, the Covenant would teach a lesson that wars and human conflicts can never be firm foundations on which to build a free society," Dr Dhlomo said.

Blood River had adversely affected relations between Afrikaners and Zulus as the Voortrekkers saw the execution of Piet Retief as an act of utmost treachery on the part of King Dingane, whereas Zulus saw Voortrekkers as scheming land grabbers who were out to rob them of their land.



304A 23/1/88

## BBB supports AWB action

### SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT

The ultra-rightwing Blanke Bevrydings-Beweging (BBB) has "congratulated" the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) on its recent disruption of a National Party (NP) meeting in Standerton.

"We are considering whether we should support the AWB or act similarly," BBB leader Professor Johan Schabert said yesterday.

It was the BBB's standpoint, he said, that "opposing white parties" should be able to state their views. But actions of the NP Government has forced the BBB to reconsider this, he said.

# Idasa plans forum<sup>22/1/88</sup>

Daily Dispatch  
Reporter

EAST LONDON — A forum on democracy in business is to be held here by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) on January 26.

The regional director of Idasa, Mr Steve Fourie, said the evening forum was aimed mainly at business people but anyone interested in democracy would find it interesting.

The subject was a topical one with share in-

centive schemes now the order of the day, he said.

"The traditional position is that there is no democracy in business. If a worker does not like his contract he leaves but there are moves afoot to democratise the business environment," Mr Fourie said.

A Johannesburg-based businessman, Mr Albert Koopman, whose revolutionary ideas on how to run a business are based on participative management, will be guest speaker.



# Left shake-up looms

□ **From Page 1**  
be "urgently reconstructed".

It will take place without Mr Colin Eglin, and his chief lieutenants in the leadership — and in spite of their bid to put out party flames by bringing forward to February 20 a federal council meeting to discuss the same issue.

Large sections of the party have become frustrated at what they see as the leadership's lack of enthusiasm for creating a new opposition deal.

For Mr Eglin himself, the events are already shaping into the severest test of his eventful leadership.

In a bizarre twist, pressure on him to give up the leadership may turn into a hijacking of the rump of the party by its dissidents.

If the prime movers behind efforts to create a new opposition deal have their way, a new party could be established by mid-February.

An NRP group headed by former MP Mr Pat Rogers has had talks with Dr Worrall and is to make recommendations to the party's federal council on January 30.

A federal congress could follow, probably in March, where party members would participate in a final decision on the NRP's future.

There is a strong mood in the NRP that the party should throw its lot in with a suitable new opposition grouping. This would entail the dissolution of the NRP.

Dr Worrall has been in close and regular touch with

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and a firm political understanding is understood to be developing between the two men.

Other personalities involved in the moves are keen that Solidarity should also be involved.

Inkatha leaders, who are keen on co-operating on anti-apartheid tactics with other power groups, have had discussions with Dr Worrall.

Additionally, there is a great deal of affinity between the ideas of Dr Worrall, the KwaNatal Indaba, Inkatha, the NRP, and large sections of the PFP.

## Impatient

The birth of the moves came after last year's May 6 election in which the PFP was trounced and the independents showed great potential.

Dr Worrall later refused to follow fellow independent Mr Wyand Malan further into the extra-Parliamentary field.

In the disarrayed ranks of the opposition establishment interest grew around the political beacon placed by Dr Worrall.

Late last year an impatient group of PFP members got the party to set up a committee to investigate the creation of a new opposition deal.

Little happened, though, and party dissenters ascribed this to insufficient enthusiasm by the leadership "old guard".

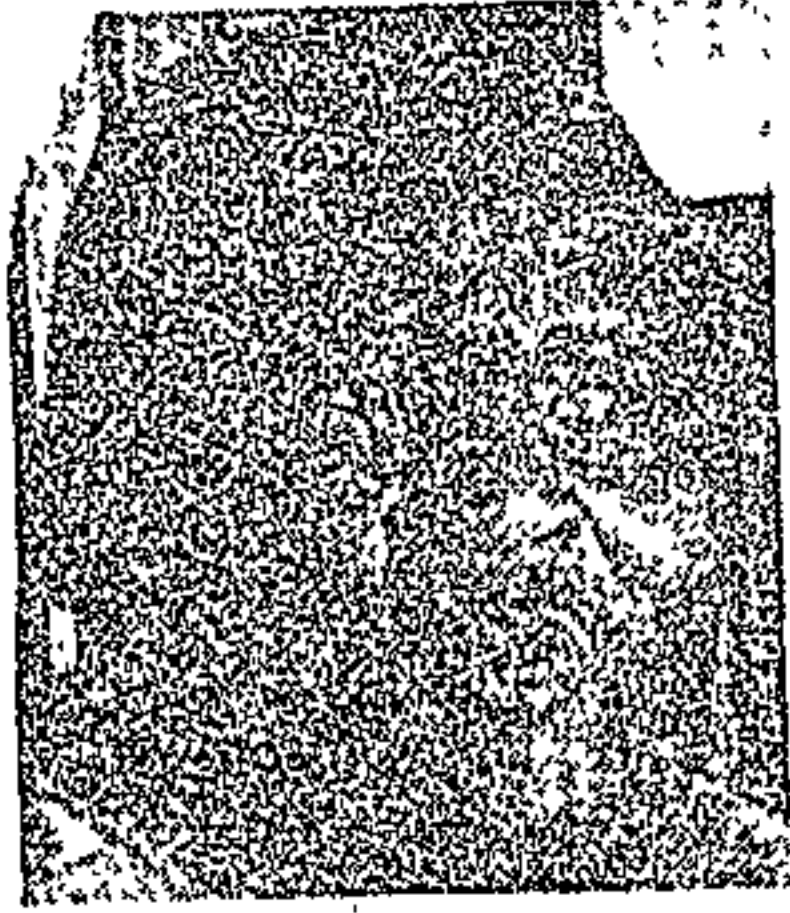
This old guard was identi-

fied by the dissenters as consisting mainly of Mr Eglin, Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Ken Andrew.

None of these was initially invited to the Port Elizabeth meeting. Nor was their fellow federal executive member, Dr Zach de Beer, the party's chairman of finance.

The old guard, in turn, identified the main dissenters as former secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle and former MPs Mr Errol Moorcroft, Mr Andrew Savage and Mr Mike Tarr.

While some sources close to the Port Elizabeth meeting say there is deep dissatisfaction with the leadership, Mr Carlisle said: "The leadership issue is not, and has never been, on the agenda."



Tamsanqa Linda

CP Correspondent

The first black party to announce its intention of taking part in the government's Statutory Council was launched in the Eastern Cape last weekend at a rally attended by less than 130 people.

And according to a municipal policeman who did not wish to be named, over 60 members of the crowd were plain clothed municipal policemen hired by former mayor of the Ibhayi City Council, Tamsanqa Linda, to protect him during the launch of his United Christian Conciliation Party.

The launch took place in Port Elizabeth's Kwazakele Township on Sunday.

# Linda forms new political party to join govt talks

Linda said part of the UCCP's program was to insist on the maximum freedom of association for political purposes, so that people would be free to join whatever political party they wished.

He said he was against "UDF's intimidatory tactics" and alleged that the Progressive Federal Party was using black propaganda in the townships because of its own political frustrations in parliament.

He said the UCCP was aimed at "bringing about political change in South Africa and a negotiated settlement for all groups".

This would happen when the UCCP represented blacks "in parliament" in October this year.

Outlining the aims of the UCCP, Linda said his party would insist on devolution of power. An ideal system had to be developed. There could only be "one answer to the problem". This had to allow the people to choose their own leaders to run their affairs. Those leaders must come together to set the course for the country in a single parliament. If the new system is to be hammered out, as seems likely, we want to have a say in its creation.

Linda, who claimed, he was recognised overseas as an authentic national black leader in the same league as Govan Mbeki, called for apartheid and statutory discriminatory laws to be eliminated so that all South Africans might have equal opportunities in all spheres of life.

Linda disqualified himself as an Ibhayi councillor in 1986 after missing four successive council meetings.

Press  
24/1/88  
3009

ME



## Outcome of by-election keenly awaited

# Standerton poll will set tone for rural politics

304A  
STAR  
25/1/88

By Martin Challenor

Standerton is a typical plateland area, and it is this that makes the outcome of the by-election there so crucial to South African politics.

Three parties are expected to nominate candidates when the Nomination Court sits today. The National and Conservative parties have already named their choices, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party is likely to do so today.

To get around the constituency — it stretches from Balfour to Volksrust, Evander, Greylingstad and Leslie, and is concentrated around Standerton — is a trip of 1 300 km through dairy farms and fields of sunflowers and maize.

At stake in the voting on March 2 is an indication of which way white South Africans want to go. Even a 1 per cent swing will be hailed as a victory by the winners and would be a morale booster ahead of October's municipal elections.

Party workers from the NP and CP camps admit that defeat would seriously set back their parties' fortunes. The contest has become bitter and personal; families are divided and friends split.

### Attorneys

The voters are made up largely of mineworkers and Eskom workers, farmers, and a commercial sector.

Their choice is between two attorneys: Mr Hennie Erasmus of the NP and Mr Rosier de Ville of the CP.

On the one hand is the NP's formidable election machine, which is going all out to win back the seat it captured from Jan Smuts in 1948.

On the other hand are what the CP calls bread-and-butter issues — how much money people have in their pockets.

Watching from the side are people eligible to vote in a House of Delegates by-election on February 2. This group is arguing about a piece of land in



Mr Rosier de Ville . . . Conservative candidate.

Stanwest that was bureaucratically tied up for six years but which the House of Delegates has now made available for houses — although many people say prices are too high.

Also watching on the side are the residents of Sakhile township. A fragile peace has been restored there after a struggle between activists and vigilantes left at least 11 dead.

White politics was also marred by violence when the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging disrupted an NP meeting in Standerton earlier this month.

Mr Erasmus feels the AWB violence has turned many voters away from the CP.

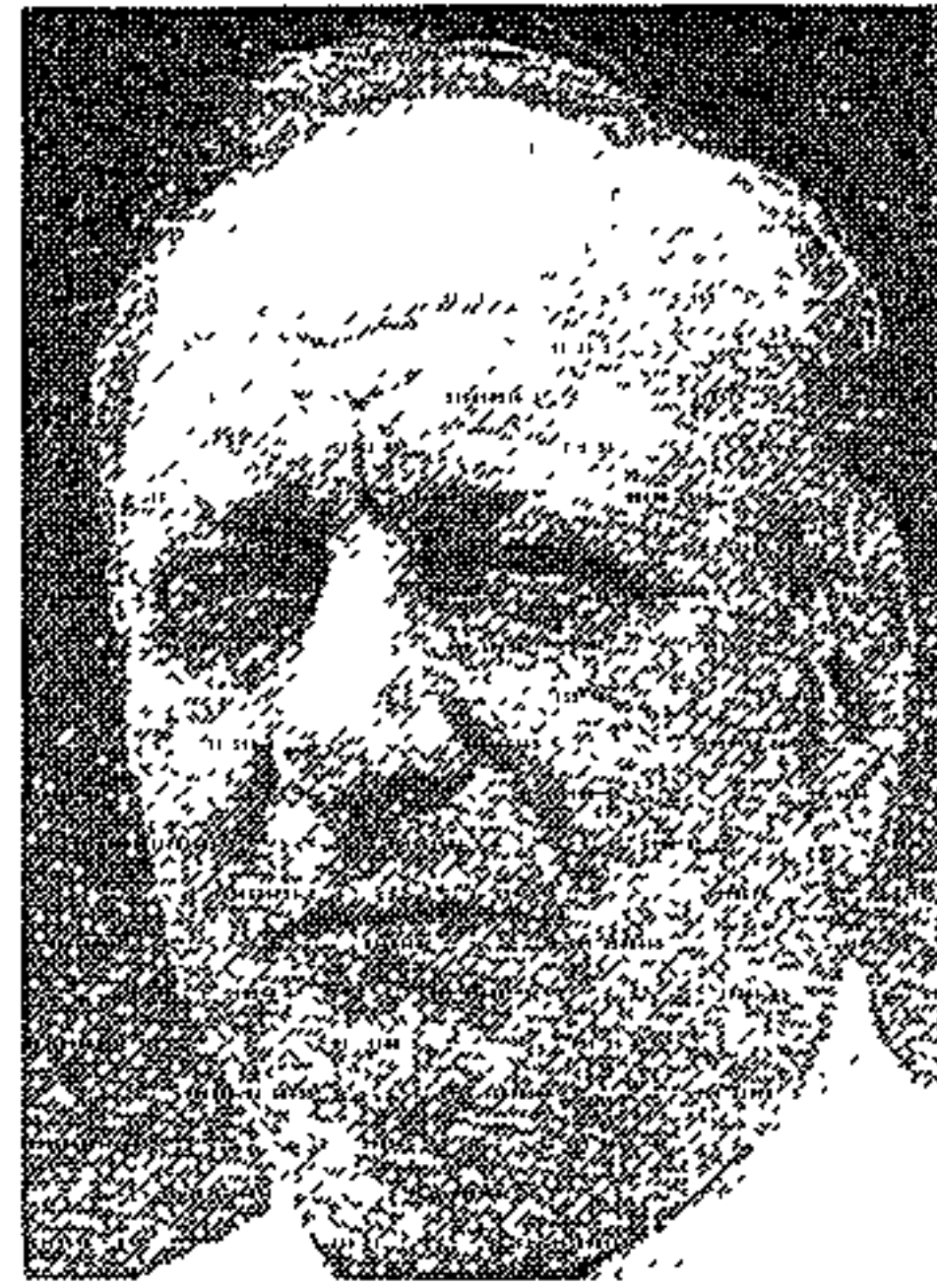
All things considered, Standerton is special because it is so typical. The result, party workers believe, will show how rural Transvaal will vote for the next few decades, and could even influence the timing of the next general election.

Since May the voters' roll has swelled by nearly 3 000 people to 22 474.

Mr de Ville won the seat for the CP in May with a majority of 952, only to lose it again on the technicality that he was a paid deputy sheriff at the time.

A former chairman of the NP in Standerton for four years, he became chairman of the CP branch in 1983.

Mr Erasmus told The Star: "In my view we were on the defensive in May. Now we



Mr Hennie Erasmus . . . Nationalist candidate.

must put to the voters what they are voting for if they do not vote for the National Party. We must attack the policy of the CP, inasmuch as they have a policy. To a large extent, following their policy is a guessing game."

Mr Erasmus (54) is married, has three children and a baby granddaughter, and is "definitely not going to sell out her future".

### Misleading

An NP member for 33 years, he has served on school committees in Witbank, and served as chairman of the Rapportryers and the Afrikaanse Sakekamer. A former mayor of Witbank, Mr Erasmus has been chairman of the management committee since 1982 and sits on a regional services council.

Mr Erasmus said he had discovered that voters had problems over open residential areas and schools, while farmers were concerned about the effects of taking advantage of the volume of money available to them.

He said the CP was misleading blue-collar workers over the Margo Commission's recommendations on pension payouts. This had prompted some people to retire early from the mines, although, he said, this had had a detrimental effect on their situation.

"I am going to win. We work

hard and we get the message through to the people who voted against the Nats without really voting for the CP. Vote for the truth. You cannot allow a lie to govern lives."

Mr de Ville told The Star: "In my view the Nats do not listen to you any more. They do not know what the people who vote for them want. The trouble with the Nats was that everything came from a few people making decisions at the top."

"They just decide this is going to be done, then do it. They do not consult their branches or local people. They will grind a person into the ground if you try to oppose them."

Mr de Ville (50) is married with two children. His task "is to get the Nats out because they are making a mess up of the country".

He has served on school committees in Standerton and was chairman of the Rapportryers and Afrikaanse Sakekamer. He has a farm outside Standerton and several business interests.

His supporters wanted "to see that our country is not given away to the other groups. We do not want everything for ourselves. People have got to have their own country but we are not going to have 17 million blacks ruling over whites and telling me what to do."

"We have a policy of partition — separate countries for each group — which was the NP policy in 1981."

Mr de Ville added: "We have a lot of working-class people in the mines and power stations. Things are so expensive that they can only just make it."

"The other big issue is the black people. Blacks have moved into towns from nowhere. People are also feeling the trade unions for the first time in the platteland. People on holiday saw what went on on the open beaches."

"This is the direct result of the Government's reform process. I just want a place for my people and my children where they can have their own culture and govern themselves."



CHM T1475 25/1/88 BOKA

# PFP talks may pre-empt 'cabal'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE PFP faces an important test of unity and direction in the coming week as the party gathers for a series of key official meetings to thrash out its role in opposition politics.

Indications last night were that the controversial and unofficial Port Elizabeth indaba planned by what has been dubbed a "rebel cabal" within the party's middle-echelon leadership would be called off if the senior leadership was adjudged to have successfully addressed issues troubling the dissidents.

And the Independent Movement last night firmly dismissed a spate of press speculation that its leader, Dr Denis Worrall, might become the next leader of the PFP, saying that the former diplomat was not seeking the position "and would not accept it even if offered it".

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, last night said he had "no direct knowledge" of a challenge to his leadership from possibly disaffected party members or in-

dividuals outside the PFP.

While welcoming regional "think-tanks" as "part of creative politics", he expressed his disapproval of the planned Port Elizabeth get-together on February 6 on the grounds that it was ill-timed (coming as it does on the eve of the critical "censure" debate in Parliament) and that it was likely to be divisive.

Mr Eglin said: "I cannot think of any subject that cannot be discussed at the formal party meetings in the next few weeks."

A leading organizer of the controversial Port Elizabeth indaba, Mr Robin Carlisle, yesterday said the meeting was still "on", but later said it would be premature to comment on whether it would indeed go ahead in view of the fact that there were three "very important" official party meetings before February 6.

Mr Carlisle said it would be "fine" if the issues earmarked for the unofficial meeting were resolved within party structures.

He maintained that there had been "no deceit" in organizing the Port Elizabeth meeting and dismissed as "rubbish" suggestions that party discipline may

have been breached.

"Anything that could lead to a split of the PFP would be an act of criminal proportions," he said.

"People who talk about a split or a break-away — with Dr Worrall as leader — are playing straight into the hands of the Nats."

A spokesman for the Independent Movement, Mr Jannie Momberg, said last night: "Dr Worrall would like to make it clear that recent events in the PFP are an internal affair of that party."

"Nevertheless they underline the urgency for the PFP to get its act together. Only once this is done can co-operation between all members of the creative opposition be realized and a vision of a new South Africa be effectively pursued."

However, Mr Momberg said Dr Worrall strongly favoured broader-based co-operation among "responsible leaders and political groups who share his vision" and to this end Dr Worrall had "initiated extensive discussions" with the Labour Party, "people from the leadership ranks of the PFP", the New Republic Party and Solidarity.



# PW vs Hendrickse in tricameral chess

**T**HE political dynamics of the tricameral parliamentary system are beginning to show some interesting and unique features — fully in line with the unique form of government introduced in 1984. If politicians did not foresee the complications in accepting the system, they are leaving to live with them now.

Far from becoming a machine for inter-racial reconciliation and for consensus government, the system is being used for inter-group manipulation and chessboard political manoeuvring.

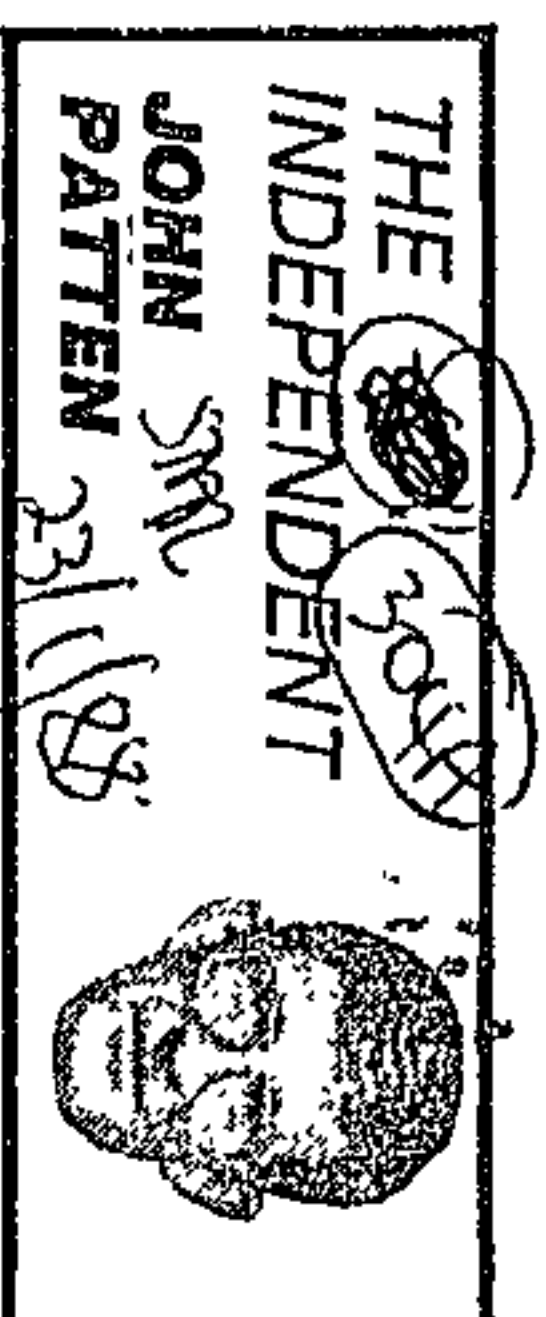
Some of its potential became evident when the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, capitalised on his fallout with President Botha by using his control of the House of Representatives as a means of blocking Government plans to change the constitution.

Regardless of the merits of the plan to remove the need for simultaneous elections of all three Houses at the end of a tricameral term — and there is strong merit in the proposed amendment — coloured opposition has been mustered to seek a political price for their acquiescence: it is abolition of the Group Areas Act.

President Botha this week tried to fight back. The internal squabbles in the Labour Party between ~~Mr Hendrickse~~ Hendrickse and rebel Minister Mr Carter Ebrahim gave Mr Botha a chance to use his constitutional powers to explore divisions in the Labour opposition with a view to removing the obstacles Mr Hendrickse had been placing in his way.

It did not work, because the Labour Party MPs stood solidly behind Mr Hendrickse's confrontation strategy, but Mr Botha thought it worth a try.

Certainly Mr Ebrahim could not have remained in office much longer if Mr Hendrickse and the bulk of the Labour Party refused to allow him to participate in the



Minister's Council, refused co-operation in matters pertaining to his education portfolio, and boycotted all sessions of the parliamentary constitutional standing committee until Mr Botha dismissed him.

Mr Ebrahim's resignation relieved the crisis, but everyone knows the Labour Party victory over Mr Botha will rankle.

It was rather a long shot for Mr Botha to hope to win a majority of the House of Representatives to co-operate with him, unless he made some major concession in the direction of reform — a thing he can ill afford to do while facing tough by-elections against the Conservative Party in seats where the Nationalists are the underdogs.

Ironically, the way Mr Hendrickse is playing his cards, the Labour Party's opposition to Mr Botha's constitutional amendment might prove inconvenient to Labour Party election strategies.

Confrontation with the Government must greatly have increased the Labour Party's popularity with the coloured electorate. So much so that Mr Hendrickse rightly says it might be worth his while to seek a coloured general election. If he did that, he would not also want a tricameral election next year.

He has a tough choice between inconveniencing Mr Botha, in the hope of winning policy concessions, or conveniencing himself in trying to keep political control in the House of Representatives. There has been fascinating power-play at work in the recent situation ... and we've not heard the end of the story yet.



PRESIDENT BOTHA: fighting back.

Cape Times 28/1/88

# NRP meets over future with Worrall

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The NRP meets this weekend to discuss disbanding the party and the formation of a new party led by the Independent Movement's Dr Denis Worrall.

A statement will be issued once the party's federal council has debated the matter.

The federal council is also likely to recommend that a federal congress be convened to lobby the views of all



Mr Sutton



Dr Worrall

provincial leaders and branches of the party.

There has not yet been a decision on a name for the new party.

It is likely the name will steer clear of Dr Worrall's "Independent" tag, because motivators for the new party do not want it to have the appearance of "tattered remnants of the so-called left".

NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton and Dr Worrall yesterday declined to comment, but indicated they would make statements later on the matter.

The thinking behind the move is that the new party could capture

white votes and form part of a "creative opposition" in SA.

While it hopes first to address "the large middle-section of white voters' thinking on security, money and blacks", lobbyists for the party aim to promote the need for government to negotiate with "credible black leaders".

Although Dr Worrall has aligned himself with proposals of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba, and the NRP has been one of the forces behind the Indaba, it is understood the new party hopes to explore wider options for negotiation at second-tier government.

"We do not want to be seen as left of government, but ahead of it," commented one of the prime movers for the new party.

"We need greater overseas confidence in our economy to ward off sanctions. The present government's lack of vision leaves SA stuck in the mud.

"A new approach — which hopefully won't be tainted or misused by government — is needed in order to create trust for negotiations to occur."

He said the government's proposed national council was a "cul-de-sac".

Recent disclosures on the possible establishment of a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance-type strategy by opposition groups was cautiously welcomed by those involved in the proposed new party as having "immense possibilities".

"If a new party can be seen to be included in dynamic coalitions which are appealing to white voters, it would make sense and be very important," a leading NRP official said yesterday.

A  
P  
S  
P  
b  
s



304A B/dm 26/1/88  
Worrall tipped for leadership

# NRP in new development for opposition

A "DRAFT document" that could result in the NRP becoming part of a new opposition grouping has been drawn up by Independent Movement (IM) leader Denis Worrall and NRP members.

Confirming this yesterday, NRP MP Ralph Hardingham said the document would be submitted to a meeting of the NRP Federal Council on Saturday.

While Worrall yesterday declined to comment on his involvement, he issued a statement at the weekend in which he said he had initiated extensive discussions with a wide range of political leaders.

These included Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and "people from the leadership ranks" of the PRP, NRP and Solidarity.

On speculation that Hardingham, sole MP for the NRP, would team up with Worrall, Hardingham yesterday said: "There have been discussions between Worrall and the NRP. No finality whatever has been reached."

Should he join forces with Worrall, the IM would gain the status of Parliamentary representation.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Worrall is being billed as possible leader for an opposition grouping that could involve the NRP.

Hardingham yesterday said it would be irresponsible to pre-empt the NRP Federal Council.

It was for the council to study the document and "express views as to what future steps will be taken".

Said Hardingham: "It is becoming more and more obvious that lack of action on the part of government to implement reform necessitates that reform-minded people must get their act together and work towards a complete realignment of moderate thinkers."

He said government needed to be pressured into taking "more positive action" in the reform process and not to "stall this exercise on account of pressures from the CP".

NRP leader Bill Sutton said yesterday NRP members, including himself, had held discussions with Worrall since before last year's general elections.

As he had been away, however, he was not yet acquainted with latest developments.

# NRP may <sup>306A</sup> <sup>CME TIME 26/1/88</sup> join Worrall

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A draft document which could result in the NRP becoming part of a new opposition grouping has been drawn up by Independent Movement leader Dr Denis Worrall and NRP members.

Confirming this yesterday, the NRP's sole MP, Mr Ralph Hardingham, said the document would be submitted to a meeting of the NRP federal council on Saturday.

While Dr Worrall yesterday declined to comment on his involvement in the realignment of opposition groups, he issued a statement at the weekend in which he said he had initiated extensive discussions with a wide range of political leaders. These included Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse and "people from the leadership ranks" of the PFP, NRP and Solidarity.

There has been speculation that Mr Hardingham was likely to team up with Dr Worrall.

Mr Hardingham said yesterday: "There have been discussions between Worrall and the NRP. No finality whatever has been reached."

Should Mr Hardingham join forces with Dr Worrall, the Independent Movement would gain the status of parliamentary representation.

Dr Worrall is widely being billed as possible leader for an opposition grouping which could involve the NRP.

Mr Hardingham yesterday said it would be irresponsible to pre-empt any decision the NRP federal council might arrive at.

However, it was for the federal council to study the document and "express views as to what future steps will be taken".

NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton yesterday said NRP members, including himself, had held discussions with Dr Worrall since before last year's general elections.



APR 7 1988 27/1/88 3044

# School head faces probe on politics

A PRETORIA high school principal, drawn into a row about alleged right-wing politicking at his school, was charged with misconduct and would face a commission of inquiry, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Plet Clase, announced yesterday.

The principal, Mr J A van Niekerk, of the Hendrik Verwoerd High School, declined to comment.

But the retired Ned Geref church minister who delivered the controversial lecture at the school on October 13, Rev G A Cruywagen, 67, said the government "should expect to be questioned in Parliament this year" on National Party politicking at schools.

He claimed that the content of his lecture before a "spiritual preparedness" class had been based on a book which is prescribed at teachers' colleges, "Spiritual

Resistance against Ideological Terrorism," written by Dr S Roos.

This could not be confirmed by the Transvaal Education Department yesterday.

Mr Clase said in his statement Mr Van Niekerk pleaded not guilty to Transvaal Education Ordinance charges and that a commission would now be appointed.

The three-man commission would be chaired by a magistrate and would be empowered to subpoena people.

This step follows a public row between Mr Clase and the National Party MP for Junesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, which had been sparked by an article Mr Nothnagel had written on the lecture.

Mr Cruywagen earlier said he was not a racist, and did not promote racism, but that he had shown the children a photograph of

black actor John Kani and white actress Sandra Prinsloo kissing.

He had done this to show that the "Illuminati" — the money powers which strove to dominate the world by fusing the population into a Marxist, multi-racial mass — were at work.

Mr Cruywagen denied that he referred to "kaffertjies" in his lecture, and said he had been framed by a "brainpool cell" of informers in the class.

He alleged that schools in fact involved children in NP politicking, and that pupils at a Free State school had been encouraged to visit a combi — carrying NP propaganda — which had been left parked on school premises.

Mr Cruywagen challenged Mr Nothnagel to a public debate and invited Mr Clase to be present as an observer. He said he was a CP supporter and a NGK member. — Napa

# Urban charter to be launched

Cap. T. H. 27/1/88

304A

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A 10-point urban charter, aimed at liberal candidates and voters, is to be launched for the coming nationwide municipal elections and could form the basis of opposition coalitions at local and regional government level.

The charter has been drawn up by individuals in commerce, industry and urban government, and is likely to receive the endorsement of the PFP and other parties.

If successful, the charter may well form the basis for re-alignment on a parliamentary level of parties opposed to the NP, as

well as counter-pressures from the CP.

It will provide a platform for municipal candidates countrywide to unite in a common liberal-based strategy.

While the charter, for which the Independent Movement's Mr Denis Worrall is understood to have expressed enthusiasm, has not yet been released, it is presently being discussed behind the scenes and appears to have been received with interest by a wide range of individuals and groups within parties opposed to the NP.

It is based on principles which include the rule of law, a belief in non-racialism and the maintenance of security. It also deals with proposals for local and regional government, urban services and urbanization.

The October elections have been billed as the first truly high-profile, party-political, municipal campaign yet in SA.

But it is widely felt party politics could be detrimental to local government and should be kept out of local affairs, and several municipal councillors have been alienated from organized political parties.

To date, municipal elections in Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton have been openly fought on a party political basis.

The charter aims to unite liberally-minded, independent, municipal councillors around the country, possibly together with those involved in organized formal political parties such as the PFP.



Box 304 Innetun

28/1/82

# CHIKANE ATTACKS STRAUSS

THE Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday expressed his "shock and disgust" at the visit of the Bavarian president, Mr Franz Joseph Strauss, to South Africa.

In a statement, Mr Chikane said that Mr

Strauss chose "to visit the leadership of the apartheid regime, bantustan leaders and Savimbi and those of Angola rather than to consult the genuine leaders of the oppressed masses of this country."

"Even the Press is now trying to give an impression that Strauss is on a mission of reconciliation, but his intentions are clearly biased.

## Masses

"He stands on the side of the perpetrators of apartheid in South Africa not for the oppressed and exploited black masses of this country.

"It is disgusting that he has not said a word about the suffering of our people under the apartheid system — he

has not talked about forced removals and forced incorporation into bantustans, the detention of thousands of our people, the state of emergency, etc.

## Majority

"Instead he has called for the reception of Bophuthatswana (an apartheid created structure) and support for Unita. What he has advised so far is to give more credibility to the apartheid regime to continue with more confidence in the oppression and exploitation of the black majority in SA.

"I am deeply concerned about his mission in Southern Africa which is geared just to increase our pain and suffering"

— Sapa.

THE NRP this weekend will discuss disbanding the party with a view to the possible establishment of a new party led by the Independent Movement's Denis Worrall.

It is understood that once the party's federal council has debated the matter, a statement or document of intent will be issued.

The federal council is also likely to recommend that a federal congress be convened to lobby the views of all provincial leaders and branches of the party.

There has not yet been a decision on a name for the new party.

It is believed the name will probably steer clear of Worrall's "Independent" tag. A merger with his movement will probably also be avoided because moti-

# NRP-Worrall party debated

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

vators for the new party do not want it to have the appearance of "recycled, tattered remnants of the so-called left".

NRP leader Bill Sutton and Worrall yesterday declined to comment, but indicated they would make statements on the matter at a later stage.

The thinking behind the move is that the new party could capture white voters in terms of an "own programme"

● To Page 2



## New NRP-Worrall party under spotlight

and form part of a "creative opposition" in SA.

While it hopes first to address "the large middle-section of white voters' thinking on security, money and blacks", lobbyists for the party aim to promote the need for central government to negotiate with credible black leaders. Although Worrall has aligned himself

● From Page 1

with proposals of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba and the NRP has been one of the forces behind the Indaba, it is understood the new party hopes to explore more widely means of negotiation at second-tier government.



South 28/1-3/2/88

## Sniggers for new party

304A

THE latest of many political movements to "save South Africa from destruction" was launched last week in Johannesburg, and greeted with some hilarity by the few dozen people who attended.

The political party comes amid a plethora which have sprung up in South Africa jockeying for new systems that could make Southern Africa even more fragmented than the 19th century patchwork of Boer Republics.

Some movements are considered serious alternatives while others are viewed as plain wacky.

Although 1 400 people were invited to the launch of the Universal Bond on Tuesday, less than 80 attended and of those about half left within the first 90 minutes. They spent much of the time sniggering.

The Universal Bond is led by feminist and tax consultant Adelmari Bekker, 45, and her 13-year-old daughter Chanel.

Although only 17 people signed up on Tuesday Mrs Bekker said she expected to recruit 20 million members within the next two years.

DID 28/1/88

# PFP calls off PE indaba, NRP proposes new party

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondents

304A

PORT ELIZABETH —

The unofficial meeting of PFP "dissidents" that sparked a rumpus in the party was finally called off yesterday.

One of the organisers of the Port Elizabeth indaba, Mr Robin Carlisle, said last night that he would no longer be proceeding with the February 6 get together arranged for second-

echelon leaders in the party.

Mr Carlisle said: "I am delighted with the response of the leadership to the need for urgency and I am satisfied that the initiatives can be adequately dealt with at the party meetings which have been advanced to late January and February."

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party will this weekend discuss disbanding the party with a view to the possible establishment of a new party led by the Independent Movement's Dr Denis Worrall.

It is understood that once the party's federal council has debated the matter, a statement or document of intent will be issued.

There has not been a decision on a name for the new party yet.

It is believed the name will probably

steer clear of Dr Worrall's "Independent" tag or a merger with his movement because motivators for the new party do not want it to have the appearance of "recycled, tattered remnants of the so-called left".

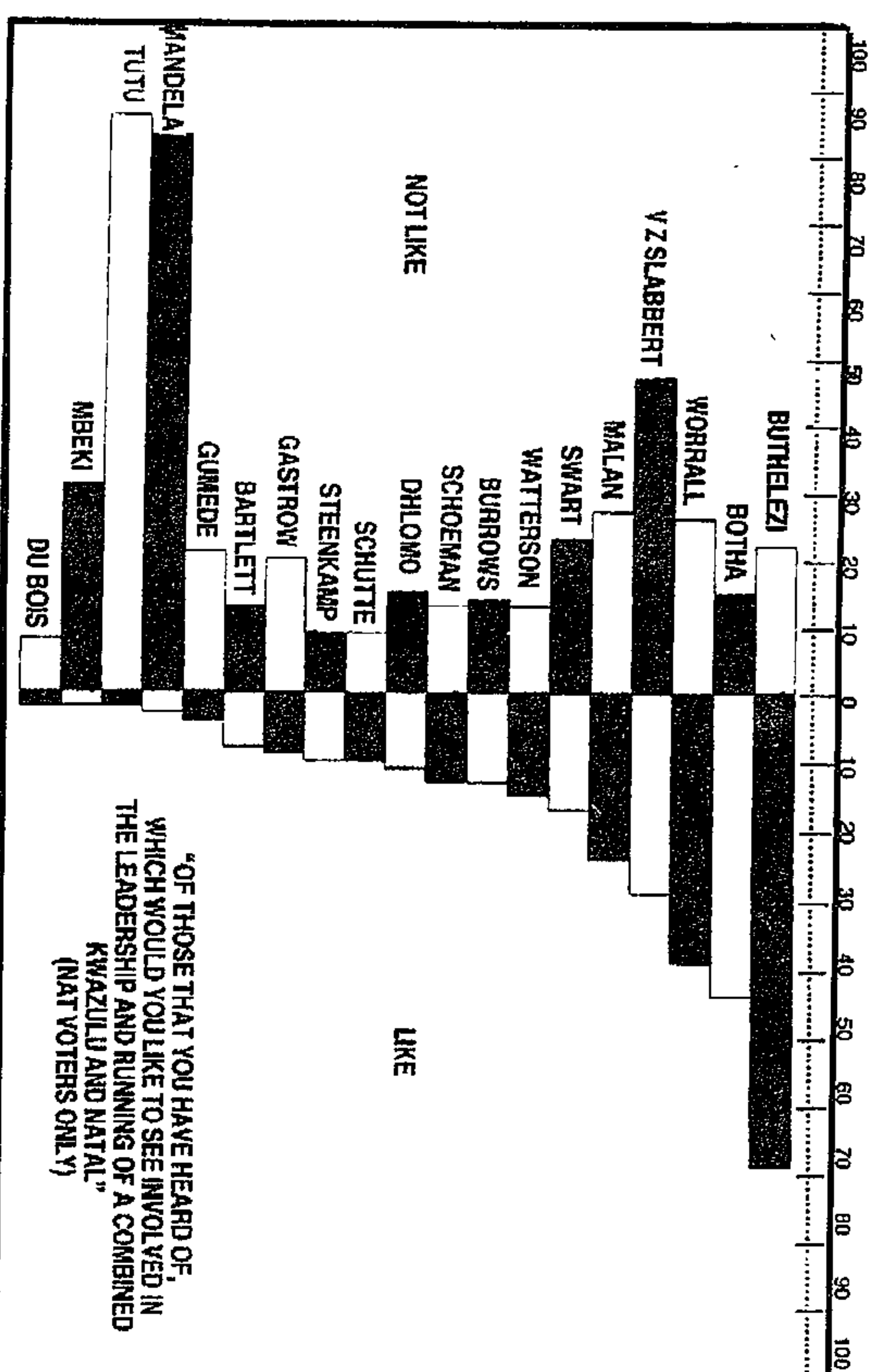
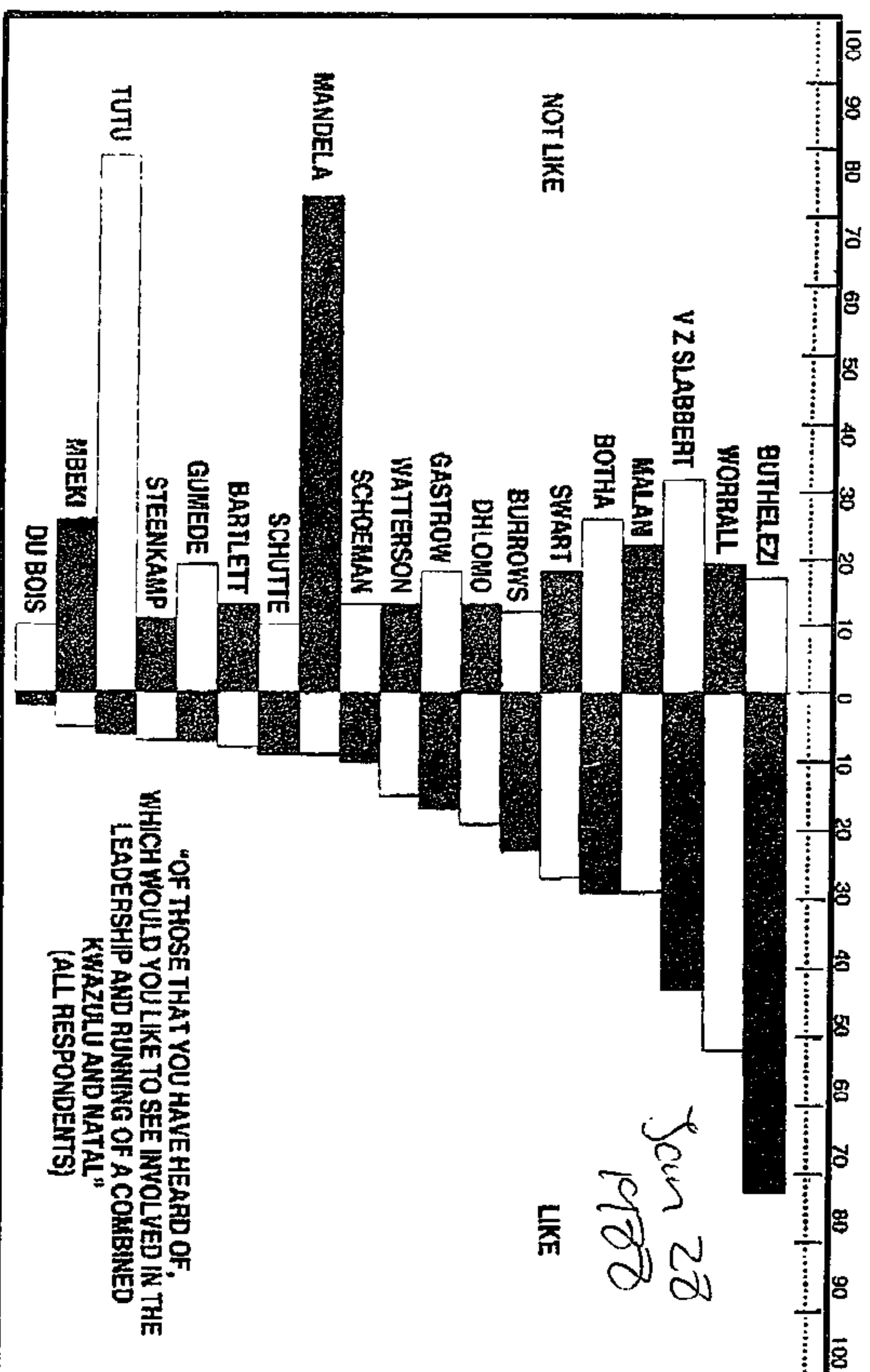
Both the NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, and Dr Worrall yesterday declined to comment, but indicated they would make statements on the matter at a later stage.

The thinking behind the move is that the new party could capture white voters in terms of an "own programme" and form part of a "creative opposition" in South Africa.

While it hopes first to address "the large middle section of white voters thinking on security, money and blacks", lobbyists for the party aim to promote the need for central government to negotiate with credible black leaders.



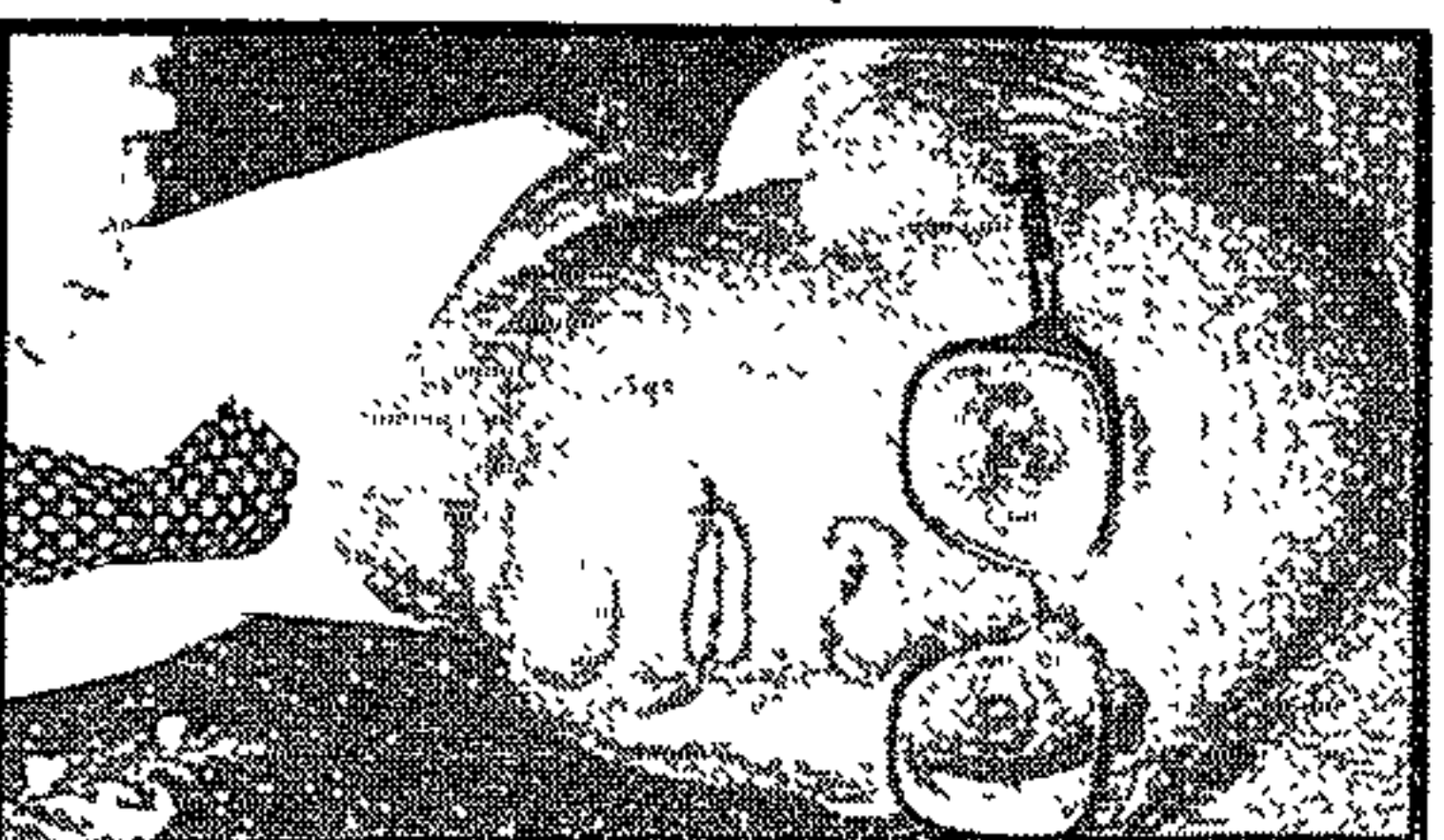
# Whites back Buthelezi



Provincial government role also favoured for Worrall and Slabbert, poll shows



Dr. Denis Worrall



Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert



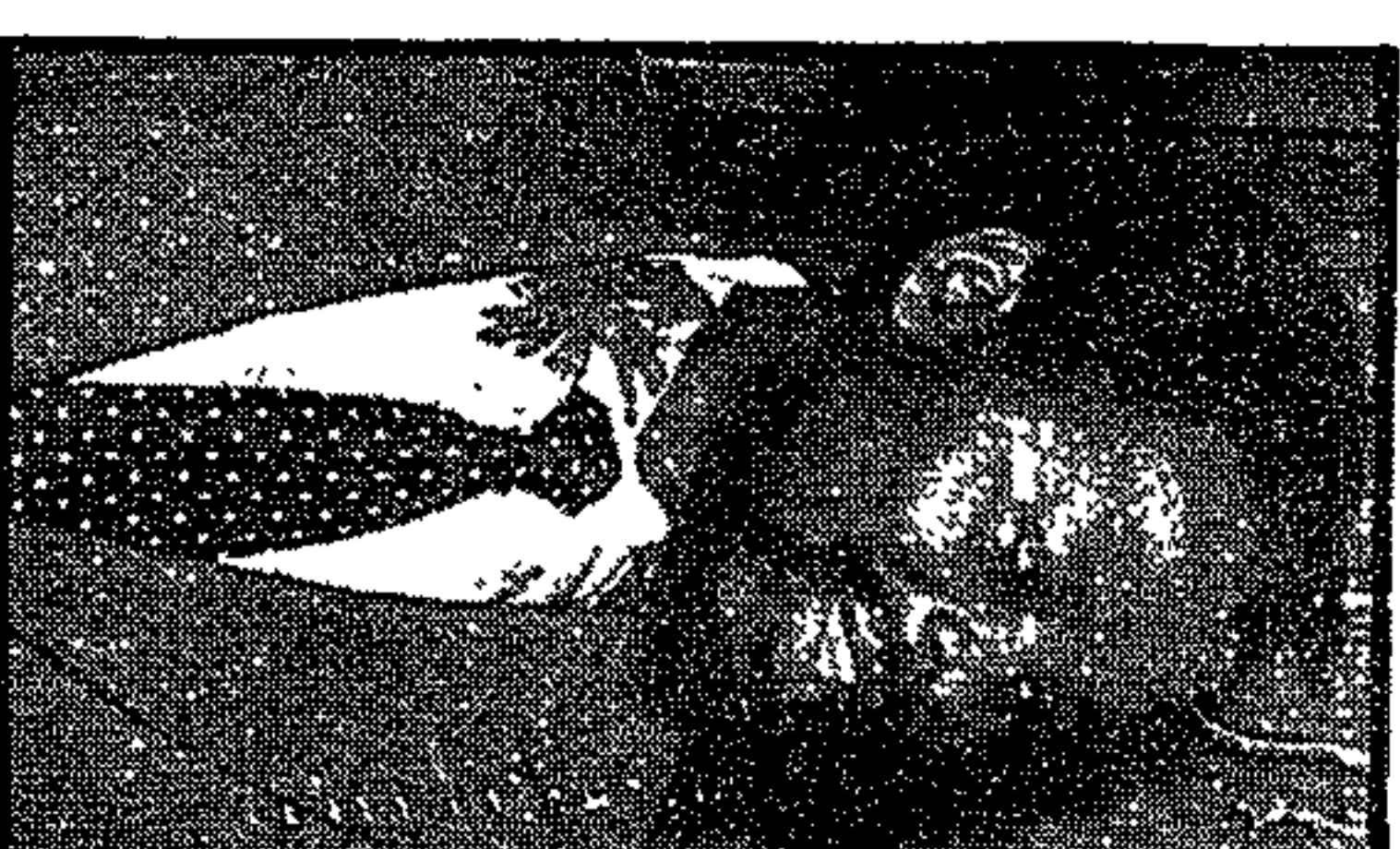
Mr. Wynand Malan



Mr. Stoffel Botha



Dr. Oscar Dhlomo



Archbishop Tutu



Jan 28  
1988

**N**ATAL'S white voters would strongly support Dr Man-gosuthu Buthelezi's involvement in the leadership of a Kwazulu/Natal provincial government ahead of other leading political figures, according to latest market research findings.

Asked who they "would like to see involved in the leadership and running of a combined Kwazulu and Natal", 73 percent of respondents favoured Dr Buthelezi with the next highest vote (52 percent) going to Dr Denis Worrall as leader of the Independent Movement.

The third favourite was Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert (43 percent), followed by Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, and Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party (both 29 percent). However, all three of these also face strong opposition to their involvement.

The survey, conducted by the market research firm Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd on behalf of the Kwazulu Natal Indaba, canvassed a random, representative sample of 1 002 white voters in the constituent

## The Kwazulu Natal Indaba reports from Durban

### Kwazulu Natal



Indaba, with 19 percent support ahead of Nelson Mandela (nine percent), Mr Archie Gumede (seven percent), Archbishop Desmond Tutu (six percent) and Mr Govan Mbeki (five percent).

Opposition to the involvement of Archbishop Tutu (79 percent) and Mandela (73 percent) was the strongest recorded.

The full ranking of the politicians considered was:

1 Dr Buthelezi (73 percent); 2 Dr Worrall (52); 3 Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (43); 4 Mr Malan and Mr Botha (29); 5 Mr R Swart (27); 6 Mr R Burrows (23); 7 Dr Dhlomo (19); 8 Mr P Gas-trow (17); 9 Mr D Watterson (15); 10 Mr R Schoeman (10); 11 Mandela and Mr D Schutte (eight); 12 Mr G Bartlett (eight); 13 Mr Gumede and Dr J Steenkamp (seven); 14 Mr J Steenkamp (seven); 15 Mr Mbeki bishop Tutu (six); 16 Mr D du Bois (two); 17 Mr D du Bois (two).

A feature of the poll was the low public recognition enjoyed by many of the Indaba's critics.

Mr George Bartlett, deputy leader of the National Party in Natal, and Mr Renier Schoeman, Nationalist MP for Umhlanga, had "not been

heard of" by 58 percent of the respondents.

Sixty percent of those polled had not heard of Dr Johan Steenkamp, Nationalist MP for Umhlatuzana, or Mr Danie Schutte, Nationalist MP for Maritzburg North. Mr Duncan du Bois of the Conservative Party was unknown to 77 percent.

The preliminary findings of the survey showed that 54 percent of white voters canvassed supported the Kwazulu Natal Indaba compared with 13 percent who opposed it.

They also showed majority support for the Indaba from Independent, PFP and National Party supporters.

At the same time, the survey reflected the National Party's current dominance of the Natal political scene, with a clear majority of 40 percent of respondents expressing support for the party in a general election as opposed to 21 percent for the Progressive Federal Party and 15 percent for an Independent movement backed by Dr Worrall.



# Meanwhile, rural accord saves families

By GAVIN WOODS, director of the Inkatha Institute

THE Ngotshe Accord has prevented the eviction of 180 black families from farmland in Northern Natal since the agreement was signed almost 18 months ago.

It has also created a forum to resolve grievances among blacks, farm labourers especially.

These are among the results of a study of the Ngotshe Accord and its effects commissioned by the Inkatha Institute for South Africa.

The accord was signed at the village of Louwsburg in August, 1986, after negotiations between white farmers and blacks (mainly tenant labourers) in the Ngotshe district where white farmland is heavily settled with black families.

The field work for the study was conducted by an independent academic, Mrs Rachelle Fourie, supervised by the institute's chief research officer, Mrs Clarissa Fourie.

The accord established the

Ngotshe Association, a forum in which whites and blacks meet to discuss problems and grievances and strive for consensus. Involved in the negotiations were the local National Party MP, farmers' associations and Inkatha.

The agreement was approved by the South African and KwaZulu governments.

According to the study, the Ngotshe Association brings unity across farm boundaries and has enough power, in terms of the individuals and organisations involved, to negotiate with individual farmers as well as with local authorities. This has altered the balance of power in the area. Black grievances are being addressed.

For instance, that 180 cases of eviction have been prevented by the association is an important victory on its own. Those individuals who had been issued a 'trek-pass' would

have lost not only their jobs but also their homes if the Ngotshe executive had not intervened," the researchers said.

There were early indications of attempts to transform some of the institutions of apartheid and the inequalities between rich and poor in the district to something more acceptable.

They said Ngotshe could serve as an example for change at the national level, although it was an open question whether the agreement itself could be repeated elsewhere.

The accord was the result of specifics — a threat and the will of certain personalities. The area is an infiltration route for the African National Congress from Swaziland and this caused the white farmers enough anxiety for them to improve the situation for blacks.

Yet elements of Ngotshe were present throughout South Africa,

the researchers said, where white farmers had black labourers who had no forum for their grievances.

The situation was ripe for associations similar to Ngotshe or for formal trade unions such as the United Workers' Union of South Africa or the Congress of South African Trade Unions to move in.

However, they speculated that white farmers in South Africa might not be prepared to see the status quo altered until they saw the situation as unacceptable — in terms of Christian ethics — or labour unionised in ways which could not be resisted; or they saw the need for a security trade-off; or the State intervened with legislation enforcing unionisation of farm labour. "The Ngotshe farmers changed the status quo because of a perceived security threat. They chose reconciliation rather than conflict with local black residents."

2861  
Jan 28

day, he insisted his decision was based on business and personal considerations and his politics were unchanged.

There is still a role for business in political change: South Africa is not "on the brink of a cataclysmic explosion"; he is not taking the chicken run, he said.

Why had he chosen to announce his departure so publicly, when it is not unusual for South African businessmen to live abroad for most of each year?

"Firstly, I couldn't sneak out of the country like a thief in the night. And Premier is too important a group in the economy to have an expatriate chairman. I would have had to hand over the chairmanship, and that would have been a public announcement — it was unavoidable.

"The reason for the timing was that the press were making enquiries. I think it's better to tell people, and it is not something I am ashamed of. It's only in this country that it is given these momentous political overtones.

Bloom is bitter about reports in local newspapers about his decision to emigrate. "I got the treatment I expected from the Afrikaans papers. But I was surprised at others who degenerated into what I thought was a despicable form of journalism with regard to my family circumstances (Bloom's daughter is hospitalised in the United Kingdom)."

His message to young businessmen who favour fundamental change is to: "become involved in the issues of national life, to state opinions unequivocally and unambiguously in public, and have the courage to keep doing so."

The new generation "must not be cowed into silence," and he hopes his "intensely personal" decision will not influence like-minded younger businessmen to follow suit.

Bloom still maintains the influence of business is limited "because the government puts politics, today almost synonymous with security, first every time, and subordinates economics."

But, he adds quickly, "businessmen have had some successes — most importantly in convincing the government to abolish the pass laws."

Bloom believes politics have reached a costly stage of stalemate in the country, with extra-parliamentary resistance groups suffering such fierce and consistent repression — "their visible presence has declined because they simply can't function as a normal political movement" — that

## The new generation of businessmen must not be cowed into silence

TONY BLOOM  
Premier chairman

### From PAGE 1

it would "not come as a surprise if the UDF eventually abandoned two fundamental cornerstones of their philosophy — non-racialism and non-violence.

"If you close every door — this comes back to Mandela's trial — if every form of peaceful protest is closed off, if the only door left is violence, don't be surprised if people walk through it. I don't in any sense condone it, but it wouldn't surprise me."

He is unapologetic — "quite the reverse in fact" — about the historic 1985 ANC meeting, and regrets the absence of further initiatives of this type. "It was a very constructive breakthrough. I think it is terribly important to keep a measure of contact with the ANC. One doesn't have to agree with everything they say and do (and I don't) ... but I can't believe there can be any solution of South Africa's problems unless the ANC are involved in it."

This is not to say he is sanguine about the chances of dramatic initiatives in the near future: "At the time of the Lusaka trip there was more of a feeling of urgency. Businessmen are peculiar in that way. I think they've given up forms of vocal protest against government policies, for two reasons.

"They've been cowed into silence by the State of Emergency, worried that what they say could be construed as a subversive statement. There's no doubt they were very frightened by what happened to Chris Ball (the First National Bank MD who was at the centre of the Munnik commission of inquiry). If that was intended as a

message to the business community, it worked.

"Secondly, there's a lull because we're back into an economic upswing, and a lot of people have gone back to just running a business — which many think is all they should be doing anyway."

He accepts that businessmen generally become politically active only when faced with economic and political crises. "I don't think it's a coincidence that the business community became most vocal when the economy was in the worst recession for fifty years, profits were declining, and South African businessmen were shunned in the capitals of the world.

"It took a crisis to evoke their conscience, let's put it that way."

However, he says, there have been important — and irreversible — changes in business practices (if not principles) over the past few years. He cites the increasing importance of trade unions, and the implementation of "social responsibility" projects.

"Although some businessmen now believe the unions have got too powerful, are out of control, the unions are here to stay. Our attitude at Premier has been that we have to learn to live with each other."

Bloom intends to maintain informal contacts with a range of South African political actors, including the ANC. "But with my moving, in a sense I am going to lose a power-base, and will have to fall back onto friendships which have developed."

He continues to argue that economic advancement is "one of the quickest ways to break down discriminatory legislation in practice, in the workplace, what the legislation tries to entrench in theory."

"I still don't believe in sanctions because I don't think they work, and they produce belligerency and defiance in the white community." However, Bloom says he "likes the concept of conditionality (regarding foreign investment) ... a policy which involves the carrot and stick, not only stick."

"But I won't be actively campaigning on this. I've got to pick up my life again and start from scratch — it's going to take some doing." He remains on the Premier board, is due to sell his houses in South Africa, and plans to be back in the country "at least four or five times a year. I am not severing my ties."

He regards as "challenging" the opportunity to do "something different" in a different atmosphere and environment. I'm 49 now, that gives me another 15 years of working life."



PRICES

WITWATERSRAND & PRETORIA  
R1,00 (excl. GST)

ELSEWHERE IN SA  
R1,12 (excl. GST)

# ONLY MAIL

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 3. FRIDAY JANUARY 29 to THURSDAY FEBRUARY 4, 1988

GING SOUTH AFRICA



Tony Bloom

## London-bound Bloom speaks out

Tony Bloom talks to SHAUN JOHNSON

TONY BLOOM tells a gently self-deprecating story about his return from the famous businessmen's visit to the ANC in Lusaka in 1985. He came back — predictably enough — to excoriation from the government. What he hadn't expected was the message borne on placards by employees at Premier Group factories: "Bloom!" they exhorted, "Don't talk to the ANC! Talk to your workers!" It was, of course, the classic liberal bind: a left-right squeeze which makes life inescapably uncomfortable. At the time Bloom laughed; now he is leaving South Africa. It is difficult to resist viewing his departure as a harbinger of hopelessness, a deep bow to pressure. But the outspoken magnate simply will not have this. Sitting in his Killarney office (the sumptuousness of which he will have some difficulty in replicating in London) yesterday

29/1-4/2/88

W/Neil

TO PAGE 2

(304A)

BY HANS BERNARD



# THE ECONOMY

YOU would have had to look hard in recent months to find South African businessmen willing to affirm liberal principles and criticise the government on public platforms. Now you may have to go to London.

Tony Bloom has been one of the few who has been politically consistent, whose activism has increased as the State of Emergency has become entrenched.

He has consistently come out against repression and is in favour of negotiation. He has also been consistent in his opposition to sanctions and disinvestment.

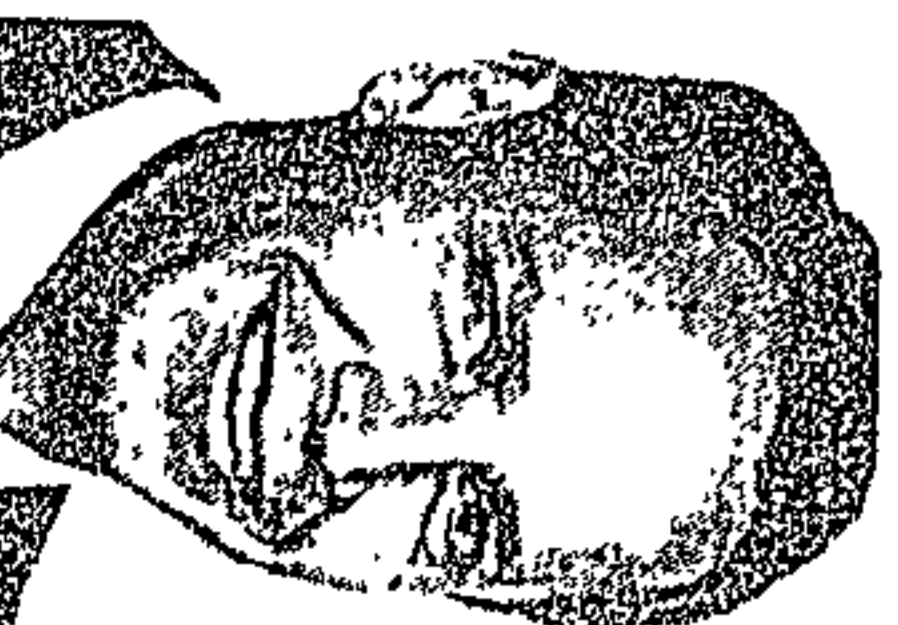
Bloom was one of the businessmen who met the ANC in Lusaka in September 1985 and was one of the key players in that period of business political activism. He was undisturbed by an attack on him by PW Botha in parliament early last year, when the state president claimed that businessmen were being "used" by the ANC. In a speech in support of the PFP during last year's election Bloom said: "In South Africa repression and force has achieved no more than the radicalisation of blacks on an unprecedented scale. Serious negotiation as a strategy has been abandoned." He added, "in my book the word 'reform' in the mouth of the government is no more than an obscene hypocrisy".

Bloom has perhaps been in a stronger position to speak out, as chairman of a firm of which he owns a large chunk, than have other prominent business liberals such as First National's Chris Ball and the Pern's Bob Tucker, who are more vulnerable to pressure from their boards.

Ball has been silenced following last year's attack on him by a government commission of enquiry. Others such as Tucker and, in the multinational camp, Shell's John Wilson, continued to speak out in 1987. But it becomes a more and more risky business as their numbers diminish.

Business visits to the ANC in Lusaka are unlikely to happen now. The business people in the delegation which made a highly publicised trip

## Where have the big business liberals gone? Into hibernation



Endangered species? Tony Bloom, Chris Ball, Raymond Ackerman, Bob Tucker

**TONY BLOOM'S DEPARTURE FOR LONDON PROMPTS THE QUESTION: WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE LIBERAL BUSINESSMAN? Hilary Joffe reports**

In September 1985 were Bloom, Ball, Anglo's Gavin Rely and Zache Beer. The organiser was *Leadership* editor Hugh Murray, who last year expressed his disenchantment with the ANC and said he no longer saw any purpose in such meetings.

South African business people have shown some fickleness when it comes to politics. Usually their attention is turned inwards towards the business of business. Only when they can't avoid the world outside do they tend to address it. The high profile political statements tend to happen only when resistance in the townships rises to a level which clearly threatens business itself.

There was a period from late 1984 to early 1986 which was a watershed for South African businessmen. They and their organisations spoke out frequently — and, more significantly, they spoke out loudly and publicly — against government policy.

Throughout 1985 there were regular joint statements by representative business organisations — such as the FCI, AHI, Assocom and Seifsa and the Chamber of Mines — against de-

tentions and repression, and in favour of change.

In September 1985 a group of 90 business people, led by Bloom and Pick'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman, sponsored an advertisement with the slogan "There is a better way".

American companies followed up with a similar public statement. And in January 1986, the FCI, then under the chairmanship of Wilson, unveiled its Business Charter, a document which one observer has described as the business community's Freedom Charter.

Not much has been heard since of the "better way", nor of the Business Charter.

By the time the first State of Emergency was lifted in March 1986, the public anti-apartheid statements from business were fewer. Repression appeared to be working. "Law and order" restored.

The economy was looking better. In particular, it had survived the crisis precipitated by the "bankers' sanctions" of August 1985. It was the event which, according to Merle Lip-ton, economist and author of a recent-

ly published study on sanctions, resulted in greater loss of business confidence than did any other external pressures for sanctions and disinvestment. (As Bloom himself said at this week's press conference, "windows are opening again for South Africa".)

There's a cycle of business activism which depends on how threatened those in the business community feel by political events.

But there are other reasons for the decline of high profile anti-apartheid activism by business people over the past two years. The "Ball Affair" had an impact — as intended by the government — in intimidating them.

Companies which, for example, depend on government contracts or orders, may see themselves as vulnerable in the face of government pressure. According to some sources, liberal business leaders have also had difficulty carrying their own organisations with them.

But a major problem is that many business people are limited in their vision, with a narrowly technical view of corporate planning. Wis Business School lecturer Nick Binedell says

business education hasn't equipped its graduates with the kind of background which prepares them to make decisions which take socio-political factors into account. Many business people simply lack the skills. In this sense Bloom has been a key figure, notable for his political astuteness.

The fact that liberal business people make fewer public statements than they did in 1985 doesn't mean they are doing nothing. There has been an emphasis in some companies on change inside the organisation — providing housing for black workers, implementing training and education projects and advancing blacks into managerial positions.

These are, after all, necessary for productivity now and survival in the future. There has been an emphasis too on "social spending": on social responsibility projects ranging from support for the Urban Foundation and Operation Hunger to funds for education or black business.

But social responsibility projects are not the same as socio-political involvement. South African companies have borrowed the "good citizen" concept of social responsibility from industrialised countries which have relatively stable political environments, says Binedell. The concept is inappropriate in South Africa, he argues, where business needs a strategy which deals explicitly with socio-political issues and attempts to intervene in shaping the political agenda.

And the Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein, speaking at a conference last year, said: "The past decade has seen business involvement and traditional corporate social responsibility activities expand in scope and impact ... but there is a critical difference between traditional social responsibility projects and a business contribution to the fundamental transformation of this society away from apartheid."

The number of business people who have a broad vision of business' political role and future in South Africa is small. The number prepared to come out on public platforms has become even smaller and with Bloom's departure, a key player is lost.



# Beware, Labour. PW does not lose battles lightly

WE have only won round one in what promises to be a very long battle," Peter Hendrickse, son of Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, declared philosophically.

The LP, the majority party in the "coloured" chamber of the tri-cameral Parliament, is bracing itself for an anticipated "total onslaught" by President PW Botha, he added.

Himself an MP in the "coloured" chamber, Peter Hendrickse was assessing the situation in the wake of resignation of Carter Ebrahim as minister for education and culture in the "coloured cabinet" or Ministers' Council.

Ebrahim had initially refused to heed a written demand from Allan Hendrickse to resign. But, outnumbered and outgunned at a LP parliamentary caucus meeting last week, Ebrahim resigned, thereby avoiding ignominious expulsion from the LP.

The clash between Hendrickse and Ebrahim was a sequel to, and a product of, the trial of strength between Hendrickse and Botha.

Hendrickse aroused the wrath of Botha last August when he set repeal of the Group Areas Act as the price of an LP agreement to postpone the constitutionally-prescribed general election for all three parliamentary chambers by September 1989.

**Labour may have won the Ebrahim affair, but their battle with PW Botha has hardly begun. PATRICK LAURENCE reports**

Faced with a rampant Conservative Party in the white community, Botha was — and is — anxious to defer the election until 1992. But he could not do so without the consent of all three chambers.

Angered by Hendrickse's stand, Botha sacked the LP leader from the national cabinet. Hendrickse stood firm against both Botha and Ebrahim, who pleaded for reconciliation with Botha at the LP's congress late last

year.

Botha's implicitly sided with Ebrahim against Hendrickse when he refused to dismiss Ebrahim from the "coloured cabinet" after being formally asked to do so by the LP leader.

A tough fighter from way back, Botha is not the kind of man to surrender meekly or retire gracefully.

To accede to Hendrickse's demand for the abolition of the Group Areas Act would be laying himself open to taunts from the CP of submitting to the dictates of a *kleinling* politician.

That aside, there is no evidence that Botha is willing to scrap the Group Areas Act. On the contrary, all the signs point to his strong attachment to it.

It is not clear what Botha's next step will be in the struggle to subdue Hendrickse. LP men, however, fear a renewed attempt to kindle rebellion against Hendrickse in LP ranks, seeing the Ebrahim affair as the first failed attempt to do so.

Peter Hendrickse noted that Botha and the four provincial leaders of the ruling National Party meet with Jac Rabie, leader of the newly-formed United Democratic Party, for 70 minutes after Ebrahim's resignation. Rabie is a former LP man. His UDP holds nine seats in the 85-member coloured chamber.

Hendrickse junior feared that the meeting with Rabie could be the first move in a bid to forge together an anti-Hendrickse alliance.

But, he said, there could be no retreat by the LP from its stand on the Group Areas Act.

Repeal of the Act as the price for LP concurrence on deferment of the 1989 election, was formally ratified by the LP congress last month. It is thus binding on LP MPs.

Last week *Weekly Mail* reported that the LP parliamentary caucus voted to expel Ebrahim. That was not correct. The caucus was set to expel him but Ebrahim averted expulsion by agreeing to resign.

30/1/88

## JUST WHY APARTHEID IS FOR THE BIRDS!

by CAROLYN McGIBBON

**A**PARTHEID is for the birds, or so it seems at Lambert's Bay on the stormy West Coast of the Cape. There, the white birds and the black birds live in their own group areas darkies on the rocks and whities on the sand and never the twain do meet.

And the dark significance has not been lost on the humans who visit there, including men of the cloth.

At a recent synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, a delegate argued that it was part of God's divine order that blacks and whites be kept apart, citing as evidence the divisions on Bird Island.

He said: "At Lambert's Bay the black cormorants don't mix with the white gannets. And that is what the Lord intended."

At Bird Island one's senses are assailed by the cacophony rising from the droves of sea birds parked there angular Cape cormorants preening their glossy black coats and multitudes of garrulous white gannets.

Not to mention the smell, reminiscent of fertile farmyards.

This has not deterred the little island from becoming a top curiosity spot, and a hide has been erected for nature lovers as well as South Africans who want to find a justification of apartheid.

The lookout post, erected by the right wing Afrikaner movement, the Rapportryers, has a visitors book which shows that many white visitors are quick to note the "segregation."

Wrote Ken and Chris Stead of Snell Parade, Durban: "Note the Apartheid" and T van den Berg of Philipstown: "To me it looks like the birds are right".

An inscrutable squiggle from Cape Town called on State President PW Botha to come and witness the scene, while a voice in the wilderness pointed out: "We are not birds".

Eddie Vermeulen of Sandbert wrote: *Die voëls is vir ons 'n les* and a Plumstead tourist even invoked a biblical injunction (Genesis 1:25) as justification for apartheid.

Bird expert Ian Sinclair, a technologist at the Durban Natural History Museum, explained the apartheid in nature. He lived on the island for some time while making a study of a colony of jackass penguins there and had the opportunity of observing the species from close hand.

He said the argument of "territorial imperative" had often been cited as an argument for ethnic groups sticking together, but on Bird Island there were functional reasons for this.

Mr Sinclair said the determining factor was a shortage of space and bigger birds would only tolerate neighbours of their own species.



# What comes after apartheid?: A total change, say these young academics..

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

## POLITICS

**TOTAL** change in white political attitudes, the final scrapping of all apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa has been called for by a group of young Afrikaner academics and businessmen.

They have put forward their plea for change in a new book *Wat kom na apartheid?* (What comes after apartheid?) to be launched at a function in Stellenbosch next week.

The authors propose far-reaching constitutional, political, economic and educational changes involving the abandonment of race as a yardstick in South African thinking.

The book, to be published by Southern Book Publishers, has been compiled and edited by Mr JP Landman, a labour relations manager for a Johannesburg industrial group; Dr Philip Nel, director of the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, and Dr Anton van Niekerk, a senior lecturer in Stellenbosch University's department of philosophy.

They present the book as a message by white Afrikaners to white Afrikaners.

Other contributors include Professor Lourens du Plessis, professor of public law at the University of Stellenbosch; and the Rev Bertie du Plessis, of the Ned Geref Kerk in Pretoria.

ONE of the main themes of the book is that apartheid — in spite of the good intentions of its architects and protagonists — has brought about "a process of gross and morally-unjustified privilege" for a small section of the South African population at the expense of the overwhelming majority.

The authors say the final departure of whites from apartheid would depend decisively on their ability to develop a vision of an apartheid-free South Africa.

One of the aims of the book is "to influence the debate on political power-sharing and the broadening of democracy."

"The biggest single misconception to be unmasked is the belief that the continued existence of whites can only be guaranteed by the retention of a final political say.

"This kind of belief is apparently intolerable because it ignores or underestimates the justified demands of the majority of South African citizens. It also carries the germ of self-destruction."

**PROPOSALS** in the book include:

- Constitutional negotiations involving leaders accepted as the real representatives of all groups, including political organisations such as the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress, Azapo and others;
- Groups should be able to associate and negotiate on a basis of common values and ideals and not merely on the basis of common racial characteristics;
- The ultimate constitutional model should give an effective say to all South African citizens and groups at all levels of decision-making;
- Abolition of the Group Areas Act, race classification, separate amenities and other remaining apartheid measures;
- Entrenchment of recognised basic human rights in a human rights charter to be enforced by a special constitutional court in which the different race groups are represented;
- Economic changes aimed at correcting serious inequalities and ending white privilege created under the apartheid system; and
- The removal of apartheid from the education system, the creation of a single education department for all races, and the ultimate opening of state schools to children of all races.

IN a chapter on black expectations about the future, Dr Nel writes that one of the great ironies of recent political history in South Africa is that the more the state tried to eliminate black participation in the central decision-making process, the greater became the "black veto" over the process.

The radicalisation of black politics had resulted in indirect black control over the nature and pace of change in South Africa.

Black resistance had grown to a level where the legitimacy and viability of the constitutional system was being threatened.

"In short, no matter what initiatives are placed on the table by the authorities, these can only be put through with the approval of the broad black

community," Dr Nel says.

In a chapter on economic challenges, Mr Pieter van Niekerk, a management consultant, writes that decades of apartheid have distorted the economic system in many respects.

A white "welfare state" in the form of Afrikaner socialism came into being and white privilege was extended out of all proportion with African and Third World realities.

Today South Africa has an economy in which five percent of the total population possesses 88 percent of the personal wealth.

Mr Van Niekerk proposes a reconstruction of the country's economy, aimed at eliminating "absolute poverty" and providing basic needs and more opportunities for black advancement.

## Damage to ozone layer at Antarctic

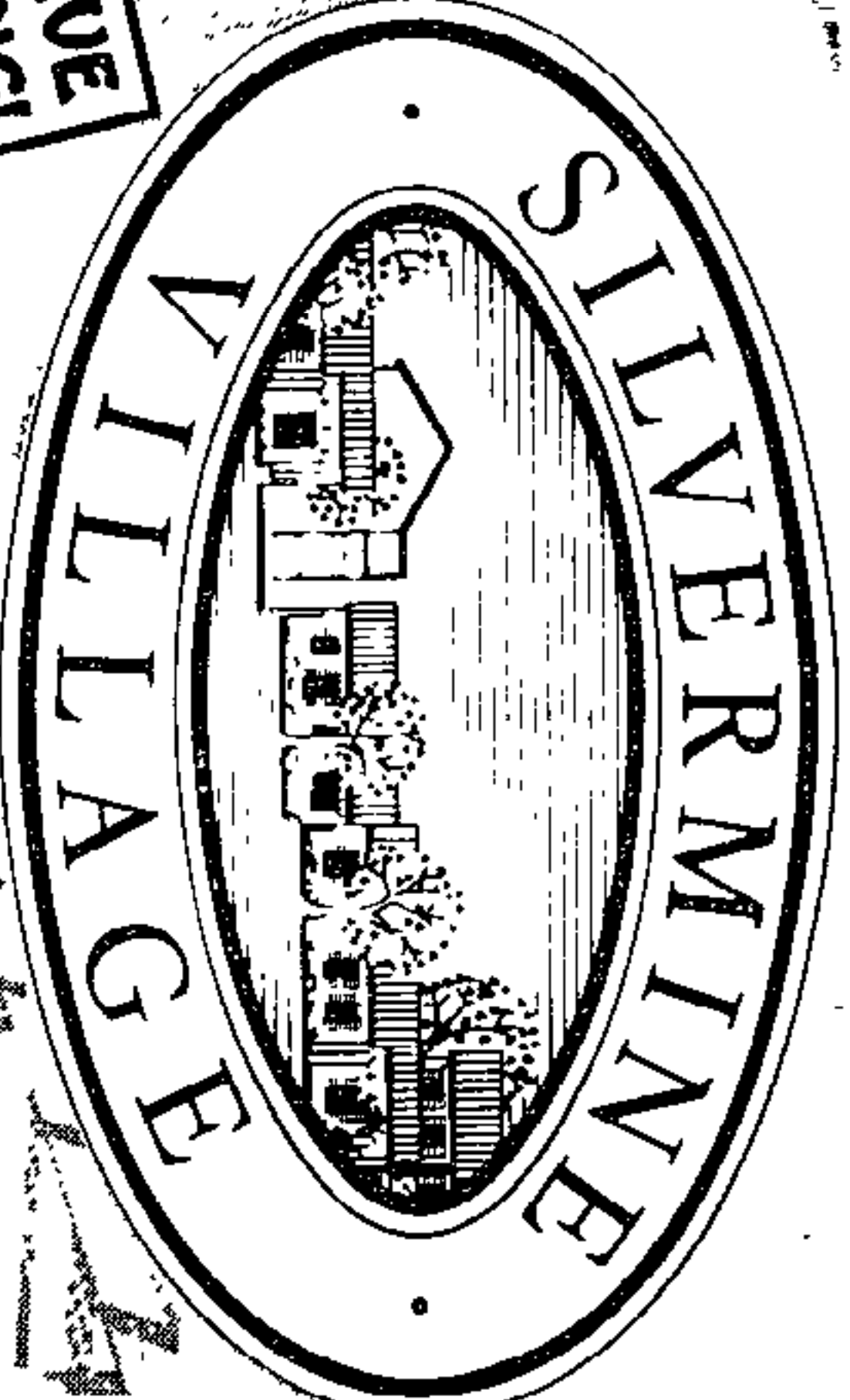
**BRUSSELS.** — Damage to the earth's protective ozone layer above the South Pole could have serious health and environmental consequences over a much wider area, a leading scientist said this week.

Dr Robert Watson, scientific coordinator at the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (Nasa), said emissions of chemicals found in aerosols, plastic foam and other common products had stripped away 10 per cent of the ozone barrier in and immediately beyond the Antarctic.


Erosion of the ozone layer could affect the fishing industry of the whole Southern Hemisphere, although scientific evidence on this point was not conclusive, he told a news conference beamed by satellite from the United States.

"I believe we have to worry about the extra ultra-violet radiation penetrating to the ocean around Antarctica, which is very rich in sea life," Watson said.

He said the damaged zone extended northwards as far as 50 degrees latitude, above the tip of South America. — Sapa-Reuter.



**SILVERMINE VILLAGE**



**STAY ACTIVE STAY YOUNG!**

# OUTSTANDING VALUE!!

Nowhere in the Cape or South Africa will you find the value we offer at Silvermine Village.

1- and 2-bedroomed cottages in idyllic setting.

## PRICES: R78 000 to R85 000

### ENJOY A COMPANIONABLE LIFESTYLE AT NOORDHOEK!

PAY US A VISIT AND BE SHOWN OVER OUR DELIGHTFUL VILLAGE AT NOORDHOEK

**PHONE (021) 89 1709 and after hours (021) 72 4581**

*Minchener Estates*

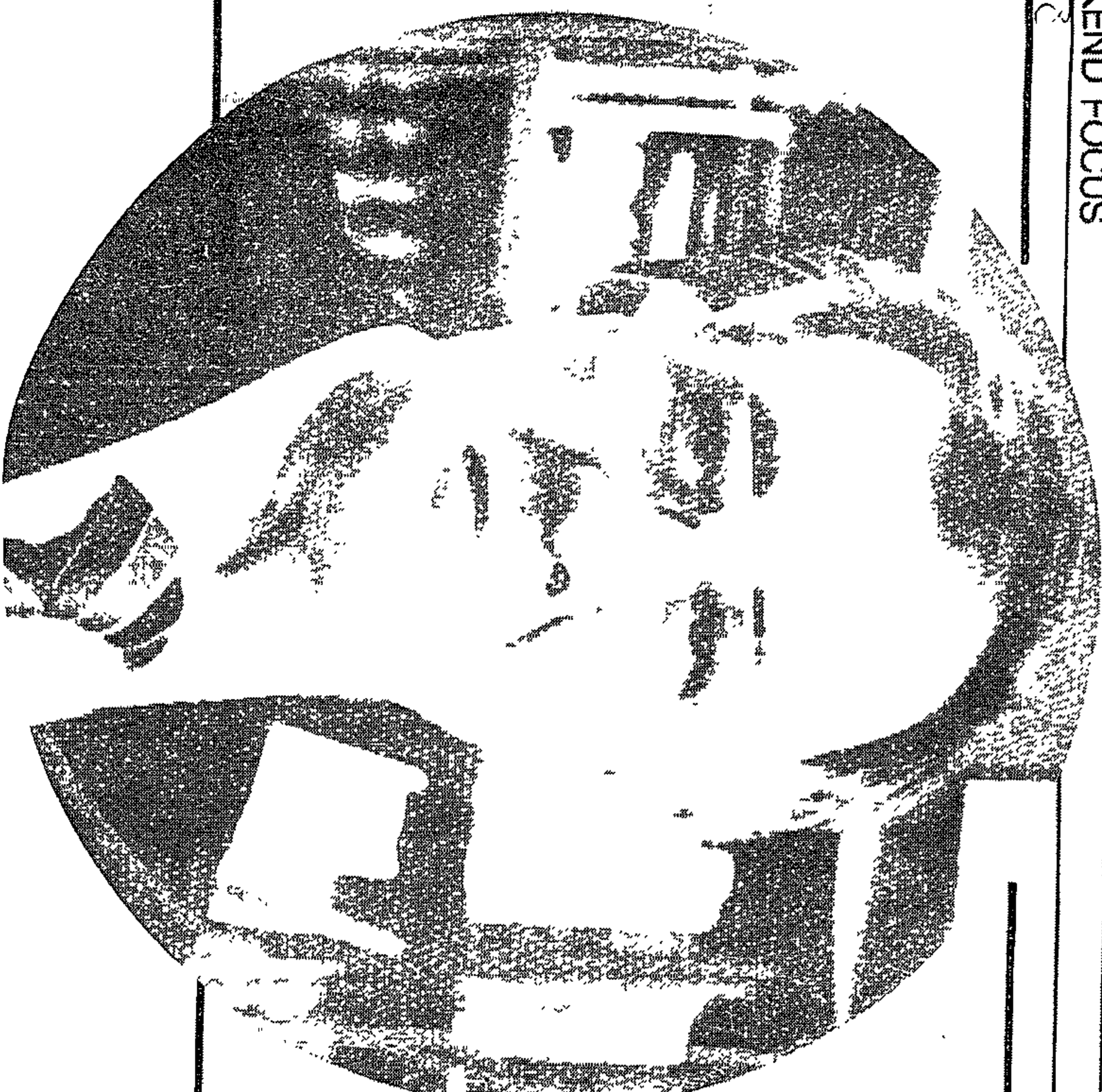
SALES/BROCHURES/LETTING OPEN DAILY BETWEEN 10 — 5 pm (CLOSED SAT)

(090353588)



30/1/88

# NAT POWVER PLAY



THERE are radical reformers in the National Party, but they are presently lying low. They could make their move once the party leadership is at stake. So believes Dr Willem de Klerk, former editor of Rapport newspaper and now professor of communications at Rand Afrikaans University. In an article in Leadership magazine these are some of the things he has to say:



**A**S a whole, the NP is in a period of political transition, being on the way to a new dispensation — but one which is perceived to be threatening and unclear.

There are no intensive debates inside the party because the euphoria of last year's election outcome has still not abated. Fear of the Conservatives is a unifying factor, and while there was initial concern at the pull of the independents, their subsequent collapse has changed this. Leftist Nationalists who swung behind them have retreated into the laager, and party leaders have taken active steps to secure their renewed support.

Another unifying factor is that provided by the State President.

"Informed sources say two contradictory things are happening to him. On the one hand, his intolerance and bad-temperedsness have reached new heights, and are serving to enforce conformity with an iron hand and a kind of reign of terror. He takes no nonsense from anybody, and everybody knows they have to toe the line. This has brought a silence for the sake of survival. Differences in emphasis have gone underground, for this is too dangerous a game in the vicinity of a powerful and intolerant man."

**O**N the other hand, it appears the President is experiencing renewed self-confidence and is now once again more receptive to to new initiatives, thus serving to appease the more imma-

tient people inside and outside the Nationalist caucus.

Yet, there is a current of tension running through the NP, generated mainly by the negotiating situation. There is an acute perception in certain party circles that negotiations for a constitutional settlement are failing. This is leading to a debate between *conservative reformists* and *more radical conformists*. The first want to maintain the status quo in content, tempo and style. They are prepared to compromise further but only within the existing framework and with the emphasis on gradual change.

The more radical reformists wish particularly to change the status quo by means of a new basic philosophy and new procedures. A sharper sense of urgency results in talk of a leap of reform, to enable a move towards real negotiations as soon as possible. They are fully prepared to compromise, and there is increasing talk among them of a kind of Declaration of Intent, to be separately discussed beforehand with a cross-section of black leaders.

They are still vague on details and exact alternatives, but a core consensus exists on two points — the rejection of any kind of race federation, and the urgent need for a leap of reform to further negotiation.

**H**OW strong is the accent of radical reform in the NP? Because of the intolerance of the President, and because of a fear of being identified with the Wynand Malan

approach, they do not allow themselves to be readily identified.

They want to let things develop until the question of a successor to the Presidential seat is put on the agenda — and then they want to make their move. For that reason they are not really aggressive at the moment, but act in a veiled manner.

In spite of these problems, heads are nevertheless being counted. The guesstimate is that there are 18 radical reformists in the caucus and at least four in the Cabinet.

The more current attempts at negotiations fail, the stronger the appeal to the NP will be to transform itself along the lines envisaged by the radical reformists. The problem is that no leader for this group has yet emerged. The Afrikaans language media are also total captives of the conservative reformists, with the result that the new ideas have little chance of being aired in public debate.

This low profile will be chased from its hiding places once the issue of the successor to President Botha is placed on the table. There is much speculation surrounding his retirements.

Initially, it was said that this would occur at the end of 1988.

The new version is that he now wishes to complete a fuller cycle. His public speeches confirm this. He enjoys the job and the power, he feels there are too many loose ends for him to vacate the chair at this stage and he is worried about the suc-

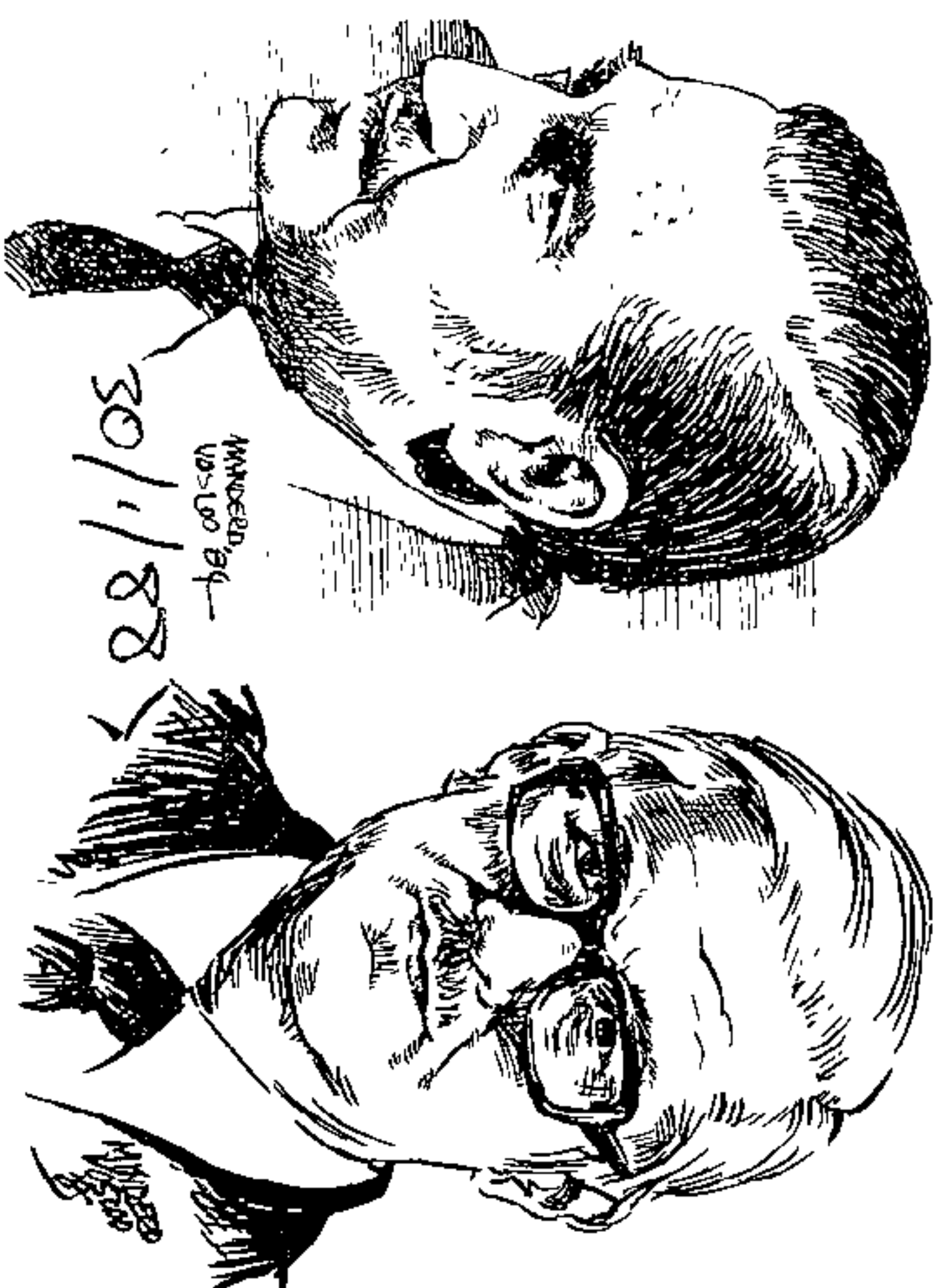
sion — or so it is claimed. Some people believe he is the only man capable of bending the course of reform towards the radical reformists. (This ties up with my earlier statement that his intolerance is also accompanied by a seemingly contradictory trend towards greater openness to further initiatives and compromise.)

**C**AN PW Botha be the leader of the next phase? This depends on whether we are moving deeper into a kind of dictatorship as a transition phase to a sharing of power. If things develop in this direction, his retirement will be delayed.

To my mind, more radical reform will then also be delayed, but there are those who believe he can turn this particular corner.

The question of succession is therefore not high on the agenda at present. There is some lobbying, but it is very discreetly done; there is no ferment. The names being mentioned remain those of Rik Botha, FW de Klerk, Chris Heunis, Gerrit Viljoen, Barend du Plessis and Magnus Malan. The arguments of their supporters and detractors may be summarised as follows:

■ FW de Klerk is chosen as the "safe candidate". He is ideologically strongly formed in the conservative political philosophy, with enough pragmatism to grow in new situations. He commands powers of persuasion, negotiating skills and the ability to compromise. No, his opponents say, he is too right-wing, too



Pik Botha

Dr Gerrit Viljoen

wedded to the race group model as a solution and too cautious to be capable of making any real breakthroughs.

■ PIK Botha is charismatic, a radical reformist, an experienced negotiator and a fearless leader capable of taking the risky leap towards a complete sharing of power. Used against him is that he is too politically unstable and a loner in the caucus, with very few close followers surrounding him.

■ CHRIS Heunis is still being punted in a small circle as the architect of power-sharing who may yet outgrow his election humiliation at the hands of Denis Worrall and may dare to make the leap to more radical reform. His opponents write him off as an unacceptable negotiator who has alienated too many people and does not have the abilities for strong leadership.

■ GERRIT Viljoen is reproached for not having grown in political stature, but his supporters regard him as a strong leader with drive and clarity. They believe he has the capacity to grow into high stature, should he be given the authority.

■ AS a younger man, Barend du Plessis is less prominent as a crown prince — but time and talent are on his side, it is said. Political unsaliability counts in his favour, but it may count strongly against him if his portfolio falls.

■ MAGNUS Malan is a consideration for those in the caucus who believe in a scenario of an inevitable semi-dictatorship as a framework for evolutionary reform. His opponents regard him as an extension of the PW Botha regime, and as lacking in political nuance.

**I**t is generally accepted that FW de Klerk is the front-runner, but that he is unacceptable to the more radical reformists and that Gerrit Viljoen (and later, also Barend du Plessis) will build the anti-De Klerk lobby — for whatever reasons this lobby may exist — around Viljoen himself. In the inner circles of the NP, however, all of this is still just loose talk which has not yet gained any real momentum.

The strategy of the radical reformists is based on the hope that this emphasis in the NP will be promoted by the reality of failed negotiations. The Wynand Malan action has been written off, but even in those circles, weather eyes are being kept open. The view is held that the successor will have to break away from the racial model of the current regime as well as its model for negotiation. Their message is that success lies to the left of the NP, and they are busily spreading this message in extra-parliamentary circles.

The conservative reformists are persisting in messianic fashion with their belief that the race group model is the only way and the only truth, and that this must be developed step by step and under strict control. These two groupings (or tendencies) may still re-enlist support from each other, to and fro. Therefore, both the conservative and the more radical reformists have the potential to wax and wane. If this analysis proves anything, it is the unpredictability of developments within the National Party.



The Progressive Federal Party's most immediate task is to give greater cohesion and thrust to those in Parliament who share its values of a democratic, non-racial South Africa, according to its leader, Mr Colin Eglin.

It is a strategy aimed at including individuals and groups in all three Houses of Parliament while the party maintains its contacts outside Parliament.

In an extensive interview this week Mr Eglin spoke against the background of unease in the party since its election setback last year.

**Q:** There is a certain amount of unease in the PFP about its future role. To what do you attribute this?

"I think it is in perfectly understandable that, following its election setback, the strong running that is being made by the Conservative Party, and the tight control the Government has over the distribution of information on key issues, there should be a degree of frustration among members of the PFP who would like to be living in a very different South Africa.

"To deal with this the party set about analysing the election results and reassessing its strategy in the light of its findings.

"This led to the acceptance of the party's 'mission statement' at the end of August, but such statements, while they play a vital role in positioning the direction and setting out the key markers for political tac-

# PFP: impatience, but no basic differences

Party leader Mr Colin Eglin is interviewed in Cape Town by Tos Wentzel of The Star's political staff.

tics, still have to be fleshed out by programmes of action.

"Having stated its objectives the party is now in the second phase of considering a programme of action within the framework of the mission statement.

"It is understandable that some frustration in the party is combined with a degree of impatience. I believe that this is what one is seeing instead of any basic differences on the mission statement or its application."

**Q:** Do you sense any unease about your leadership or that of any other leaders in the party?

"To the extent that there is impatience and frustration once again it is understandable that some of it must direct itself among other things to the leadership in specific and general terms.

"What I am anxious to do is to harness this frustration and impa-

tiency and to turn it into creative thinking, debating and decision-making. The groundwork of the past few months will very soon develop into decisions and actions in the political scene.

"Again, I do not believe that what is seen as some unease flows from any fundamental ideological differences."

**Q:** It has been said in some PFP circles that activity in the party virtually dried up after the election shock. Has something been done about this?

"There was a drop-off of general activity after the election. This was a consequence of a response to a tough, four-month-long election campaign and disappointment at its results. Added to this, the party, from May to August, examined the election results and a new strategy was planned.

"In addition the party was affected in the post-election period by some defections. There obviously was a 'valley period' but the round of party congresses later on pointed to the party having pulled itself together."

**Q:** How do you now see the PFP's future role?

"I still see the party's key role as the custodian of non-racial, liberal, democratic values.

"Secondly, the party has a role to promote the process of negotiation as an alternative to conflict.

"Its third aim is to increase the effectiveness of anti-apartheid opposition in South Africa. This cannot be done by the PFP on its own. The party has to be involved in finding a



Eglin... 'actions will soon develop.'

"This does not make liberal values any less important. In fact it makes it even more important for people to stand up for these values so that, when apartheid is gone, they will still be there to help build a new South Africa on the basis of equal rights, individual freedom and the rule of law."

**Q:** What do you think can be done to improve the prospects of the liberal movement in South Africa?

"I think it is understandable that, when the dispute in South Africa has been dominated by the issue of race, the quality of life and the extent of freedom, issues that do not have anything to do with race tend to be pushed into the background.

"There has to be a greater focus on these liberal values and on the needs of individuals in society so that they can remain as a meaningful factor when apartheid is gone.

"Apartheid must go, but it would not be clever to replace tyranny based on apartheid by tyranny based on authoritarianism."

**Q:** Does the move to have a broader

to Parliament or are you also seeking contact outside Parliament?

"The PFP's basic platform is a parliamentary one and within this it has to reach out to others who share its values and objectives. Greater cohesion is needed among these parliamentary groups for them to have greater impact.

"This opposition faces a wobbly Government and an arrogant and strident Conservative

Party. Under these circumstances a comprehensive strategy is needed to bring about more cohesion among anti-apartheid opposition groups."

Mr Eglin said that at the same time the PFP intended playing a role in the wider political arena as is set out in its mission statement.

This statement points out that, while Parliament is an essential element in the process of fundamental change in South Africa, it is not the only site in the wider South African arena where political power and influence are expressed.

"Added to this, the majority of the citizens of our country do not have access either to Parliament or to the electoral process which is an integral part of it.

"Thus, for the PFP to be able to use its base in Parliament effectively in the interest of the country as a whole, it has to be relevant to the wider South African community."

The party therefore intended to be involved with communities, to build bridges of trust across the racial divide and to identify with the plight of those South Africans who were denied fundamental rights.

hesion of efforts among various groups and parties who share its goal of a democratic and apartheid-free South Africa.

**Q:** There has recently been a lot of talk about the plight of liberalism in South Africa. How do you see this?

"Under present circumstances liberalism is under pressure in politics, the universities and the press, in various fields where people want to speak and think freely."



# Treurnicht says AWB is not a threat to CP

29/12/88  
301A  
SMB

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was not a threat to the Conservative Party and its members were welcome in the ranks of the CP, Opposition leader and head of the party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said today.

Dr Treurnicht, who last night aligned his party with the objectives of the AWB at a meeting in Delmas, today rejected inferences from the National Party that the AWB was a Trojan horse within the CP.

"The AWB is a threat to the NP, not to us," he said. "It (the AWB) stands for the rights of the Afrikaner and the white man in Africa."

AWB members were welcome to join the CP if they adhered to its policy and leadership and "observed its discipline", he said.

Earlier, Dr Treurnicht had reacted to revelations that several CP MPs belong to the AWB as well — Delmas MP Mr Daan Nolte declared his

membership at the meeting last night — by saying the AWB was a "cultural organisation".

Today he told The Star: "Politics and culture cannot be entirely separated, but I have the assurance from the AWB that it will not act as a political party. And with the CP making such progress, they realise they do not need to."

He said he had spoken to AWB deputy leader Mr Jan Groenewald yesterday about a taped conversation reported in *Beeld* in which Mr Groenewald told former Hertsigte Nasionale Party parliamentary candidate Mr Danie van Zyl that the CP leader was afraid of HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais.

## WARNED

"I expect (AWB leader) Mr Eugene TerreBlanche may issue a statement today," he said.

He said he was not at all concerned about the AWB presence in the CP.

"I have warned them about violence before. I am not at all in favour of thuggery at meetings," said Dr Treurnicht.

(Report by C Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

ARGUS 29/1/88

304A

## Dr T welcomes the AWB into his party

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Dr Andries Treurnicht today welcomed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members to the ranks of his Conservative Party and said they were no threat.

Dr Treurnicht, who last night aligned his party with the objectives of the AWB at a meeting in Delmas, rejected inferences from the National Party that the AWB was a Trojan horse within the CP.

"The AWB is a threat to the National Party, not to us," he said. "It (the AWB) stands for the rights of the Afrikaner and the white man in Africa."

Earlier Dr Treurnicht had reacted to revelations that several CP members of Parliament belong to the AWB by saying the AWB was a "cultural organisation".

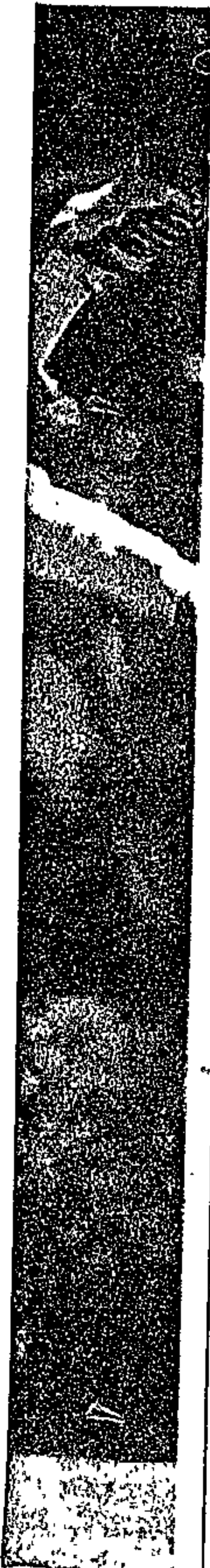
Today he told reporters: "Politics and culture cannot be entirely separated, but I have the assurance from the AWB that it will not act as a political party. And with the CP making such progress, they realise they do not need to."

He had spoken to AWB deputy-leader Mr Jan Groenewald about a taped conversation reported in the Beeld in which Mr Groenewald told former Herstigte Nasionale Party parliamentary candidate Mr Danie van Zyl that the CP leader was afraid of HNP leader Jaap Marais.

He said he was "not at all concerned" about the AWB presence in the CP.

"I have warned them about violence before. I'm not at all in favour of thuggery at meetings," said Dr Treurnicht.

Dr Treurnicht told the audience of about 300 in Delmas that the AWB could not "take over" the CP.





## MEDIA AND POLITICS

# The CP blacks the airwaves

Official Opposition leader Andries Treurnicht has given his Conservative Party (CP) strategists the go-ahead to launch a country-wide consumer action campaign against the SABC.

Angry at Auckland Park for what CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis calls a deliberate National Party (NP)-inspired attempt to link Treurnicht with the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), supporters of the party will be urged to sell their TV sets.

Since taking over government 40 years ago, the Nationalists have gradually entrenched themselves as the rulers and policy-makers of the airwaves. The Progs (and those before them) had tried in vain to curb the tide of NP propaganda dished out by the SABC.

Now Auckland Park and its masters in Tuynhuys face an onslaught from a different quarter. The main reason for the Treurnicht/CP wrath stems from a champagne breakfast press conference Treurnicht held in Johannesburg last Thursday to answer questions on the March by-elections. The CP charges that the SABC concentrated only on the negative AWB aspect, ignoring other issues raised at the two-hour conference.

Derby-Lewis calls that night's 6 pm TV news and *Network* programme "almost contempt at what he (Treurnicht) was saying about the AWB." He says he phoned Deputy Director

General Kobus Hamman the following day to register his party's strong protest: "I said to him that if the AWB is such a big issue, attention should also be given to the secret talks between the Broederbond and the ANC and the government appointed ANC member on the Transvaal Executive Committee."

Derby-Lewis says Hamman replied that the SABC was of the opinion that it had handled the conference correctly. "He told me he did not think it was something to get excited about," Derby-Lewis says.

He adds that he discussed his strategy for a nationwide consumer action with Treurnicht,

who had no objections. "He also thinks that action against the arrogance of the SABC is long overdue. It is now the time to involve the consumer. At the same time, we are also getting technical advice on whether it is possible for TV sets to be converted to monitors, thus allowing people to use it for video viewing, without using the SABC's broadcast facilities. That might enable viewers to still use their sets for entertainment without having to pay TV licenses."

Although the CP's proposed action smells very much like that of an official party



Hamman

boycott, Derby-Lewis denies this vehemently. "We are not asking supporters to boycott products advertised on TV. We are not boycotters." He does admit, however, that once people start selling their TV sets, producers and advertisers may also put some pressure on the SABC.

Treurnicht himself gave the SABC an indirect warning during a recent interview when the possibility of a TV debate between him and Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk was raised. Accusing Bob van Walsem, the editor of Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport*, of not honouring an agreement with him during the publication of a debate between him (Treurnicht) and De Klerk in the political columns of the paper, Treurnicht said the terms of a TV debate would have to be agreed on and strictly adhered to.

Meanwhile, the CP spokesman on the SABC, Fanie Jacobz, a former law professor at Potchefstroom, is seeking legal advice to

ensure that the SABC fulfils its duties as a broadcast medium in terms of the Broadcast Act, says Derby-Lewis.

(According to Notice 1249 in the *Government Gazette* of June 15 1979, the SABC "shall broadcast its programmes . . . to report newsworthy current events in the Republic and abroad clearly, unambiguously, factually, impartially and without distortion.")

With three by-elections looming (Standerfontein, Schweizer-Reneke and, later, Randfontein), the attention of media watchers will once again focus on the SABC's handling of the viewpoints of the various parties. And as can be expected in these three rightwing constituencies, the Nats will try desperately to embarrass Treurnicht by linking him to Eugene Terre'Blanche's militant AWB.

To back their claim of bias on the part of the SABC, the CP will, ironically, be able to use a report commissioned by Progressive Federal Party (PFP) media spokesman Dave Dalling. The report, by Rhodes University's Department of Journalism and Media Studies, found that the NP was given substantially more time on SABC-TV than other parties or groups.

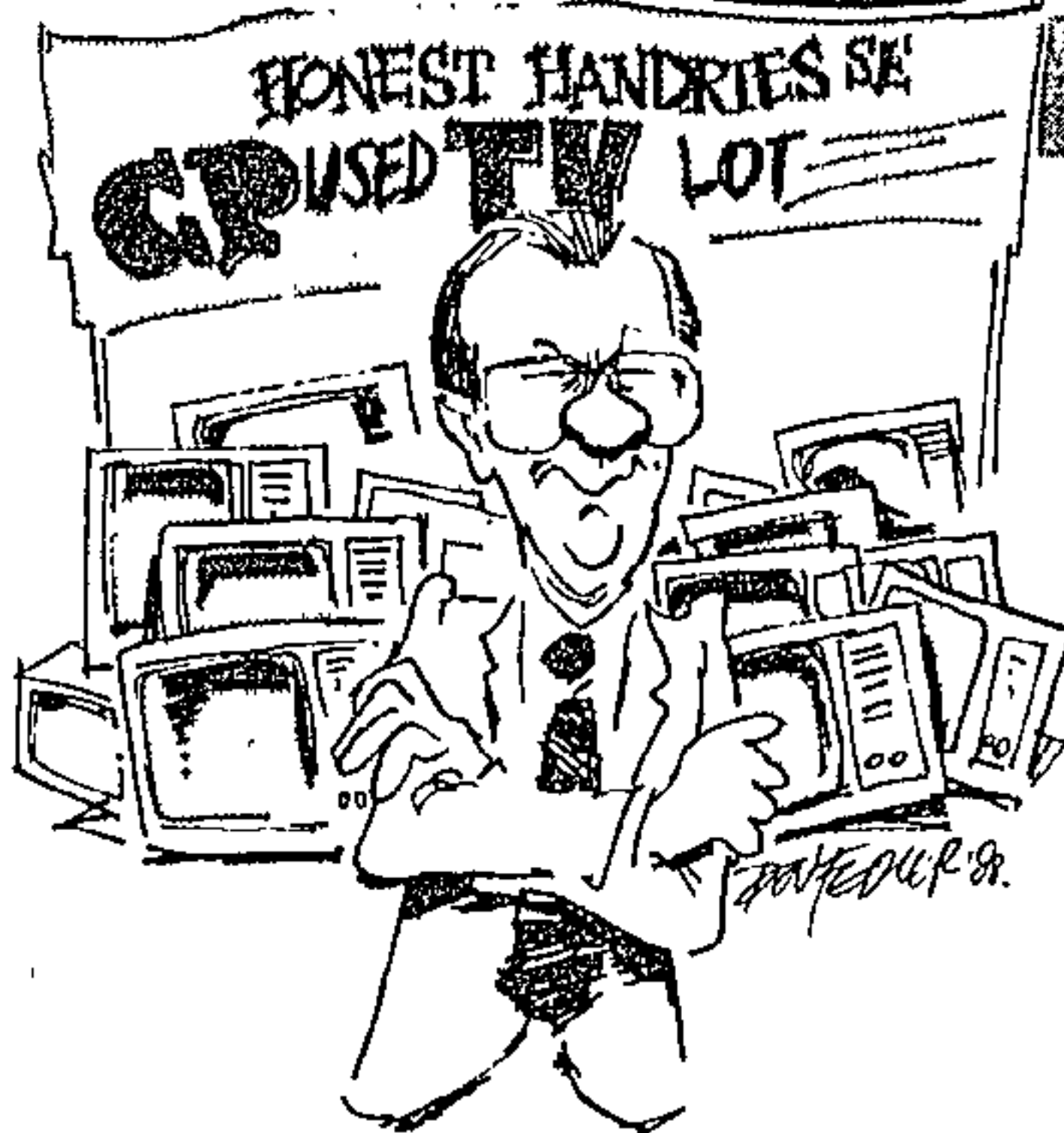
The report, which was included in *South African Election 1987*, a Human Sciences Research Council report, stated that the CP and the HNP together received about the same time as the PFP-New Republic Party (NRP) alliance. It concludes: "Coverage of the election calls into question the SABC's compliance with the last three points of paragraph 1(d) of its conditions of licence: 'to report current events . . . factually, impartially and without distortion.'"

Furthermore, the report says that the "treatment of election news and conduct of election round-ups, as indicated in this report, severely stretch the ordinary meanings of 'impartially and without distortion.'"

For many years, the NP has commanded the airwaves with political propaganda delivered by the likes of Alexander Steward, then the ghost voice of the *Current Affairs* programme and, lately, Cliff Saunders. Last year, viewers had to put up with the grilling of Independent candidate Wynand Malan by political reporter André le Roux and the humiliation of Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse by P W Botha himself, claiming the powerful medium for his majority use.

Another scenario, of course, could be that Pretoria may again use the SABC as an election tool for tough talking on the P W and Magnus shows.

Anything, except reform, is possible during an election involving the NP, CP and HNP.







DR SLABBERT ...  
43 per cent



DR WORRALL ...  
57 per cent



CHIEF BUTHELEZI ...  
73 per cent

306A D/D 29/1/88

## Buthelezi clear leader in Natal Indaba poll

DURBAN — Natal's white voters would strongly support Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's involvement in the leadership of a kwaZulu/Natal provincial government ahead of other leading political figures, according to latest market research findings.

Asked who they "would like to see involved in the leadership and running of a combined kwaZulu and Natal," 73 per cent of respondents favoured Chief Buthelezi, with the next-highest vote of 52 per cent going to Dr Denis Worrall as leader of the Independent Movement.

Third favourite was Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert (43 per cent), followed by Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, and Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party (both 29 per cent).

The survey, conducted last month by Research Surveys (Pty) Ltd on behalf of the kwaZulu Natal Indaba, canvassed a random, representative sample of 1 002 white voters in the Natal constituencies of Pietermaritzburg North, Durban Central, Umbilo, Durban North, Umhlanga and Pine-town.

Three of these seats are currently held by the National Party and three by the Progressive Federal Party.

Among National Party Voters Can-

vassed, Chief Buthelezi remained the favourite choice, polling 69 per cent as opposed to his nearest contenders Mr Stoffel Botha (44 per cent) and Dr Denis Worrall (39 per cent).

The next-favourite black politician in the overall poll was Dr Oscar Dhomo, co-convenor of the Indaba, with 19 per cent support, ahead of Nelson Mandela (9 per cent), Mr Archie Gumede (7 per cent), Bishop Desmond Tutu (6 per cent) and Mr Govan Mbeki (5 per cent).

Opposition to the involvement of Bishop Tutu (79 per cent) and Nelson Mandela (73 per cent) was the strongest recorded.

The preliminary findings of the survey released last week showed that 54 per cent of white voters canvassed supported the kwaZulu Natal Indaba, as compared with 13 per cent who opposed it.

At the same time the survey reflected the National Party's current dominance of the Natal political scene, with a clear majority of 40 per cent of respondents expressing support for the National Party in a general election, as opposed to 21 per cent for the Progressive Federal Party and 15 per cent for an Independent movement backed by Dr Denis Worrall. — Sapa



# Buthelezi ahead, says poll

APR 11/88 29/1/88 394

DURBAN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is way out front following a poll to determine the man "to lead and run a combined KwaZulu and Natal".

That, the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba said yesterday, was how 1 002 white voters of six Natal parliamentary constituencies voted in a survey conducted recently for it by Research Survey (Pty) Ltd.

Chief Buthelezi received a mammoth 73% vote.

He was followed by four white leaders — Dr Denis Worrall with 52%, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert 43%, Mr Wynand Malan and Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha, joint fourth, with 29%.

The survey took in three NP seats — Maritzburg North, Umbilo and Umhlanga — and three PFP seats — Durban North, Durban Central and Pinetown.

According to the Indaba, the research showed that among NP voters canvassed, Dr Buthelezi was tops with a 69% positive vote, with Mr Stoffel Botha 44% and Dr Worrall 39%.

"A feature of the poll was the low public

recognition enjoyed by many of the Indaba's critics.

"Mr George Bartlett, deputy leader of the NP in Natal, and Mr Renier Schoeman (NP Umhlanga) had not been heard of by 58% of the respondents; 60% had not heard of Dr Johan Steenkamp (NP Umhlanga) or Mr Danie Schutte (NP Maritzburg North).

## Preliminary

"Mr Duncan du Bois of the Conservative Party was unknown to 77%," the Indaba said in its statement.

The preliminary findings of the survey, released last week, showed that 54% of white voters supported the Indaba, with 13% against. There was also majority support for the Indaba from Independent, PFP and NP supporters.

But if Dr Worrall, Dr Slabbert, Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Stoffel Botha ran just behind Chief Buthelezi in the leadership stakes, they were pushed two further places down the field when respondents

were asked: "Here is a list of South Africans involved in politics. Say whether you have heard of them or not. If you have only done so vaguely please say so."

Chief Buthelezi ran in a mighty 99% from all respondents — "Nats only" as well — to the first part, and 1% to the second part. Archbishop Desmond Tutu scored 98%, 1% and 1% overall, with 98% from the NP only recognizing him; Mr Nelson Mandela 97% positive, 2% and 1%.

Mr Ray Swart, former leader of the PFP in Natal, just trailed Mr Malan to fill eighth place. Overall, Mr Malan scored 75% for those who had heard of him, and Mr Swart 61%.

Apart from Chief Buthelezi, Archbishop Tutu and Mr Mandela, only three other black leaders were included — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu cabinet minister and Indaba co-leader, Mr Archie Gumede (UDF) and Mr Govan Mbeki (recently released political prisoner).

Their "positive" ratios were, respectively, 11%, 4% and 2%.

The "don't know of them" percentages respectively were 74, 75 and 67. — Sapa



Chief Buthelezi

1464 S 29/1/88

# Nats to fight Conservatives on the beaches

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

SHARP clashes between the National and Conservative parties, especially on Group Areas Act and open beaches, are expected in the coming session of Parliament.

Two upcoming by-elections in the Transvaal have increased the bitterness between the two main white parties.

The anti-apartheid opposition elements in Parliament may find themselves sidelined for part of the session as the NP-CP battles rage.

For the increasingly strident CP the session will be the prelude to local government elections to be fought on a party political basis in October.

## Fight

The CP wants to do well in these elections, especially in the Transvaal, in order to use local government bodies to fight changes to the Group Areas Act.

These changes will be the

topic of the main debates of the session. Following last year's President's Council report the Government expressed its willingness to have some open residential areas while maintaining most separate areas and schools.

The CP also intends fighting the National Party on open beaches, especially about racial incidents and alleged bad behaviour on newly opened Natal beaches in the past holiday season.

Nationalist politicians concede that supporters in the Transvaal and Free State who holiday in Natal feel strongly about this issue.

## Discussion

The subject was one of the main points of discussion at a caucus meeting of Natal Nationalist MPs this week.

The Government is likely to announce additional financial aid for the development of more beach facilities to relieve the present congestion in some areas.

The Government's plan to have a consultative National Council to negotiate black political rights will go a step further with the introduction of a

Bill to provide for this but the plan itself is not likely to get off the ground this year.

The Department of Constitutional development will continue behind-the-scenes negotiations.

The anti-apartheid opposition is determined to press on with its tasks.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that, apart from a consumer-led revival in the economic field, the Government had not touched sides in trying to resolve the key political issues of black political rights and the sharing of real political power.

The intra-Afrikaner fight was about political power in a white context and would contribute nothing to a solution of South Africa's pressing overall problems.

This session will for the first time see the National Democratic Movement with its three members under the leadership of Mr Wynand Malan in action in the Assembly.

The Government also faces problems in the House of Representatives



2 Cape Times, Saturday, January 30, 1988

# Conservatives attempt big TV switch-off

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Conservative Party has launched a nationwide consumer action campaign against the SABC because of its alleged bias and lack of objectivity.

It is asking right-wing people to switch off their television sets during programmes they don't like, to force down viewership and advertising income.

"We will encourage people on a large-scale basis to switch off the programmes that annoy them," a party spokesman, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said yesterday.

"The fact that they are not receiving viewership will make advertisers pressurise the SABC to reduce their rates.

"The SABC can't afford to do this. This will force them to have more objective treatment of the CP," Mr Derby-Lewis explained.

"We will involve all right-wing

groups, including the CP, the AWB, the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV), the Stal-lard Foundation, the Civic Action League in Durban and the Oranje Werkers.

"We object to paying licence fees and advertising income when the SABC is nothing but a National Party propaganda machine," he added.

He said the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was fully behind the campaign: "The whole CP is fed up with the SABC."

Asked if the CP would welcome the support of other groups who were upset with the SABC's coverage, Mr Derby-Lewis replied: "We are not interested in other groups. They must fight their own battles. But there is nothing we can do if others get on to the bandwagon.

"We are the official opposition in the South African Parliament and we demand objective coverage."

Mr Derby-Lewis said the campaign would be aimed at programmes like Network and the news.



# Call for NP's Schoeman to go

**SHIRLEY WOODGATE,  
Municipal Reporter**

The Conservative Party has demanded the resignation of National Party city councillor and management committee member Mr Hennie Schoeman over his alleged role in a multimillion rand property deal involving the Johannesburg Municipal Pension Fund.

Mr Fred Rundle, acting chairman of the regional council of the CP, said the party had also lodged a formal complaint against Mr Schoeman with the Estate Agents Board in compliance with the Estate Agents Act.

The CP had also requested the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, or the responsible Minister, to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the matter, Mr Rundle said.

This follows the row in the city council last week sparked by Progressive Federal Party allegations that Mr Schoeman had acted as an agent for the chairman of Johannesburg Mining and Finance, Mr Joe Berardo, in the sale of South African Associated Newspapers' 171 Main Street property to the Johannesburg Municipal Pension Fund.

PFP councillor Mr Ian Davidson alleged Mr Berardo had bought the property for R5,5 million on November 25 after receiving

## Row over council deal 'leak'

leaked information from the management committee meeting on November 24. He promptly sold the building to the fund for R7,25 million, allegedly netting an overnight R1,7 million profit.

The Johannesburg management committee chairman, Mr Francois Oberholzer, rejected the call for Mr Schoeman's resignation and accused the CP of turning the transaction into a political issue.

Denying there had been a leak from the management committee, he said: "Following a committee decision, the pension fund was instructed to see if Mr Berardo would reduce his price.

"The fund negotiated with Mr Berardo the day after the committee meeting. They had heard there was another buyer and did not want to lose the building, so paid the higher price," Mr Oberholzer said.

The row has thrust the Johannesburg Mu-

nicipal Pension Fund into the limelight for the third time in four years.

In February 1984, a commission of inquiry revealed that the fund's manager, Mr Joseph Beeby, had conducted hundreds of transactions involving at least R100 million in 1981 and 1982 without consulting his sub-committee.

The report said the fund might have lost R600 000 in share deals.

However, the unorthodox "Chinese book-keeping" method used by the fund made it virtually impossible to determine whether investment losses had been incurred, the report said.

The chairman in 1984 — when the commission of inquiry was launched — was management committee member and planning committee head Mr Hennie Schoeman.

Mr Oberholzer conceded at the time that Mr Schoeman had known about the losses, but said it was up to the pension fund committee to take further action if it deemed it necessary.

A week later, the fund was again in the news following a deal involving an independent councillor, Mr Lionel Keenan.

The fund paid Mr Keenan R950 000 for a Jet Park factory, a transaction which was approved by the investment sub-committee in 24 hours.

Mr Cecil Bass (PFP) said transactions normally took much longer to conclude.

Mr Keenan denied rumours that he had been bankrolled by the National Party/Independent Ratepayers Association coalition.

## The Govt press resumes attack on 'CP-AWB link'

**SATURDAY STAR REPORTER**

The Government-supporting press, prompted no doubt by the pending by-elections in the Transvaal, has decided the time is ripe to resume its onslaught on the Conservative Party.

*Beeld*, for instance, is patently intent on discrediting the CP and its leader, Dr AP Treurnicht. His alleged dependence on the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) is seen as the Achilles heel.

For much of the past two weeks, the newspaper's main cartoon was devoted to a series by Orin Scott, depicting Dr Treurnicht at the mercy of a slaving, mad dog, representing the AWB.

The campaign reached a climax on Thursday this week with a front page lead headlined "The AWB connection", dealing with, in the words of the report, "startling evidence of the relationship between the Conservative Party and the extremist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging."



How the Afrikaans press sees the relationship between the Conservative Party and the AWB.

The report said *Beeld* was in possession of tapes of a telephone conversation last year, before the House of Assembly election, between a top member of the AWB in Pretoria and a former Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate who, at that stage, was still a member of the AWB.

The two participants in the conversation, says *Beeld*, were deputy leader of the AWB Mr Jan Groenewald and HNP candidate for Delmas Mr Danie van Zyl.



*Cape Times*  
30/1/88  
**Dias festival  
'is above  
politics'**

Chief Reporter

THE essence of the National Dias Festival, which was "above politics and colour", was that it was a celebration of the togetherness of the rich variety of cultures in South Africa, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, said when he formally opened the festival at Mossel Bay last night.

The festival highlighted Mossel Bay's linking role in the world breakthrough 500 years ago in which East and West had been brought together, he said.

It was precisely on this spot on the African continent that the Portuguese discoverer Bartolomeu Dias had succeeded where others before him had failed, in establishing a sea-route linking Europe with the East.

"With his arrival in Mossel Bay, Dias forged a bond between South Africa and Portugal — a bond to which thousands of South African Portuguese will pay tribute when they attend the festival proceedings in the next few days."

● The caravel sails from Simon's Town between 6am and 7am today, after a brief stop-over for repairs and replenishment, and should be visible in False Bay for most of the morning, as it heads out slowly on the final leg of its 6 000-nautical-mile voyage to Mossel Bay, escorted by the Cape Nature Conservation Department's patrol vessel Custos.

IN ALL the talk about an alliance of political parties to the left of the National Party one important development is being overlooked.

In almost paternalistic fashion, it seems to be simply assumed that the Labour Party of the Rev Allan Hendrickse will become part of such an alliance.

The focus is now on the possibility of the NRP throwing in its lot with Denis Worrall, with the PFP divided on the issue, but certain to be further weakened by this attempt at creating a united left.

Over and above these moves, though, there is loose talk of forming a closer alliance across the various Houses of Parliament. Thus, first an alliance of sorts among whites in the House of Assembly, and then one across to the coloured Labour Party and the Solidarity party of the Indians.

Should such an alliance ever come about, the present underlying assumption is that Labour and Solidarity will be junior members.

But that would be a serious misreading of where parliamentary strength lies. The Labour Party of today is very different from what it was a year ago. It, together with the Conservative Party, is probably the main opposition at parliamentary level.

Relations between the PFP and the Labour Party have never been very good, although improving over the last months. The PFP was, until recently, scathing about Labour because of its former cautious approach to cooperating within government and the low polls through which it was elected.

This has not been forgotten by the Labour Party. Now that the power realities have changed, LP may well ask itself what advantage there is for it in closer cooperation with the PFP and/or any other white political grouping to the left of the



## Harald Pakendorf

National Party.

Labour was scorned by all and sundry when it opted for the parliamentary route in 1982. Its initial cooperation with the National Party in government was seen as a sell-out.

The UDF in particular made much of this. But as the unrest in the country subsided and the UDF started to withdraw into itself to rethink strategy, Labour slowly began to come to the fore.

The clash last year with the State President over Mr Hendrickse's public swimming protest almost knocked Labour sideways. Mr Hendrickse was seen to have been pushed around and publicly humiliated.

But when he stood firm later, his personal standing grew. Whether he had resigned or was fired by the President was much talked about at the time, but what remained was the image of a man who was prepared to stand up and be counted.

The same goes for his clear victory over former Minister Carter Ebrahim. It enhanced his stature.

LP could be catalyst in alliance to the left of the NP

to the President's Council every time it cannot get its way with Labour.

This in itself leads to compromise. However much one can criticise the tricameral system and however clear it is that it is not the last word in our constitutional development, Labour has used the opportunity given it.

The result is that its standing among its own voters has been enhanced and it can look forward to a higher poll at the next election. Even within some UDF circles there is grudging respect for the Mr Hendrickse.

It is thus a totally different Labour Party the PFP and/or other political groupings will face when it comes to formal discussions — should there be such discussions.

Thus far there have only been informal contacts — over the coffee table, in parliamentary offices.

Labour is now a confident party, feeling that it is playing a significant role in the country's politics. And it will be very careful with whom and what kind of relationship it enters into.

Simply ganging up on PW Botha and the National Party may not be the wisest course to follow. There would have to be far more than mutual opposition. There would have to be mutual principles and strategy.

Labour may well consider that the PFP has research and financial resources it lacks. This may be tempting, but it would be surprising if Labour simply falls into the slipstream created by an alliance in white politics — should this really come about.

On this score there remains doubt. There has been much talking but not much movement. The divisions and suspicions between the main actors may just lie too deep to overcome the almost desperate desire to see something, almost anything, happen to the left of the National Party.

ST 31/1/88



# Fiscal summit to set key to future

By UDO RYPSTRA

SOUTH AFRICAN business leaders are eagerly awaiting a critical meeting with President Botha on Thursday this week at which the Government's new economic strategy will be unveiled.

Inflation, it is reliably understood, will be at the top of the agenda for the 165 businessmen.

New plans to reduce the inflation rate to single digits will be proposed.

The Economic Advisory Council has submitted plans to cut the rate by 2,1 percent to 14 percent this year and by 2,5 percent to 9 percent in the next two years — an achievement economists think may be very hard to pull off.

## Wishful

A new Sanlam survey predicts the inflation rate will remain above 15 percent this year and may even increase later in the year as the economy picks up momentum and the rand starts weakening.

Some statisticians believe the latest trends could lead to an inflation rate of 10,4 percent — perhaps a wishful figure.

March is Budget month, and in order to set an example in any inflation-busting campaign, Mr Botha is expected to give some indication of how Government spending is going to be curbed.

The need for this has been expressed by many economists and businessmen.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has already announced a "secret" five-year plan to curb State spending.

Spending for the first nine months of the current financial year is already 21,5 percent more compared to that for the same period the previous year — well above the 17 percent overall that the Minister made allowance for. This means a likely budget overrun of R1 600-million.

PARLIAMENTARIANS expect 1988 to be a year of thunder and lightning — but little rain.

Economics — what the country earns, the public pays and the State wastes — is set to dominate at least part of the session that opens tomorrow.

In the political arena, however, the already pitched clash between the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and President P W Botha will continue to reverberate.

Adding to the political noise throughout the session will be the gathering storm between the National Party and the Conservative Party and other right-wing groups as they prepare for a series of by-elections and the local-authority elections scheduled for October.

Almost obscured already is the fact that the October elections will be South Africa's biggest ever, with about 8 000 councillors of all races being elected to the country's 1 300 third-tier government bodies.

On the Government's left, the shattered opposition is desperately groping for some form of unity. Although it is of lesser potential trouble than ructions on the right, Mr Botha will have to note and deal with the developments there.

By contrast, Parliament's legislative programme is not expected to reveal anything of great interest. MPs agree that proceedings will be dominated by inter-party and inter-House conflicts.

The opposition cynics among

# What Parliament's agenda lacks in glamour it could make up in bulk

by Lester Venter

Political Correspondent

them go even further. They say the political — as opposed to legislative — expectations come as a disguised blessing for a Government that has, in fact, little left to offer in terms of reform of the country's controversial laws.

The 1988 parliamentary season will open tomorrow on a controversial note.

When MPs sit down they will be doing so not as initiators of a new session but, in many cases, as reluctant relics of the unfinished session of last year.

## Complex

The reason stems from two ostensibly innocuous Bills that were, however, rejected by the House of Representatives on the grounds of financial discrimination.

The Town Clerks Amendment Bill and the Pension Benefits for Councillors of Local Authorities Bill then went, as constitutionally required,

to the President's Council for a decision.

During the recess, it is understood, Government bureaucrats realised the complex tricameral constitution required the completion of a Bill's passage in the session it was introduced in.

Parliament sits four days early, then, to hear the President's Council report on the two Bills.

Opposition MPs expect this to take little more than a day. For the rest, except those who have standing-committee obligations, they expect to have to twiddle their thumbs in Cape Town until the official opening of the new session on Friday.

When Friday's official opening does take place, it is expected to do so in the new, multi-million-rand extension to Parliament that includes a chamber that can seat the members of all three Houses.

When Mr Botha's speech is over, however, the new chamber will stand temporarily unused as the

President and the Labour Party go back to their respective Houses to slug out a settlement over one of the many issues on which they are knocking heads.

The new chamber is intended as the venue for the Government's plan for joint debates — debates that stop short, however, of joint voting.

For that very reason the LP blocked the legislation enabling the joint debates.

The Government's plan included a provision to do away with the traditional no-confidence debate and replace it with a debate on the President's opening speech.

## Merciless

So the no-confidence debate that will follow the official opening may well be the last to take place from the green leather benches of the House of Assembly.

In general strategic terms, the Government is expected to turn serious attention to the economy — emphasising the slow economic pick-up and opening discussion on ways to curb inflation and state spending.

More specifically, the Govern-

ment will rely on its trusted methods of merciless assault on its opponents' weaknesses. In this case it will bid to link the CP with the militant Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, making as great a bogey as it can of the AWB along the way.

An anticipated development fairly early in the session will be a decision by the New Republic Party's sole MP, Mr Ralph Harlingham, to join Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement.

After his tense and eventful 12 months on the political fringe, this will give Dr Worrall a foothold in Parliament.

But the political focus will be on the Botha-Hendrickse clash.

Mr Hendrickse is committed to a campaign of resistance to any vestige of racial discrimination in legislation. His willingness to stand up to Mr Botha has catapulted him in a few short months to the high point of his long career in politics.

Mr Botha, however, will not meekly allow Mr Hendrickse to aggrandise himself at the President's expense. The result could be one of the most intensely plotted campaigns yet seen in Mr Botha's notorious taste for political ruthlessness

and revenge.

What the legislative programme might lack in glamour it may make up in bulk. Already there are 25 published Bills for 1988 waiting for the legislators. Most of them are of a technical nature.

One of the main legislative items, however, is the National Council Bill to establish a negotiating forum with blacks.

It is currently stuck in a standing committee with one of its chief problems the fact that, as it stands, it requires representation by black homelands. Not all homeland leaders have indicated their willingness to sit on the body.

## Clarifies

Politicians, therefore, are not certain the Bill will come before Parliament this year.

"Even if it does," said Progressive Federal Party chief whip John Malcomess, "it is a dead duck because it has already been rejected by most leaders of substance."

CP whip Willie Shyman said his party would also fight the National Council Bill, as it would a Regional Services Councils Amendment Bill. The proposed law clarifies RSC fields of operation and allows the controversial bodies to usurp the powers of local authorities when necessary.

But, behind the sound and fury of the year's political clashes, the ordinary lawmaking work of Parliament is going to struggle to be noticed.



# NRP delays move to dissolve

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE New Republic Party yesterday pulled back from the brink of a dissolution that could have launched a move towards a new political grouping on the left.

The party's federal council agreed at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday to call a special congress later this year to discuss alignment with the Independent Movement led by Dr Denis Worrall.

But, insisted NRP leaders, there was considerable support for the basic set of principles drawn up between Dr Worrall and the NRP.

The principles advocate the ending of apartheid and a concept of community rights based on voluntary association.

The principles are to be the basis for a new party to be launched by Dr Worrall in a few months.

Last election the NRP

secured approximately 50 000 votes. But the Independent Movement linked with Dr Worrall has been enjoying growing public support.

A poll recently conducted by the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba gave the party 15 per cent support in six key Natal constituencies.

A later poll put Dr Worrall second only to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in popularity in the province.

This means at least three lobbies are now at work, bidding to seize the initiative as the momentum for some sort of opposition agreement grows.

The three lobbies are Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement, the Progressive Federal Party's "old guard" leadership, and the PFP's impatient young rebels.



THE dreams and hopes of the Progressive Federal Party, irrespective of present tensions, remain close to the heart of many, if not most, in the party.

They form an impressive checklist of values for which people, honest people, have fought for many a long year.

● Federalism can provide the answer to South Africa's constitutional problems. It can satisfy the aspirations of the majority and safeguard minorities.

● Economic democracy offers a solution to the country's complex economic problems. The detailed policy gives a real chance of progress to the deprived and stills the fears of vested interests.

● The protection of human rights is a long-standing Western philosophy and is needed in every community.

● Service to those who feel unjustly treated or the victims of discrimination is the duty of any politician worthy of holding office.

● Courageous opposition to laws that are wrong and support for measures that are desirable are the functions of an effective opposition.

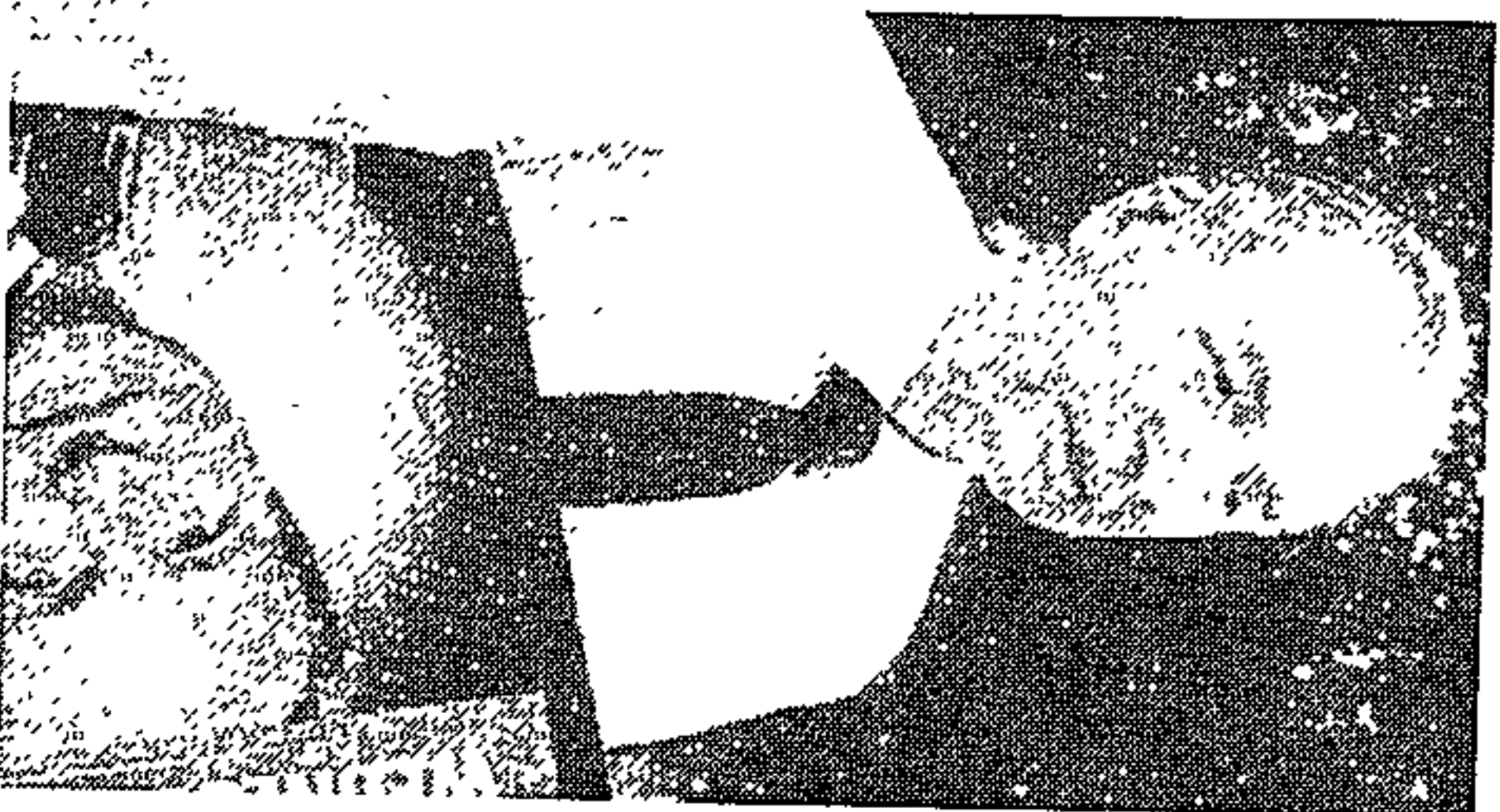
I am asked to write whether there is something wrong with the PFP and if so, what it is. What, if anything, has torn the once proudly fluttering banner?

## Ideals

At the outset let it be said that most of the party members and supporters have not lost their ideals or the stars in their eyes. Most public representatives cherish principles and do their job, not only for their constituencies but also for their country.

There is nothing wrong with the philosophies of the PFP. But there is little doubt that there have been changes.

It all started with power-brokers, one in particular, who championed Van Zyl Slabbert.



by Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville

This was designed to create a slick new Afrikaner intellectual sporting image which would not only appeal to the Afrikaner vote but also to English speakers who traditionally prefer to be led not by one of their own but by an Afrikaner.

It was not enough to change leadership — most of the rest of the stable needed to be different as well.

The new imagery at first worked well, but the leader became impatient with the progress and turned his back on his party and the parliamentary process in steps unprecedented in parliamentary history.

He was followed by the chairman of the federal executive, another of the bright new stars, whose statements had often shown a degree of ambiguity that allowed interpretation somewhat

# The PFP can't just jump into bed with every revolutionary

more radical than the party line, and who once outside the party was able to express such views without hindrance of party discipline.

The party recalled its previous leader, and he chose to surround himself with ambitious young princes instead of wise old counsellors. Machiavelli might have advised him differently.

## Scapegoats

An election followed. The campaign left quite a lot to be desired, not only in technical management, but in image projection.

Photographs of a PFP MP giving what seemed to be a Black Power salute circulated country-wide. He needed to excuse it (he does not do so anymore) and others had to defend it.

There were what one might call

a few other little mistakes. Electoral setback followed and the party was no longer the official opposition. The shock and consequences of this were psychologically more serious than most thought at the time.

As always after such an event, there followed a search for scapegoats, an apportioning of blame, new formulae, quick fixes and impatience of young princes.

The party management has changed. Some of the experienced politicians have been shunted aside — particularly those regarded as being centrist, whatever that means — and other old but attractive hands belatedly brought back to fill gaps left by defection and, perhaps, for the cosmetic purpose of re-establishing image.

But more significant have been the gradual changes of party office bearers at all levels. Many of the old-fashioned liberals or middle-of-the-road reformists of past years have gone. Some party

spokesmen seemingly do not offer to the traditional support base of the party what the individuals who comprise it are looking for in politics.

Flirting with both (or is it all) sides tends to cause confusion and rejection.

If one believes in peaceful change there is a need to preserve law and order while the process of reform takes place — but is this what comes across to the public? The voter is worried about security. So is the PFP. But how are some of its prominent figures, rightly or wrongly, perceived by the electorate?

## Difficulties

Since the May election, there have been defections and quarrels, creating an image of uncertainty. This certainly does not appeal to voters.

Elected representatives must not forget who has elected them, whom they represent and what their supporters expected from

them. To play to another gallery involves risks.

There is nothing wrong with the philosophies of the party but when there are setbacks a real politician faces them and deals with them. One sticks to principles and accepts that there is a tough road ahead.

There are no instant solutions and quick fixes. Nor is strength to be obtained by alliances with those whose methods and objectives differ from those of the PFP.

Common opposition to apartheid cannot be allowed to put the party into bed with revolutionaries who seek violent methods to overthrow the State. PFP voters are committed to peaceful processes.

## Enemies

There also cannot be alliances with those who do not seek to establish a Western-style democratic form of government after apartheid. The PFP supporters are not only opposed to leftist one-party regimes, but afraid of them. The choice of political processes is negotiation, revolution or reaction. The end results of such processes are Western-style democracy, one-party leftist tyranny or permanent conflict.

Those who believe in a peaceful process leading to a Western-type democratic government not only can, but should be together.

All the rest — the reactionaries, the revolutionaries and those who reject Western political and economic systems — are the PFP's political opponents.

To flirt with alliances with them will result not only in more image problems and rejection by voters, but disaster.

South Africa cannot afford an ineffective, fragmented, human-rights-orientated opposition. This will not help those who seek to polarise our society.

There must be a future for South Africa, and there is one. Peaceful reform and humanist opposition have a real role to play in shaping that future.



# The unacceptable face of TV, by the CP: Matlock!

THE Conservative Party has declared war on the SABC — and some of the country's favourite TV programmes.

As two by-elections loom in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke, a massive "switch-off" drive is threatened by CP leaders to retaliate against what they dub the SABC's "grossly unacceptable bias" in favour of the National Party. But sitcoms with black actors or supposedly low morals — as

by CHARMAIN NABOO

well as news shows — are also on their hit list.

CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis declared this week that the party is against:

## Distortion

MATLOCK, the American series about an intrepid lawyer, because it has a black judge and a black police chief.

WEBSTER, because it is about a black child adopted by a white couple — "it's ridiculous, a total distortion of

the facts. A young child is being used to soften public opinion."

BAKE ESSENCE, because of "certain bedroom scenes".

SPIODEN, SPIODEN (simulcast The Scarecrow and Mrs King), the spy series, because the security chief is black.

NORTH AND SOUTH, currently the series with top viewership, because of a scene involving a white man in a clinch with a slave and an across-the-colour-line marriage between a white woman and a black slave.

MISDAAD IN MIAMI (simulcast

Miami Vice), because all the top positions in the police department are held by Hispanic or black people.

Said Mr Derby-Lewis: "In fact, all programmes that represent a distorted view of reality in the United States — giving the impression that negroes have control of the country — are unacceptable."

## 'Objectionable'

"We're being brainwashed with all this American civil rights rubbish. From what we see on our screens, you'd think the negroes run America."

The campaign, he said, will be against the National Party's "propaganda base". CP members will be

urged to stop watching the "objectionable" shows.

"Our consumer action campaign could begin as soon as within the next week. All we're waiting for are the results of a technical study which will show whether it is possible to turn TV sets into video monitors," Mr Derby-Lewis said.

The CP hopes this will force advertisers into putting pressure on the SABC.

"If enough of our members switch off, the advertisers will have to wake up and realise that they can no longer allow the SABC to have complete control over what consumers are allowed to watch," said Mr Derby-Lewis. He claimed bias at the SABC is worse than in communist countries.

## Negative

● An SABC news bulletin which dealt only with the negative AWB aspects of a two-hour Press conference given by the CP leadership.

● A Network documentary which said how well integration in the South African Defence Force was working.

"While we have no intention of calling for a boycott of the SABC — we are not a boycott party — we do believe that we can no longer allow this to go on," said Mr Derby-Lewis.

The SABC — which faces similar complaints from the left of the political spectrum — has always denied a pro-Government bias.

But Mr Derby-Lewis said: "The SABC is using our licence money to fund the National Party propaganda machine and we can no longer allow it." Senior staff of the SABC were not available for comment yesterday.

2/11/8  
ST  
(48)

12/11/8

# Platteland polls that will answer many questions

by Donald Simpson

political researcher at Potchefstroom University

THE Parliamentary by-elections in early March for the vacant seats in the white House of Assembly will answer many questions about the mood of the platteland voters — but also raise others.

If the Conservative Party holds its seats with an increased majority then the spectre of the steady post-1948 National Party gains against the United Party will be raised, with an inevitable CP victory in a white election either in 1989, 1992 or 1994, with the NP as the unwilling substitute UP.

However, the NP is not the UP and is far more determined to hold on to power at any cost than the UP ever was.

And this in not 1948, it is a world where white voters with all their SABC-fed illusions know some harsh realities about the world, not obvious to the post-war voters.

## Ultimatum

The circumstances in which the by-elections were held — Mr Rosier de Ville in Standerton forced out on a technicality and Mr Jacobus Beyers in Schweizer-Reneke counted out because of a bankruptcy — have caused much angry comment in the constituencies.

However, the fund of goodwill for the CP has been partly used up by the intervention of the AWB strong-arm squads blundering about the Standerton constituency and looking like the extra-parliamentary group they claim to be.

This would not affect the CP, if like DF Malan in 1942, they gave their followers an ultimatum to belong to one or other organisation. Dr Treurnicht clearly has no intention of doing any such thing.

This public link, then, between the CP and AWB could cause the Conservatives to suffer in the by-elections.

Any evidence of this will damage the leadership of Dr Treurnicht and cause the more moderate elements like the Mulders, and the Natal and Cape CP, to demand a public rupture of the two.

If Professor Peter Mulder does well in Schweizer-Reneke and Mr de Ville does relatively badly in Standerton, this will be proof enough.

However, the death of Dr Connie Mulder, whatever distress it caused, is an enormous emotional boost for the Conservatives' campaign in Schweizer-Reneke, and should see Professor Pieter Mulder home.

If he does win, his victory will be the political funeral of Jaap Marais and the HNP.

Marais' public wrangling with Dr Treurnicht may have damaged both of them but is unlikely to save the HNP in the Western Transvaal.

Before the general election, it was not clear which party was stronger, the vot-

ers of the far right voted in the ratio 10:1 for the CP versus the HNP.

Now knowing what they didn't know in May 1987, the voters are singing the death song of the HNP in these by-elections.

## Volatility

In Europe or Australasia and Canada, parliamentary by-elections are followed eagerly to indicate voter trends in a way more real and reliable than opinion polls can be.

South Africa is similar, but the largely polarised voters of the post-war white electorate never showed the volatility of the 1980s among both English- and Afrikaans-speakers.

This must give sleepless nights to the NP leadership. There are other factors too. The "lie" factor, particularly by CP voters in state employment, is not to be underestimated.

It can be one in eight electors in the rural Transvaal.

This is why the 1987 election was such a shock to the Nationalists in that the Conservatives took 50,4 percent of the vote in Standerton and 48,5 percent in Schweizer-Reneke as against the NP's 43,7 and 46,8 percent.

The HNP claimed only 5,9 percent and 4,7 percent.

It is possible that the HNP vote will collapse in

Standerton, but Jaap Marais may still have some drawing power in Schweizer Reneke.

If this is so, the HNP and Conservative votes must be added together to give some idea of the likely number of far right Conservative MPs to be elected on 1987 constituency boundaries.

There were 30 such seats in 1987 and this becomes 34 in total if constituency electorate sizes are equalised.

So the following projections on the results are based on "30" winnable constituencies in 1987 by the Conservatives, with one far-right candidate in the constituency.

Having six parties to choose from in 1987, the white voters will be down to three, a PFP-led group, the NP and the CP, with the PFP under a third-party squeeze by the Nationalists.

A "swing" is the percentage taken from one party, plus the percentage added on to another party, divided by two, to average the "swing". This simplified method has its critics, notably Professor Dirk Laurie.

Thus, if there is a five percent swing in these elections to the CP, it could mean 48 CP seats in the next general election. And if it is a ten percent swing on the 1987 figures it would mean 80.

Put the other way, if there was a five per cent swing away from the NP it would reduce the CP's representation to 15.

The by-elections will give President Botha an idea of his next moves.



# GOVERNMENT REVIEW ENTERED IN SECOND-TIER PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

Star 1/2/88

By Martin Challenor

304A

Constitutional development and planning was more a matter of ad hoc experimentation than long-term planning, the South African Institute of Race Relations says in its quarterly review of the last three months of 1987.

The quarter's most important development was the launch of the joint executive authority (JEA) for Natal and kwaZulu.

"It was the first governmental body set up on the initiative of others — kwaZulu and the defunct Natal Provincial Council — rather than simply imposed by the central Government. It thus represents a first step away from unilateral constitution-making."

Whether or not the Government has "turned over a new leaf" in this area will be seen from its response to the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals, the review says.

The Government is talking about establishing JEAs elsewhere, and setting up provincial-level multiracial legislative bodies.

"There are signs of a rethink about the wisdom of abolishing the elected provincial councils.

"There is now talk of reintroducing elected bodies at this level that will pass legislation by concurrent majority. Elected representatives of each population group will have to approve Bills before they become law. This means each group would have a veto.

## CREATED POLITICAL VACUUM

"There is speculation that Government planners believe scrapping the provincial councils was a mistake in that it created a political vacuum in second-tier government," the review says.

"The new provincial system has been in operation for only 18 months. That changes to it might already be under consideration suggests a lack of careful thinking and consultation on the Government's part before it scrapped the previous system."

Moving to "own affairs", the review says that although the Government feels this system is working and claims that public appreciation is increasing, "the own affairs structure is causing problems in a number of fields, notably education and health. There appears to be a growing awareness, even in Government circles, that it is wasteful."

The review says the second most important development during the quarter was President Botha's acceptance of the principle of open residential areas. This showed that the Government had accepted the extensive erosion of the Group Areas Act as a *fait accompli* in various places.

"It is clear the NP is divided on the Group Areas Act."

## UNFAVOURABLE REACTION

The third key development during the period was the release of Mr Govan Mbeki. One reason for the restrictions imposed on him "was evidently the unfavourable reaction to his release from rank-and-file whites", the review says.

"The Mbeki affair is puzzling. If the Government ever thought he would simply disappear from the political scene, or that its own conciliatory gesture would evoke a similar conciliatory attitude from the ANC or the UDF, it was naive."

The restrictions on Mr Mbeki do not rule out the possibility that other political prisoners will be released, the review says.

Highlights during the past quarter were:

- The launching of the joint executive authority for kwaZulu and Natal.
- Mr Mbeki's release from Robben Island.
- The Labour Party blocked proposals for joint parliamentary debates.

## ● The first two new African title deeds were registered.

- The Government accepted the principle of open residential areas.
- More Durban beaches were desegregated.
- Lebowa reiterated its rejection of independence.
- Harrismith became the first Indian group area in the Free State.
- Botshabelo was incorporated into QwaQwa and Ekangala into kwaNdebele.

The review identifies these areas to watch for between January and March:

- Whether a national council is established.
- The release of more political prisoners.
- Government's formal response to the Indaba.
- Whether RSCs are established in Natal.
- The outcome of Government investigations into sub-dividing the Cape and Transvaal and establishing four more JEAs.
- Changes to school-sport policy to facilitate mixed sport.
- Removal of the colour bar from the Mining Rights Act.
- The outcome of protests against the Government's proposed new health policy.
- Changes to the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act.
- Changes to the Land Bank Act to allow loans to homeland blacks.
- Proclamation of more Indian group areas in the Free State.
- Whether it is made easier for TBVC citizens to work in white-designated areas.
- Results of Transvaal by-elections on March 2.

# Slogans now used to defend removals

CAPE TOWN — The Government had not stopped forced removals but was using terminology like "development" and "upgrading" to justify them, the co-ordinator of the National Committee Against Removals, Ms Laurene Platky, said at a briefing yesterday.

She told representatives of foreign embassies that there had been great contradiction in Government statements since Dr Piet Koornhof declared in 1982 that there would be no more forced removals.

This month, however, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had qualified this by saying there would be no forced removals "for political reasons".

"What's being said now is that removals are being undertaken for development purposes or for the upgrading of communities."

## POLITICAL

Most of the removals or threatened removals known to the NCAR were political ones.

"In other countries they might be seen as 'development' removals, but in most cases they involve blacks being shifted out of white areas, or coloureds being weeded out of mixed areas. We don't believe this happens in most other countries."

Examples of communities threatened in this way were Oukasie at Brits and Lawaalkamp near George, Tshikota at Louis Trichardt, Duncan Village at East London and numerous informal settlements in the Cape Peninsula.

NCAR workers from around the country said at the briefing that communities all over South Africa faced the threat of removal, eviction from farms, and involuntary incorporation into Bantustans. — Sapa.



# CP chooses Mulder, jnr

Pretoria Bureau

Dr Corné Mulder, son of the late Dr Connie Mulder, has been chosen as the Conservative Party's candidate for the Randfontein parliamentary seat.

The National Party is to hold a nomination meeting today, where nominated MP Dr Boy Geldenhuys, who held the seat before Dr Connie Mulder, is to make himself available, according to an NP organiser.

Dr Mulder jnr, a co-founder of the Conservative Party, holds a doctorate in constitutional law from Potchefstroom University.

He stood for Parliament in the Gezina constituency in the white general election last year, and lost to the NP.

The Randfontein seat became vacant following the death of Dr Connie Mulder on January 12 this year. The official nomination court is to be held on February 22, and the election on March 29.

(Report by C A Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

D/Dispatch 1/02/88

# PFP resolves to promote unity of opposition 304A

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The extended federal executive of the PFP yesterday resolved to redouble the party's efforts in promoting basic democratic values and ending the fragmentation among "enlightened opponents" of the National Party government.

To this end, the party leadership decided to launch a nation-wide campaign to highlight the follies of 40 years of Nationalist rule and to continue exploring ways of wiping out "artificial and outdated" differences among groups to the left of government.

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr. Ken Andrew, said he believed that yesterday's meeting had helped bring the party closer to forging working relationships with like-minded political groupings.

However, the party was certainly not "just looking around" for alliances with an eye to swelling its support base, irrespective of differences in principle.

In a statement after yesterday's Cape Town meeting, Mr. Andrew said: "The PFP, as a custodian of basic democratic values, has a vital role to play in opposing the destruction of these values by Mr P. W. Botha's government.

"The PFP believes that the fragmentation of the democratic opposition is bad. The 40th year of Nationalist rule is the time for enlightened opponents of the government to find each other."

The PFP, he said, would look for allies and continue its mission

to "bring together those who belong together".

Mr. Andrew said: "There are people outside the PFP who share our commitment to the rule of law, the freedom of the individual and the democratic ideal.

"If we can do so, we intend wiping out artificial barriers and outdated differences."

Mr. Andrew said afterwards that he believed that what certain newspapers had referred to as the "impatient young rebels" within the PFP would be satisfied with the outcome of yesterday's meeting.

The 60-member federal council of the PFP will meet from February 20-21 to discuss, among other things, issues raised at yesterday's meeting.



D/Dispatch 1/02/88 304A

# Stage set for new party

DURBAN — NRP leaders this weekend set in motion the first stage of disbanding the party in order to team up with former South African ambassador Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement (IM) and work towards greater unity among the fragmented opposition.

The NRP's Border chairman, Mr Pat Rogers, yesterday said the weekend meeting had been well-attended by provincial representatives and there had been "no disagreement".

The party's federal council resolved on Saturday to call a federal congress for the end of the quarter, at which all members would participate in the decision to disband.

The resolution takes into account "the latest developments in politics including the announced

formation of a new political party by the Independent Movement, and a draft copy of its proposed aims and principles".

"There is desperation about the fragmentation of the opposition. We now see it as our duty to get something together," he said. "With a new party being launched, from necessity it will come forward with new faces."

The new party, which will be led by Dr Worrall, aims at being a "new force" in the 1989 general elections.

It will aim at "breaking the deadlock" in opposition politics in order to achieve a "united deal", using parliament as a platform for bringing about constitutional change. — DDC

# Eglin spells out new PFP strategies 304A

Political Staff

The Progressive Federal Party's most immediate task is to give greater cohesion and thrust to those groups in Parliament who share its values of a democratic, non-racial South Africa, according to its leader, Mr. Colin Eglin.

It is a strategy aimed at including individuals and groups in all three Houses of Parliament while the party maintains its contacts outside Parliament.

In an extensive interview this week Mr. Eglin spoke against the background of unease in the party since its election setback last year.

Q: There is a certain amount of unease in the PFP about its future role. To what do you attribute this?

"I think is in perfectly understandable that, following its election setback, the strong running that is being made by

the Conservative Party, and the tight control the Government has over the distribution of information on key issues, there should be a degree of frustration among members of the PFP who would like to be living in a very different South Africa.

"To deal with this the party set about analysing the election results and reassessing its strategy in the light of its findings.

"This led to the acceptance of the party's 'mission statement' at the end of August but such statements, while they play a vital role in positioning the direction and setting out the key markers for political tactics still have to be fleshed out by programmes of action.

"Having stated its objectives the party is now in the second phase of considering a programme of action within the framework of the mission

statement." SA 1/24/88

Q: Do you sense any unease about your leadership or that of any other leaders in the party?

"To the extent that there is impatience and frustration once again it is understandable that some of it must direct itself among other things to the leadership in specific and general terms.

"What I am anxious to do is to harness this frustration and impatience and to turn it into creative thinking, debating and decision-making.

"The groundwork of the past few months will very soon develop into decisions and actions in the political scene.

"Again I do not believe that what is seen as some unease flows from any fundamental ideological differences."

Q: It has been said in some PFP circles that activity in the party virtually dried up after

the election shock. Has something been done about this?

"There was a drop-off of general activity after the election. This was a consequence of a response to a tough four months long election campaign and disappointment at its results.

"Added to this the party, from May to August, examined the election results were analysed and a new strategy planned.

"In addition the party was affected in the post-election period by some defections. There obviously was a 'valley period' but the round of party congresses later on pointed to the party having pulled itself together."

Q: How do you now see the PFP's future role?

"The party must be in tune with the dynamics of what is happening around it.

"I still see the party's key role as the custodian of non-ra-

cial, liberal, democratic values. "Secondly, the party has a role to promote the process of negotiation as an alternative to conflict.

"Its third aim is to increase the effectiveness of anti-apartheid opposition in South Africa. This cannot be done by the PFP on its own. The party has to be involved in findings way of bringing about a greater cohesion of efforts among various groups and parties who share its goal of a democratic and apartheid-free South Africa."

Q: There has recently been a lot of talk about the plight of liberalism in South Africa. How do you see this?

"Liberal values such as equal opportunities, individual freedom and the rule of law have always been under pressure in conflict situations.

"These values are not respected by authoritarian regimes and they are not respected by revolutionaries."



# PFP to seek 'enlightened' anti-govt allies

CMT TPAK 1/2/98  
30 VA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE extended federal executive of the PFP yesterday resolved to redouble the party's efforts in promoting basic democratic values and ending the fragmentation among "enlightened opponents" of the Nationalist government.

To this end, the party leadership decided to launch a nationwide campaign to highlight the follies of 40 years of NP rule and to continue exploring ways of wiping out "artificial and outdated" differences among groups to the left of government.

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said he believed that yesterday's Cape Town meeting had helped bring the party closer to forging working relationships with like-minded political groupings.

In a statement after the meeting, Mr Andrew said: "The PFP, as a custodian of basic democratic values, has a vital role to play in opposing the destruction of these values by Mr P W Botha's government.

"The PFP believes that the fragmentation of the democratic opposition is bad".

● Meanwhile, the New Republic Party at the weekend took yet another step towards its possible eventual dissolution. The federal council of the

## Tough words on PFP leadership

PFP frontbencher Mr Harry Schwarz took a number of sideswipes at the past and present leadership of the party at the weekend.

In an article published in a Sunday newspaper, the controversial MP for Yeoville said the elevation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert by certain unnamed powerbrokers was designed to create for the party "a slick new Afrikaner intellectual sporting image which would not only appeal to the Afrikaner vote but also to English speakers who traditionally prefer to be led not by one of their own but by an Afrikaner".

However, the leader and chairman of the party's executive, Dr Alex Boraine, quit.

"The party recalled its previous leader (Mr Colin Eglin) and he chose to surround himself with ambitious young princes instead of wise counsellors."

NRP decided to call a special party congress later this year at which the dissolution of the party and its possible merging with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement will be discussed.

## 'Short sitting' of Parliament slated

Political Staff 30/11/87

PARLIAMENT — Opposition members in the House of Assembly described yesterday's short sitting of the three Houses of Parliament as "a waste of the taxpayers' money".

Parliament had reconvened four days ahead of the start of the 1988 session in what was technically an extension of the 1987 session so that the President's Council approval of the Remuneration of Town Clerks Amendment Bill and the Pension Benefits for Councillors of Local Authorities Bill could be tabled.

The Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said these Bills had been rejected by the House of Representatives. The President's Council advised during the recess that Parliament should pass them anyway.

The Constitution stipulates that the President's Council may pronounce on disputed legislation only within the same session of Parliament.

Answering an objection from Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville), Mr de Klerk said that under parliamentary convention, the reports were deemed tabled even though they had not been physically tabled, and were therefore available for members' perusal.

Opposition Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux said it was "typical of how the Government governed on an arrogant adhoc basis".



# PW agrees to appoint Hendrickse as Minister

(PK64) 2/2/88 (30648)  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha has agreed to appoint Mr Allan Hendrickse as Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives in the place of Mr Carter Ebrahim.

Mr Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers Council in the House, said today he had received a letter from Mr Botha informing him of this move.

It said Mr Ebrahim's services had been terminated as of January 31.

After a clash with Mr Hendrickse Mr Ebrahim at first refused to resign but at a caucus meeting later he agreed.

This was after Mr Botha had at first refused to dismiss him until he had found out what support Mr Ebrahim had in the House.

Oxford  
reunited after a 40-year separation.

## NRP 'may split for people to join IM'

2/2/88 <sup>Star</sup> Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The New Republic Party is to consider disbanding in order to allow its members to join up with the Independent Movement. (304A)

The leader of the party, Mr Bill Sutton, said this was one of the options to be considered by a party congress towards the end of March or after Easter.

The party's federal council decided on the congress at the weekend.

The council also considered a policy document of Dr Denis Worrall's movement.

Mr Sutton said it would be no use for the NRP to join this movement as an organised party as a new party may have been formed by then.



LEADING SPECIALISTS  
INDUSTRIAL CARPORTS  
PROTECTIVE SHADES



892

After Hours — Jhb  
E/Rand S

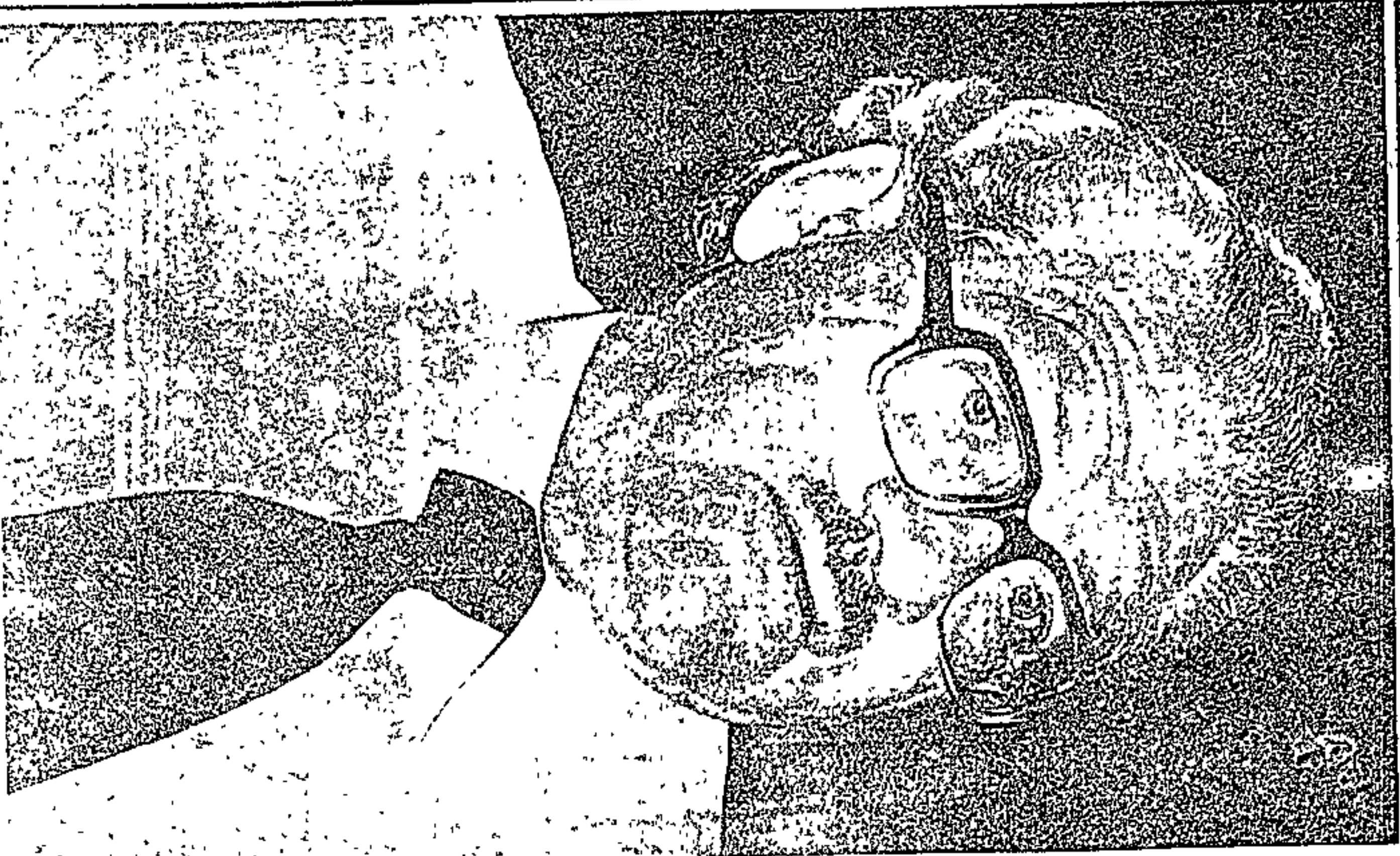
★ HASSLE-FREE CARPORTS ONLY COME FROM G

bein  
nti  
res



## VIEWPOINT

In this article, PROFESSOR CAREL BOSHOF gives his solution to SA's constitutional problems. Boshoff, 60, grew up in the Waterberg area in the Northern Transvaal. A former chairman of the Broederbond, Boshoff comes from solid Afrikaner stock. His political outlook was immensely influenced by the late Dr HF Verwoerd's apartheid philosophy. He particularly found favour with Verwoerd's "purity of thought". He married Verwoerd's daughter, Anna, in 1954. Boshoff is head of the Voortrekker Youth Movement and was a member of the chief executive of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings. He resigned from the Broederbond and formed a counter-Afrikaner cultural organisation, Die Afrikaner Volkswag, which has strong ties with Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party. He is also chairman of the rightwing SA Bureau of Racial Affairs. Boshoff has recently taken an early retirement from the University of Pretoria to devote himself — with the aid of his wife — to a crusade to find a place in the sun for future generations of Afrikaners.



# AFRIKANERS HAVE A RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

THE present constitution — all dispensation, if carried through to its logical conclusion, will bring 300 years of Afrikanerdom to a close. The nation will lose its power, its country and ultimately its identity.

The Constitution of 1983 can only be viewed as a transitional measure. It does not satisfy the needs and aspirations of any of the groups comprising the population. Blacks don't want it at all, coloureds and Indians want to "reform" it, and white leaders talk of "improving" it.

The main reason for its failure is that it was not designed to cope with a diversity of peoples. It does not know about nations.

**The belief that a way can be found to rule a deeply divided society in such a way that one group will not be dominated by others is an illusion.**

only about group, and it offers no solution to the conflicting expectations, demands and outlook on life of the different groups. It should survive, nobody that the promises of 1983 — that the constitution would bring about economic prosperity, internal acceptance and peace and quiet in the country — have not been fulfilled.

The only logical step under the present constitution is the inclusion of black people in the government on a basis of equality. Blacks have already

been accepted as an indigenous population of what has formerly been regarded as white South Africa and this fact in itself entitles them to citizenship, to political rights and to political power.

The sharing of political power with black people under the principles of democracy, equality and justice, however, means that they will become a big majority in the civil service, the defence force and in positions of authority and political power.

It seems certain that the inclusion of black people will not get off the ground unless the centre of power is placed squarely in black hands.

This will have far-reaching implications for Afrikaners, as the protection which they have enjoyed up to now as a minority group with absolute power, will simply be destroyed. In the meantime, Afrikaners are led to believe that some sort of magic formula will be found which will "prevent" one group from being dominated by others.

Safeguards for minorities which aim at frustrating absolute black power have not worked in the past, they cannot and will not work in the future.

The belief that a way can be found to rule a deeply divided society in such a way that one group will not be dominated by others is an illusion.

But then, it must be clear, I am not making a plea for a return to a kind of society which existed prior to the constitution of 1983. This constitution and the trials and tribulations that it has brought in its wake, flow directly from that society.

A mixed existence under white domination is as unacceptable as a mixed existence under black domination.

Whites have at times tried their level best to accommodate blacks in their society in a way that would be acceptable to them, but this has simply not been good enough.

It stands to reason that Afrikaners will not find a black society, or any society other than their own, for that matter, to their liking and that the best intentions to accommodate them will simply not be good enough.

This is a fundamental problem which black leaders should face and not underestimate, nor should they pretend it is unimportant.

**Safeguards for minorities which aim at frustrating absolute black power have not worked in the past, they cannot and will not work in the future.**

Matters still to be sorted out are the land and its borders of the Afrikaner nation-state, for which a totally new approach is needed, as well as its occupation and its development, the status of Afrikaners outside their states, the resettlement of people who will not be part of it, and the ties between the different nation-states, of which the Afrikaner State will be one, and the remaining Republic of South Africa.

But these questions should not be considered as insurmountable as the alternative is "too glibly to contemplate".



Wednesday February 3 1988

# Call for a shift to real power sharing

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

Black political organisations have to be recognised as institutions with a wide degree of popular support to avert a chaotic future for this country, according to Professor Hennie Kotze, head of Stellenbosch University's political science department.

Addressing a Human Sciences Research Council symposium on "Evolution/Revolution" in Pretoria yesterday, Professor Kotze said such recognition "would create the necessary trust and would facilitate the ready identification of legitimate leaders, a pre-condition for any eventual negotiations on the country's future".

"A clear declaration of intent concerning an eventual goal is of vital importance," he said.

"To negotiate on the creation of institutions typified by real power sharing implies the extension of a competitive share in the political process to the whole population.

"This would also allow for eventualities like the election of a black State President," Professor Kotze said.

## EMASCULATION OF COMMUNITY POWER

If this preferred course of reform was to be made impossible because of pressure from ultra-right-wing groups in white politics, an authoritarian approach could be considered — an imposed transformation rather than co-optive domination.

"The only difference is that the declared final goal has to be a non-racial State. In this way the co-operation of the vital elements can be assured."

Such a strategy would necessarily involve the short to medium-term emasculation of community power, Professor Kotze said.

The balance of power and wealth between various groups had to be shifted and this shift "cannot be effected without some form of coercion".

"Quite obviously, this strategy ... will not be easily accepted by the white population.

"Excluding blacks assumes a future of increasing violence on both sides. If whites seek to retain power, they will have to make sure that it is, in fact, complete power.

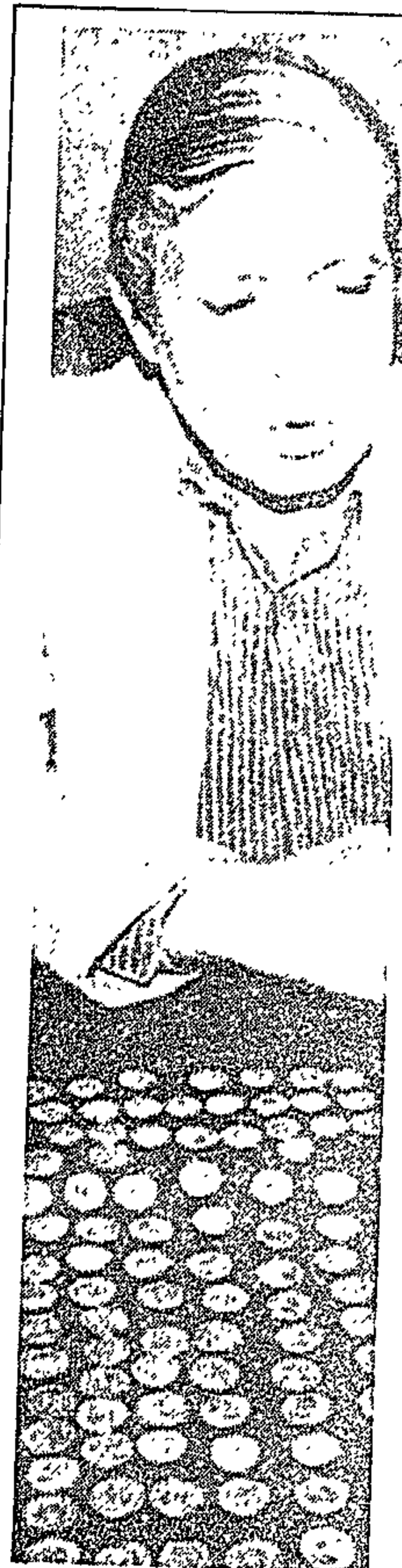
## NP HAS NO COMMITMENT TO CHANGE

"In the long run, overseas economic pressure and internal security costs will cause a drastic decline in the quality of life of the entire population and push the country closer to the brink of confrontation.

"Many whites may discover that the cost of what they sought to protect is more than the value of that which they seek to protect," he said.

There had been media speculation in 1981 that the Government had adopted reform strategies.

"An exploration of the problems confronting current Government strategy indicate that the National Party lacks commitment to fundamental political change," he said.



Mr Ahmed Kadry, chairman of the National Party, plays a clay jar and sorcerer's hat, which, he said, was Egyptian. Mr Ahmed Abdel-Raheem,

## TO SELL HOUSE

INEXPENSIVE BOOKLET  
YOU NEED TO KNOW IN  
THE SALE OF YOUR OWN  
YOU SAVE THOUSANDS  
AGENTS' FEES.

INQUIRIES  
(AND SELLERS)

ME

TEL: 805-3989  
805-4143  
0332393

## ER COMPRESSED AIR SERVICES Y PRESENT



FROM 0.6 TO 18.0 KW  
220 VOLT OR 380 VOLT

PRICE FROM  
R549,00

EXCL GST



FREE!

WITH EACH  
COMPRESSOR  
OF 1.1 KW  
UPWARDS  
VALUE  
R100.00 +  
WHILE  
STOCKS LAST

ERN DENVER. SUPPLIERS  
ER EQUIPMENT. SPARES  
FOR ALL MAJOR MAKES  
AND LARGE PISTON COM-

D313994



Pretoria Correspondent

Star 4/2/88  
South Africa's Government, in "ostrich-like" fashion, refuses to recognise the inevitability of fundamental political change, says Professor Hennie Kotze of the Department of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch.

Nothing less than abdication of the absolute power of whites was needed, a radical step most would be loath to take, he said.

He was speaking at the Third Sino-South African conference, "Evolution and Revolution: Social Perspectives", organised by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and Taiwan's Institute of International Rela-

# Inevitability of change ignored by ostrich-like Govt — academic

tions in Pretoria this week.

Prof Kotze's paper, "Political Change via Institutionalisation: A Prescription for South Africa?", highlighted socio-economic and political problems facing this country.

"The sheer mass of socio-economic and demographical upheavals facing South Africa in the foreseeable future defies ready encapsulation," he said.

"These changes will cover nearly all aspects of South African society, affecting even the

most trivial social relations in a profound way."

Massive unemployment, rapid urbanisation, a huge housing backlog and a population explosion were the most important transitions with which South Africa would be confronted.

"It is obvious that this wide range of problems will impel even the most intransigent of governments to implement measures in an attempt to alleviate or even deflect catastrophe," said Prof Kotze.

He said the Government had attempted a wide range of measures to avert a head-on collision with the future.

"But, sadly, it has failed to see that such measures are doomed to fail because of the continued existence of the apartheid system."

The Government's illegitimacy in the eyes of most the black elite was behind the failure of most of its demographical and social programmes.

Cap & Triks

y, February 4, 1988 3

## Munnik 304A reacts to finding on Dalling

### Political Staff

THE Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik, is considering possible further action after the decision this week by the parliamentary select committee not to find Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling guilty of breaching parliamentary privilege over the comments he made about the judge's role as commissioner investigating last year's ANC advertising campaign and its funding.

Mr Justice Munnik said yesterday that he had so far read only press summaries of the select committee's findings, which had ruled that Mr Dalling had merely failed to abide by recognized parliamentary practice in attacking a judge in his judicial capacity.

Mr Justice Munnik said he had since asked for a full transcript of the report and after studying it and consulting the Speaker, he would consider responding to Mr Dalling's comments.

As recorded in Hansard, Mr Dalling said last May that Mr Justice Munnik should have recused himself.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Mr Dalling yesterday accused the SABC of "blatant manipulation of the true facts" in its reporting of the committee findings.

The main finding was that the charge brought by the Minister of Justice relating to a breach of privilege failed. This was not conveyed to the public by the SABC, Mr Dalling said.



304A D/D 4/2/88

## Derby-Lewis' attack on report called a political tantrum

DURBAN — The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba has dismissed the recent attack on the results of research it carried out in six Natal constituencies by the Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis as "a public political tantrum".

Responding to Mr Derby-Lewis' statement yesterday, Indaba's communications director, Mr Peter Badcock, said the attack appeared to be more of a political tantrum at the outcome of the research than a reasoned analysis.

Although Mr Derby-Lewis' unsolicited attack on the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was a private issue between the two leaders, his (Mr Derby-Lewis') feelings did not alter the fact that 73 per cent of the white voters interviewed in the survey would like to see Dr Buthelezi involved in the leadership of KwaZulu-Natal.

In contrast to this, two per cent of the 1 002 voters in the six seats believed that the Natal CP organiser, Mr Duncan du Bois, should likewise be involved in regional government, Mr Badcock said.

Further, to question the credibility of the research findings and to label them a "political fraud" was in effect also to dispute state market research, as the same

method of canvassing — known as Random Stratified Sampling — was also employed by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Mr Badcock said that since the survey included three National Party held constituencies and had been conducted in the most highly-populated white areas in the province, its results could be considered representative of majority white thinking.

Its findings were consistent with the findings of many previous surveys not commissioned by the Indaba.

These surveys had repeatedly shown that whites generally, and Natal whites in particular, believed that reform should take place at an accelerated rate.

Mr Badcock added that it appeared Mr Derby-Lewis was deliberately distorting and taking out of context the findings of another survey that a high proportion of Natal whites (11 per cent) might consider emigrating in the next five years.

"All evidence points to the conclusion that the majority of those who may leave South Africa would do so because of the consequences of lack of change and the growth of the CP-AWB factor and not because they oppose change," he said — DDC

304A

MICHAEL EVANS admits that the anti-apartheid opposition in the white community is more divided than it has ever been.

This, he says, is all the more reason for an initiative which is aimed at uniting rather than dividing organisations.

For the past few months Evans, a former End Conscription Campaign chairperson, has been trying to convince political activists in the Western Cape of the need to support an initiative like the Five Freedoms Forum.

The FFF, formed in Johannesburg in 1986, is somewhat of a novelty in South African politics. It tries to bring people together on the basis of support for five basic freedoms. These are freedom from want, discrimination and fear, freedom of conscience and freedom of speech and association.

The FFF still exists only in Johannesburg as a front for mainly extra-parliamentary organisations.

Last September it held a national conference in Johannesburg with the theme "Towards Democracy: Whites In A Changing South Africa".

"It examined the role of whites opposed to apartheid and ways of taking forward the struggle in the white community, and to break the logjam in white politics caused by divisions between anti-apartheid organisations in parliament and those outside parliament.

"The spread of speakers at the conference indicated the whole style of the initiative. There were people like SA Perm MD Bob Tucker, Sayco general secretary Rapu Molefane, Professor Abraham Viljoen of Idasa in the Northern Transvaal, Robin Carlisle of the PFP, Cosatu's assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, and Eric Molobi of the NECC.

"The conference resolved the participants were united in the goal of ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy in South Africa, and that this commitment is now greater than any differences which may divide us. In this context the time was right to launch an initiative aimed at mobilising a broad grouping of whites against apartheid in support of a nonracial democracy.

Delegates were given six months to go back to their regions to examine the best ways of taking forward this initiative.

"In the Western Cape, we are still consulting progressive organisations. The steering committee set up after the conference consists mainly of delegates who had been at the national conference.

"They are not for-

# White unity

HOSTILITY between extra-parliamentary groups and those in parliament has long been a feature of South African politics.

But an initiative started in Johannesburg has urged extra-parliamentary organisations operating in the white community to forge closer links with organisations in parliament which believe in a nonracial democratic future for South Africa.

The Five Freedoms Forum has managed to draw together a diverse group of people from organisations like the Progressive Federal Party, the End Conscription Campaign, the United Democratic Front and big business.

In the Western Cape, one of the leading members of the FFF is Micheal Evans, a lawyer and member of the End Conscription Campaign.

In an interview, Evans told RYLAND FISHER the different groupings had much to gain from working together and little to gain from being divided.

mally representing their organisations, but most are from particular organisations in the white community, like the PFP, NDM, Black Sash, Nusas, ECC, the UDF's Observatory and Claremont Area Committees, which are now the Cape Democrats, and individuals like Jan van Eck.

"This committee had to consult with as broad a group of organisations as possible, and to draw up an action programme for the initiative. Two workshops have been held in the Western Cape and it appears the question of negotiation will be a key theme for the initiative.

"The initiative will not be aiming to engage itself in negotiations but will prepare the white community for a negotiated rather than violent solution to South Africa's problems.

"There is no denying that the grouping which launched the initiative is very broad

House of Representatives and the Town Councils, do not represent the views of the people in their constituencies and are not accepted as legitimate forums.

"In that context, the boycott strategy has been successfully employed in the black community.

"In the white community, the situation is different. Formal political structures, like the House of Assembly, do represent the views of and are answerable to the white constituency.

"Those of us who attended the Johannesburg conference realised that a purist approach would eventually set back our immediate goals.

"This broad-based initiative forms the basis on which extra-parliamentary organisations in the white community come together with anti-apartheid parliamentary organisations and other sectors like reform-minded businessmen.

nents. Differences include economic policies, the form of the State of a future South Africa, and strategies for change.

"The unanimous feeling of the 1 000 delegates at the Johannesburg conference was that while differences were important they should not divide us in our struggle for our immediate goal: the ending of apartheid and the attainment of a nonracial democracy.

"Secondly we recognised that the strategy and style of work within the white community must necessarily differ from work in the black community. In the black community, the formal political structures like the

nity are however not saying let's all enter parliament as the major forum for change.

"What we are now saying is, let's not allow the issue of parliamentary participation to divide us and prevent us from working together."

"They is an audience which can potentially be wooed to accept change if the right tactics are employed.

"None of the anti-apartheid organisations in the white community at this point are capable on their own of doing this.

"The different groupings have much to gain from working together and little to gain from continued divisions."

"We are extra-parliamentary"



# PW likely to talk on finance

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President Botha is expected to make major financial announcements when he opens Parliament tomorrow.

There are indications he will concentrate on the economy rather than constitutional and security matters in his speech, which traditionally sets the tone for the Government's political programme in the ensuing year.

Mr Botha will brief business and other leaders on his speech in Cape Town this afternoon.

The Government has kept details of the speech under wraps, but speculation in recent weeks has centred on some sort of wage freeze or restraint on public servants.

Mr Botha is expected to ask the private sector to follow this example.

There is also speculation Mr Botha will make an announcement on privatisation, possibly even naming the first Government services to be sold to the private sector.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Finance Mr Harry Schwarz said yesterday Mr Botha was likely to present 1988 as the year of economic reform.

"I think now, at a time when there has been a limited economic upswing, the Government will switch the accent to economic reform," he said. "I think this will be the theme of the economic conference, the opening of Parliament speech and the no-confidence debate next week."

US House of Representatives rejects Reagan's plans to give further aid to Contras.

The Washington Times

BBC

lat

# Majority of Natal voters against apartheid — survey

DURBAN — The overwhelming majority of white Natal voters are opposed to apartheid laws of any kind, including the Group Areas Act and racial segregation in schools, according to latest market research findings.

The survey, conducted on behalf of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba in December by the market research firm, Research Surveys Ltd, covered a random, representative sample of 1 002 white voters in six Natal constituencies.

The new findings, released yesterday, are based on a series of statements and questions involving the Indaba, apartheid in general, and certain specific race laws.

Summarised, the results are:

In response to the question: "Would you be

prepared to accept integrated education as long as there was no overcrowding and educational standards were maintained?", 75 per cent of those canvassed voted "Yes," 21 per cent "No" and 4 per cent "Don't know."

In response to the question: "Would you be prepared to accept the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in your area if there were laws to stop overcrowding?", 71 per cent voted "Yes", 22 per cent "No" and 7 per cent "Don't know."

In response to the statement: "I would not mind if a black family moved next door as long as they were good people," 68 per cent agreed, 22 per cent disagreed, and 10 per cent of those canvassed were undecided.

In response to the statement: "Until black

people are included in Parliament, I don't think there will be peace in South Africa," 68 per cent agreed, 21 per cent disagreed and 11 per cent were undecided.

In response to the statement: "I am satisfied that the Indaba proposals are a good formula for powersharing," 54 per cent agreed, 16 per cent disagreed, and 30 per cent were undecided.

In response to the statement: "Race relations would improve if all apartheid laws were out of the way," 60 per cent agreed, 27 per cent disagreed, and 13 per cent were undecided.

In response to the statement: "The advantages of living in a society without apartheid will outweigh the disadvantages," 60 per cent agreed, 17 per cent disagreed, and 22 per cent

were undecided.

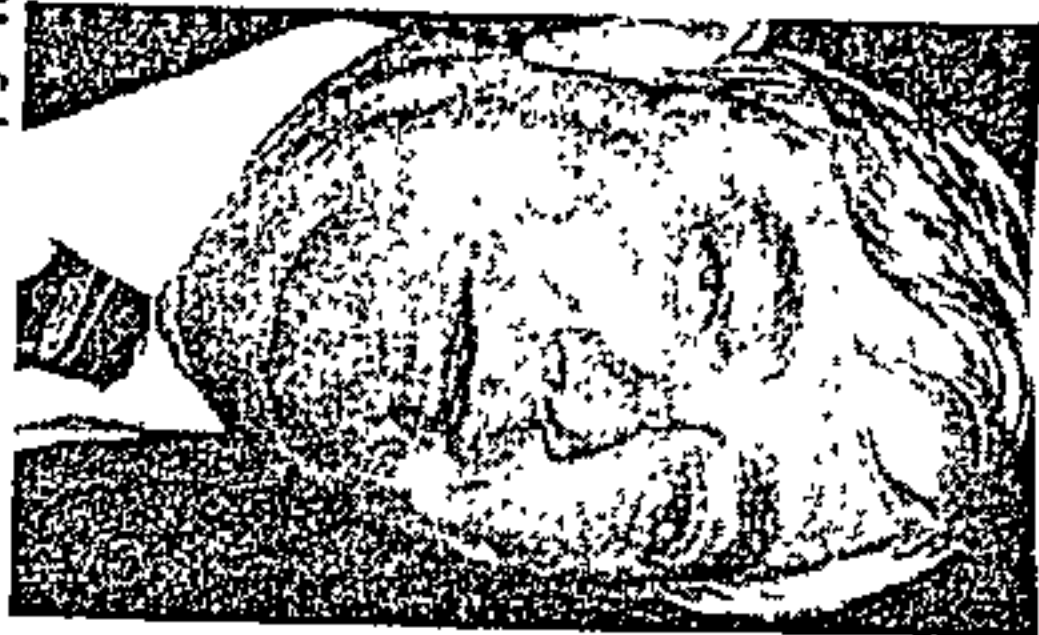
In addition to this, the poll also shows consistent majority support in each individual constituency, as well as majority National Party-voter support throughout.

The director of the KwaZulu Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk, said the findings showed strong support for reform and the creation of a non-discriminatory society — both of which are fundamental to the Indaba proposals.

The preliminary findings of the survey showed that 54 per cent of white voters canvassed supported the Indaba proposals, as compared with 13 per cent who opposed them.

They also showed majority support for the Indaba from Independent, PFP and NP voters. — Sapa





Mr. Schoeman . . . not registered estate agent.

# CP demands funds be frozen on SAAN building deal

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Conservative Party has demanded the freezing of all funds connected with the sale of the South African Associated Newspapers (Saap) building in view of the many claims and litigation arising from the controversial transaction.

Mr. Fred Rundle, acting chairman of the CP's Johannesburg regional council, said the CP deemed this prudent until a judicial commission of inquiry has ruled on the subject.

Asked if any money had changed hands, manager of the Johannesburg Municipal Pension Fund, Mr. Willie Siebert, said further comment should come from the fund's chairman, Mr. Nols Cronje, Mr. Cronje was not available for comment.

The demand followed mounting media disclosures about the sale of the Saan building to the pension fund by Johannesburg Mining and Finance chairman, Mr. Joe Berardo, last year.

The storm broke when the Progressive Federal Party alleged in the Johannesburg City Council that Mr. Berardo acted on leaks from the management committee meeting of November 24 and bought the building for R5.5 million on November 25, for immediate resale to the fund for R7.25 million.

The PFP called for a commission of inquiry, which the National Party-controlled ruling coalition rejected.

It was said that the agent in the transaction was NP management committee member and chairman of the city's planning department, Mr. Hennie Schoeman, who was not a registered estate agent. He registered his close corporation, H.J. Schoeman Konsultant and Stadsbeplanner, on January 28, said Mr. Andrew Harrison, manager of the Estate Agents Board.

Mr. Schoeman requested a commission of inquiry — which the management committee agreed to.

The next row was when a Pretoria firm said it was planning to sue Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, the owners of the Saan building for R3.75 million damages, because they had bought the building from JCI before it was sold to Mr. Berardo.

Mr. John Barry, investment manager of F and S Consultants said his firm signed a deed of sale for R6 million on November 18 in his office, and sent it over to JCI on November 20. JCI said they would not deal on that contract, preferring to draw up a new contract

showing Saan as the seller and JCI as the outgoing party.

Two days later the document was produced by JCI attorneys, and F and S agreed to a meeting with JCI on November 24.

On November 25 JCI sold the building for R5.5 million to the Johannesburg Mining and Finance chairman, Mr. Barry said.

JCI general manager of finance, Mr. David Kovarsky, said JCI concluded a deed of sale with Mr. Berardo on the same afternoon that the property divisions' director, Mr. Ian McPherson, and commercial property director, Mr. Russell Jackson, witnessed an F and S deed of sale.

Yesterday a Cape Town-based firm of estate agents, DCF Properties, confirmed that they were demanding commission on the sale of the Saan building to the pension fund because one of their agents introduced the 171 Main Street property to the traffic and security department as early as March last year.

Managing director, Mr. Peter Irvine, said: "We have an interest in the matter and are pursuing that interest. It is well documented that the Saan building was introduced to the traffic department in March. We say we are the original agent."



Mr. Berardo . . . quick profit.



**T**HE FULL might of the National Party propaganda machine is being thrown into the battle for the soul of the Transvaal rural electorate in the by-elections next month.

The target is the Conservative Party, the main weapon is the NP-supporting media and the ammunition is the CP's link with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

In past elections the NP-supporting newspapers have shown themselves to be masters of the smear, with the liberal opposition the usual target. The PFP was hard hit by suggestions that it was sympathetic to the ANC and soft on communism.

This time the contest is vastly different as the two Afrikaner-based parties vie for the support of the conservative voters of Standerton and Schweizer Reneke on March 2.

But the tactics are the same — to hurt the CP by linking it to a radical organisation, albeit on the right.

**T**he two constituencies are among the 22 Transvaal seats the CP took from the NP in last year's general election. The by-elections give the NP a chance to wrest them back, regaining prestige, confidence and momentum by showing that the CP is not unstoppable in rural areas.

And, with another by-election in CP-held Randfontein to follow next month, the NP has launched an all-out campaign to undermine CP support.

Nasionale Pers morning newspapers Beeld and Die Burger last week threw down the gauntlet with sensational front page disclosures and revelations implying that the AWB controlled the CP.

They highlighted AWB-CP links at top level, published a tape recording implying an AWB-CP alliance and produced a document which professed to show the AWB laid down conditions to the CP for its support in the general election last May.

**T**he CP responded by complaining to the Media Council about what it called the newspapers' "Iron Curtain-style disinformation".

"They are using the AWB as a smokescreen to avoid fundamental political issues," said CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

It does not matter whether the NP is really concerned about the AWB's intrusion into party politics — it is certainly making the most of what it regards as a convenient stick with which to beat the CP.

The CP made inroads into former Nationalist strongholds last May 6 without overt AWB effort. Now that the ties are more public, the NP clearly hopes that putting an AWB collar on the CP will force division between CP members who support or oppose the AWB's radical politicking.

"Political thuggery", which the AWB has been accused of follow-



□ TERRE'BLANCHE ... the AWB is "cultural, devotional and non-political"

# War of words to turn voters back to the NP

ELSABÉ WESSELS

**Beeld** 50c

• Verwarring word al hoe groter

**Nou grom AWB vir KP!**

Spanning laai op by regses

□ BEELD INTO BATTLE ... the type of editorial treatment the Afrikaans newspaper has used in pressing the National Party cause and trumpeting the alleged links between the CP and AWB

Tier in Boervolk wakker, sê dr. T.

ing the disruption of a NP meeting in Standerton last month, is not acceptable to the majority of SA's electorate.

When tackled about violence, AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche has often said the AWB has been wrongly accused of propagating it.

**W**e do not advocate violence, but if violence is the only way to counteract violent people, then we will use it in the name of God," he says.

It is questionable whether the NP media will persuade voters that the AWB tail is indeed wagging the CP canine, though many believe Treurnicht has erred in allowing ultra right-wing groups like the AWB to join the CP.

They see that he cannot wriggle

out of the dilemma. He needs AWB support at the polls, so he is in no position to condemn the militant organisation.

Said Terre-Blanche yesterday: "We are the single biggest right-wing factor and we have a standing agreement with Treurnicht to allow people membership of both organisations."

"There is a minute difference between the aims of the AWB and those of the CP."

"We want a volkstaat and they call it partition. Both imply a fatherland for each nation with the sovereign right to govern."

Because of the "small differences", Terre-Blanche says he is not interested in entering party politics.

But his foe in the conservative arena, HNP leader Jaap Marais, believes differently.

"The AWB is a political party,"

he says. "It is registered as the Blanke Volkstaat Party en Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. It poses as a cultural organisation but its intentions are political."

Although the HNP banned AWB members from its ranks, the AWB had long been in favour of unity between the right-wing forces in SA.

**A**nd in March last year Terre-Blanche made a personal but vain effort to work out a formula for co-operation between the CP and HNP.

While still refusing to enter the party political arena, Terre-Blanche is again assuming political stature by challenging NP cabinet ministers to public debates — as he demanded of F W de Klerk at Standerton.

The AWB has vowed to keep NP speakers out of vast regions of the country it regards as conservative territory.

Terre-Blanche would not commit himself to any particular strategy. "All I can say is that we will continue our task," he said.

Government speakers are saying the CP has been hijacked by the AWB. The CP retorts that the NP itself has a history of political thuggery.

But even the PFP's John Malcomess has pointed out in Parliament that when the NP broke up meetings in the past it did so on its own and did not hide behind other organisations.

The long-simmering tension is threatening to erupt in the run-up to the important by-elections.

Considering the meteoric rise of the AWB since the Seventies, the power it wields among conservative and working-class whites should not be underestimated.

Although AWB public meetings in rural towns and blue collar urban areas were relatively well attended following its foundation in 1973, the boere Don Quixotes chasing the windmills of an all-white Afrikaner volkstaat were regarded as little more than a joke.

Then, without warning in 1986, the AWB surged forward with large public rallies and an unanticipated campaign to smash NP meetings. Cabinet ministers were forced from public platforms by the chanting and threatening khaki-clad brigade whose actions were condemned as militant and neo-fascist.

Proud of their membership and strengthened by a new-found faith in a promised "volkstaat", AWB followers claimed their territory at political meetings with vierkleur flags alongside the red banners bearing the white, red and black swastika-like AWB emblem.

**C**ultural, devotional and non-political," is how Terre-Blanche describes his movement.

But AWB disciples, mesmerised by their leader's eloquence and repartee, cherish a political dream — a pure white homeland.

Concludes Terre-Blanche: "We will not be stopped by the NP's transparent effort to drive a wedge between the right-wing forces."

□ Report by Elsabé Wessels, TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



THE National Party has launched a major propaganda campaign calculated to discredit the ultra-right Conservative Party by emphasising its links with the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The thrust of the NP propaganda is to present the AWB as the dominating force within the CP, manipulating key CP MPs through secret agreements.

The campaign is reminiscent of earlier attempts by the defunct United Party to discredit the NP by portraying it as the respectable, public face of the clandestine Afrikaner Broederbond.

The NP campaign forms the backdrop to three parliamentary by-elections next month. The main adversaries are the NP and CP, with the NP trying to regain the seats after losing them in the white general election last May.

The outcome in Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke and Randfontein is potentially critical to both parties. The seats were won by the CP, with majorities of, in round figures, 950, 170 and 1 730 respectively.

Two of the three incumbent CP MPs were disqualified for technical reasons. One contested the election while holding office as a deputy sheriff in breach of law. The second was declared bankrupt. The third CP man died last month.

The outcome will serve as a barometer on whether the surge of Afrikaner support for the CP has peaked.

It may, moreover, influence President PW Botha on whether or not to call an early election for all three parliamentary chambers. A general election has to be held by September next year unless, as seems unlikely at present, Botha can persuade all three chambers to defer the constitutionally-prescribed 1989 poll until 1992.

Faced with that impasse, Botha may opt for an early general election, perhaps timed to coincide with pending nation-wide municipal elections in October, depending on the outcome in the trio of by-elections.

In the Transvaal, where the three seats are situated, the NP propaganda campaign has been spearheaded by *Beeld*; for four days in succession, the staunchly pro-Botha newspaper led its frontpage with reports on the "AWB-connection".

The disclosures were based on a

## The Nats try to drive a wedge between CP and AWB



Terre'Blanche ... major policy differences with the CP

PATRICK LAURENCE ON THE RAGING PROPAGANDA WAR ON THE RIGHT

tape-recorded conversation between Danie van Zyl, the unsuccessful Herengstigste Nasionale Party candidate in Delmas last May, and Jan Groenewald, the deputy AWB leader. Van Zyl admitted taping the conversation.

A transcript of the tape showed that the AWB attached a price to its support for selected CP candidates: a commitment by them to strive within the CP for the establishment of a *Boerestaat*, modelled on the old Boer Republics. Revival of the 19th century Boer Republics is a cardinal aim of the AWB.

In some cases, according to *Beeld*, the MPs gave a written undertaking, either to actively campaign for a "volksstaat vir die Afrikaner-Boerevolk" or, at worst, not to oppose the establishment of the state.

The trade-off for consenting MPs

was the support of the AWB and its roving band of zealots. AWB rough-necks have become adept at breaking-up and disrupting NP meetings. They did so most recently at Standerton last month, where the NP's Transvaal leader, FW de Klerk, was forced to temporarily abandon a meeting.

*Beeld* named four CP MPs as AWB members: Moolman Mentz, who wrested Ermelo from the NP, Daan Nolte, who captured Delmas for the CP, Chris de Jager, who ousted Deputy Minister Greyling Wentzel, and Fanie van Vuuren, who took Ventersdorp for the CP.

Treurnicht admitted last month that two members of the CP parliamentary caucus — it won 22 seats last May — are members of the AWB. He had earlier acknowledged that many rank-and-file CP members are

members of the AWB as well, arguing that the AWB was a "cultural movement" and that there was no conflict of interest, providing that dual membership did not mean disloyalty to CP policy.

"The AWB is a threat to the NP and not to us," Treurnicht countered as the NP campaign got underway. "It stands for the rights of the Afrikaner and of the white man in Africa."

But, while there are overlapping points of view between the AWB and the CP, there are significant divergences and hence potential conflict between the two ultra-right movements.

The AWB quest to restore the 19th century Boer Republics implicitly means jettisoning most of the Cape and large parts of Natal, a proposition which the CP does not adhere to.

Further, the AWB is strongly hostile to parliamentary democracy, condemning it as a "British-Jewish invention" designed to divide Afrikaners; in contrast, the CP is favour of the parliamentary system but wants whites to have their own racially purified parliament.

But whether these potentially divisive differences will become irreconcilable is as yet unclear.

They are similar to the differences between the NP under DF Malan and the 400 000-member pro-Hitler Ossewabrandwag under JF van Rensburg in the 1940s. Those differences were irreconcilable and resulted in a bitter battle of supremacy, which was won eventually by Malan's NP.

For the moment, however, potential conflict between the CP and the AWB appears to be held in check by common enmity for the alleged "volksverraders" in the NP.

But does not mean that individuals who voted for the CP in May may not return to the NP because of the NP propaganda campaign. Abre Hannekom, a top-ranking NP official, told *Weekly Mail* that many disillusioned CP voters were returning to the fold in Standerton.

Against that, many CP supporters are likely to agree with Nolte that, in his words, the AWB stands for the "interests of the white man" and that alliance with it is better than "collusion with the African National Congress" and the freeing of former ANC prisoner Govan Mbeki while "our boys are fighting on the borders against communism".

## ON PARLIAMENT'S MENU: SECURITY AND THE ECONOMY

Weekly Mail Reporter

SECURITY and economic issues are likely to dominate the new parliamentary session, which opens in Cape Town today, and "reform" will take a back seat.

And with the National Party fighting rearguard action against a buoyant Conservative Party in two by-elections on March 2, another on March 29 and in the municipal elections on October 26, the government leadership will almost certainly try to opt for action on issues that will be popular with conservative white voters.

The government's commitment to bringing down the inflation rate — as

demonstrated at yesterday's summit between President PW Botha and leading businessmen — and reduce wage increases, is going to bring precious little good news for ordinary consumers in the near future.

And with the unicameral constitution looking tatter than ever after the Carter Ebrahim debacle and the stalemate on the proposed national statutory council, as well as the undisguised joy by the Conservative Party over these problems, "reform" is not going to be a vote-winner in the conservative

Transvaal.

So, security-related problems and issues are likely to be used to persuade Nationalist supporters to remain within the fold.

Moreover, at the end of November last year, the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant Johannes van der Merwe, told a press briefing at Walvis Bay that "legal, radical organisations" were more of a problem than the banned organisations.

At the same time, Van der Merwe said: "We will have to give close attention to Cosatu."

What is clear is that Van der Merwe and law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok, believe the "revolutionary climate", particularly in the townships, is still too hot.

In the circumstances, there will hardly be much surprise if a new security clampdown occurs, particularly on organisations like the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and their affiliates.

Another organisation which could come in for attention is the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), headed by the former PFP leaders Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine.

There has been considerable speculation among extra-parliamentary organisations that the government is planning to curb or cut off foreign funding, particularly to some of the more high-profile groups.

No indication has been given of what measures are being considered in this regard, but funding may well be one of the focuses of government action against these groups.

A Standing Committee of Parliament is at present debating amendments to the Labour Relations Act. If passed, these changes will considerably restrict the scope of unions and workers to strike or take other industrial action.

Unions have warned that the proposed amendments will lead to new industrial conflict, but the government seems determined to restrict union activity and to reverse some of the hard-won gains made by workers after the publication of the Wiehahn report 10 years ago.

So, with the National Party leadership believing its major political threat in the foreseeable future is the Conservative Party, it looks as though it is going to be a tough parliamentary session for anti-apartheid



Adriaan Vlok ... revolutionary climate still too hot

groups.

In terms of the controlling house of parliament, the all-white house of assembly, the Conservative Party is a problem for the government. CP parliamentarians are convinced they will push up their majorities in all three of the pending by-elections. They also believe the CP will capture control of a number of municipalities in the Transvaal in October and they are optimistic they will be the majority party in the Pretoria City Council after October.

Nationalist politicians are clearly worried about the growth of the far-right and the leadership has undoubtedly devised strategies to counter the threat.

One of its cards — linking the CP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and suggesting the party is already under the control of the militaristic body — is already being played in the Nationalist press. And there can be little doubt that the role of the AWB is going to be a major issue of debate in next week's no-confidence debate.

However, the government believes it is a winning issue and that is enough to ensure that it will dominate debates.

But security, and the calls for unity in the face of the "enemy" onslaught, will almost certainly be used as a rallying call for white voters.

This could have damaging consequences outside the narrow confines of white political debate. Indeed, the fundamental issues of South African politics — such as majority rule — will largely be ignored in the new parliamentary session.

## How much are you contributing to changing South Africa?

HOW ABOUT R112 PER WEEK FOR STARTERS.

Isn't that a small price to pay for a more realistic perspective on South Africa? Especially since The Weekly Mail is an independent South African newspaper that reports on the way things really are. From Robben Island to Government Avenue, big business to trade unions.

(It takes more than the State of Emergency to silence The Weekly Mail.)

Simply peruse the subscription details below and complete this coupon. And put your money where your mouth is.

☐ I enclose my 6-month / 12-month subscription of R \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Code \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Box to: The Weekly Mail, P.O. Box 760425, Ecom, 2021 South Africa

**WEEKLY MAIL**  
The independent voice of South Africa

Subscriptions	6 months	12 months
Home deliveries in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, P.E. & Grahamstown.	R32	R59
Postal deliveries in South Africa, the homelands and Namibia.	R32	R59
Airmail to Zimbabwe.	R35	R70
Airmail to Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zambia, and Mozambique.	R70	R132
Airmail to United Kingdom.	R100 ex	R188 ex
Airmail to U.S.A., Europe, Australia and elsewhere overseas.	R120 ex	R225 ex



B L A C K  
coloured and  
Indian mem-  
bership of the  
PFP has in-  
creased con-  
siderably,  
party officials  
say.

Informal  
discussion is  
taking place  
on whether  
and how this  
support would be tested in the  
coming nationwide October  
municipal elections.

PFP officials are reluctant to  
comment on using their wider  
support base in elections.

However, Transvaal PFP  
chairman Douglas Gibson said:  
"Often alliances follow after  
what's happening on the  
ground."

PFP's Neil Ross yesterday  
said the party did not classify  
membership in terms of race,  
therefore there were no statis-  
tics available on what percent-  
age of PFP members came from  
these communities.

However, according to both  
Ross and Gibson, recent times  
have seen these increases par-  
ticularly in the western Cape  
and Free State.

Ross said there had been par-

# Blacks join PFP ranks officials

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

particularly vigorous membership  
growth in the Bloemfontein and  
Welkom areas, and in QwaQwa  
where four PFP branches had  
been formed.

He said a PFP organiser in  
QwaQwa had been harrassed by  
authorities and a result was due  
to appear in court after he was  
accused of holding a private  
branch meeting without permis-  
sion.

Even without an active re-  
cruitment drive in most areas —  
largely hampered by the State of  
Emergency — PFP membership  
had picked up in black, coloured  
and Indian communities also in  
parts of Natal, northern Trans-  
vaal, the Pretoria area, Kimber-  
ley and surrounding areas, and  
to a lesser extent, in areas  
around Johannesburg.





'For heaven's sake! I'll be all right, I tell you!'

## Cornered PW faces shootout

**T**HINK your way into the inner crevices of President Botha's political mind. Weigh his options. Quantify the risks he can afford to take. Examine the compromises he could possibly make. And then view the coming session of Parliament.

The good of the country should morally be uppermost in his mind, and he no doubt has a long view on what should be done to overcome the tensions, the violence and the economic and political pressures that make his job a nightmare.

Using his own terminology, his goal is the "broadening of democracy". He wishes to achieve it while preserving group autonomy, cultural integrity and economic advancement. Put that way, it sounds quite good.

But then come practical considerations. The tide is running against him in the white electorate, particularly within the Afrikaner power base essential to continued Nationalist rule, because he has moved faster than Afrikaner race prejudices have been fading. The potential loss of Assembly seats to the Conservatives that would result from following a determined reform path is far greater than the gain he could expect to make at the expense of the PFP. Gradual reform, in any case, wins little applause among

THE  
INDEPENDENT  
JOHN  
PATTEN



the impatient, disfranchised black masses.

Faced with that scenario, "broadening of democracy" begins to mean for him a threat to his majority.

Such is the state of alienation of his relations with the Labour Party and the PFP that he cannot contemplate speeding up reform to cultivate new alliances. He is choosing instead to brazen it out with the CP, which is putting his rule on trial at three important by-elections in the coming months.

The outcome of these by-elections will determine whether he can risk a tricameral general election, whether he should fend off such an election as long as constitutionally possible (to early 1990), or whether he must sink his differences with the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party so he can buy time before holding white elections later than coloured and Indian elections.

Mr Botha neither compromises nor admits defeat. His style when crowded

is to play dirty. As CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht astutely summed up present Nationalist tactics, Mr Botha is trying to hang the AWB round the neck of the CP, just as he hung the ANC round the neck of the PFP last year.

The difference is that the CP does not flinch from the AWB connection and probably hopes to gain from it, whereas the ANC smear had a demoralising and immensely damaging effect on PFP support.

Mr Botha goes into the 1988 parliamentary session, which he opened yesterday, on the defensive. He is being cornered by political circumstances and he is as dangerous as a cornered beast. On the one hand, Mr Hendrickse has presented him with an effective ultimatum (repeal the Group Areas Act or be obstructed on postponed white elections). On the other, the CP is about to demonstrate its growing support at the polls.

Mr Botha's answer inside and outside Parliament this session will be a go-slow on reform, more repression in the name of national security, and repeated attempts to exploit HNP-CP divisions by playing off the AWB between them.

We are in for months of propaganda without progress.



# Palaces and penny

Star 6/2/88  
(3044)

THE variety and wealth of our country is rivalled only by the richness of its ironies.

As politicians never tire of reminding us: South Africa is exceedingly blessed with natural resources, including most of the world's gold, diamonds, platinum and strategic minerals. Apart from a few oil-rich Arab communities, we ought to be the wealthiest community on Earth.

Equal opportunity, justice, good government, and commonsense should ensure that.

Instead the rich in South Africa are taxed or threatened until many seek refuge offshore, and the poor have to be rescued from starvation by private charities.

The Government, having failed abysmally in political reform, now turns to "economic reform". The State President appeals for prudence, parsimony and thrift. And here comes the best irony yet of 1988. For the appeal is made during a lavish opening of the most lavish government complex erected since our nation was born.

At least R50 million has been splurged on the Stalplein-Tyynhuis complex with its 400-seat joint chamber, its gold-and-white president's council complex and additional trap-pings for a tricameral parliament and the symbols of presidential power.

## UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS HARVEY TYSON



Here is an African Versailles — situated a figurative stone's throw from a vacant, abandoned District Six from which people were forcibly removed two decades ago because of their colour.

The new parliament and the old slum today form two starkly contrasted symbols of folly which will mock us for centuries.

So stiffen the lip and tighten the belt. If we cannot have good government, we can compensate by practising thrift... something the Government and we voters should have done years ago.

Professor Chris Barnard, Clive Rice, John McEnroe, Alan Hendrickse, P W Botha, Eugene TerreBlanche and Harvey Tyson — what do these men have in common?

They are the ones most of you have nominated as author of "The Shortest Book in the World". John McEnroe is named most, the

titles of his shortest book ranging from "Tennis Etiquette" to "Court Manners". Alan Hendrickse is named as author of very brief books on "The Secrets of Surfing", "Beaches of South Africa", "Fashions in Swimwear" and many more.

Chris Barnard is suggested as author of several very thin volumes including "Quiet Reflections" and "Growing Old Gracefully".

The author of this column gets it both ways with a shortest book entitled "National Party Logic", "Telling it Like it Is", "Not Telling it Like it is" and variations of both.

P W Botha is nominated as author of the world's shortest book entitled "How to Win Friends and Influence People", "What I Learned in My Years in Business", "Across the Rubicon", "Tact" and many more.

To quote one reader: "I could go on, but who wants to be the funniest guy in solitary confinement?"

Eugene TerreBlanche contends for the world's shortest book with "My list of Black, Asian, Coloured and Jewish SA Presidential Candidates" (the title could easily be stretched into one of the world's longest) and many obvious titles concerning race relations.

Clive Rice is named author of "Early Declaration", "Winning isn't Everything", etc.

Joan Collins is a popular contender, though some of the titles are not printable.

Naas Botha, Stella Sigcau, P W Botha, P W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Bishop Tutu and Chief Buthelezi form the second rank of popular nominations as authors.

It is right, of course, that we should pick on local, topical personalities for our gentle barbs, but it's hard to be original in this relevant area.

Some of the better "World's Shortest Books" are those without authors. For example: "With Rod and Line through the Namib Desert", "Reform Achievements in SA up to the Present Time," and "The Irish Book of Logic".

It's going to take some time to sort out the winning entries — and it will require some highly arbitrary judgments — but meanwhile, perhaps we could broaden the field by introducing topics such as literary figures and royalty. Could I suggest, for example:

"Cake Baking" by King Alfred or Marie Antoinette; "Marine Engineering" by King Canute; "Stay Happily Married" by Henry VIII; "My Life in the Marines" by Prince Edward.

Or:

"The Delights of Vegetarianism" by Count Dracula; "How to Entertain" by Robinson Crusoe; "The Charms of Elasticity" by Fanny Hill.



● Most moneymen praise 'new economic order'

# PW's darling hailed

5048 SPB 6/2/68  
419

MAGNUS HEYSTEK,  
Finance Editor

South Africa is on the verge of a new economic order which could lift the country out of the quagmire of stagnant growth, high inflation and rising taxation of recent years — if the Government has the courage to implement proposals made by President Botha when he opened Parliament yesterday.

A leading stockbroker — who cannot be named for professional reasons — said: 'It is a blueprint for a new economic order that will restore the country to economic health.'

Dr Azar Jammine, chief economist at Econometrix and a long-standing critic of Government economic policy, called Mr Botha's address the "most important economic document in South African history... hitting at the core of all the economic ills of the country".

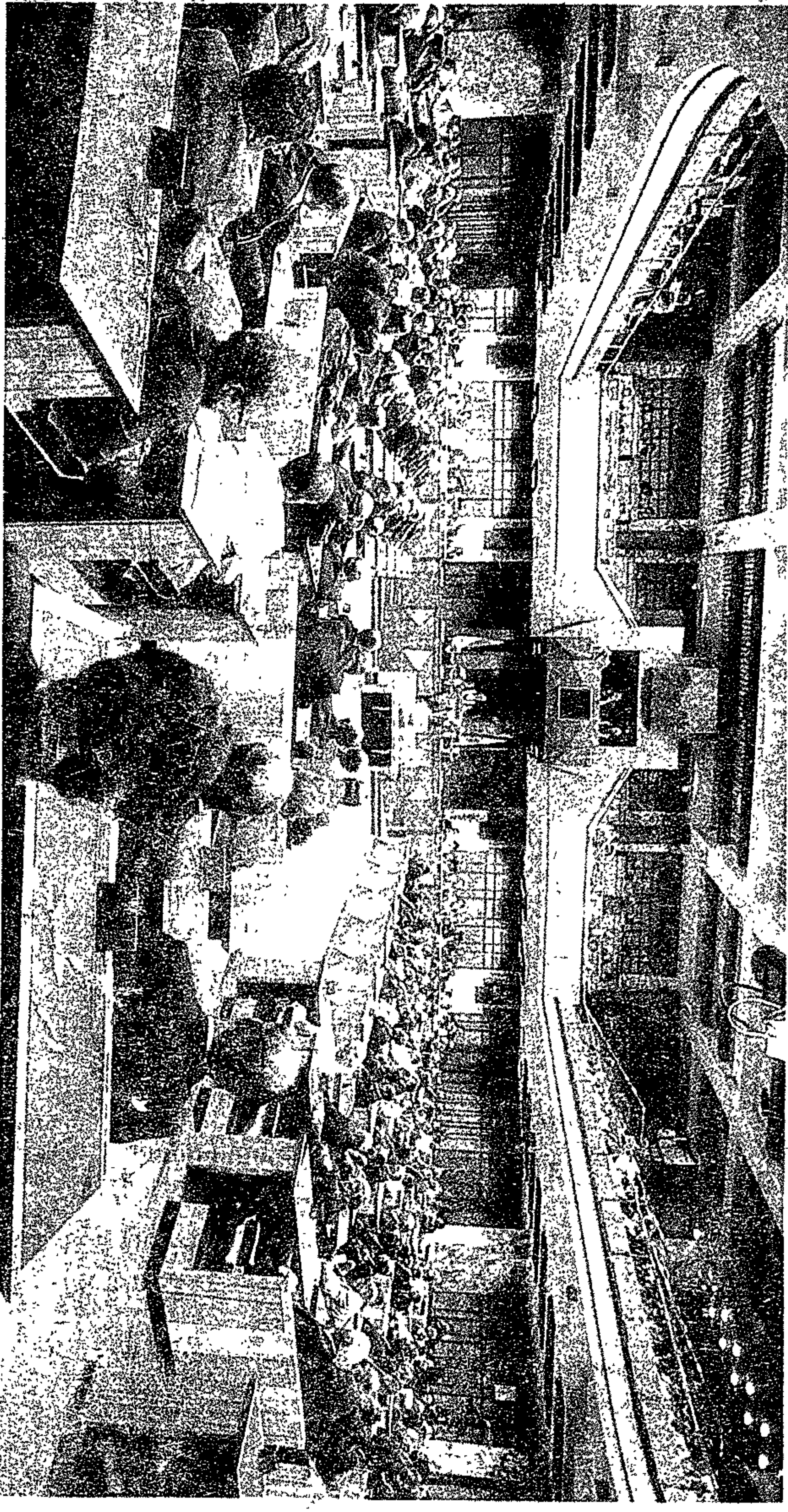
Other economists were quick to point out ~~apply to Administration~~

~~actions organised by~~

~~VICES operated in the~~

P.T.C.

SCENE at yesterday's opening of Parliament — setting for the announcement of a new economic blueprint.



PW



similarities with the economic policies of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, which have transformed her country's economy into one of the fastest growing in Europe within only years.

Spokesmen for organised commerce and industry were overwhelmingly positive, describing the initiatives as "extremely important" which all South Africans should welcome.

Meanwhile, amid the euphoria other economists are warning that tough times lie ahead for salary and wage earners following President Botha's economic measures.

Frans Esterhuyse, writing from Cape Town, says that some economists are saying that the immediate effect of the Government's new restrictive policy, if implemented by business and industry as well, will be that ordinary people will have to tighten their belts still more.

Dr Ockie Stuart, director of Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research, said he had no doubt that consumers generally would be worse off under the present inflation rate of about 15 percent.

Even if the inflation rate were to be brought down, the restricted salaries and wages were still likely to fall short as real incomes would decrease.

Indications were, therefore, that if the private sector heeded the call for restraint, more difficult times lay ahead for salaried people. This could also affect the country's economic growth rate, which would decrease.

But Dr Stuart said he did not think such a decline in the economic growth rate would be big enough to affect job creation.

Commenting on the proposed new VAT system of taxation, Dr Stuart said it was likely that consumers would pay a little less in direct taxation than under the present GST system, but then prices of commodities might increase to accommodate tax paid at different points between manufacturer and retailer.

In the end, it was likely that the consumer would pay about the same in direct and indirect tax as he now paid under the GST system.

Mr Tony Norton, chief executive of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, said the President's speech indicated a willingness by the Government to put economics at the centre of priorities.

"The courage required to bring

● To Page 2.

## Stage is set for new economic order

Star 449 ● From Page 1. 30419

such reforms into play indicates commitment in itself," he said, referring to the political gamble taken by Mr Botha to deny the public service a general wage increase barely weeks before three crucial by-elections in the heartland of the National Party's opposition.

Some commentators consider this a "worst-case scenario" which will enable the NP to determine truly the depth of the conservative opposition.

An economist at the stockbroking firm of Simpson McKie Inc said: "The timing of the announcements couldn't have come at a better time. For the first time in nearly four years the economy has gained a momentum of its own which now enables the Government to execute its oft-stated policy of privatisation and deregulation."

The Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), while expressing some reservations about the proposed replacement of general sales tax (GST) with the Value Added Tax (VAT) system, says the stage is now set for a reduction of the Government's role in the economy, which ultimately may avoid further tax increases.

"The goal now must be to make a reduction in the overall tax burden possible," it says.

Mr Leon Steenkamp, economist at the stockbroking firm of Senekal, Mouton and Kitshoff, ex-



MR STEENKAMP

pressed the opinion that GST is being replaced by VAT because of the vast growth of the informal sector of the economy, which largely escapes the GST net.

Other spokesmen were heartened by the announcement that large Government undertakings such as Eskom, SA Transport Services and the Department of Post and Telecommunications are to be converted into tax-paying profit-seeking enterprises.

They say that not only will this increase revenue for the State, but will lead also to greater efficiency and less distortion in the market-place.

The privatisation of several State-owned enterprises such as Yskor and Foskor, with the intended flotation of Eskom, will free "billions of rands" for use in the establishment of infrastructure in under-developed areas.

But Mr Botha's task won't be easy. Large-scale privatisation and deregulation will undoubtedly encounter vehement opposition from some public servants, special interest groups, and lobbyists — as has happened elsewhere in the world.



# Don't underestimate the swing to Conservatives

DAVID BRAUN

Political Correspondent

Be careful before writing off the Conservative Party. The Afrikaans Press, especially *Beeld*, is not writing the party off — and they should know better than anyone.

*Beeld*'s series of cartoons attempting to put the CP in a ridiculous light demonstrates how seriously they, and ultimately their political bosses, take the CP.

It has been trendy since last year's general election to write off the Conservatives as a force that has peaked and is now on the decline.

Academics particularly have insisted that the results of the general election, when compared with preceding by-elections and the referendum, showed the CP's support had either consolidated or had in fact declined.

## No swing

They have dismissed the notion that the electorate is swinging to the right.

Some politicians point out the CP entered the election with 17 seats and came out with only 22 — a net gain of only five seats. And 22 seats out of a total of 166 is hardly a major force, they say.

What is not so often pointed out is that the CP had not fought a general election before 1987. It had previously stood in and won only two of the 22 seats it took in the general election — in by-elections in Soutpansberg and Waterberg.

Voting figures show the two parties to the right of the NP (that is the CP and the HNP) together polled 38 percent of all the votes cast in the Transvaal and



**HOUNDED MERCILESSLY:** how *Beeld* cartoonist has consistently depicted the CP relationship with the AWB.

42 percent in the Free State in the election.

If the urban seats are not taken into account, the percentage votes cast for the CP in the rural areas becomes much higher.

The empirical data would indicate the CP is in a strong position for growth.

Some observers predict that based on these results the CP could win the next

general election.

Only 24 out of every 100 voters that supported the NP in 1987 needs to cross to the CP for this to happen, assuming the electoral boundaries remain the same.

What are the political factors that could influence these projections?

The NP has the enormous advantage of office, which gives it the power to influence the redelimitation of constituencies.

It also controls the SABC and the Afrikaans press.

The party also has substantially greater financial and other resources.

On the other hand, the NP's traditional Afrikaner support base has eroded over the years.

## Fickleness

English-speakers have been notoriously fickle in South African politics, as they are elsewhere in the world, and voters tend to switch party allegiances because of issues and personalities rather than traditional or national loyalties.

And the Government's determination to bring State expenditure and inflation to heel is bound to make further inroads on living standards of the middle and low-class whites.

Finally, the NP has experienced great difficulty in marketing its reform policies to the lower-income white groups, mainly because they are increasingly complex and difficult to understand.

The CP has already enjoyed great success in exploiting this by misleading the voters about the Government's true intentions.

304A

NEWS

# 'Treurnicht has my blessing' — Eugene Terre'Blanche

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

DR Andries Treurnicht has the blessing and the support of the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in his role as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly.

So says Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of AWB and strongman of ultra-rightwing politics.

His assurance, in an interview with Weekend Argus, has come on the eve of a Parliamentary session in which Dr Treurnicht will face a concerted attack from the Nationalist benches over his Conservative Party's links with the AWB.

The uncovering of several AWB members in the Conservatives' Parliamentary, say Nationalists, has brought the Opposition Leader to the point where he can no longer dismiss the embrace of his political ally with its Nazi-like image and reputation of potential militancy.

Dr Treurnicht declined this

week to discuss his party's association with the AWB, insisting he would deal with the matter during next week's no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly.

Mr Terre'Blanche was more outspoken over their relationship: "I am thankful Dr Treurnicht is there as leader of the official Opposition. I think he is in a very favourable position. He can really enjoy his role this year because the Government is collapsing on all fronts."

He confirmed that an agreement for dual membership existed between his movement and the CP. This meant CP members, including MPs, were free to belong to the AWB. Similarly, AWB members could also become members of the CP. Such dual membership of the two organisations was already in existence among some of their members.

He predicted that the CP

would win all three forthcoming Transvaal by-elections — in Standerton, Schweizer Renke and Randfontein — and that the right-wing movement would oust the Government and come into power in the next general election.

The take-over would come as a result of growing support for the right-wing movement in the Transvaal and in rural areas in the rest of the country.

Mr Terre'Blanche said it was clear to him that the Nationalist campaign was the result of "panic" in the NP over the rise of the right-wing movement.

"The Government is trying to shift attention away from its own failures and to project it on to the rightwing movement.

"The new constitutional dispensation has been a total failure, Mr P W Botha is having trouble with the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the Government can't find black leaders to talk to, Mr Rajbansi is becoming in-

creasingly unacceptable to his own voters, and the economic situation is still getting worse.

"It is clear that the Government is politically bankrupt."

His message to Parliament was that "the AWB is an important factor to be taken into account".

He rejected all allegations that the AWB was a Nazi-type movement seeking a dictatorship in South Africa.

"We were not born out of hatred but out of love for that which is our own. We stand for free elections every five years, so there can be no question of a dictatorship — which is more than P W Botha can say."



# No '88 election, politicians decide after PW's speech

PETER FABRICIUS  
and DAVID BRAUN

There will be no general election this year — that is the main political interpretation of President Botha's belt-tightening speech at the opening of Parliament yesterday.

Political observers said Mr Botha would never have announced drastic measures such as a freeze on general pay increases for public servants if he intended to hold an election this year.

His economic reform measures — which included privatisation of several state concerns and the replacement of GST by an invoice-based value-added tax — have drawn a mixed reaction.

Dr. Andries Treurnicht, leader of the official opposition Conservative Party, said the speech made it clear the Government was steering away from a detailed discussion of its plans for constitutional changes.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, said the Government had shown it was unwilling or unable to proceed with reform. He said Mr Botha had claimed he wanted to extend the life of Parliament to 1992 to implement constitutional reform but his speech yesterday contained no reform measures.

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said that apart from "some interesting announcements on certain economic matters" the speech was "utterly

SATYR



'Now the Government can live off the VAT of the land.'

distressing".

He said: "While the situation in the country is deteriorating, the State President gives no indication of any determination to grapple with the fundamental issues that are the root causes of our

problems."

The speech had contained only a passing reference to reform.

PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said the speech showed the Government's inability to deal with reform.

He welcomed the economic reform measures and said the move towards economic progress and justice should be supported.

"We welcome the abolition of GST and its substitution by value-added tax which we called for when GST was introduced.

"We also welcome Mr Botha's action against inflation. However we believe anti-inflation measures must be introduced in a way that won't affect growth and job creation and any appeal to the private sector for restraint on wage and salary increase must be accompanied by a similar appeal on price restraint.

"Privatisation should be introduced only after careful consideration of the social and political implications and care should be taken that the needy are not deprived of access to essential services."

● TO PAGE 2.

## 'No election in '88'

Star 6/2/88

From Page 1. 6/2/88

Mr Schwarz said privatisation should only take place after negotiating with organised labour. It was critically important that the proceeds of privatisation should be used for important infrastructure and not to finance capital expenditure, he said.

It was generally agreed that the private sector would make or break Mr Botha's new economic deal.

Politicians agreed last night that the new package of policy measures aimed at restructuring the economy would depend largely on whether business leaders played ball with regard to a restraint on wages and prices and whether they would buy the multi-billion-rand State assets soon to go on sale.

Mr Botha this week took the extraordinary step of briefing a cross-section of business and other leaders on the contents of his speech for the opening of Parliament a day before he delivered it.

He appealed to them for their help in combating inflation and to follow the Government's example with regard to personnel expenditure and price increases.

According to senior National Party sources, Mr Botha has shown considerable political courage by resisting public service demands for hefty increases in salary levels in the coming year.

This would appear to be clear evidence that Mr Botha has no general election in mind for 1988 — until now there has been continuing speculation that he might call a general election this year.

Constitutionally Mr Botha is obliged to hold an election by 1989 — or at latest early 1990 — if he is unable to pass the legislation to postpone elections until 1992.

Since Mr Hendrickse is blocking these moves there has been speculation that Mr Botha might call an earlier election.

But Mr Botha's strong attack on Government spending has convinced observers he cannot be contemplating an election.

"There will be no election," Mr Schwarz said firmly. Other commentators agreed.

# What about political reform?, parties ask

*Can Times 6/2/88  
304A*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties yesterday slammed Mr P W Botha's opening speech to Parliament for failing to address political reform, but there was qualified praise for aspects of the economic package announced by the President.

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said he found Mr Botha's speech "utterly distressing" because while the situation in the country was deteriorating, the President gave "no indication of any determination to grapple with the fundamental issues that are the root cause of our problems."

## 'Evasion'

"There is no commitment to get rid of apartheid and discrimination, no vision for the future and only a passing reference to reform."

"If one must judge from the State President's speech, then the government is going to continue on a course of evasion, dealing with symptoms rather than with the fundamental causes of the problems," he said.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said Mr Botha's speech "demonstrates the inability or unwillingness of the government to proceed with reform".

He added: "The state of the nation in terms of economics can and must be ascribed to the government's firm intention to continue on the road of apartheid."

## 'Disappointing'

Mr Botha should be complimented for his strong stand against inflation and in favour of privatization and deregulation, said the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Mr Rajbansi said it was clear that Mr Botha was trying to narrow the gap between the First and Third World communities in South Africa.

"I think the private sector should respond positively to his stand," he said.

The Independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said the State President's near-total lack of attention to political issues had been "most disappointing".

He did not want to be seen as having a negative attitude over the attention that had been given to economic matters — they deserved a high priority — but this could have been left to a cabinet minister to deal with.

## 'Cul-de-sac'

The State President's job was to get the country out of the political cul-de-sac it was in, and he had given no indication that he even realized that it was in a cul-de-sac, he said.

The leader of the National Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, said the speech did not touch on the problems central to the South African dilemma, namely political rights for blacks, education, development or housing.

He supported the intentions to privatize and deregulate aspects of the economy and hoped the government would stick to these intentions.

Mr Malan welcomed the decision about VAT and said it may eliminate some malpractices in the economy.



# THE HNP'S JAAP MARAIS — A RELIC OF THE PAST OR THE DECIDING FACTOR IN THE SCHW

BY DRIES VAN HEERDEN

HE trouble with PW and AP," Oom Roelf Maartins, his Al-Hertzog-style goatse quivering indignation, "is that they are of the same feather.

There is absolutely no difference between the CP and the NP. Roelf and his party have become a nation, the CP just a little bit over than the Government.

There is only one conservative fighting this by-election and it is the HNP," he says, sitting in party's office in Schweizer Ren- with posters of his leader and didate Jaap Marais peering in the wall.

Roelf is an old-style Afri- aristocrat and a die-hard P supporter. Not for him the ics of compromise, "this stupid idea of an Indian homeland" or fraternising with the AWB and

their white homeland philosophy. "This whole country belongs to the white man and we will decide where the other people should live," he maintains.

Even for the conservative folks of Mligdol and Leendoringstad, Geysdorp and Delarville, Oom Roelf and his party have become somewhat of a relic of the past.

## Doughty

The CP and its ex-dominant leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has become the new standard-bearers of the conservative movement.

Yet, he represents the one thing that everybody — Nattes, Kapees and Haa en Pees — talks about in whispers. The Great Imponderable. The Jaap Factor.

In May last year CP candidate Kobus Beyers took the seat from the NP by the proverbial whisker.

Only 191 votes separated him from the sitting Nat MP, Willie Lemmer.

The HNP fielded a "bad candidate" whose name very few people can still remember. "Now was it Koekeboer or Haasbroek; perhaps it was Hoogenboezem?"

This time around the candidate needs no introduction. Mr Jaap Marais's reputation as an experienced campaigner and doughty opponent has preceded him.

He is campaigning with a vengeance. His targets are clear and focused: The government's liberalism and the CP's quasi-liberalism.

For him and his party faithful the CP is but a watered down version of the NP. The HNP are the true heirs to nationalism, and of this Mr Marais makes no bones.

His posters on the streets of Wolmaransstad show him facing (leftwards) both Mr P W Botha, Dr



## THE CONTENDERS ... Marais, Lemmer and Mulder

Treurnicht and the late Mr John Vorster.

"Vote for Jaap Marais who has always been right and is still the only one who is right," it proclaims.

His followers confidently predict a victory but everybody knows that is just election talk.

What is closer to the truth is that

Mr Marais's latest Big Hurrah may just upset the fortunes of the CP and allow the NP to sneak in through the back door.

If Mr Marais is able to double the HNP vote — and this is a strong possibility — he will draw 500-odd votes from the CP. Votes they can ill afford to lose considering their

slender majority. CP candidate Professor ("call me Pieter") Mulder does not believe the Jaap factor will be that important. "I think their dismal showing in the May elections will cut their votes across the country in half.

"Jaap's personal following will only succeed in bringing back that half his party already lost in Schweizer. This will bring us back to square one," he predicts.

Professor Mulder, son of the late Dr Connie Mulder, is perhaps the CP's biggest asset in the election battle. Friend and foe alike agree that he is an extremely affable and capable man.

Already he has succeeded in shedding his image of the "big city slicker", the "Poth academic", and the "outsider".

Dressed in a short-sleeved shirt, he talks about the issues governing

## WILL RENEMER ELECTION?

★ SUNDAY TIMES, February 7 1988 13

the present campaign. Yes, the drought is foremost in everybody's mind. Yes, everybody is justifiably concerned about the financial plight of the farmers.

But the voters of Schweizer will also vote CP because they believe the Government's policy is leading to a dead-end street and the CP's vision of separate development provides the only alternative.

The NP candidate, Mr Willie Lemmer, is no stranger to the constituency. Of third-generation farming stock, he knows the region and its problems like the back of his hand.

In his term as MP for Schweizer Reneker he earned the reputation of a constituency man who had the interest of his voters at heart.

This time around there won't be a slip-up, he assures you. The NP organisation is geared for victory.

The formidable NP election machinery has already sent in its "A team" to fight the by-election. Veteran organiser Lappies Labuschagne is proud that, with a month to go, the NP has already received more applications for special and postal votes than in the whole of last year's campaign.

Lemmer speaks of voters returning to the NP after a shortlived fling with the CP. "They soon found that the CP could offer no alternative solutions for South Africa's problems. They are disillusioned by the CP's lack of vision," he says.

Whichever party wins in Schweizer on March 2 will only do so by a very small margin. A superior organisation and, perhaps, the Jaap Factor may well determine the winner.

Report by Dries van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg



# PW's 'new deal' could give boost to much-needed political reform

PRESIDENT P W Botha's new economic package will give a meaningful boost to political reform, said Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Economic prosperity was an important prerequisite for political reform, Dr van der Merwe said.

"Many intended political reforms on third-tier level have been shipwrecked because there was insufficient economic support," he said.

President Botha indicated that increased availability of funds — particularly from the privatisation of major para-statal corporations — would be used for development purposes with a distinct socio-political face.

Enormous amounts of capital can be expected to become available when corporations such as Eskom, Iscor and sections of SATS and the GPO are privatised.

Mr Botha said the first priority for this money would be the redemption of public debt.

He said it would also be used for basic infrastructure and services in developing areas and the creation of small businesses.

## Objections

The long-term effect should be a broadening of a black middle class.

The Official Opposition's spokesman on finance, Conservative MP Cas Uys, objected to this aspect of Mr Botha's package, saying it amounted to a transference of wealth from the white industrial sector to black areas.

Mr Uys said the package revealed a Government forced into liquidating its assets in order to acquire cash it did not have.

He said he was "anxious" about the privatisation of

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

services such as roads, railways and telephones.

He objected also to the abandonment of earmarked levies. These now became simply methods of collecting tax revenue, he said.

While Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin referred to the economic plans only as "interesting" and castigated Mr Botha for ignoring political reforms, PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz praised the proposals.

He said: "Moves toward economic progress and economic justice should be supported."

## Restraint

The overall package, Mr Schwarz said, should lead to greater employment and greater private fixed investment through entrepreneurship.

He said the appeal for restraint in price and wage increases should be backed with restraint on Government-administered prices.

He said it was wrong to privatise roads while users were paying for them through the fuel levy.

Using the money simply to pay off the national debt was "not going to help anyone", Mr Schwarz said.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse largely ignored the economic proposals in his reaction and, like Mr Eglin, criticised Mr Botha for failing to address vital political reform.





Anglo American's Harry Oppenheimer



Conservative Party's Andries Treurnicht



Archbishop Desmond Tutu



Trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa

# COMPLEX CONVERSATIONS IN SA

"We cannot, for one moment, accept a one man, one vote system in a unitary South Africa." — State President PW Botha

IN an essay featured in *A Question Of Survival: Conversations with key South Africans*, Cape Town University professor, Herbert Vilakazi, points out that the last time the world smelt the horror of burning flesh was during Adolf Hitler's notorious Nazi rule of Germany.

That was before South Africa of the 1980s.

He writes: "Is it possible... is it imaginable, that people claiming to be part of the humanism of Marx and Engels can keep quiet when such burnings of human beings are perpetrated in the name of the liberation struggle?"

"Dare we even talk about African humanism — let alone mention Marx and Engels — when such things are happening among Africans in the name of the revolutionary struggle?"

This is the message Professor Vilakazi might be addressing to the Cape Town KTC squatter camp and Pietermaritzburg's black townships which have been marked by chilling black-on-black violence.

Other politicians, churchmen and commentators featured in the 519-page document include: Desmond Tutu, PW Botha, Chief MG Buthelezi, Helen Suzman, Winnie Mandela, Nthato Motlana, Jaap Marais, Cyril Ramaphosa, Harry Oppenheimer, Alan Paton and

"Maybe we will reach an agreement and compromise. But if we do not, we (Africans) will go back to the bush and learn to use the AK47's." — Dr Nthato Motlana.

Frank Chikane.

Such a diverse spread of opinion, especially in one book, provides riveting reading. It illustrates the huge variety of opinion among the inhabitants of this divided and troubled land.

But such a work was inevitable. What now needs to be done is to get these people face-to-face around a conference table.

Authors Fisher and Albeldas have this to say about the book: "Over the early part of 1986 we traversed South Africa to conduct extensive interviews with a number of

Cape Town University researchers, Alan Fisher and Michel Albeldas have achieved on paper what many progressive South Africans have hankered after for decades — "a national convention".

Their book, *A Question Of Survival: Conversations with key South Africans* features more than 20 prominent black and white South Africans — as diverse as State President PW Botha, Harry Oppenheimer, Andries Treurnicht, Cyril Ramaphosa, Helen Suzman and Winnie Mandela.

ZB MOLEFE believes that the book provides what should be compulsory reading for the broad spectrum of South Africans.

this country's leaders.

"Our project has taken us from the heart of the black townships to the plush offices of the government's Union Buildings in Pretoria... this afforded us a unique and startling insight into South Africa's confrontational political factions.

"Our goal, from the outset, has been to present the fundamental and crucial issues in a way which will appeal to the

"We are busy organising and building our organisation for just such a Black revolution." — AWB's Eugene Terreblanche.

*Africa, A Protagonist for Change, or a Reluctant Ally?*

In his essay, Vilakazi, continues: "Angry young people have to be advised and guided, not patted on the back whenever they do something out of anger."

"Let us stress that it will not be youth or intellectuals, but the masses of ordinary working-class men and women, and the peasantry, who will be the decisive arm of the revolution.

"And their revolutionary consciousness cannot be raised or developed through actions which abuse and affront their

sense of worth, cultural values and humanism "Which is why even agents provocateurs of the white State can participate in these abuses and affronts, in order to smear the revolutionary struggle to the masses of ordinary working-class people."

But what do the other South Africans featured in the book say about South Africa? How do they address themselves to the problems facing South Africa? How do these leading South Africans see a solution?

Two areas, however, mar the fine book. The first is that although the authors conducted 45 formal interviews, a number of them had to be omitted because of banning orders on certain people at the time.

Another is that the authors run the risk that their book will be viewed

"I believe intrinsically in one man, one vote, because it is right... I believe the time for other alternatives, in the minds of the vast majority of our people, is over." — UDF's Dr Alan Boesak.

as supporting a section of the problem it tries to address and highlight.

The authors say: "No project of this nature could hope to be complete and authentic without the involvement of the ANC. With this in mind, on two separate occasions we travelled to Lusaka to consult with the ANC."

□ A QUESTION OF SURVIVAL: CONVERSATIONS WITH KEY SOUTH AFRICANS by Alan Fisher and Michel Albeldas. (JONATHAN BALL) R44,95.



# Govt faces divided opposition in Assembly

## Left wing is in state of disarray

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — When the House of Assembly sits for the annual no-confidence debate this week, the opposition to the left of the Government will be more divided than it has been for years.

Not since 1974, when the Progressive Party made its first big electoral breakthrough by winning six seats in the general election, has the line-up on the left been in such a state of flux.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is down to 17 MPs (from its peak of 27 before the May general election).

Sitting next to the PFP are the three MPs of the National Democratic Movement, the sole remaining MP of the New Republic Party (NRP), and one independent, Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont.

The NRP member, Mr Ralph Hardingham, MP for Mooi River, might soon be the representative of a new movement if talks to join the forces of his party and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement get off the ground.

The most spectacular change in political parties since 1974 has undoubtedly been that of the United Party.

The Government of South Africa until 1948, the UP saw the gradual shrinking of its base until in the 1974 election it was returned to Parliament with only 41 seats.

Shortly after the election, Mr Harry Schwarz led a breakaway group of four MPs to form the Reform Party, which later merged with the Progs to form the Progressive Reform Party.

The UP broke apart completely when it dissolved to join forces with the Democratic Party to form the NRP.

One group, led by Mr Japie Basson, joined the

PFP to form the PFP while another, led by Mr Myburgh Streicher, formed the South African Party (SAP) which later joined the NP.

The NRP fared badly in the 1977 general election, winning 10 seats to the PFP's 15. The SAP, still to join the Government, won three seats.

The tide continued to turn in favour of the PFP for a few years, with the party sapping more of the UP's former support.

The Government's reform programme resulted in the CP splitting from the NP.

A new turning point in parliamentary politics was the 1983 referendum, which saw PFP voters supporting the Government line in droves — against the advice of their party's leaders.

A group of three MPs, led by Natal NRP leader Mr Ron Miller, crossed the floor to join the Government after the referendum.

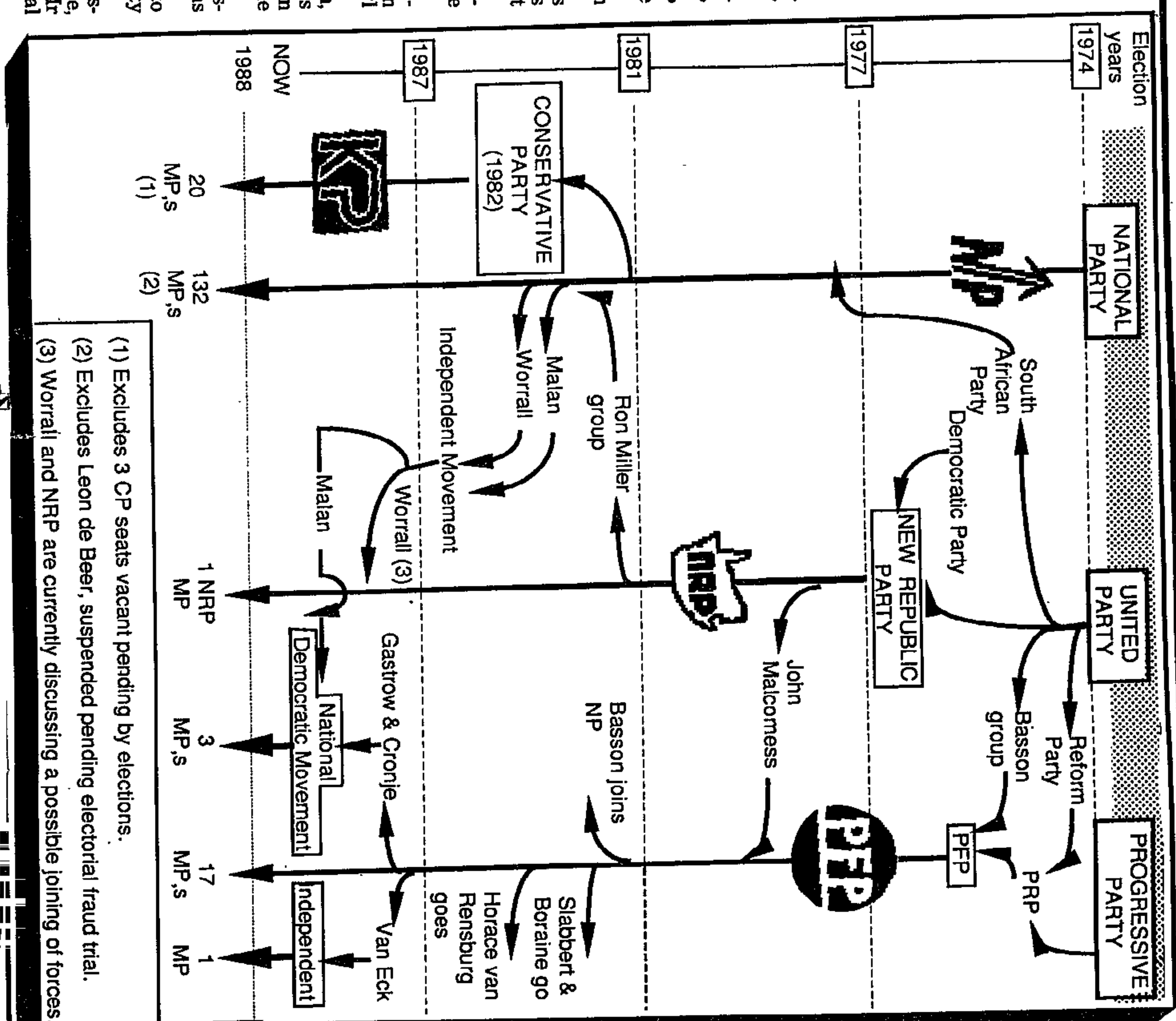
Subsequent frustration with the futility of opposing the Government in the system resulted in the resignation of the PFP leader, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, and his deputy, Dr Alex Boraine.

In the election last year, Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, resigned from the NP and was later joined by Dr Worrall, former Nat MP and then South African ambassador to Britain, to form the Independent Movement.

The MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, left the PFP when it became clear he was not going to be nominated for re-election.

After the election, Mr van Eck quit the PFP to become an independent because he felt the party was not being true to its principles.

The PFP MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gas-trow, and the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, then resigned from the PFP to join forces with Mr Malan in a new structure calling itself the National Democratic Movement.





# Boycott strategy being reappraised

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY groups — which until now have boycotted the tricameral Parliament — are reconsidering their strategies.

Some are discussing the possibility of co-operating with parliamentary groups and others are discussing a strategy for the nationwide October municipal elections.

The ANC is aware of the debates and has indicated it may, in due course, take a stand on the issue which it sees as having been sparked by UDF president Archie Gumede's statement last year that the possibility of parliamentary participation was being discussed.

Michael Olivier, spokesman for the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) — an alliance of predominantly white extra-parliamentary organisations opposed to apartheid — said encouraging steps were being taken which could evolve into a "massive movement" being geared up for the October elections.

The FFF has held informal discussions with, among others, members of

DOMINIQUE GILBERT  
Chief Reporter

the PFP including Robin Carlisle, Independent MP Jan van Eck and members of Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

In addition to these developments, the UDF's Azhar Cachalia said the question of UDF participation in Parliament remained an "open question" at this stage and had been referred to all UDF regions for discussion, with reference to the October elections.

Feedback on regional decisions was expected in the next few months, Cachalia said, adding: "So much depends on matters such as whether the state of emergency is lifted and detainees are released."

Spokesmen for both the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) said their position of non-involvement in present parliamentary

● To Page 2

## Organisations reconsider tricameral boycott

formations remained unchanged but they would follow the decision of the UDF.

The TIC's Ismail Momoniat added: "We are discussing our strategy. I doubt it will change but that depends on whether there is radical change."

In his opinion any broad-based anti-apartheid coalition would succeed only if all participants adhered to UDF poli-

cies.

Olivier said that, almost without exception, anti-apartheid groups were discussing ways in which the divisions among liberals could be narrowed in favour of a "common goal" strategy. He welcomed the recently published idea of a 10-point charter.

● From Page 1

# '40 years of misrule'

THE official opening of Parliament on Friday marked 40 years of National Party misrule and mismanagement of the economy, the United Democratic Front has said in a statement.

The organisation chal-

lenged State President P W Botha on the eve of the opening of the Parliamentary session to provide answers to the country's economic crisis.

"South Africa, in its second year of the state of emergency, is sinking into an economic crisis. The level of unemployment has reached alarming proportions. Millions are faced with starvation as no alternative means of subsistence is available," the UDF said.

It said the high failure rate in black schools

would swell the ranks of the unemployed to even greater proportions. Total mismanagement of the potential wealth and resources "of our country by Botha and his small band of friends" had led to the decline in living standards.

"And when we seek alternative shelter in shacks and by squatting, the Government responds by demolitions and forced removals. Forty years on the apartheid monster still subjects oppressed communities to forced

removals, and the hungry calls of the rural people for land remain unanswered," the UDF's statement said.

It said President Botha should not talk of negotiations when the leaders of the people were in jail.

"We know and you know that you will be shadow-boxing when you refer to negotiations with black leaders in your speech. Release Morobe, Molohi and Mandela. Let Govan Mbeki speak and move freely," the statement said.



# PFP split over PW's new economic package

NEW SIGNS of division in the PFP emerged after President Botha's new economic package was announced on Friday.

In sharp contrast to PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz's welcoming of the economic reforms, party leader Colin Eglin attacked the speech as only a "passing reference to reform".

Party sources said there was

Mozambique

Business Day Reporter

heated disagreement between the two men over the PFP's response to the reforms.

A visibly enthusiastic Schwarz supported government's moves towards privatisation, welcomed the replacement of GST with VAT, and said the PFP would support gov-

ernment's campaign against inflation.

He told Business Day: "The President has announced major steps. These are realities."

But Eglin said it appeared government was continuing on a course of evasion, dealing with symptoms rather than with the fundamental causes of the problems facing the people of SA.

# PFP split emerges over reform plan <sup>2049</sup><sub>8/2/88</sub> <sup>D/D</sup>

JOHANNESBURG — New signs of division within the Progressive Federal Party emerged after State President Mr P. W. Botha's new economic package was announced on Friday.

In sharp contrast to the PFP's finance



MR EGLIN

spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz who welcomed the economic reforms, the party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, attacked the speech as only a "passing reference to reform."

Party sources said there was heated dis-

agreement between the two men over the PFP's response to the reforms.

A visibly enthusiastic Mr Schwarz voiced his general support for many of the economic measures announced by Mr Botha, adding that they represented a positive development.

He said he fully supported the privatisation concepts enunciated by Mr Botha.

Mr Schwarz also welcomed the decision to abolish general sales tax and substitute it with the invoice-led value added tax system of revenue collection.

He said he had always been opposed GST and had given evidence on this score to the Margo Commission.

The campaign against inflation also received his full support, but believed it had to be done in a manner which would not have a detrimental impact on employment creation.

Mr Schwarz said the appeal for restraint on

wage increases should also be accompanied with an appeal for similar restraints in respect of prices.

"The president has announced major steps. These are realities. This is no 'motherhood' speech," he said.



MR SCHWARZ

But Mr Eglin said it appeared the government was continuing on a course of evasion, dealing with symptoms rather than with the fundamental causes of the problems facing the people of South Africa.  
— DDC



D/D 8/2/88

# 1988 — Indaba to expand campaign 304A

**Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent**

DURBAN — The Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba will spend 1988 expanding its campaign to explaining the precise manner in which its proposals would be implemented.

Addressing the Indaba schools conference at Kearsney College, Indaba associate director, Mr Peter Mansfield, said that the Indaba had

been faced with two choices when its proposals were finally formulated.

One of these was to simply put the proposals to the state and the other was to set up the mechanisms and promote the Indaba to the people of Natal and South Africa.

This had been done, and this year the Indaba had embarked upon an implementation study which would entail making public the precise means by which the proposals would be implemented.

Commenting on the necessity of negotiation and the desperate lack of skilled negotiators at shop floor and trade union level, Mr Mansfield said a lot of behind-the-scenes negotiating had taken place during the formulation of the proposals.

This meant that by the time the final sessions when the Indaba proposal had been finalised had taken place, agreement between the various participants had already been reached.

He said that out of ne-

gotiating must come a decision acceptable and beneficial to all the parties involved.

"They (negotiations) must represent a win-win and not a win-lose situation," Mr Mansfield said.

The Indaba proposals could therefore be of benefit to both the Indaba itself and to the government.

"If negotiations fail we, irrespective of race, will be left to argue about who owns the rubbish dump," he added.

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The State President's new economic package was relegated to the sidelines for much of the first day of the no confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday.

The House of Representatives adjourned after only a few minutes owing to the heatwave and the fact that the chamber was not airconditioned.

In the other two Houses the temperature soared to even greater heights as the various political parties quickly resumed their political wrangling.

In the House of Delegates, the debate centred on accusations of corruption.

#### BITTER ATTACK LAUNCHED

In the House of Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, launched a bitter attack on the Government for "promoting one huge non-racial society" in South Africa.

It did this, he said, with its credo of an undivided South Africa with one citizenship, one government, joint decision-making at all levels, equal treatment and equal opportunities.

It did it with what it allowed to happen on the beaches and at places of relaxation, and be-

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson and J M Patten, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

## Financial package 'relegated'

# CP and PFP slate Govt on race issues

cause it had failed to implement the Group Areas Act.

"A government which governs in the interests of the different communities of the country — to say nothing of one which governs for its own people — would not allow the shocking chaos, disgusting indecency, unbearable overcrowding and dangerous confrontation between white and black on the beaches.

"We demand there be order. We demand that our people be protected in their right to use their own beaches," he said.

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin flayed Dr Treurnicht for doing what Dr Hendrik Verwoerd did — developing a racist attitude into an acceptable political philosophy.

"Heaven help us if we go through this again. I thought that had passed through our system," he said.

Mr Eglin moved to amend Dr Treurnicht's motion of no confidence because he believed the Government did not enjoy the support or confidence of the people of South Africa.

#### GOVERNMENT FAILURE

"And I believe it does not deserve the confidence of this House because of the Government's failure to resolve the issue of political rights of black South Africans."

He said that by clinging on to the tattered remnants of apartheid the Government was:

- Damaging the economy and reducing the living standards of our people.

- Undermining the security and safety of the citizens of the country.

- Leading the country away from democracy towards authoritarianism.

Star. 9/2/88

304A



mg.

## Ricci affair 'amazing' — PFP

(304A) Star 9/12/88

The Government's handling of Italian tycoon Mr Mario Ricci's failure to disclose his criminal convictions in his application for permanent residence in this country was "amazing", Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Home Affairs Mr Tiaan van der Merwe said yesterday.

"It beats me how (the Minister of Home Affairs) Mr Stoffel Botha can say it was a 'technical error'. You either have a criminal conviction or you do not."

"I'm not suggesting all persons with a criminal record be barred from entering the country. But the Government is prepared to overlook all sorts of things when money is involved or something political."

Millionaire Mr Ricci was given permanent residence in South Africa even after it was discovered that he

had signed a declaration saying he had no previous convictions, *The Sunday Star* has revealed.

In a statement issued at the weekend, Mr Botha confirmed that Mr Ricci's application had been amended to include his criminal convictions and his expulsion from Switzerland.

Mr Botha said the omission of his criminal record was simply "a technical error".

Mr van der Merwe said it was the second time that an Italian millionaire had failed to reveal his criminal past to the Department of Home Affairs.

"I think the Minister owes it to the public to explain fully the nature of Mr Ricci's convictions and how he can attribute the omission to a 'technical error'," he said.

3044

Cape Times, Tuesday, February 9, 1988 5

# Treurnicht does the time warp again

## Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.— Opposition leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday accused the government of selling out the whites — particularly the Afrikaner.

Launching the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly, Dr Treurnicht side-stepped the economic issues raised on Friday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to concentrate his attack almost entirely on the reform programme and its erosion of white rights.

With the forthcoming by-elections clearly in mind, Dr Treurnicht at first spoke of "white" rights, but later referred specifically to Afrikaners,

which later prompted Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, to say there could no longer be any doubt about the CP's racialism.

It was significant, he said, that the NP's reform policy had not lead to peace, love or good relations.

It had led to bitterness in Afrikaner ranks in politics, culture and even in the church.

It had also not led to blacks giving up their political demands or to acknowledging that whites had a right to separate freedom.

"For them reform was concession in the direction of powersharing, the dismantling of separateness, a foot in the door of black power in joint decision making, increased demands for a so-

called open society, which means nothing less than black domination," said Dr Treurnicht.

Good relations were not improved by rudeness and insults but they were also not improved by being demanding or forcing people out of their "own" living area, facilities of culture. The NP had not yet found a suitable constitutional model and there was no plan, only promises of negotiation.

He called for a full inquiry into the UDF which he said was being infiltrated by the ANC.

Both organizations rejected any separation for whites and any claim by them to own rights. "We say, get these leaders out onto

their own areas with their own government over their own people," said Dr Treurnicht.

"And, get them out of the political system of whites and from our own people, the Afrikaner."

He said later that if the government continued with it policies it could no longer guarantee that Afrikaners would remain an official language. It was playing into the hands of the promoters of a non-racial society and bragged overseas about ending apartheid.

"Then you cannot maintain Die Stem as the national anthem and you know how Nkosi sikelel i Afrika is being propagated as a general anthem," he said.



## Wynand calls on Govt for bold political action

Leader of the National Democratic Movement Mr Wynand Malan said his party was "excited" about the new economic measures, pending the announcement of greater detail.

But he warned that the final responsibility for the provision of collective services was that of the State, especially in respect of the poor.

He said it was a matter of urgency to reveal how the monies realised through privatisation would be spent. He then departed from economics to address political problems.

"What we need as much, if not more, than a new economic

deal, is a new security management deal. We need to "privatise" security. Translated that means individual responsibility and, therefore, individual opportunity in political organisation, should be made possible again."

Mr Malan called on the Government to create the necessary space within which political and constitutional negotiation could take place.

He criticised the right to detain people indefinitely "when their only crime is that they happen to be strong political leaders with political views that oppose and confront those of the Government".

CAPE TOWN  
— Govern-  
ment should  
order a com-  
mission of in-  
quiry into the  
history, objec-  
tives, connec-  
tions and poli-  
tical control of  
Cosatu, as well

204A 11/11/88 8/1 day  
Treurnicht  
wants Cosatu  
investigated

as their hold over labour, Leader of the Opposition Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Opening the week-long no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly, he said the UDF which, like Cosatu, was a front for the SA Communist Party and the ANC, should also undergo a similar investigation.

He said they should be examined because these organisations rejected any claim by the white man for segregation and an "ownness".

"They stand for a so-called 'open democracy' which means nothing more than black domination over the whole of SA."

A second reason for his call for a commission of inquiry was that the ANC was being considered for legalisation.

Treurnicht referred to the statement of SA's US ambassador Piet Koornhof in August last year when he said the proposed National Council would be a forum "for the negotiation of such questions as the release of Nelson Mandela, the legalisation of the ANC..." — Sapa.



# 1987 growth rate was 2,6 percent — Barend

304A  
St 9/2/88  
The first move in the no-confidence debate following President Botha's opening address, was when Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis took the opportunity to announce a 2,6 percent real growth rate for the past year.

As the first National Party speaker in the debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr du Plessis said the Government was encouraged by this figure and he announced a 9,2 percent production price index for October 1987 and the growth of reserves from R5 700 million in 1986 to R8 000 million last year.

The President's speech last week was one of the most important heard in the past few decades, especially on the economic front, said Mr du Plessis.

He said the steps announced would not necessarily be popular especially among "all the hard-working civil servants" but they were the responsible thing to do for South Africa.

Minister of the Budget and Welfare Dr Dawid de Villiers praised the courage of the new economic measures.

"The Government has chosen a difficult but courageous long-term path," he said.

Mr Albert Nothnagel, NP Innesdal said President Botha would go down in history for the "dramatic steps" he had taken in his latest address on privatisation.

He said the NP message to fellow black South Africans contained in these economic measures was a willingness to share the wealth of South Africa.

The Conservative Party had not reacted in the No Confidence Debate to the important economic measures announced by the State President on Friday, the Minister of the Budget and of Welfare, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

The reason was obviously that the measures announced by Mr P W Botha stood in sharp contrast to the economically unaffordable policy of partition and a reversal of black urbanisation propagated by the CP.

Economic development in south and southern Africa would be in the interests of all the inhabitants of the region and Mr Botha should, therefore, be sup-

## Conservatives ster 9/12/88 keep mum on 304A. economics

ported from all sides.

President Botha wanted to reduce State control in the economy and to give free market forces the opportunity to have their beneficial effect.

In contrast, the CP wanted more state control over the economy so that it could implement its partition policy.

This would repress free market forces.



# Businessmen urged to promote SA image

By Stan Kennedy

Businessmen owe it to consular staff to help improve South Africa's image abroad, says Mr Gerry Muller, deputy chairman, Nedbank, and honorary life president, International Business Contacts (IBC).

He told a group of banking and industry leaders last week the private sector was not doing enough to counter the misrepresentations of South Africa overseas. He called on them to put forward the facts more accurately when making trips abroad and to help consular staff, who were hamstrung in many cases because they were seen as being prejudiced.

Some were reluctant to say anything because it might jeo-

paradise their interests.

"We may be critical of our government, but when we leave these shores, the lies we hear about our country should make us want to defend it.

"By admitting our mistakes and follies of the past 30 or 40 years, but that we are going in the right direction now, gets a favourable response, even from those who tended to be emotive in the past."

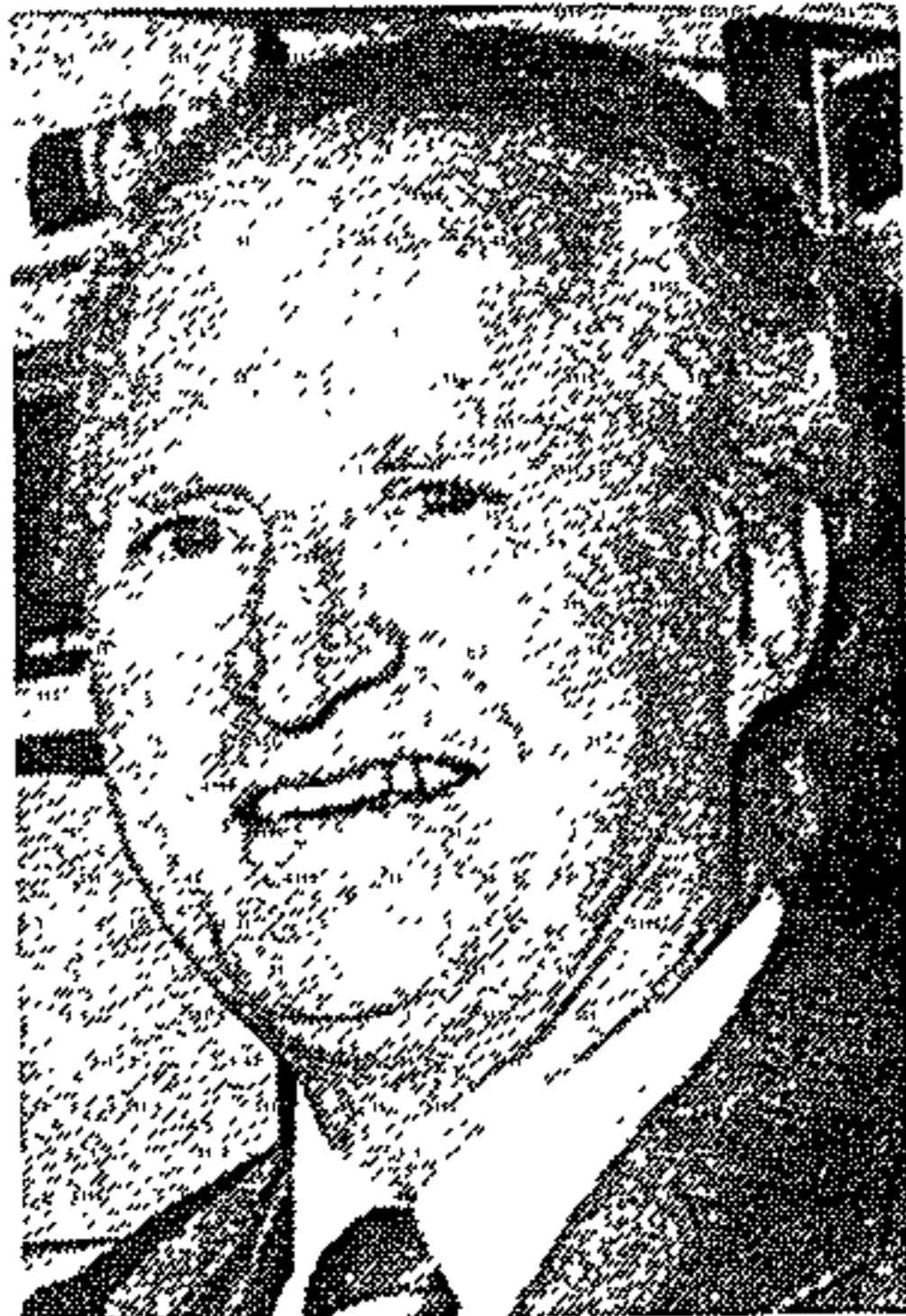
Mr Muller, a trustee of the SA Foundation and the SA Forum, organisations which aim to promote South Africa, said overseas-based bodies such as the IBC could do more to improve South Africa's image.

Baron Arno Ofenheimer, publisher and executive director,

International Who's Who of SA, of which IBC is a subsidiary, said that where South Africa was experiencing increasing business isolation, IBC offered an international, credible and non-governmental channel to business worldwide.

"By inviting business groups from abroad, IBC endeavours to put European and American investors in touch with local businessmen. This link-up has a beneficial aspect in that visitors to South Africa have an opportunity to gain first-hand experience of the country.

"We all know that 99 percent of them return to their own countries with a different, and mostly a positive view, of South Africa."



Mr Gerry Muller

- 304A - Star

# PW challenged on bribery allegations

Abus  
10/2/88  
3064

By DALE LAUTENBACH, Parliamentary Staff

PRESIDENT Botha knew there was truth in the Rev Allan Hendrickse's allegations that National Party MPs attempted to bribe Labour Party MPs to support a postponement of elections to 1992, said Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg of the Opposition.

"The State President is doing nothing because he knows it's true," said Dr Hartzenberg, speaking during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday. "Is South Africa governed on merit or through bribery?" he asked.

Labour Party leader Mr Hendrickse had alleged that some of his party MPs were offered bribes of up to R10 000 to support a postponement of elections to 1992, a postponement which the LP leadership opposed, said Dr Hartzenberg.

"Mr Hendrickse said National Party MPs were buying Labour Party MPs and what is the President doing about it?" asked Dr Hartzenberg, demanding an explanation from Mr Botha.

## POINT OF ORDER

Challenged on a point of order to withdraw his statement that Mr Botha had known about the alleged bribery, Dr Hartzenberg said his argument was that Mr Botha had done nothing about the allegations. "I said he was scared to do anything."

Acting-Speaker Mr Rex le Roux said he would consult Hansard overnight to decide the dispute.

## PRP chief 'wounded man'

THE chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, defended himself against allegations of bribery and corruption levelled at him by the leader of the PRP, Mr Pat Poovalingam.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate, Mr Rajbansi described Mr Poovalingam as "a wounded, humiliated man caught in his own trap".

"Blaming the chairman of the Ministers' Council for everything has become the catch-phrase in this House," he said.

In the past a number of people had asked favours of him and put pressure on him.

"But no mobster from the Transvaal, no strong-arm man will ever control my ministry," Mr Rajbansi said. — Sapa.



#### Political Staff

While National Party and Opposition speakers attacked and defended partition in the name of Afrikanerdom, the Progressive Federal Party lamented this feud with a plea that "we concentrate on being South Africans".

During the second day of the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) said the most depressing result of last year's election was the "internecine war between the NP and the Conservative Party".

"Instead of devoting this debate to the many problems besetting South Africa NP speakers devote the emphasis to the CP," she said.

And, of all the NP members who had spoken so far, the man responsible for some of the most important decision-making in the country, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis, had been "almost the worst" in regard to furthering this war, she said.

# 'Alice' Suzman laments over NP-CP feud

Star 10/2/88

304A

It was ironic, too, listening to Dr Dawid de Villiers, Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the House of Assembly, berate the CP for the inhumanity of its proposed partition policy and the forced removal of blacks it would require.

"I felt like Alice in Wonderland listening to him. It could have been one of my speeches made 25 years ago about influx control and about the effect it would have on family life. And it was only about 18 months ago that the Government abolished the pass laws."

Mr Heunis criticised Opposition leader Dr A P Treurnicht over a statement Dr Treurnicht made saying that the CP, when it came to power,

would negotiate with the other parties in Parliament over the steps and changes to the Constitution necessary to implement the partition policy of white self-determination in a white fatherland.

If those other parties in the existing tri-cameral Parliament vetoed the CP plan — because to support it would mean agreeing to their own exclusion — Dr Treurnicht had threatened he would "take steps", said Mr Heunis.

"What hope does he have of getting the rest of Parliament to agree with his system? What viability does his plan have for South Africa? He has already made provision for alternative action in his

statement and this is the question: What is that alternative action?"

If Dr Treurnicht could not achieve consensus in terms of the provisions of the Constitution, the only way he would succeed in by-passing it would be illegally, said Mr Heunis.

Dr Treurnicht's politics were those of rejection. He opposed not only government policy but the church he belonged to and the Afrikaner cultural organisations of which he had been a part.

Mr Heunis said that Dr Treurnicht also rejected the fundamental reality that South Africa was a multiracial country.

The CP spoke in the idiom of resistance and violence of the AWB.

"There's a four-footed

beast behind the Honourable Leader of the Opposition and many members of the CP galloped into Parliament on that horse," Mr Heunis said.

"Either the CP is the parliamentary wing of the AWB or the AWB is the outrider of what the CP will become."

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP) said the NP was a party alienated from its people.

"What's your record? Your constitution is failing ... that's what you've done for your volk and your volk will never forgive you. We will never give over and 75 percent of the people support us in this."

The NP had planned integration on the political level and now it had spread to all structures and levels in society, Dr Hartzenberg said.

"Your people come back from the beaches upset and say we voted for integration in Parliament and now it's on the beaches. You can't integrate at government level and think it's not going to happen elsewhere — such as in schools and neighbourhoods."

## Mbeki release an error, says Schalk Pienaar

*Star 10/2/58*  
The Government's obsession with negotiating with radicals was out of control and taking the country to the brink of revolution, Mr Schalk Pienaar (CP Potgietersrus) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said the Government had seriously misled itself in releasing Mr Govan Mbeki, a committed communist, from jail.

The Government had believed the "old man" was going to retire quietly, but he proved to be healthy, vigorous and ready to continue the struggle for the beliefs which had sent him to jail, Mr Pienaar said.



## CP 'would move 7-m' (304A)

The Conservative Party partition policy would require that seven to eight million blacks be moved into the homelands over 10 to 15 years, said Mr Andre van der Walt, National Party MP for Bellville. *Star 10/2/88*

"Will this removal be negotiated or will you move them like hewn trees," he asked, during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly yesterday.

"And are you going to add more ground or is 75 percent of the population going to live on 13 percent of the land."

# CP admits to 3 MPs in AWB

A Conservative Party MP yesterday told the House of Assembly that he and two other party MPs were members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Answering claims earlier in the no-confidence debate by National Party speakers, Mr Chris De Jager (CP Bethal) denied there were five CP MPs who were AWB members.

He said there were three: himself, Mr Danie Nolte, MP for Delmas, and Mr Fanie van Vuuren, MP for Ventersdorp.

The point was that he was not ashamed of his membership of an organisation and that it did not meet in secret and have secret membership, as was the case with the Afrikaner Broederbond.

## ADMISSION WAS REMARKABLE

Speaking next in the debate, Mr Andre Fourie (NP Turffontein) said Mr de Jager's admission of three AWB CP MPs was remarkable in view of the fact that the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, had said recently there were only two (Mr Nolte and Mr van Vuuren).

Mr de Jager's admission confirmed the "unholy

alliance" between the AWB and the CP caucus.

The AWB was clearly using the CP in Parliament as a means of promoting its "boerestaat" ideal.

Mr Fourie said NP claims of five AWB members among CP MPs were correct.

## 'MISSING LINK'

The fourth member was Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), who would "have to live with his conscience" after having denied his membership in Parliament last year, and the fifth "missing link" was nominated MP Mr Clive Derby Lewis.

Mr Mentz might "technically speaking" not be a signed-up member of the AWB but the NP had evidence to show he had been so active within the organisation he had been invited to take a seat on the AWB's Great Council (Groot Raad).

Mr Fourie said the CP should also explain the claim made by the AWB's leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, following the May 6 election last year, that his organisation had supported seven of the CP's candidates, four of whom had been elected.

"Who are these four?" he asked

Star 11/2/86  
3044



# CP worried that SA was caught napping

Star 11/2/88 304A

**Political Correspondent**  
The Conservative Party has expressed concern about the fact that the Bophuthatswana coup attempt appeared to catch the security forces by surprise.

Mr Tom Langley MP, the CP's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said it appeared as if the coup had come as a complete surprise to the authorities in South Africa, as well as in Bophuthatswana.

He was concerned that bodies like the National Intelligence Service appeared to have been caught off-guard, especially as there had been talk of such a possibility in Bophuthatswana.

Mr Langley said another worrying question was how



Mr Tom Langley ... seems NIS was caught off-guard.

those involved in the coup attempt had managed to capture the people they had held.

Mr Langley said he accepted Mr Botha's explanation of why similar action had not been taken in the case of the recent Transkei coup.

## Lessons to be learnt, claims PFP leader

Star 11/2/88 109

**By David Braun**  
**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — The Bophuthatswanan coup showed how the political chickens of Dr Verwoerd were coming home to roost, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said last night.

He said the coup, following closely on the military coup in Transkei, showed how foolish it was for the Nationalist Government to have fragmented South Africa into a number of small, non-viable units.

The fact that the Government had decided to intervene pointed to the degree of dependency that Bophuthatswana had on South Africa.

Mr Eglin said he could only



Mr Eglin ... blames coup on Dr Verwoerd's grand design.

hope that lessons were learnt all round and that the people of South Africa would be reunited in a new and greater South Africa where there could be real peace, security and economic growth for all.



WHEN the three Houses of Parliament began the no-confidence debate this week, it was clear that a concerted far-right campaign to demonstrate increased support in three by-elections in March and to capture control of white local authorities in the municipal elections on October 26, will dominate government strategies this year.

This will put "reform" on the shelf, as the controlling House of Parliament, the all-white House of Assembly, pre-occupies itself with issues affecting the white electorate.

These are most likely to be issues of "security" and the "total onslaught".

It was a strategy which worked wonders against the Progressive Federal Party during last year's May 6 election, and it is clear the National Party is hoping it will have the same effect in 1988.

#### 'Revolutionary'

The government wants to demonstrate that it is in control and that it is managing to get the better of the "revolutionary climate". And so it will emphasise that unity and support for the security forces are essential.

Whether this strategy will mean much to Conservative Party voters and supporters of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) is doubtful, but it could stem the right-wing tide.

CP parliamentarians, on the other hand, are convinced they will push up their majorities in all three of the pending by-elections. They also believe the CP will capture control of a number of municipalities in the Transvaal in October and they are optimistic they will be the majority party in the Pretoria City Council after October.

Nationalist politicians will try to tackle the CP head on. Already the Nationalist press is trying to smear the CP by claiming that it is under the control of the AWB.

#### Attack

But the government's main line of attack will be the security issue, and it is extra-parliamentary organisations that will bear the brunt of it.

At the end of November last year, the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant Johannes van der Merwe, told a press briefing at Walvis Bay that "legal, radical organisations" were more of a problem than the banned organisations.

At the same time, Van Der Merwe said: "We will have to give close attention to Cosatu."

There was also some unconfirmed speculation that a new security law could be in the offing.

Both Van Der Merwe and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok believe the "revolutionary climate", particularly in the townships, is still too high.

In the circumstances, a new security clampdown will not be surprising. This will be aimed at organisations like the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and their affiliates.

Another organisation which could come in for attention is the Institute for a Democratic Alternative

# Smack left to please right

As the new parliamentary session gets underway, the fundamental causes of conflict will as usual be ignored. PW Botha is more worried about the threat from the Conservative Party and is going to use the "revolutionary climate" as an excuse to step up security measures. And this means a tough year for extra-parliamentary organisations.



The opening of Parliament meant different things to different people. The Free the Children Alliance held a vigil at the St George's Cathedral to call for the release of the 250 children still in detention, while hundreds of SADF members paraded through town

PICTURES: RASHID LOMBARD

in South Africa (Idasa), headed by the former PFP leaders Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine.

Pressure against newspapers like New Nation, South and the Weekly Mail will continue to build up.

No newspaper has been closed yet since the Emergency Regulations against the media were tightened up last year, and legal proceedings to stop closure have been instituted.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has undertaken not to take action against New Nation until a Supreme Court case has been heard. But action against New Nation and other newspapers seems likely in the near future.

There has been considerable speculation amongst extra-parliamentary organisations that the government is planning to curb or cut off foreign funding, particularly to some of the more high

profile groups. No indication has been given of what measures are being considered in this regard, but the government may well decide that this is an effective means of curbing these groups.

A Standing Committee of Parliament is at present debating amendments to the Labour Relations Act. If passed, these changes will considerably restrict the scope of unions and workers to strike or take other industrial action.

Although unions have warned that the proposed amendments will lead to new industrial conflict, the government seems determined to restrict union activity and to reverse some of the hard-won gains made by workers after the publication of the Wiehahn report ten years ago.

Economic issues are already dominating the new parliamentary session, as demonstrated in President PW Botha's opening address last week. And this isn't the last

we've heard of the subject.

The government hopes this will lead to a mini-boom that will encourage renewed confidence in the economy amongst businessmen.

One of the major thrusts of the economic strategy is to divert resources towards the small business sector, particularly in black areas.

This, it is hoped, will lead to increased employment and contribute to improved living conditions in all areas — and show that "reform" is working and benefiting the people at large.

Clearly, the government is hoping that the medium-term economic benefits will win support among the white electorate, but this is not likely to happen in time for the by-elections.

#### Security

Indeed, by putting a ban on wage increases for civil servants, President Botha is giving a potentially useful weapon to the Conservative Party.

Again, this will make the prospects of a heavy-handed approach to security-related issues almost inevitable.

With the government committed to bringing down the inflation rate — as demonstrated by last week's summit between Botha and leading businessmen — and a reduction in wage increases on the cards, there is going to be precious little good news for ordinary consumers in the near future.

The tricameral constitutional system is looking tatter than ever after the Carter Ebrahim debacle. The stalemate on the proposed National Security Council and the undisguised joy of the Conservative Party over these problems, as ensured that "reform" is not going to be a vote-winner in the conservative Transvaal.

And black political rights and a vote for all in the same parliament?

The fundamental causes of conflict in South Africa will, as usual, be ignored.

## SECRE

for interesting work over a  
or long

The University of the Western Cape seeks an experienced Secretary to start work on the Courseware Development Project in the Gold Fields Resource Centre on campus as soon as possible.

This is a very interesting 3-year, full time contract post which could well be extended

To qualify, you must be a fully bilingual person with sound typing and wordprocessing experience, together with the ability to type on the Plato mainframe computer system after training.

Salary is negotiable and the attractive fringe benefits package includes



UNIVERSITY OF THE



# Hartzenberg is suspended from House after allegation

stv 11/2/88

304A

**Political Staff**  
Official Opposition MP for Lichtenburg Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg has been suspended from Parliament for refusing to withdraw his statement that the State President Mr P W Botha was unable to have allegations of bribery of Labour Party MPs by his own MPs investigated because he knew the allegations to be true.

Dr Hartzenberg referred on Tuesday to allegations made by Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse that LP MPs had been offered bribes of up to R10 000 by

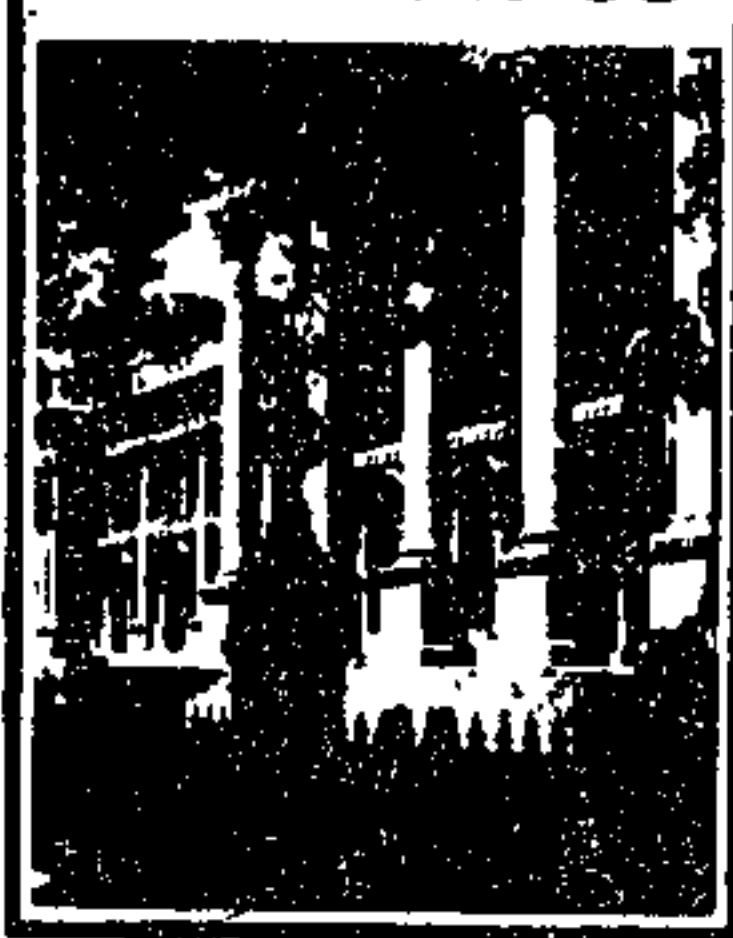
National Party MPs if they, the LP MPs, would go along with a postponement of an election to 1992.

The Labour Party leadership is opposed to this move and in terms of the Constitution the next general election should be held next year.

Dr Hartzenberg was challenged for his remarks on Tuesday and Acting Speaker Mr Rex le Roux said he would consult Hansard to verify exactly what had been said.

Mr le Roux ruled yesterday that Dr Hartzenberg had indeed said Mr

Parliament '88



Botha "knew" the allegations of bribery to be true and he named him for this "serious reflection on the integrity of the State

President".

Mr le Roux referred to a decision in September 1986 when it was ruled that no MP might "denigrate, belittle or attack the character of the State President".

There were some sharp exchanges in the House when Mr le Roux, having named Dr Hartzenberg in terms of the standing rules and orders of Parliament, refused to take points of order from three official Opposition members.

The Leader of the House Mr F W de Klerk proposed that Dr Hartzenberg be suspended

and after division the motion was carried by 121 NP votes against 38 votes of the opposition parties and independents.

The period of suspension is five parliamentary working days on the first occasion followed by 10 on the second and 20 on any subsequent occasion.

A member suspended in this fashion may submit "a written expression of regret" which could be considered by the House.

Another motion would be required following an acceptance of an apology to have the suspension order discharged.

CAPL 11/2/88

# Hartzenberg barred from Parliament

30417

Political Staff

THE deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, was yesterday suspended from Parliament, and the government is to investigate allegations that National Party MPs have attempted to bribe Labour Party MPs to change their stand on postponing the next white elections.

This was announced by the leader of the Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, after Dr Hartzenberg, was 'named' and suspended from Parliament for five days for saying the State President, Mr P W Botha, "knew" this was happening and was "scared" to do anything about it.

Dr Hartzenberg refused to obey a ruling by the Acting Speaker, Mr Rex le Roux, that he should withdraw his remarks which he said were a serious reflection on the integrity of the President, and apologise.

Earlier this week Dr Hartzenberg referred to a report in a Sunday newspaper which quoted the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, as saying that Nationalist MPs had offered Labour MPs up to R10 000 to co-operate with government plans to postpone the Assembly elections till 1992.

The Acting Speaker said that according to Hansard Dr Hartzenberg said: "I suspect that the State President does nothing about it because he knows it is true. He cannot order an investigation because it will probably confirm that it is so. That is why he does nothing about it."

In relation to this he had also said: "I suspect that the State President is scared. I say he is scared the investigation will show his people did it."



The full might of the National Party propaganda machine is being thrown into the battle for the soul of the Transvaal rural electorate in the by-elections next month.

The target is the Conservative Party, the main weapon is the NP supporting media and the ammunition is the CP's link with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

In past elections the NP-supporting newspapers have shown themselves to be masters of the smear, with the liberal opposition the usual target. The PFP was hard hit by suggestions that it was sympathetic to the ANC and soft on communism.

This time the contest is vastly different as the two Afrikaner-based parties vie for the support of the conservative voters of Standerton and Schweizer Reneke on March 2.

But the tactics are the same—to hurt the CP by linking it to a radical organisation, albeit on the right.

The two constituencies are among the 22 Transvaal seats the CP took from the NP in last year's general election. The by-elections give the NP a chance to wrest them back, regaining prestige, confidence and momentum by showing that the CP is not unstoppable in rural areas.

And, with another by-election in CP-held Randfontein to follow next month, the NP has launched an all-out campaign to undermine CP support.

Nasionale Pers morning newspapers Beeld and Die Burger last

week threw down the gauntlet with sensational front page disclosures and revelations implying that the AWB controlled the CP.

They highlighted AWB-CP links at top level, published a tape recording implying an AWB-CP alliance and produced a document which professed to show the AWB laid down conditions to the CP for its support in the general election last May.

The CP responded by complaining to the Media Council about what is called the newspapers' "Iron Curtain-style disinformation".

"They are using the AWB as a smokescreen to avoid fundamental political issues," said CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

It does not matter whether the NP is really concerned about the AWB's intrusion into party politics—it is certainly making the most of what it regards as a convenient stick with which to beat the CP.

The CP made inroads into former Nationalist strongholds last May 6 without overt AWB effort. Now that the ties are more public, the NP clearly hopes that putting an AWB collar on the CP will force division between CP members who support or oppose the AWB's radical politicking.

"Political thugery", which the AWB has been accused of following the disruption of a NP meeting in Standerton last month, is not acceptable to the majority of SA's electorate.

When tackled about violence, AWB leader

# War of words to turn voters back to the NP

Elsabe Wessels: Johannesburg



TERREBLANCHE... the AWB is "cultural, devotional and non-political".

Eugene TerreBlanche has often said the AWB has been wrongly accused of propagating it.

"We do not advocate violence, but if violence is the only way to counteract violent people, then we will use it in the name of God," he says.

It is questionable whether the NP media will persuade voters that the AWB tail is indeed wagging the CP canine, though many believe Treurnicht has erred in allowing ultra right-wing groups like the AWB to join the CP.

They see that he cannot wriggle out of the dilemma. He needs AWB support at the polls, so he is in no position to condemn the militant organisation.

Said TerreBlanche: "We are the single biggest right-wing factor and we have a standing agreement with Treurnicht to allow people membership of both organisations."

"There is a minute difference between the aims of the AWB and those of the CP. "We want a volkstaat and they call it partition. Both imply a fatherland for each nation with the sovereign right to govern."

Because of the "small differences", TerreBlanche says he is not interested in entering party politics.

But his foe in the conservative arena, HNP leader Jaap Marais, believes differently.

"The AWB is a political party," he says. "It is registered as the Blanke Volkstaat Party en Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. It poses as a

cultural organisation but its intentions are political."

Although the HNP banned AWB members from its ranks, the AWB had long been in favour of unity between the right-wing forces in SA.

And in March last year TerreBlanche made a personal but vain effort to work out a formula for co-operation between the CP and HNP.

While still refusing to enter the party political arena, TerreBlanche is again assuming political stature by challenging NP cabinet ministers to public debates—as he demanded of F. W. de Klerk at Standerton.

The AWB has vowed to keep NP speakers out of vast regions of the country it regards as conservative territory.

TerreBlanche would not commit himself to any particular strategy. "All I can say is that we will continue our task," he said.

Government speakers are saying the CP has been hijacked by the AWB. The CP retorts that the NP itself has a history of political thugery.

But even the PFP's John Malcomess has pointed out in Parliament that when the NP broke up meetings in the past it did so on its own and did not hide behind other organisations.

The long-simmering tension is threatening to erupt in the run-up to the important by-elections.

Considering the meteoric rise of the AWB since the Seven-

ties, the power it wields among conservative and working-class whites should not be underestimated.

Although AWB public meetings in rural towns and blue collar urban areas were relatively well attended following its foundation in 1973, the boere Don Quixotes chasing the windmills of an all-white Afrikaner volkstaat were regarded as little more than a joke.

Then, without warning in 1986, the AWB surged forward with large public rallies and an unanticipated campaign to smash NP meetings. Cabinet ministers were forced from public platforms by the chanting and threatening khaki-clad brigade whose actions were condemned as militant and neo-fascist.

Proud of their membership and strengthened by a new-found faith in a promised "volkstaat", AWB followers claimed their territory at political meetings with vierkleur flags alongside the red banners bearing the white, red and black swastika-like AWB emblem.

"Cultural, devotional and non-political," is how TerreBlanche describes his movement.

But AWB disciples, mesmerised by their leader's eloquence and repartee, cherish a political dream—a pure white homeland.

Concludes TerreBlanche: "We will not be stopped by the NP's transparent effort to drive a wedge between the right-wing forces."



# Bitter wrangling smothers debate

Start 12/2/88 (306A)  
By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The no-confidence debate ends in Parliament today after a stormy week of political wrangling.

In the House of Assembly, the battle between the National Party and the Official Opposition reached such a pitch that the acting Speaker, Mr Rex le Roux, warned that he would not allow the Assembly to sound like a marketplace.

There was a flurry of motions involving prominent MPs and Mr le Roux.

The Conservative Party has given notice that it will propose that the House express its displeasure at the way Mr le Roux carried out his duties.

The House of Representatives adjourned on the first day of the session because the airconditioning broke down.

Both Labour Party and United Democratic Party members had to withdraw some remarks, including the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Jac Rabie, when he called the Rev Allan Hendrickse "an Idi Amin" and when he alluded to a Labour MP as having chased his wife with a knife.

In the House of Delegates, where the debate is also to end today, the bulk of the proceedings was overwhelmed by ongoing charges and counter-charges of bribery and corruption.

(Report by D M M Braun, Press Gallery, Parliament.)



THE question I've been pondering for some time is whether South Africa has an economic policy. It was, therefore, a surprise to be on hand for State President PW Botha's statement which essentially re-affirmed the consistency of his government's commitment to perpetuating the social structure.

Botha argued that his various economic measures are designed to combat inflation, reduce the state's debt, encourage black enterprise and ensure that the direct tax base is broadened. Funnily enough, and this may be why media approval has been almost universally euphoric (main exception I've read: Bruggeman's in the *Sunday Times*), the measures he proposes will probably do just these things.

Why then carp at his dramatic gesture?

## There's so much euphoria, it seems

The main reason is that it is not economic policy: it's simply a basket of measures aimed at resolving what is already an economic crisis — and geared towards underpinning separatism. While it sounds as if the shackles of state control are being broken, this is a smokescreen.

Let's begin with privatisation, which is certainly the most glamorous of the measures. Here government will call on the private sector to pay its debts — just as it has been doing for many years by forcing financial institutions, especially life insurance companies and pension funds, to

invest in prescribed stocks. In theory being an owner rather than a creditor offers the prospect of greater returns, but, if this is so, at whose cost?

The example of other countries, such as Britain, is invoked to engender enthusiasm, but we are not, by any stretch of the imagination, a First World country. Our private sector resources are limited and, if we are to develop at any kind of reasonable and consistent rate, we should be opening doors to foreign investment. We can't do this as long as we have institutionalised apartheid. Bear in mind that foreign investment has

Such has been the euphoria in the media, it seems churlish to carp. But BEN TEMKIN has some complaints

been a major factor in the success of British privatisation and that, even there, there are inefficiency hangovers from previous bureaucratic control.

Who, in any case, will administer these new privatised corporations? The people most qualified to do so are those presently in control. Will

they or shareholders, what and so on? In any Mr P... the... licing of C... PW has After all

# Understanding B...

THE new economic policies announced last week by President PW Botha more clearly signal the government's political priorities than they do impending economic solutions.

The government faces a fiscal crisis and underlying it are fundamental economic and political problems. In its attempts to address these it has chosen strategies which it hopes will gain it the support and co-operation of private sector business, large and small.

The government hopes, too, that it can find a way of having it all: of paying for both reform and repression, without sinking further into debt or exacerbating inflation.

The price it's prepared to pay is the further alienation of white bureaucrats and white workers, on one hand, and, on the other, the risk of increased militancy by increasingly organised black workers, particularly those in the public sector.

The government is taking a gamble: if it can bring down inflation, increase spending on reform, hold down the size of the budget deficit, and stimulate business confidence, thereby promoting investment and economic growth, it may be able to ride out the political consequences. It is gambling against very high odds.

The measures Botha announced at the opening of parliament last Friday were a disparate bunch, rather than a "package". Chief of these were the freeze on public sector wages and salaries, the plans to privatise large government-owned corporations and the replacement of General Sales Tax by Value Added Tax.

In addition there were some more vague measures: Botha exhorted the private sector to hold down wages and salaries too, and said controls over government spending would be tightened. He also announced new deregulation plans.

There's no coherent economic theory behind this: privatisation, for example, opens things up to market forces while the pay freeze does just the opposite. But the politics behind it are fairly clear.

First, the burden of reducing government spending and curbing inflation is not to be evenly distributed across different groups: what is being implemented is a pay freeze, rather than an incomes policy or a wages and prices freeze. This may please business but trade unions across the spectrum have condemned it.

Second, there is no intention to change the composition and level of government spending on, for example, apartheid bureaucracy or "law and order". The government hopes to curb its

It's a mistake to seek a grand plan behind the new economics.

The priority is political, not financial. That explains why the same package opens the economy to market forces (privatisation) while closing it elsewhere (wage freezes)

HILARY JOFFE reports

burgeoning budget deficit by cutting spending on "personnel" and it will be raising funds through the privatisation drive.

Again, many in business think privatisation is a good idea. The bureaucrats who manage the public corporations and the workers who work in them who face rationalisation and retrenchment, may be more resistant.

The government hopes also to curb tax evasion and broaden the tax base with the introduction of VAT. It's not clear yet whether this more "invisible" tax will mean higher or lower levels of taxation, but it could increase the burden on the poor since the exemption on GST for basic food will be removed. VAT will certainly gladden the hearts of industrialists in export industries, since it doesn't apply to them.

The central symptom of economic and political malaise to which the government is responding with its newly announced measures is its own fiscal crisis. The budget deficit has been growing each year. And the growth has been mainly in government consumption spending, rather than in investment spending.

There is nothing wrong with a budget deficit *per se*. But it can be inflationary. It can crowd out private investment (by putting upward pressure on interest rates). And of course interest payments keep rising.

The government is in effect running out of money, unless it wants to print more and exacerbate inflation.

Deficit financing has to come from South Africa's own resources — there is no new foreign capital flowing into the country — and these are limited given an economic growth rate which is forecast at no more than three percent for the coming year: better than last year but not enough even to keep the level of unemployment constant. With the pay freeze, privatisation, and the intro-

duction of VAT the government plans to attack the problem on a series of different fronts.

Privatisation offers it a way of raising funds which at the same time goes some way to meeting the calls which have been coming from business for economic reform.

The privatisation being mooted now is the selling off of the state's industrial assets in Escom, Iscor, the South African Transport Services and its shareholdings in enterprises such as Foscort held through the Industrial Development Corporation.

Also on the agenda is the privatisation of certain toll roads. These public corporations are to be turned into "tax-paying, profit-seeking enterprises".

Privatisation has in recent years become one of those slogans which mean different things to different people.

From the point of view of those in business who support privatisation, one major argument in favour is that the public corporations would be run more efficiently under private ownership. They would reduce costs and thus prices, and this would help to bring down inflation.

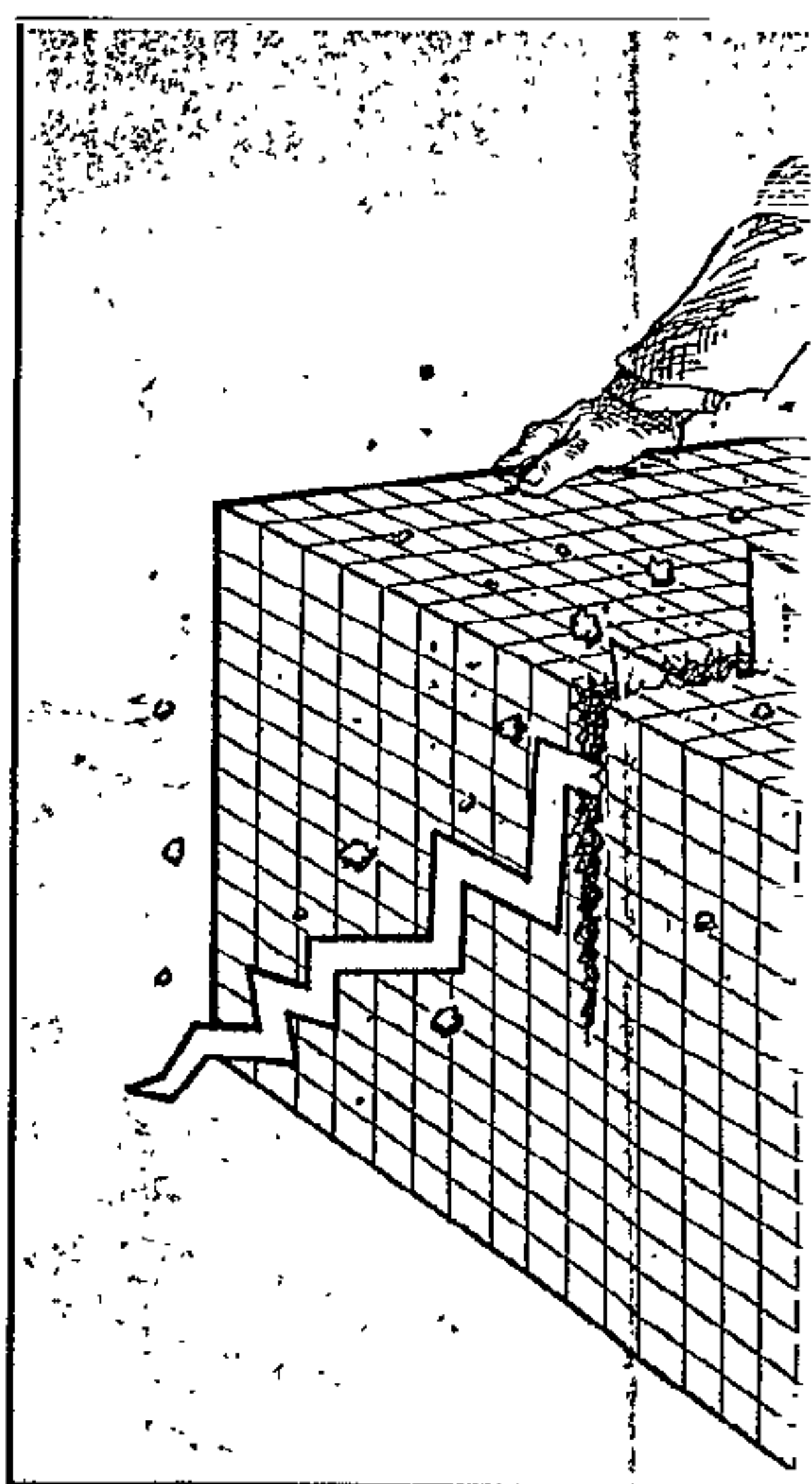
The other, related, argument for privatisation is that the government's share of the economy must be reduced, freeing up resources for private enterprise to exploit.

From the point of view of the government, the efficiency and cost arguments are a lot less important. The priority is to raise funds so that it can implement some of its political reform promises — building houses and educational infrastructure and allocating funds to small and medium sized business — without getting rid of the 21 departments of education and nine departments of health which go with tricameralism, for example, and without jeopardising its military excursions into southern Africa or its policing of the townships.

As Labour and Economic Research Centre economist Stephen Gelb argues: "It's a way to extract resources from big business to pay for reform. These are resources big business would not put into the economic aspects of reform such as sub-economic housing because they are unprofitable areas of investment."

If the government can get business to believe it is serious this time, it can in the process win the kind of support it needs from business and it no doubt hopes this will have the effect of enhancing business confidence.

JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem puts the pri-



ate sector case succinctly: "Privatisation is good because governments don't know how to manage an enterprise. We must open up the economy and get government out of the matter of managing scarce resources."

Market forces communicate information and thus allocate resources more effectively than do bureaucrats, Bethlehem argues: "There is merit in market economies even in socialist economies — the world is too uncertain a place for bureaucrats

to have... He... owned... to bury... The...

## BOTHALOGIC: IT'S UNFAIR THAT WAGES CAN'T KEEP UP WITH INFLATION. THEREFORE, FREEZE WAGES

THE wage freeze outlined by PW Botha in his speech last week represents the most serious assault on South Africa's workers since 1984.

In that year the government forced up interest rates to ludicrously high levels, driving the economy into recession and throwing hundreds of thousands of workers out of employment. Since then wage increases have failed to keep pace with inflation, meaning that workers' living standards have fallen.

Now, just as workers were preparing to take advantage of the economic upswing to press for higher wages, the government arbitrarily freezes public sector wages and urges the private sector to follow suit.

"Inflation," says Botha, "impoverishes the farmer, the housewife, the worker, the salary earner, the small businessman and the pensioner."

So what does he propose? He proposes a wage freeze which will further impoverish the already impoverished worker and salary earner, thereby

also hitting the impoverished housewife.

If one finds the logic in this illustration of Bothanomics a little hard to follow, it is made considerably worse by the fact that there is no evidence that wages have played a major role in pushing up inflation. In fact, the reverse is the case. Since 1985 wage increases have consistently lagged behind inflation. Consequently, it is unlikely that a wage freeze will make any significant impact on the inflation rate.

It is also noteworthy that Botha's wage freeze runs completely counter to the advice offered him by his own Economic Advisory Council. In its recent report on inflation the Council pointed out that: "It is an illusion to think that wage and price controls can serve as a substitute for monetary and fiscal discipline."

One need look no further than Britain for confirmation of this argument. When the then Labour prime minister, James Callaghan, imposed a prices and incomes policy, not only did it not bring down inflation, but it led to the "winter of

If the government is really serious about inflation, bringing down public sector wages is not the way to tackle it. DUNCAN INNES reports

discontent" in which unions embarked on a series of strikes which eventually played a major role in bringing down the government.

The statements which have already been issued in response to the wage freeze by public sector unions, as well as those by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions, suggest that we, too, may well be in for a season of labour discontent in the near future.

One of the central grievances which trade unions have with Botha's proposal is that it makes no attempt to freeze prices as well as wages. In a situation where inflation is currently at 14.7 percent such an omission is incomprehensible.

The actual situation is considerably worse than

this figure suggests. According to the latest figures put out by the Central Statistical Services, the lower income group's inflation rate for 1987 was 17.5 percent, well above the average inflation rate, mainly due to a massive 23 percent increase in food prices last year.

So with workers already suffering more under inflation than other sections of society, the government now tells them that it is they who must make the major sacrifices in order to bring down inflation.

It might be argued that public sector workers are not among the poorest sections of the population. This perception usually derives from the false impression which is sometimes created that most public sector employees are white.

But according to Barry Standish of the University of Cape Town, in 1985 there were 966 000 black employees and 151 000 white employees in the public sector, while the long term trend in the public sector has been for black employment to grow faster than white.

to have... ed public... escape... said, for... occur... But... on the... Teachers... into the... wards... provided... new job... But this... Azar... trix, who... private...



## FOCUS ON THE NEW ECONOMICS

## Euphoria, it seems churlish to carp

being an aspect of cost? as Brit- but we a First are kind of be We can't apart- has

Such has been the euphoria in the media, it seems churlish to carp. But BEN TEMKIN has some complaints

been a major factor in the success of British privatisation and that, even there, there are inefficiency hangovers from previous bureaucratic control.

Who, in any case, will administer these new privatised corporations? The people most qualified to do so are those presently in control. Will

they really do better when they are responsible to shareholders rather than to government? If so, at what cost to the people who buy their products and services?

In any case, the capital revenue (not income, Mr President) will simply be a means to pay off the mounting cost of trincameral, separate amenities, including education and health facilities, policing of townships and the Angolan war.

Control of public sector incomes means that PW has good reason for postponing an election. After all, this measure will hardly endear him to

these constituents. As for control of personnel growth in this sector, that's been promised so many times before that it's become more than indigestible.

The targeting of funds for black business development can only, as long as Group Areas persist, be seen as an expensive way to prove that apartheid works.

And so we come to VAT, a much more complex task than GST to administer, but a much more certain way of collecting revenues. VAT

will mean that the after-tax incomes of those many small businessmen who pocket takings directly will fall. In theory, the larger indirect tax revenues should result in direct tax concessions, but as state spending policy did not form part of the statement, we can but hope.

In a country with a massive black majority, where whites have to be made up as blacks, where Dias anachronistically sings "Ave Maria", where the star bowler in the most avidly pro-apartheid province is black, where services have to be duplicated and even triplicated to cater for separatism and where even the waters are statutorily divided, it is, of course, difficult to frame an economic policy. The best you can do is to use financial measures to prop up social and political fantasies. PW is doing his best.

## ing Bothanonomics

to attack funds to meet busi- the sell- Escom, rices and Foskor Corpo-

of certain are to be enterpris-

one of go to dif-

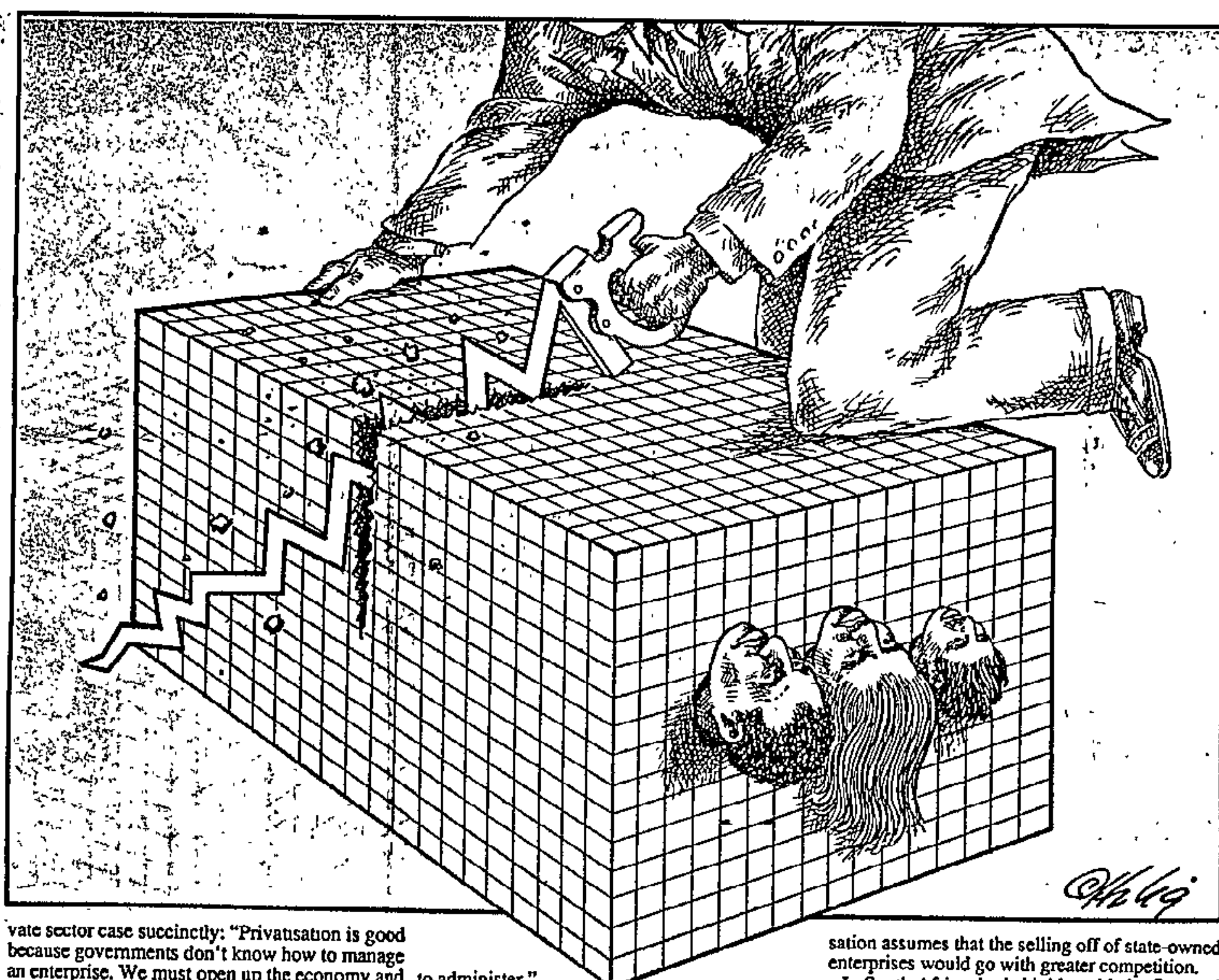
business in- would be and

must

the less im- that it prom- infra- medi- of the depart- for any ex- ing of

Centre way to y for re- would such are un-

it win the it no hancing the pri-



ivate sector case succinctly: "Privatisation is good because governments don't know how to manage an enterprise. We must open up the economy and get government out of the matter of managing scarce resources."

Market forces communicate information and thus allocate resources more effectively than do bureaucrats, Bethlehem argues: "There is merit in market economies even in socialist economies — the world is too uncertain a place for bureaucrats

to administer."

He goes as far as to argue even a private sector monopoly would be better than a government owned one: at least management would be accountable to shareholders rather than being able to bury their mistakes and fall back on the government to foot the bill for their bad debts.

The free market argument in favour of privati-

sation assumes that the selling off of state-owned enterprises would go with greater competition.

In South Africa that's highly unlikely. Some of the corporations to be sold off are natural monopolies: the size of the South African economy hardly justifies more than one railway system, for example. A privately-owned, profit-seeking monopoly could even have more scope — and incentive — to fix prices than a public one.

And in the South African economy, already

dominated by large corporations, economic concentration could well be increased in the privatisation process. Those likely to buy into the state's industrial assets are the large financial institutions, many tied to the large corporations, who already own much of the economy anyway.

The argument for privatisation rests, too, on the assumption that privatised means efficient and public means inefficient management. But there isn't a necessary correlation: Escom, for example, has been restructured and put under new management. South African electricity is among the cheapest in the industrialised world, in part owing to very cheap, and Zenex's Jan Meuring concluded in a recent article (in MacGregor's *Privatisation in South Africa*) that in world energy producing terms "Escom is more efficient than most companies".

It is difficult to see why Escom is being privatised at all, if efficiency and inflation are the reasons. But the electricity corporation is also the one likely to present most appeal to private sector investors and hence is the easiest one for the government to use in its fundraising drive.

The case of Escom illustrates a more fundamental social problem with privatisation. At the moment its profitable sectors subsidise the less profitable but socially important services such as electricity for rural areas. This is after all the oldest and most central argument for state-owned industry — many services are necessary whether or not they are profitable.

Apparently the government did investigate privatising refuse removal but found it would be more costly.

If public can be efficient, private can be inefficient. This is quite possible in South Africa's privatisation drive, given the kind of resistance the bureaucrats who run the public corporations are likely to put up. Evidence from countries such as Britain suggests that the concessions which have had to be made to win the support of the managers of enterprises being privatised have worked against potential gains in efficiency.

Professor Wolfgang Thomas, now at the Small Business Development Corporation, describes the efficiency argument as "one of those glib arguments the private sector makes. It doesn't necessarily follow that privatisation makes enterprises more efficient: there's no reason why it should, particularly if they are the only ones producing the commodity or service."

But, Thomas adds, this is not the issue for the government, which needs capital to spend on major capital expansion projects — hopefully, in his view, on development projects such as building roads and houses rather than on weapons.

There is cause for some scepticism about whether the funds going to the state coffers really would be used towards development projects, even though Botha promised they would go into a Capital Revenue Fund, to be set up probably in the March budget.

The privatisation announcement was not accompanied by any sort of detailed schedule of what money would be raised, and what would be done with it. There was no evidence that thought had gone into, for example, what social spending was needed on education and housing, and how the proceeds of privatisation would contribute towards this.

What Botha's privatisation plans will do is shift investible capital from the private sector to government coffers, without creating any new capacity or new jobs. There will almost certainly be fewer jobs as the newly-privatised enterprises rationalise and retrench. And there are no guarantees that whatever resources are shifted will go to productive use.

The jobs issue is, for the government, no doubt

## MORE, FREEZE WAGES

this figure suggests. According to the latest figures put out by the Central Statistical Services, the lower income group's inflation rate for 1987 was 17.5 percent, well above the average inflation rate, mainly due to a massive 23 percent increase in food prices last year.

So with workers already suffering more under inflation than other sections of society, the government now tells them that it is they who must make the major sacrifices in order to bring down inflation.

It might be argued that public sector workers are not among the poorest sections of the population. This perception usually derives from the false impression which is sometimes created that most public sector employees are white.

But according to Barry Standish of the University of Cape Town, in 1985 there were 966 000 black employees and 151 000 white employees in the public sector, while the long term trend in the public sector has been for black employment to grow faster than white.

Furthermore, it is significant that Botha seems to have provided a possible way for senior salaried public sector employees, who are all white, to escape the freeze. Provision will be made, he said, for "specific professional adjustments" to occur outside the freeze.

But what effect is the wage freeze likely to have on the public sector?

Inevitably, public services, which are already disastrous in some sectors, can only worsen. Teachers, health-workers and other public sector employees are likely to move in greater numbers into the private sector where their financial rewards are better. Consequently, the services they provided will decline, especially in view of the government's promise to "drastically reduce" new job creation.

But this does not seem to concern those like Dr Azar Jammene, of the research agency Econometrix, who support the new proposals. According to Jammene, the flight of public servants to the private sector "will reduce public expenditure and

at the same time increase competition for jobs in the private sector, thereby limiting the extent of wage hikes in this sector too".

There should thus be no doubt that Botha's proposals are aimed not just at public sector employees, but at private sector workers as well. But undoubtedly it is the public sector which is first in the firing line. This, we are told, is inevitable since public expenditure is far too high and must be brought down.

Instead of attacking workers' wages, the government could consider the following: ending conscription which will reduce defence expenditure on personnel; withdrawing troops from Angola, Namibia and local townships; and cutting back on apartheid expenditure which, according to Michael Savage of UCT, costs the country 12c in every rand the government spends.

The advantages of cutting public expenditure along these lines is that, unlike the present proposals, it will promote meaningful reform at the same time as it helps cut inflation.



# Military in charge, claims professor

Star 12/2/88  
304A  
By Adele Baleta

South Africa is ruled by an extra-parliamentary government — the military, says Professor Peter Vale, head of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University.

Speaking at a recent seminar organised by Maputo University's Centre of African Studies, Professor Vale said the South African military was the force that really governed the country.

It had used the media, particularly television, to successfully keep South Africans ignorant of the outside world and believing in the existence of a Soviet led "total onslaught" on their country.

In his 49-page paper, titled "The Inevitability of Generals: The Anatomy of White Power in South Africa", Professor Vale said one issue greatly underestimated was how far removed southern Africa was from the consciousness of the majority of South African whites.

The government had acutely manipulated TV and actuality pro-

grammes to portray its view while showing those of the opposing side as "darkness".

"The government is saying, 'Either you are with us or you stand for anarchy and chaos'. There is no competing message in South Africa vis-a-vis white South Africans." The only exception was the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

Professor Vale said the ECC's identification of a weakness in the "seemingly unassailable penetration" of the SADF in the white community was one of the most important political developments in recent years.

The state's concern over this was in direct proportion to the impact of the campaign in the white community.

"Undoubtedly, the ECC has been helped by the deployment of troops in the townships. Nevertheless it does represent a competing view to the South African Government and its future.

"The security establishment, particularly the SADF, have been very confident of their emerging role in the public lives of white South Africans."

For nearly 20 years, for example, there had been universal male conscription as a result of which there was scarcely a white family which had not been touched by the military.

Professor Vale argued it was wrong to assume only Afrikaners had taken part in the making and defence of apartheid. Many English-speaking white South Africans were equally responsible for the present situation and in fact supported the Conservative Party.

He said the record of the vetoes in the National Party had not been impressive and the State President was "unsympathetic" towards them.

Professor Vale said minority power had flourished as a result of a conjuncture between southern Africa's geographical isolation and the use of externally induced coercive power, mainly of Western origin, by the Pretoria government.

This geographical isolation had resulted in "a negative understanding of what is going on in South Africa."

"From outside southern Africa, it is difficult if not impossible to counter Pretoria's domination of the region. Isolation makes it costly for outside powers to project competitive influence into the sub-continent," he said.

Unwillingness to change was directly proportionate to the state's perception of its power — which arose from the Government's manipulating of whites' simplistic fears into support.

## shame

help — which may hold the vital clues to the Austrian President's involvement in this appalling chapter of Balkan history. Yet even today in Yugoslavia no serious history of the Ustashe has been written.

Mr Vojdrag Bercic, a Zagreb historian who was an official lawyer for Marshal Tito's communist partisans and who later interrogated the priest, Father Miroslav Filipovic, who was partly responsible for the February 1942 massacre, gave some forthright private opinions when he spoke to me in his Zagreb home.

### 'Impossible'

Whatever the truth of Dr Waldheim's role, he said, it was a small one compared with some of the most brutal war criminals then at large in Yugoslavia.

He questioned whether Yugoslavs could have any personal knowledge of President Waldheim's wartime activities.

He added: "I could believe Waldheim never killed anyone personally, but when he says he did not know what was happening — this is impossible."

The archive files about Yugoslav involvement with the Nazis contain the names of hundreds of Yugoslav collaborators, names which the Belgrade authorities would now prefer to remain unspoken. They are reminders of a past which almost tore Yugoslavia apart. — *The Times*.



# Minister attacks newspapers

## CP move to censure Speaker

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, lashed out yesterday at what he termed a "new breed" of advocacy journalist, bent on "fanning the attempted revolution against the entire South African system".

Mr Botha directed most of his attack against the established commercial press and slammed a number of leading newspapers for criticizing in their comment columns the emergency regulations and the officials who administer press curbs.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Botha called on the media council to enforce its code of conduct on this "destructive section of the press, and that includes members of the organized press".

"This new breed of journalists see themselves as agents for change with a mission to influence their readers to their way of thinking," he said.

The press was a very powerful force, Mr Botha said. "Like nuclear power it can be used for good or bad. Now my question is: Why is there such a large section of the press in South Africa that uses its power to break up and destroy?"



Mr Stoffel Botha

Mr Botha said the Argus group of newspapers had been "particularly prominent and venomous in their campaign, their vendetta, against the emergency regulations and those who have to administer them".

The minister quoted comment from a number of issues of the Argus, the Star, the Sunday Star and the Sunday Times, which is owned by Times Media Limited.

Mr Botha's comments on the articles included allegations that they were "just a thumb suck", "groundless and untrue", a "gross exaggeration and misrepresentation of the facts", were "laughable" and showed "blatant one-sidedness".

The minister complained that virtually every action of the government against "subversive publications" had been met so far with "undue selective reporting, as well as negative if not malicious comment by a section of the press...".

"I have, on many occasions, pointed to the fact that South African revolutionaries themselves say that the media are useful tools in creating support for their attempted violent revolution."

Mr Botha said there was no question of the government wanting to control what people might know. "There is no way in which the government can control people's knowledge."

"Similarly, it not a question of what should or should not be published in South African newspapers. What we are concerned with here is that newspapers should not publish subversive material aimed at the violent overthrow of the South African system," Mr Botha said.

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The bitter broedertwis between the National Party and the Conservative Party took a further dramatic turn yesterday when the CP took the strong step of proposing a motion of disapproval and displeasure in the acting speaker, Mr Rex le Roux.

The motion, proposed by the MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, follows Wednesday's "naming" of Lichtenberg MP, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, after he refused to withdraw and apologize for remarks he had made about State President P W Botha.

Dr Hartzenberg was subsequently suspended for five days.

The motion reflects the acrimony of the exchanges between the CP and the NP which have overshadowed this week's no-confidence debate.

Mr Langley gave notice yesterday that he will propose today that the House express its displeasure and disapproval of the way Mr Le Roux carries out his duties as Acting-Speaker in general and, in particular, by the naming of Dr Hartzenberg.

He said the House should also express its disapproval of the way in which Mr Le Roux had refused to hear members of the Opposition on points of order.

Mr Langley also proposed that the House

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Not all radicals necessarily committed murder or deeds of terror, but all stood in the way of reform, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said yesterday.

Dr Andries Treurnicht had attacked him for saying the AWB was radical.

However, said Mr Vlok, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche had gone from platform to platform saying that moderation in South Africa had no future.

"What is the AWB then? I stand by what I said, that they are radicals." — Sapa

censure Mr Le Roux in his capacity as Acting-Speaker and as Chairman of the House of Assembly because he had distributed a "political propaganda document", dated November 1987, in the Pretoria West constituency, signed by himself.

He said Mr Le Roux had avoided paying postage for the distribution of the document in contravention of the Postal Act by using the official seal of the House of Assembly to frank the literature.

Mr Langley said these actions and behaviour were "not becoming of a high office such as Speaker and Chairman of the

House of Assembly and he is requested to vacate his post".

The last Speaker to have a motion of no-confidence moved against him was Mr J H Conradie in 1954 after he had named opposition member, Mr Harry Lawrence.

The motion was moved by the then leader of the opposition United Party, Mr J G N Strauss, and seconded by the Chief Whip, Mr Jack Higgety.

After a bitter debate, a counter-motion expressing full confidence in the Speaker was passed by 48 votes to 46 after a division.

The "naming" of an MP is a rare occurrence. Dr Hartzenberg is only the sixth MP to have been "named" — the MP is referred to by his name instead of the normal practice of referring to him by his constituency.

Prior to Dr Hartzenberg the other MPs "named" were: Mr Arthur Barlow (1946) Captain W R Butters (1952), Mr Harry Lawrence (1954), Mr Hamilton Russell (1956) and Mr John Wiley (1972).

In another development yesterday, the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr F V de Klerk gave notice that he will propose today that a committee be appointed to investigate the correctness of allegation quoted and made by Dr Hartzenberg that some MPs were "probably guilty of briber or of attempted bribery".



## Morality plays

The issue of the Afrikaner's morals, for years one of the pillars on which Calvinists based their rigid principles, promises to become a major election plank in the coming by-elections in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke.

Indications of what is to come surfaced in Cape Town this week, when chief government censor Stoffel Botha and the Conservative Party (CP) fired their first shots.



Treurnicht

Botha, in what most political commentators describe as an election ploy, promised to clean up SA — the National Party's mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, immediately called his announcement "a new initiative which could entail amendments to the Act."

But CP spokesman on broadcasting affairs Fanie Jacobz immediately seized the opportunity to accuse the Nats of politicking with the nation's moral values. Government is the

49

main sinner responsible for SA's moral decay, says Jacobz. "Government should be blamed for not acting against the organisations which had been promoting immorality over the years," he said. High on his hit-list is the SABC, a pet hate of the CP.

Jacobz accuses the State-run TV service of showing films with scenes of pre-marital sex, vulgar nudity, senseless violence — and "even the use of contraceptives." That goes for the NP newspapers, especially their Sunday paper, as well, Jacobz threw in.

The CP's strategy is clear. Standing accused by the Nat press of condoning violent acts by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) at political meetings, Andries Treurnicht and his colleagues will zoom in on issues like nudity and open beaches.

In his motion of No-Confidence, Treurnicht

attempted to lecture the Nats on moral issues — clouded, of course, by the racism inherent in his philosophy. Better relations would not be promoted by "TV commercials with black and white drinking buddies," and "forced multiracial TV programmes," he insisted.

Having been a dominee of the NG Kerk, Treurnicht knows where and how and when to hurt the Afrikaner. While he has until now refrained from joining the new break-away conservative Afrikaans church, he does not hesitate to take swipes at "sermons of reconciliation which are nothing more than pleas for humanistic equality and integration" — a barb clearly aimed at the likes of NGK moderator Johan Heyns.

But sexually implicit TV films and movies will be the less serious by-election issues. A

warning by Treurnicht on the AWB connection symbolises the rage in rightwing Afrikaner circles. Nats, he warned, would be making a big mistake if they tried to sink the CP by portraying the AWB as a terrorist organisation or to associate the CP with violence. "I also say that they (Nats) should rid their system of this hate against fellow Afrikaners," he added.

Moral awareness may be a vote-catcher for the Nats in the three constituencies (Randfontein will be contested later), but Treurnicht, suddenly not embarrassed to come to the rescue of Eugene Terre'Blanche and his jackbooted stormtroopers, is determined not to abandon the AWB and its support. Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke and Randfontein could become best-forgotten episodes in Afrikaner political history. ■

(304A) (EB) (S)

# An extraordinary exchange in the House: An MP convinced police torture detainees; a Minister convinced that this is a lie

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok hit back angrily this week at Jan van Eck after the independent MP for Claremont said Vlok had to bear responsibility for what he described as "an orgy of violence".

"In view of the fact that the minister of law and order seems to have no control over those members of the SAP who are torturing political opponents, I want to say today that he has the blood of these detainees on his hands," Van Eck said in last week's no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly.

His statement, echoing a similar accusation levelled by Dr DF Malan against General Jan Smuts after white, mostly Afrikaner, mineworkers were bombarded in the 1922 mine strike, was made in the presence of three former detainees sitting in the public gallery.

Van Eck made an offer Nationalist MPs chose to refuse: they could, he said, talk to the detainees themselves about their experiences.

The detainees were not in parliament when Vlok hit back: Van Eck, he said, had, in an unparliamentary manner, "misused this incident to slander South Africa and especially the South African Police" and had misused the House of Assembly "for publicity and personal gain".

Their extraordinary clash is not over. Van Eck said afterwards he stood by what he had said, adding nothing Vlok had said had given him any reason to change his version of events. Moreover, he intended taking the matter further in parliament.

It was extraordinary, too, because both politicians were utterly convinced they were right: the MP is sure police torture detainees and the minister is equally sure they don't.

Van Eck referred to the cases of the three detainees in the public gallery, Mandla Malgas, 18, Sonwaba Madikane, 17, and John de Vos, 18.

Malgas and Madikane had been returning home after a meeting of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) in Mowbray.

"They were stopped by police who wanted to know where they got the brochures of Idasa which were in their possession. They were too scared to tell the police where they got these brochures and were thereupon beaten with rifle butts and kicked.

"They were taken to Nyanga Police Station. A sack was put over their heads. Little metal rings were attached to their little fingers and for

**Independent MP Jan van Eck reads detailed allegations of torture to the House. Adriaan Vlok accuses him of misusing his position.**



**Adriaan Vlok**

four hours they were given electric shocks.

"At about 3am they were sent home without being charged or even their names or addresses taken."

De Vos had been taken to a venue and assaulted by various policemen for six hours, Van Eck said.

"When he would not tell them what they wanted to know, he was undressed and both his hands and feet handcuffed.

"Two tables were brought into the room and he was made to sit on his haunches. A broomstick was stuck through his legs and arms and he was hung from this broom.

"The broomstick was hung over the two tables with him suspended in the middle. A wet cloth was wrapped around his little fingers, his wrists and his ankles.

"Electric wires were attached to all these areas and electric shock upon electric shock was sent through his body while they kept on asking him questions. His fingers, wrists and ankles were swollen and he had a terrible headache. He was prevented from seeing a doctor and the next day taken to Johannesburg for further interrogation."

Van Eck added: "These cases of torture are not exceptions to the rule.

"The killing of detainees, as used to

happen in the old days, seems to have been replaced by torturing.

"The minister of law and order will have to take the responsibility for these actions and for not taking adequate steps to stop this orgy of violence."

Vlok said he had ordered an investigation into De Vos' statement, but he emphatically rejected the allegations regarding the other two youths.

The two were found with a group of about 15 black youths "under suspicious circumstances", he said. "When they were approached by the police patrol they threw away books and pamphlets and fled. The two youths were stopped, detained and taken to the Nyanga police station for questioning.

"After the books and pamphlets had been perused and the youths had given an acceptable explanation for their behaviour, they were allowed to leave."

The police later received complaints in which the two youths alleged they had been assaulted and tortured by the police. From the investigation, it was clear the allegations were "false".

The two youths were given "the opportunity to point out the office or premises where the alleged assault took place, but were unable to do so.

"When they were asked whether they would be prepared to point out their alleged assailants at an identification parade, they refused and said they would be unable to do so.

"Furthermore, they alleged that metal rings, attached to an electric current, were placed on their little fingers and electric shocks administered to them. The district surgeon made no mention of possible injuries to their fingers.

"The two youths were given every possible opportunity to assist the investigating officer in tracing their alleged assailants, but to no avail. If they were injured in any way whatsoever, it was not at the hands of the South African Police."

Van Eck asked him how long after the alleged assault they were examined by the district surgeon, but Vlok said he did not have this information and he would investigate it and give an answer to the MP.

Van Eck then asked: "May I ask him if he thinks it is possible that people with a sack over their head will recognise the people who torture them? If people can't see, how can they identify the people who are torturing them?"

But Vlok did not answer him.



THE CP yesterday claimed credit for forcing the new anti-permissive initiative launched by Home Affairs Minister Stofel Botha at the weekend.

At the same time, the PFP said if right-wing views were to dictate standards, it would be "a return to the Middle Ages".

Nominated CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis said he saw Botha's move as a direct response to the call he (Derby-Lewis) had made in Parliament last year for a tightening up of censorship laws.

He said it was not surprising the new initiative, which was prominently reported in newspapers such as Beeld, would be used by the NP in the current by-election campaigns. (By-elections are taking place in the *platteland* constituencies of Standerton, Randfontein and Schweizer-Reneke).

PFP home affairs spokesman Tian van der Merwe said the existing censorship system did not allow for the Minister's personal views to play a part in the

# CP takes credit for fresh curbs

304A 3/10/88 12/2/88

ROGER SMITH

approval of films.

"If the Minister is promising a tightening up of standards and does not envisage new legislation, then he is talking nonsense."

He said Botha should say exactly what he meant by tightening up standards, "otherwise it is clearly a statement for political purposes in the context of the by-elections".

Botha has said no new legislation is envisaged. He has denied his new initiative is a by-election ploy.

The director of the Publications Control Board Braam Coetsee has said some increased censorship can be expected.

(Report by R Smith, TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

HOW does Afrikaner nationalism shape up to black nationalism? At the Dakar conference this was the subject of considerable controversy between Afrikaans academic Hermann Giliomee and ANC representatives. Afterwards an exchange of letters on the issue took place between Professor Giliomee, of UCT's political studies department, and leading ANC member Pallo Jordan. The full texts of the letters are being published in the two-monthly magazine Die Suid-Afrikaan. This, in edited form, is what they had to say to each other...

NAT

## Dear Pallo,

**1:** OUR apartheid system has succeeded in letting it take about 50 years before we got together. The meeting was in somewhat strange circumstances, far away from our common fatherland. And yet there were things that bound us together. I think we laugh in about the same way about our absurd society — you, of course, more bitterly than I who have had little direct experience of the pain of a large part of the population. Nevertheless, we can still laugh together.

**2:** WE could also talk together about the terrible thing that came over our country — the spiral of violence and lawlessness, of terror and anti-terror, necklace murders and also murders by **vigilantes** that are apparently not unplanned. We can also talk about violence without exchanging reproaches — I towards you about the bombs, you towards me about the unholy methods used by the state under the name of **contra-insurgency**. The people who know Northern Ireland and Lebanon say a discussion about violence in those two societies is almost no longer possible. With both of us, there is still the urgent search for a political solution that will bring peace in the country.

**3:** WE will not find that solution by disguising the true nature of our political conflict. I come from a background of Afrikaner nationalism. Although I, for a long time, no longer support the National Party — especially because that party as creator of apartheid will not be able to build true national unity — I know well how the heads of Afrikaner nationalism work. If P W Botha says: "The Afrikaner is determined never again to be subordinate in his country," then I know what he means.

**4:** YOU come from the background of black nationalism in South Africa. Although the African National Congress represents itself as a non-racial movement seeking to include people of all ethnic backgrounds, the driving force of that movement is an African nationalism that wants to take over control of the country from Afrikaner nationalism. You and I have often talked past each other in our conversations because we could not agree on the essence of the conflict. You say: "It is a struggle between good and evil." I say: "No, it is a tragic conflict between two warring nationalisms, each of which thinks it has right on its side."

**5:** OUR greatest poet-author N P van Wyk Louw — you should read his **Liberale Nasionalisme** — put it like this: "**Dit is die tipiese tragiese situasie in die geskiedenis: twee regte wat onvereenigbaar teenoor mekaar staan. 'n Oplossing wat een van die twee ten koste van die ander laat seevier, word self onregverdig.**" (It is the typical tragic situation in history: two rights standing irreconcilably against each other. A solution which makes one of the two triumph at the expense of the other becomes unjust in itself).

Amos Oz, the novelist of Israel, had something similar to say about the Jewish-Palestinian conflict: "As I see it, the confrontation between the people that return to Zion and the Arab inhabitants of the country is not like a Western film or a saga, but like a tragedy. Tragedy is not conflict between **light** and **darkness**, between justice and crime. It is

a clash between total justice and total justice, even though one should not seek the simplification of symmetry in it."

**6:** UNDERSTAND me well, I don't say Afrikaner and black nationalisms are, in objective terms, equally **good** or equally **bad**. Afrikaner nationalism with its instrument of apartheid is responsible for massive inroads into individual rights and freedoms; its record provides evidence of ethnic intolerance and racism. Against that, your African nationalism is far more inclusive and tolerant; and I am dumbfounded that in spite of the persecution endured by your leaders you (and your people) are still remarkably free from hatred.

But — and this is an important point — your "non-racial democracy" is after all only an ideology which is to help your black nationalism come into power, and — if you succeed in that — to justify your regime. When I seem sceptical about your ideology it is not because I doubt the good intentions of you and your people.

It is only that I know how good the intentions were of the SABRA intellectuals of Stellenbosch in the 1950s when they presented apartheid as a justifiable solution. History is not exactly full of examples of nationalist movements that can transcend themselves. You will certainly concede there is a chance that your nationalist movement, as a result of circumstances, can become just as oppressive as my Afrikaner nationalism has become.

**7:** YOU were somewhat shocked when I quoted Van Wyk Louw's words: **Om liberaal te word, kom minstens vir die Afrikaner op nasionale selfmoord en ook individuele vernietiging neer. Die Afrikaner... is 'n gewortelde volk met geen ander tuiste nie. En as hy hier 'n minderheid was, dan weet hy dat hy so hulpeloos soos die Jood in Duitsland sal wees.** (To become liberal at least amounts to national suicide for the Afrikaner and to individual destruction. The Afrikaner... is a rooted nation with no other home. And if he is a minority here, then he knows he is as helpless as the Jew in Germany).

I differ from Louw. I know that this fear is groundless. Furthermore, since Louw wrote his words in 1946, the Afrikaners built themselves up with the aid of political power to a point where more than 70 percent of them are middle-class people who will be able to maintain themselves well under a black nationalist regime. But I would mislead you if I were to remain silent about the nightmarish fears which beset Afrikaners, especially in the lower-income groups, about a black regime.

**8:** YOU asked: "But why are the Afrikaners afraid?" You ask that I should assure the Afrikaners they will be able to continue speaking Afrikaans and living out their culture under an ANC regime. I am afraid the matter is more complex than that. The essence of ethnic identity is not external manifestations (language, skin colour or religion), but the belief that the group is unique and must continue to exist as a group.

The conflict is about that — not about retaining a language or a religion. After all, the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland are not fighting about religious interpretations. Even if all in Northern Ireland were to be reborn or



# AFRIKANER NATIONALISM vs NATIONALISM

morning as ecumenical Christians, then those two groups would still fight for domination.

**9:** THE Afrikaners or the whites as a whole are not fighting in the first instance to retain apartheid. Apartheid is only an instrument of Afrikaner nationalism, not an end in itself. If my observation is correct, the majority of Afrikaners believe they must do everything possible to retain their continued political existence as individuals and as a group.

Compared with 10 years ago, there are quite a lot more Afrikaners who are prepared to share the country and to think of an inclusive South Africanism. There is no evidence, however, that they will in the foreseeable future deviate from the demand that they will choose their own leaders from their own ranks or from the larger white group, or that they will be prepared to let themselves be **prescribed** to by black leaders on how they must handle a matter like the education of their children.

The Afrikaners and whites as a whole insist that their leaders, chosen by themselves, must negotiate with your leaders on how the privilege enjoyed at present by Afrikaners and other whites can be disengaged from the will to continue to exist as whites.

**10:** THERE are, of course, also other important matters for negotiation. The Republic of South Africa is an Afrikaner state with an Afrikaner government and Afrikaner nationalist symbols such as the flag, the national anthem and the defence force. I would strongly prefer us to replace it with a truly non-racial democracy without any linkage to Afrikaner or black nationalism.

However, I do not believe for one moment that the two forces have spent themselves and that the lamb and the lion will now lie down next to each other. My proposal to you is that we seek a way in which Afrikaner and black nationalisms can become involved with each other in a **process** by which they will not want to dominate each other but will build a non-racial democracy together. It is that we think of a parliament in which two political power blocs are represented: On one side the representatives of a non-racial bloc led by the ANC as standard-bearer of black nationalism; and on the other side a political bloc of the people — white, brown and black — who will feel more at home under the 'group' banner of the National Party. (Incidentally, I expect that in such event Inkatha will split and the majority of its members would want to join the non-racial bloc.)

**11:** THE Africa nationalists, led by the ANC, can of course try as an alternative to step up the mobilisation of blacks until the country becomes ungovernable. It seems to me you choose this strategy. You expect that the will of the whites will weaken, that the Afrikaners will split up into two or more different factions and that businessmen will throw their weight behind the black people's movement and transfer their loyalty to an ANC regime as the only force for stability.

**12:** I THINK you make a mistake. My reading of the situation is that the Afrikaners, as they are pushed into a corner, will increasingly see the struggle as a battle for survival where all the fundamental issues of identity, political self-determination, right and justice, and also the fear



Hermann Giliomee

of the individual's ethnic destruction are at stake.

**13:** I WANT to try to avoid a situation where the struggle will ultimately be for control of the South African ruins. If we are to negotiate before the struggle destroys the economy, we must first agree on the question: What is the true nature of the struggle?

Do you concede that in essence it is a struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and Africa nationalism? If you do, what, in your opinion, are the legitimate claims and rights of the two opposing nationalisms? Or do you really believe in a fight to the bitter end — until Afrikaner nationalism is replaced by your Africa nationalism?

**14:** BY the way, please don't think that if I emphasise the group ties of the Afrikaners I share these ethnic hang-ups. I would be able to side with the non-racial bloc and would fight to persuade the Afrikaners to adopt this viewpoint. Nevertheless, I would like to ask you to think again about your remark that "liberatory intolerance" be used to eliminate white or Afrikaner group identity. National unity will not be built in that way.

Regards  
**HERMANN GILIOME**



# Why won't Afrikaners rely on democracy?

Dear Hermann

FIRST, the principles underlying our conviction that only a non-racial democratic order can solve our country's problems.

The distinction between rights and privileges is of fundamental importance, one which in modern political institutions is underwritten by the principle of equality. It means no individual, group, class, caste or status group, by virtue of some incidental factor such as birth, shall in the eyes of the law enjoy rights over and above those enjoyed by fellow-citizens and at their expense. Historically, it was the striving to abolish privilege and establish the equality of all citizens before the law that inspired the great democratic revolutions. The establishment of the principle was an important landmark in the creation of a more just political order.

Secondly, democracy. It denotes a complex of political institutions to ensure three basic objectives, in the words of Abraham Lincoln: Government of the people, for the people, by the people.

Against this backdrop we can discuss the track records of African Nationalism and Afrikaner Nationalism.

Both were a response to British imperialism and colonialism. But the manner in which each responded diverged sharply, and this turns on precisely the two issues — equality before the law, and democracy. As historians, we can agree that African Nationalism, since Jabavu's Native Electoral Association to the present, has sought to entrench in SA constitutional usage the principles of equality before the law and democracy.

It has leaned heavily on the traditions of European liberalism and the intellectual heritage of the European enlightenment. When in 1923 the ANC adopted its "African Bill of Rights" it appealed to the authority of the Magna Carta; in 1945-46 the "African Claims" appealed to the authority of the Atlantic Charter. The continuities between the Freedom Charter and the other classic documents in this tradition are evident.

THE association of African Nationalism and its identification with specifically the traditions of the bourgeois democratic revolution is what distinguishes it from Afrikaner Nationalism. The tradition the latter has associated with is one of opposition to the ideals of equality before the law and democracy. The consistent thread through its history is one claiming differential treatment on the grounds of race and ethnic origin. Whether this is the Voortrekker principle of **no equality between master and servant, white and black** or the latter-day claims of group rights, it seeks to undermine the notion of juridical equality of citizens. In this respect, the core ideas underlying these two nationalisms are irreconcilable.

Having espoused ideals that run counter to the bourgeois democratic tradition, it was inevitable that Afrikaner Nationalism's political ascendancy should have the consequences which you refer to as **gross violations of human rights; violations of the rights of the individual; violations of civil liberties**. It was this anti-modernism and fundamentally anti-democratic character of Afrikaner Nationalism that tempted many of its leading figures to flirt and identify with Nazism, the most radical anti-democratic movement of modern times based on notions of racial superiority and the preservation of racial privilege. Thus, one cannot place Afrikaner Nationalism on a par with African Nationalism.

There are moral choices. One can uphold slavery, tyranny or apartheid or oppose it. If we say freedom is better than slavery, we are asserting that it is morally reprehensible to uphold slavery. Thus the struggle in our country is a struggle between good and evil, justice and injustice, democracy and tyranny.

Suave equivocations about **two irreconcilable rights** have no place. Opposition to apartheid and the preservation of apartheid cannot both be right. To pretend otherwise is to lend an unwarranted legitimacy to a doctrine and practice that is evil. Van Wyk Louw's liberal credentials notwithstanding, on this score he is being an apologist for tyranny and oppression.

THE analogy you draw between the State of Israel and Palestine is an unconvincing argument steeped in moral blackmail. Zionism, as a movement and an ideal concretised in the State of Israel, is a response to European anti-Semitism and its horrific expression in the holocaust.

One may argue that the Jews of Europe had the right to seek safety and security in their own state. I am not unsympathetic to that view. But by treating the Palestinians so unjustly, the Zionist leadership has placed Israel in a morally indefensible position which compels the State of Israel to perpetrate actions similar to those for which the Nazis have been universally condemned.

The Afrikaner Nationalist does not even have a holocaust to fall back on.

On your second analogy, of Afrikaners being reduced to a helpless minority like the Jews in Nazi Germany. The Jews' fate in Germany and occupied Europe was not a function of their being a minority. Today in the USA, France, Britain and other countries they are a minority as they were in the 1930s and 40s. This does not mean they will inevitably be the victims of genocide. The holocaust was a consequence of the anti-modernist and anti-democratic doctrines of racial superiority of Nazism. In the other countries where Jews were and even today are a minority it is democratic institutions and practices that protect them and other minorities from fascist and racist movements. I cannot understand why you as an Afrikaner cannot rely on precisely these same democratic practices to protect you from possible persecution.

It is not by stressing his separateness, by always claiming rights apart from the rest, that the Afrikaner can secure his future. It is rather by finding the numerous points of mutuality with specifically the African majority that he will discover security. It is by declaring **I am an African** in identification with the victims of apartheid that he will dispel fears on the part of the majority that the Afrikaner harbours ill-intentions against them.

I CANNOT make predictions about what will come in the future, but I have confidence in the strength of our non-racial tradition. It is something we have had to fight to maintain on a daily basis, against every sort of temptation.

You may imagine how difficult it must have been to sustain such a perspective among a people who are daily assailed by institutions of white racism, acting on behalf of a government that is exclusively white, which has repeatedly been returned to office by the majority of white electors. Yet we have consistently waged the struggle and have not wavered in our commitment. Any ANC leadership of the future that might seek to abrogate non-racialism would need to de-indoctrinate that majority of the membership into rejecting it first.

Tolerance was an important component of the struggle for democracy. Voltaire argued that I disagree with what you say but I shall defend to the hilt your right to say it. But during this century we have witnessed the appearance of political doctrines and practices that are fundamentally and radically evil, like Nazism, fascism and racism. Are these deserving of tolerance?

Democracies in Western Europe have given a verdict. In Austria and the FRG, the National Socialist Party is illegal and in the US slavery and its advocacy were placed beyond the political pale in 1860-65.

These actions proclaim that such doctrines, because they are radically evil, cannot be regarded as just one other opinion on the market place of ideas. They are not to be tolerated. Our view is that apartheid, too, is radically evil and that its doctrines cannot be tolerated. Hence we foresee the illegalisation of both the institutions and the advocacy of apartheid.

It is in that spirit that I employ the concept **liberatory intolerance** — to denote an intolerance towards that which is radically evil. You fear that it will harm the process of nation-building. I submit that without it we would be creating space for a dangerously venomous virus to survive and systematically undermine the process of nation-building by the incitement of racist and ethnic hostilities.

I WAS perhaps fortunate in that I grew up in the Western Cape, a region that has attracted every element of the rich tapestry that is South Africa. I grew up speaking three languages, conscious of the plurality of cultures that make up our country and conversant with its African, European and Asian traditions. These are the great strengths of our country, the raw materials from which we are often unconsciously creating something new.

The emergent South African people can already be discerned in the ranks of the democratic movement, where ethnic affiliation, language, religion and race have been relegated to the private sphere in deference to that which binds us — a commitment to a common future, in our common homeland, South Africa. The door as always is open to the Afrikaner to come on home — but as an equal, as a countryman, as an African.

Yours sincerely  
**PALLO JORDAN**



D/D 13/2/88 (304A)

## PFP's Albany branch gets set for series of meetings

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Albany constituency of the Progressive Federal Party is gearing itself up for a series of annual meetings of the party before the end of the month.

The MP for Green Point and PFP spokesman for law and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, will visit the constituency next week, on February 16 and 17, and will be guest speaker at the annual meeting of the PFP Port Alfred branch on February 16.

The following day he will address students at the Rhodes University campus, and will be available for consultation at the PFP office.

The Albany constituency annual meeting takes place on Monday, Feb-

ruary 22, where the guest speaker will be Mr Errol Moorcroft. There will also be a report back on the PFP's federal council meeting by Professor Ian Macdonald.

The Border regional annual meeting takes place near Stutterheim on February 27 and 28, and will be addressed by the President's Councillor, Mr Robin Carlisle; the MP for Constantia and chairman of the Cape region, Mr Roger Hulley; and the MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess.

Workshops will cover various topics such as the image of the party, party strategy and involvement in municipal elections. — DDR

2044

SOWETAN, Monday, February 15, 1988

THE proliferation of white liberal organisations such as Idasa and the Five Freedom Forums was aimed at blunting the black struggle, the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has said.

The communique, issued after the organisation's central committee meeting held in December last year and sent to various newspapers, said the divisions that have appeared in white political ranks were "based mainly of which strategies are better suited to prolong white domination."

The 16-page document also contained rejection of a statement by Soviet scholars published last year in which black consciousness was described as racist and reactionary.

The Soviet statement also said that the BCMA's total commitment to the armed struggle as the only solution to the problems in South Africa was not realistic.

"We also reject their prescription for the protection of white minority rights through the formulation that 'three communities should have equal representation and should have veto

# White liberals are blunting the black struggle'

power in a future settlement," the communique added.

The BCMA central committee said the Government's attempt to create "puppet structures for purposes of controlling and administering blacks are completely discredited and ineffective in some areas." Describing bantustan leaders as "corrupt, politically bankrupt collaborators propelled by greed and ignorance," the organisation said the oppressed masses in these geographic areas had shown great courage in opposing these institutions. KwaNdebele was cited as an example.

On co-operation with other liberation movements, the communique said the BCMA remained committed to seek and work towards a united front with all "patriotic Azanian liberation forces. It is, however, clear that presently, divisions within the liberation movements run so deep that possibility of co-operation . . . seem non-existent."

## Working class

Turning to trade unions, the central committee welcomed the growth of trade union unity manifested in the formation of the National Council of

Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu).

The organisation noted that only less than 20 percent of the black working class were unionised.

"A dictatorial and undemocratic tendency of imposing the Freedom Charter on some unions has led to divisions and revolt within these unions. In instances such as Ccawusa, the workers have resisted this pressure and asserted the right to chart their own course," the BCMA said.

On education the movement said the back to school campaign launched by the Azanian Students Movement last year had not been a surrender in the educational battle but "a tactical change in strategy".

"The boycott campaign had lost direction and there was no clear cut programme for the out of school youths. Many of the youths were recruited or pressganged into the ranks of the municipal constables. The bankruptcy of the slogan 'liberation now education later' was exposed and criticised," the communique went on.



HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

\* Indicates translated version.

For oral reply.

General Affairs.

\*1. Mr D J DALLING—Justice. [Reply standing over.]

\*2. Mr F J LE ROUX—Foreign Affairs.† [Withdrawn.]

\*3. Mr F J LE ROUX—Justice.† [Withdrawn.]

Constituency boundaries: re-delimitation

\*4. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he intends to initiate procedures in 1988 which will result in the re-delimitation of constituency boundaries for the House of Assembly; if not, why not; if so, (a) what procedures and (b) when?

—The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The prerogative for the appointment of delimitation commissions is vested in the State President in terms of section 48 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act 110 of 1983).

Visit to Netherlands by members: financial assistance

\*5. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether his Department provided any financial or other assistance to certain members of the House of Assembly, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, in connection with their visit to the Netherlands during January 1988, if so, (a) why, (b) (i) what was the nature of the assistance provided and (ii) by whom was it authorized, (c) at whose invitation was the visit undertaken, (d) what was the (i) purpose and (ii) outcome of the visit, (e) what was the total cost to the State of providing assistance for this visit and (f) what are the names of the members concerned;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(a) A request for assistance in arranging visits to parliamentary institutions and, if possible, appointments with politicians, was received from Mr D P A Schutte, MP for Pietermaritzburg North. It is customary, upon request, to assist members of Parliament travelling abroad with arrangements of this nature.

(b) (i) A visit to the Dutch Parliament as well as appointments with a few party representatives was arranged.

(ii) A senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

(c) The visit was a private study tour arranged by Mr Schutte personally and on his own initiative.

(d) (i) Private study tour of parliamentary institutions in Europe.

(ii) Party representatives were met.

(e) None.

(f) Mr D P A Schutte, MP  
Mr R E Redinger, MP  
Mr J W Maree, MP

(2) No.

Helicopter pamphlets

\*6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 1 standing over, on 6 October 1987, the investigation into the incident on 23 May 1987 involving pamphlets dropped from a low-flying helicopter has been completed, if not, what are the reasons for the delay in completing this investigation, if so, (a) when (b) what were the findings and (c) who is the owner of the helicopter.

(2) whether, as a result of this incident, any action has been taken against the (a)

South

# Treurnicht backs out of debate

The proposed television debate between the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, and the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has been shelved for the time being, SABC news reports.

In a letter to the SABC, Dr Treurnicht gave his reasons for not wanting to take part in the debate now.

Mr de Klerk, who originally challenged Dr Treurnicht to a television debate, has agreed unconditionally.

In his reply to the proposals, Dr Treurnicht said one of the reasons was that he had received the proposals too late and had not had time to negotiate.

## ELECTIONS

Dr Treurnicht said he was now preparing for the final round of meetings for the by-elections at Standerton and Schweizer-Reincke, and the run-up to the Randfontein by-election.

Dr Treurnicht ends his letter by referring to what he calls Mr de Klerk's "unsavoury speech and conduct" in the no-confidence debate in the House of Assembly.

In the light of this, he said he doubted if a television debate would make any sense.

In two similar letters to both Dr Treurnicht and Mr de Klerk, proposals were made regarding the chairmanship, the length of the debate, various formats and the date of broadcast.

In his reaction to the SABC proposals, Mr de Klerk indicated certain preferences, but in general agreed unconditionally to a debate with Dr Treurnicht.

Both Dr Treurnicht and Mr de Klerk agreed that their correspondence with the SABC could be made public.

— Sapa.



## Stw 16488 'West should identify progressives in SA' <sup>7058</sup>

The West needs to become more involved with South Africans seeking to influence the direction of a non-racial and democratic future, the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly said yesterday.

He was speaking at a meeting of the Swiss-South African Association in Zurich.

Mr Relly said in South Africa there was broad consensus about equitable political reform.

"The radical Left wants a populist revolution, after which its leaders will determine the nature of the socio-economic system, apparently on Marxist lines.

"The radical Right wants absolute geographic and economic separation between the races.

"Businessmen can hardly be attracted to either wing.

"I think the view is becoming accepted increasingly that the imposition of sanctions is unlikely to lead to the quick collapse of the economy."

History, like any event happening today, is open to more than one interpretation. But not infrequently the prevalent assumptions are based on the desire of a particular group or faction to promote its interests.

For instance, was Richard III of England a villain or does he merely appear to have been one because that history was written by Tudor historians? It has been held that Richard is known by most people because of the play written by William Shakespeare. But then the Bard is said to have got his "facts" from those who wrote history to suit the Tudors.

Because of the divisions in South African society, the history of this part of the world is also likely to have more than one face. Much of what has been taught as history was written and interpreted by Afrikaners. But even Afrikaners have started to debunk the myths.

The latest to do so is Professor Ben Liebenberg of the Unisa history department who addressed a conference of the South African Historical Association on the "Myths surrounding Blood River and the Vow".

He says that to him the word myth means an inaccurate version of a past event which is intended to propagate or undermine something occurring in the present.

### Three examples

Professor Liebenberg gives three examples:

- The myth that there were no blacks in South Africa when Jan van Riebeeck landed. This is intended to support white claims to the country.
- The myth that the Slagtersnek rebels were given an unjust punishment. This is intended to demonstrate that Afrikaners were repressed by the British authorities.
- The myth that the Xhosa chief Hintza was shot while trying to escape. This is intended to justify the actions of the British authorities and more specifically those of Sir Harry Smith.

Professor Liebenberg says that many myths surround the battle of Blood River and the Vow. He lists these examples:

- Blood River saved the Great Trek.
- Blood River marks the birth of the Afrikaner nation.
- Blood River is a symbol of Christianity's triumph over the heathen.
- The Vow is binding on all Afrikaners.
- A miracle occurred at Blood River. Arising from this there is the belief that God sides with the Afrikaner nation and God has given the Afrikaner the task of keeping the country white.

Professor Liebenberg says there is no justification for the view that the Great Trek would have failed had the Voortrekkers lost the battle of Blood River. At most, this would have put

**The claim that the famous battle marked the birth of the Afrikaner nation is ridiculous, says an Afrikaans professor. Johan de Villiers reports.**

an end to the trek in Natal, but many of the trekkers were in the Transvaal and Free State.

He says the claim about Blood River marking the birth of the Afrikaner nation has most often been heard in Day of the Vow speeches. Professor Liebenberg says this is ridiculous because no nation can be born from a single battle; the Afrikaner already had a history of nearly two centuries by the time the Great Trek took place; and it cannot be accepted that his desire for independence would have been destroyed by defeat in a single battle.

Viewing Blood River as a triumph for Christianity is rejected for three reasons: it cannot be accepted that military conquest can be seen to further the Saviour's cause; members of Andries Pretorius's commando were never intent on converting the Zulus; and the Voortrekkers did little in the half century following the battle to spread the Gospel among blacks.

Professor Liebenberg says: "The statement, often heard, that the battle of Blood River does not celebrate the victory of whites over blacks but

that of Christianity over the heathen is without foundation. It is nothing more than a myth which is repeated annually at Day of the Vow celebrations. Spreading Christianity in South Africa has nothing to do with the battle of Blood River or the Voortrekkers, but was the work of missionaries."

He concludes an analysis of views on who is bound by the Vow with the following words: "Only those who made the Vow. The present generation of Afrikaners are not bound by it. They are not (as has been claimed) committing a sin if they fail to attend Day of the Vow ceremonies."

Regarding the "myth of the miracle", Professor Liebenberg mentions that certain historians have claimed that something wonderful and inexplicable took place at Blood River.

One of these wonderful things is that such a small party of Voortrekkers (530 including non-white allies) could defeat 10 000 Zulus. But he points out that the Boers were outnumbered to an even greater extent in other battles, for example Vegkop.

Professor Liebenberg concludes: "If the battle of Blood River constituted a miracle because of the difference in numbers, then there are various other, and more significant, miracles in South African history."

But this myth about the miracle of Blood River has, says Professor Liebenberg, led to two further myths. They are that God has sided with the Afrikaner and that He has called on the Afrikaner folk to keep South Africa white.

### Subjective views

The professor says that referring to the "God of Blood River" makes of Him a "volksgod" (national God). But "God is not exclusive, but universal. The God of Blood River is also the God of Slagtersnek and Italeini and Perdeberg. The God of the Afrikaners is also the God of the English speakers and the Germans and the Zulus".

Professor Liebenberg says some people claim that the Voortrekker victory at Blood River is proof that God wanted a white civilisation in South Africa; that God is against equality between white and black; and that God was not in favour of racial mixing. He concludes: "What these people do not understand is that they are merely projecting their own subjective views on God."

**Blood River: the myth that led to more myths**



# Idasa debate on SA's future scheduled for EL this week

D/D 17/2/88 30419  
Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The former editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf, and a Wits University academic active in human rights, Dr David Webster, will address an Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) debate here on Friday.

The topic of the debate is the political options of white South Africa.

The Border Regional Director of Idasa, Mr Steve Fourie, said he felt the topic of the debate, "Whither White Politics?", was a subject close to the hearts of white South Africans.

"Traditional party politics do not appear to be offering the solutions we need to our problems and there is a great deal of uncertainty among the electorate about the future," he said.

According to an Idasa statement, Mr Pakendorf, the former editor of three newspapers, has spent most of his 25 years in journalism covering politics.

He was the founding editor of both the Financial Gazette in Zimbabwe and the Oggendblad in Pretoria.

He became editor of the Johannesburg daily, Die Vaderland, in 1979, but his critical stance on government policy led to friction with Perskor and led to his being "axed" in 1986, the statement said.

He now runs his own consulting firm and works as a freelance journalist for several publications, including the Sunday Times.

Dr Webster is a founder member of the Detainees Parent's Support Committee and the

Five Freedoms Forum.

As a senior lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology at Wits, his research has covered a variety of topics including political and socio-economic conditions in black townships and homelands, and comparative African political systems in countries such as Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The five freedoms forum is a new coalition of political, human rights and professional organisations formed to fight to end apartheid.

The head of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Prof Peter Vale, will chair the meeting.

The debate is the first of a series of political discussions scheduled to take place in the city this year.

# Botha cannot hide SA's predicament says MP <sup>910 1712188</sup> <sup>304A</sup>

Daily Dispatch Reporter

PORT ALFRED — South Africa is in deeper trouble now than at any stage of its existence, the MP for Greenpoint, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said here last night.

At the PFP Port Alfred's AGM, Mr Van der Merwe said that "the government seems to think that because the lid is on the flow of information, things are quieter, that South Africa is on course to rehabilitation".

"But things are as messy and as difficult as they have ever been," he said.

He added that the government's stranglehold on the media was more desperate. The economic initiatives the state president had announced at the opening of parliament were motivated because there was nothing else he

could announce.

"Mr P. W. Botha has even run out of threats," Mr Van der Merwe stated.

The most significant element of his speech had been the absence of any mention of rights for blacks.

"This presupposes that the issue is dead. Nothing is happening," he said.

The government wants a tame compliant body for blacks. They could participate in the running of the country as long as they toed the line.

Mr Van der Merwe added that part of the process of nation-building should be the participation of more blacks in politics.

The PFP, he said, had a spectacular record and had played a very significant part in per-

suading the government to get rid of some of its apartheid legislation.

"We are breaking ground which the government has not got the courage to do," he said.

The PFP had paid a price in making themselves unpopular with certain sections of the white electorate, but it was the duty of the PFP to criticise wrongdoings by the South African police and the defence force.

"The government is turning bitterness and tension into violence. It is playing into the hands of the most vicious revolutionaries."

The PFP might not have a role to play in terms of power, privilege and patronage, but they conveyed a worthwhile message as to ideals and philosophy, Mr Van der Merwe said.



for the CP's action against the SABC (*Current Affairs* January 29), says Derby-Lewis. "We are urging them to take part in the 'big switch-off,' that is, to switch off their TV sets when they object to certain programmes or adverts or detect bias against the CP."

Derby-Lewis feels that such a co-ordinated action will harm the SABC, and that their advertisers will feel it in the light of the findings of the "Peplemeter" designed to record viewership.

The concerted attack launched by the pro-Nat papers on the CP is reminiscent of *Die*

## THE MEDIA

### The fight is on

With no moderate party contesting the three Conservative Party (CP) constituencies — Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke and later Randfontein — it is no surprise that National Party newspapers have launched an all-out attack on Andries Treurnicht's CP (see P110). The main objective is to link the CP to Eugene Terre'Blanche's militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Both *Beeld* and *Die Burger* splashed headlines on their front covers this week, ridiculing Treurnicht for not knowing what was happening in his party. The two papers reported the AWB's meddling in the May general election last year, and produced a document which (they alleged) CP members had to sign in exchange for AWB support at the polls. According to the reports, signatories to the document pledged their support for the *Boerestaat* concept as propagated by the AWB.

This was the last straw for Treurnicht. In a letter to the chairman of the Media Council, the "disgraceful journalistic sleight of hand perpetrated by *Beeld*" was condemned by the CP. The allegations by the paper are a blatant lie, says chief CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis, adding that deputy AWB leader, Jan Groenewald, has confirmed that it was not an AWB document.

Why not complain in a letter to *Beeld*? "A letter to *Beeld* is an exercise in futility, considering their transparent plan to endeavour to discredit the Right," says Derby-Lewis.

Meanwhile, letters to the AWB, the *Oranjewerkers*, the *Volkswag* and the Stalard Foundation (a conservative think-tank) have already been sent to drum up support



Terre'Blanche . . . into his kraal

*Burger's* vendetta against Denis Worrall during the Battle of Helderberg. The feeling then (and perhaps as the slender 39-vote Heunis victory suggested) was that the paper's attack proved to be counter-productive.

We can only hope that the latest outburst from the Nat propaganda machine will not stir up more sympathy for the CP and its surrogates on the Right.



3044

# State President's dual role comes under fire

## Political Staff

The difference between the two offices of the State President, namely as Head of State and as executive head of Government, came under the spotlight yesterday in a long debate which challenged the neutrality of presiding officers in the House of Assembly.

Opposition member Mr Tom Langley (CP) said in a private member's motion that Acting Speaker and Chairman of the House Mr Z P le Roux should vacate his office.

The Conservative Party disapproved of the way Mr le Roux named CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg last week in a process which led to his suspension from the Assembly for five days.

Mr Langley said his party also objected to Mr le Roux's refusal to hear points of order when naming Dr Hartzenberg.

The third leg of the motion cast doubt on the neutrality of Mr le Roux as presiding officer as he had distributed "party political material" on his official letterhead as Chairman of the House of Assembly.

The motion arose out of the incident in which Dr Hartzenberg said President Botha knew there was truth in the allegations that National Party MPs had offered R10 000 bribes to Labour Party MPs in an effort to win support for a postponement of a general election.

Mr le Roux, acting as Speaker, ruled that Dr Hartzenberg had reflected on the integrity of the State President and the processes of naming and suspension were activated against Dr Hartzenberg.

## 'Failed to distinguish'

"The Honourable Acting Speaker failed to distinguish between the State President as Head of State and the State President as head of the Government and leader of the National Party," said Mr Langley.

"As head of Government the State President can come into this House to take part and in this capacity he can tackle his opponents with his tongue, bore them through with his eyes but he must be prepared to do this as an equal to other members and as such be censored."

The State President could not demand special protection in this role, said Mr Langley.

Leader of the House Mr F W de Klerk replied to this point saying: "Among equals, the State President is the most important man in this system."

While the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement did not side with the terms of the CP motion they registered amendments also expressing displeasure in Mr le Roux's conduct.

Chief Whip of the PFP Mr John Malcomess said it was unacceptable that the State President and Cabinet Ministers should be afforded more protection by the presiding officer than that given ordinary members.

The CP motion was defeated and an NP motion of confidence in Mr le Roux was passed.

## House yes to call for inquiry into Hartzenberg allegation

The House of Assembly yesterday passed a motion calling for an inquiry into the truth of claims quoted by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the deputy leader of the Conservatives, that National Party MPs were probably guilty of bribery.

He had also claimed that the State President had been aware of the allegations, but had refused to take action.

### UNANIMOUS

The motion, proposed by the Leader of the House, Mr F W de Klerk, and accepted with only one "no" in a voice vote, which was supported by the CP as "second best" after its own motion on the same subject was defeated earlier.

The CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said Mr de Klerk's motion was an obvious attempt to shield their "partner in the coalition government" the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who was originally quoted in the press as having made the bribery claims to disadvantage and blacken the name of Dr Hartzenberg further.

Dr Hartzenberg, he said, had already been named in the House and punished by being expelled.

Now a select committee, to form part of a joint committee, was to be appointed to investigate the correctness or otherwise of the allegations he had made and of his quotations.

This could lead to a further detrimental find-

ings against him.

Mr de Klerk said the Government believed the first priority was to establish the facts of the matter.

The fact that his motion limited itself to this aim did not prejudice any action that might be taken afterwards in the light of those facts.

The correct order of procedure would be to find out the truth and then decide who if anyone should be punished to protect the honour of Parliament.

A broadening of the mandate of the committee was not necessary.

An amendment by PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin that the committee also report on any breach of privilege committed by any person in the affair was defeated.

Speaking earlier on a motion by Mr le Roux that a committee be appointed to investigate alleged breach of privilege by Mr Hendrickse and Rapport writer Mr J Vosloo in connection with statements and reports on the bribery last November, Mr de Klerk asked why the CP had not raised the matter earlier.

### SMALL POLITICS

It was only after Dr Hartzenberg had been expelled from the House that they were now trying to make "small politics" and repair the damage that the expulsion had caused.

The first time he had been aware of the allegations was when Dr Hart-

zenberg raised the matter in Parliament. He did not have time to go through opposition newspapers looking for material that would harm his fellow Afrikaners, as the CP did.

If any NP member was guilty of bribery, strong disciplinary action would be taken against him. The NP would not tolerate such a thing.

Mr Eglin, who said Mr le Roux's motion was too narrow and too prescribed, proposed as an amendment that the committee also report on any breach of privilege in relation to the matter.

### DEFAULT

He said the President was in default in his responsibility to his party, his Government and as Head of State in that he had been aware of press reports on the bribery allegations two months ago but had not then announced an inquiry.

Mr le Roux's motion was inappropriate as it dealt only with two individuals. Mr Eglin's amendment and Mr le Roux's motion were both defeated.

● The House of Delegates yesterday adopted a motion calling for an inquiry into allegations.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, moved that a select committee be appointed to form part of a joint committee to inquire into and report on "the correctness or otherwise" of the allegations. — Sapa.



# Find avenues to fight what is wrong MP says

3049

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**  
**GRAHAMSTOWN**—The MP for Greenpoint and PFP spokesman on home affairs, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, last night urged the public not to write off any option for improving the South African situation. He was addressing a meeting on the Rhodes University campus.

"This includes parliament. Let us find more avenues to fight what is wrong."

South Africa was more oppressed than it had ever been. Never before had political activity been so hamstrung.

"These are all steps on the slippery slope to totalitarianism, just as we are getting used to the facts of a lower standard of democracy," he said.

Furthermore, South African whites were very frightened, insecure people, largely as a result of the political violence and government propaganda.

"The state of emergency shows no sign of coming to an end. There is probably less vision or indication of a plan for advancing black political rights than there has ever been," he said.

"The government has no intention of sharing power." Referring to the curbs on the press, Mr Van der Merwe said that the government's desire for a tame and compliant press had resulted in the imposition of serious restrictions on what may be published in terms of the State of Emergency.

Pre-censorship was a reality, with the emergency regulations adapted subjectively by officials of government.

There was also news manipulation by the government through their "stranglehold" on

SABC TV. "They have long forgotten what press freedom and the truth is," he said.

The public was not sufficiently informed to judge for themselves.

It was a depressing, unattractive situation, which was undermining peoples' abilities to solve the problems. The government, too, was a victim of its own propaganda, Mr Van der Merwe said.

MR VAN DER MERWE



CAR. Times 18/2/88

# Stop this harassment — call to Treurnicht

JOHANNESBURG. — Pastor Ray McCauley, of the Rhema Church in Randburg, has called on Dr Andries Treurnicht to tell members of his Conservative Party to stop harassing Christian schools in Vereeniging and Springs.

Pastor McCauley's appeal follows action by a CP town councillor in Vereeniging, Mr C Botha, who is campaigning for the closure of Kingdom School because it is multiracial.

And in Springs two councillors have voiced their opposition to the Word of Life Christian School — also a multiracial school.

Said Pastor McCauley: "I am appalled at the attitude of some of the Conservative Party members towards these Christian schools. I believe that these schools, because they are multiracial, can contribute significantly towards solving some of the problems facing our nation.

"I call on Dr Treurnicht as leader of the CP and as a Christian minister to stop this harassment of Christian schools. I find it extremely difficult to harmonise this persecution by people who claim to have the same Christian values that we have.

"The Word of God is quite clear on racism — it condemns it. Our church and member churches like those in Springs and Vereeniging have taken positive steps to promote racial harmony by opening Christian schools, where children are not indoctrinated and prejudiced by perverted traditions.

"I view this persecution of Christian schools by the CP as a threat to religious freedom and expression in South Africa. I hope that Dr Treurnicht, as a responsible leader, will put an end to this mindless harassment," said Pastor McCauley. — Sapa



Pastor McCauley



3048

8/20/88

8/20/88

# Church asks CP to stop harassment

HEAD of the Rhema church, Pastor Ray McCauley, has called on Andries Treurnicht to tell members of his Conservative Party to stop harassing Christian schools in Vereeniging and Springs.

McCauley's appeal follows action by CP Vereeniging town councillor C Botha, who is campaigning for the closure of Kingdom School because it is multiracial. And in Springs two councillors have voiced their opposition to the Word of Life Christian School — also a multiracial school.

Said McCauley: "I am appalled at the attitude of some of the CP members towards these Christian schools. I believe that these schools, because they are multiracial, can contribute significantly towards solving some of the problems facing our nation."

"I call on Dr Treurnicht as leader of the CP and as a Christian minister to stop this harassment of Christian schools. I find it extremely difficult to harmonise this persecution by people who claim to have the same Christian values that we have."

"The word of God is quite clear on racism — it condemns it. Our church and member churches like those in Springs and Vereeniging have taken positive steps to promote racial harmony by opening Christian schools, where children are not indoctrinated and prejudiced by perverted traditions."

"I view this persecution of Christian schools by the CP as a threat to religious freedom and expression in SA. I hope that Dr Treurnicht, as a responsible leader, will put an end to this mindless harassment," said McCauley. — Sapa.

...merwe addresses about 60 people in Greylingstad  
at a Standerton by-election meeting on Wednesday night.

**Political Staff**

**PLANS** by  
Denis Wor-  
rall's Indepen-  
dent Move-  
ment to launch  
a new political  
party next  
month were  
scornfully dis-  
missed yester-  
day by Wynand  
Malan's rival

# New party

19/2/88.  
dismissed

by Malan

National Democratic Movement (NDM).

The NDM — many of whose supporters were on the same side as Worrall during the general election of May 6 — said in a statement yesterday that while the former ambassador had a "good right" to launch a new party, "we do not believe in its viability."

This was because the new party, provisionally called the Independent Party, was based in the "traditional idiom" of white opposition politics.

The statement said: "It is in a sense a type of club politics, which is popular within the narrow confines of the members, drawn from a narrow sector of the market."

"It has neither the breadth nor the depth, nor does it break ground in terms of its direction."

"It does not address the growing desire to search for new ways out of the cul de sac in which South African politics finds itself."

The NDM said it was deliberately pursuing a course of creating "a new political culture based on the belief that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics are both part of a bigger whole."

The founding meeting of the Independent Party will be held in the Somerset West Town Hall on March 17. A launching congress would be held at a later date in Durban.

The new party will be open to all South Africans who accepted the draft statement of principles drawn up by the Independent Movement.

Scip  
Bleay



# 'Non-violent change in SA is already a reality'

LONDON — It was quite untrue to claim that non-violent strategies could not bring about change in South Africa, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said here today.

In remarks prepared for delivery this morning at a conference organised by the worldwide consultancy group, Business International, Mr Kane-Berman said that at least six important policy changes in South Africa had come about or were well under way as a result of non-violent strategies.

They were:

- The steady erosion of the industrial colour bar.
- The steady erosion of educational apartheid.
- Continuing and widening social desegregation.
- The statutory recognition of black trade union rights.
- The steady erosion of the Group Areas Act.
- The abolition of most influx control laws.

It was untrue to claim, as some people did, that non-violent strategies had failed to bring about change, and that it was therefore justified or necessary to turn to violence.

Mr Kane-Berman said the Government was only one of the actors involved in change. In many cases, he said, change had been brought about by others, and the Government had had to follow suit. For example, the Government gave official recognition to black trade unions only after unions and employers had started signing wage agreements irrespective of the Government's wishes.

The Group Areas Act was being eroded not because the Government wanted this but because black people were moving into white areas despite the fact that the Act made this illegal.

Mr Kane-Berman said that the lesson of the violent disturbances in South Africa in 1960, 1976, and more recently was that violence did not threaten the Government's hold on power. However, he said, the Soweto upheavals had jolted both business and the Government out of their complacency with regard to conditions in black townships.

Mr Kane-Berman said: "Obviously non-violent tactics and strategies do not automatically work. They have to be well thought out and questions of timing and relative bargaining power have to be considered, but their viability is beyond question. What is still open to question is how successful such strategies will be in the field of political negotiation."

19/2/88  
Star 30/4/88

## PFP man emigrates over son's army service

Leading educationist and former Progressive Federal Party provincial councillor for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Nixon, is to emigrate to Australia with his family in May.

Mr Nixon said today the decision to emigrate had been difficult but was made largely because the family was not prepared in principle to allow their son, now in Standard 8, to do military service.

"This is not because of fear but because of the role of the army and what it does," Mr Nixon

said. To agree to military service would contradict everything he believed in and had worked for.

The move was not urgent but had to be made quickly as Australian emigration restrictions meant he could not apply after the age of 45, which he reached this year.

"I feel like anybody leaving a country where his family has been for a long time — very sore," he added. The family would live in Sydney.

Mr Nixon served as PFP spokesman on education on the provincial council from 1974 to 1986.



KWAZULU/NATAL

## Testing the links

Strained relations between KwaZulu and Natal face a stern test this week when the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) meets to discuss the provision of services in the black shacklands surrounding Durban.

The debate will require cool heads. The politically intractable nature of the subject, continuing violence in Natal's capital city, Maritzburg, and damaging talk that KwaZulu may pull out of the fledgling JEA are just some of the elements which have combined to raise the political temperature.

Another is the fact that service infrastructure is properly the business of a regional services council (RSC) — absent in Durban because KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has refused to participate, arguing that KwaZulu was not consulted. This has become a sore point between the KwaZulu Legislative Authority and the Natal Provincial Administration, the two parties to the JEA.

The absence of an RSC has obliged the JEA to undertake the delicate task of forward planning of services in what is termed the Durban Functional Region (DFR) by the Durban municipality. The DFR includes KwaMashu and Umlazi and also the vast shack settlements, some within "white" Natal and some in KwaZulu territory surrounding the "formal" city limits.

By comparison with the 387 000 whites living within the city boundaries, about 1,7m blacks live in the DFR and the explosive growth of informal housing in this area makes Durban one of the fastest growing cities in the world.

It now seems increasingly likely that Buthelezi hopes to bend the JEA into per-

*PM 19/2/88*

forming the functions of an RSC and thus save political face without jeopardising the living circumstances of his constituents.

Whether his partners in the JEA allow this is another matter. There are increasing signs that the NPA will not accommodate what is regarded as politicking by Buthelezi. In any event, the resolution of the ballooning housing shortage and associated service problems will require considerable capital not yet committed. The deadlocked RSC was, of course, intended not only to administer services, but to levy the funds for their creation.

It is unlikely, therefore, that the JEA will itself undertake to finance, commission and operate services in the area. It is more likely to agree that this is properly the function of either an RSC, or, to save face for Buthelezi, an RSC by another name.

71D .19/488  
Pretoria,  
Maputo  
fall out 304A

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's relations with Mozambique nose-dived last night as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, signalled a new hard-line approach towards its black neighbours.

Mr. Botha said South Africa was no longer prepared to include Mozambique in a Southern African "summit" until it made fundamental changes.

After South Africa's tough statement on Zimbabwe, and its continued military presence in Angola, this appears to signal a hardening of attitudes.

This could have serious repercussions for neighbouring states.

Mr. Botha's statement was prompted by remarks by the Mozambican head of state, President Chissano.

Mr. Chissano said South Africa's offer to participate in a Southern African "summit" was pointless until there had been further changes in South Africa.



Cape Times 19/2/88 306A

# NDM dismisses Worrall's 'club politics'

Political Correspondent

**PLANS** by Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement to launch a new political party next month were scornfully dismissed yesterday by Mr Wynand Malan's rival National Democratic Movement (NDM).

The NDM — many of whose supporters were on the same side as Dr Worrall during the May 6 general election — said in a statement yesterday that while the former ambassador had a "good right" to launch a new party, "we do not believe in its viability".

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — The New Republic Party should beware of "bodysnatchers" and be allowed to die with dignity, Mr Renier Schoeman (NP Umhlanga) said yesterday.

NRP members should join the government, he said during debate, as there were reservations in the party about joining forces with Dr Denis Worrall's new Independent Party.

The new party, provisionally called the Independent Party, was based in the "traditional idiom" of white opposition politics.

The statement said: "It is in a sense a type of club politics, which is popular within the narrow confines of the members, drawn from a nar-

row sector of the market.

"It has neither the breadth nor the depth, nor does it break ground in terms of its direction.

"It does not address the growing desire to search for new ways out of the cul de sac in which South African politics finds itself."

The NDM said it was

deliberately pursuing a course of creating "a new political culture based on the belief that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics are both part of a bigger whole".

The founding meeting of the Independent Party will be held in the Somerset West Town Hall on March 17. A launching congress would be held at a later date in Durban. The new party will be open to all South Africans who accept the statement of principles of the Independent Movement.

## TV POLITICAL DEBATE

The postponement this week by Conservative Party (CP) leader Andries Treurnicht of a planned TV debate with Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk was a tactical move to avoid falling into what may have been an SABC propaganda trap — according to CP sources.

They emphasise that Treurnicht has not shied away from debating against De Klerk, but wants more say in drawing up the rules and choosing the chairman and time.

(304A) PM  
Treurnicht apparently called a postponement because he did not receive a letter that he learnt it had been sent. The letter proposed February 22 as the date when he was approached by the SABC in Cape Town last week for a response to the letter that he learned it had been sent. The letter proposed February 22 as the date for the debate and, it is understood, suggested SABC political editor, André le Roux, and special correspondent with particular responsibility for reporting on P W Botha, Johan Pretorius, as chairmen. Both the date and chairmen were unacceptable to Treurnicht.

He says it is pointless setting a date before the rules of the debate and an acceptable chairman have been finalised: "As far as I'm concerned, the debate is still on and I am waiting for alternative dates."

The CP has serious reservations about the political bias of SABC reporting and is currently involved in a series of negotiations to try to resolve the problem (*Current affairs* January 29).

It is understood that the party will propose, as a condition for the debate, that selected segments are not used later as "news" in an attempt to score points against the CP.

19/2/88



D/D 20/2/88 306A

# SA ruled by politics of fear says academic

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — South Africa was ruled by the politics of fear, a Wits University academic, Doctor David Webster, said at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) meeting here last night.

Speaking on the topic Whither white politics, Dr Webster said the South African Government used television and radio to demonise its legitimate opposition, which made constructive debate hard.

Dr Webster said the white population was polarised and confused, according to recent trends, using the last election as an example.

"Despite the shift to the right, many Afrikaaner intellectuals broke from the National Party," he said.

Many English speakers voted for the NP, because the PFP shifted to a less conservative stance on the question of security.

Dr Webster also said



DR WEBSTER

that national politics had reached a "stalemate" and that most of the government reform policies were "little more than window dressing".

"The tri-cameral parliament has produced bankrupt policies, and its cumbersome bureaucracy threatens to bankrupt our economy".

He said a vast majority of black South Africans did not believe in the legitimacy of the government, but did not have the power to change it.

"The United Democratic Front and the African National Congress are popular among the blacks and enjoy a large amount of support and legitimacy, but they are years away from facing the government at the negotiating table, let alone winning their liberation.

Dr Webster said South Africa needed a "dramatic" new dimension in politics.

He said the breaking down of the difference between parliamentary



MR PAKENDORF

and extra-parliamentary politics was one of the first steps to true reform.

"It is essential to mobilise for one major cause at the moment — negotiation," he said. "The government must be forced to recognise that it is tearing the country apart and that peace is urgently needed."

He said it was the responsibility of all South Africans to put pressure on the authorities to begin the process of negotiation — not with "self-elected puppets" — but with all organisations which enjoy popular support.

The other speaker at the meeting, former editor of Die Vaderland and currently a Sunday paper columnist, Mr Harald Pakendorf, said the ANC and the UDF would have to be negotiated with eventually.

Mr Pakendorf said during question time that the Freedom Charter was a "very important document" and would have to be addressed at some stage.



2 Cape Times, Saturday, February 20, 1983

304A

# Talk of PW style banned

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

AN official silence yesterday greeted a report that President P W Botha had decreed to Nationalist MPs that he was no longer prepared to tolerate discussions in party circles about his presidential style.

The report, which appeared in yesterday's issue of the Financial Mail under the headline "Straight shooting", also stated that at a National Party caucus meeting held in Cape Town earlier this month:

● President Botha indicated his determination to resolve "two prickly issues" — the Group Areas Act and beach apartheid — before the end of the year.

● The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, told the caucus that he would be prepared to resign in two years' time if the economic reforms President Botha announced in his opening of Parliament speech failed to be implemented successfully.

● Mr Du Plessis told MPs that at the present rate of economic growth, it would be almost impossible to match last year's salary increases for civil servants.

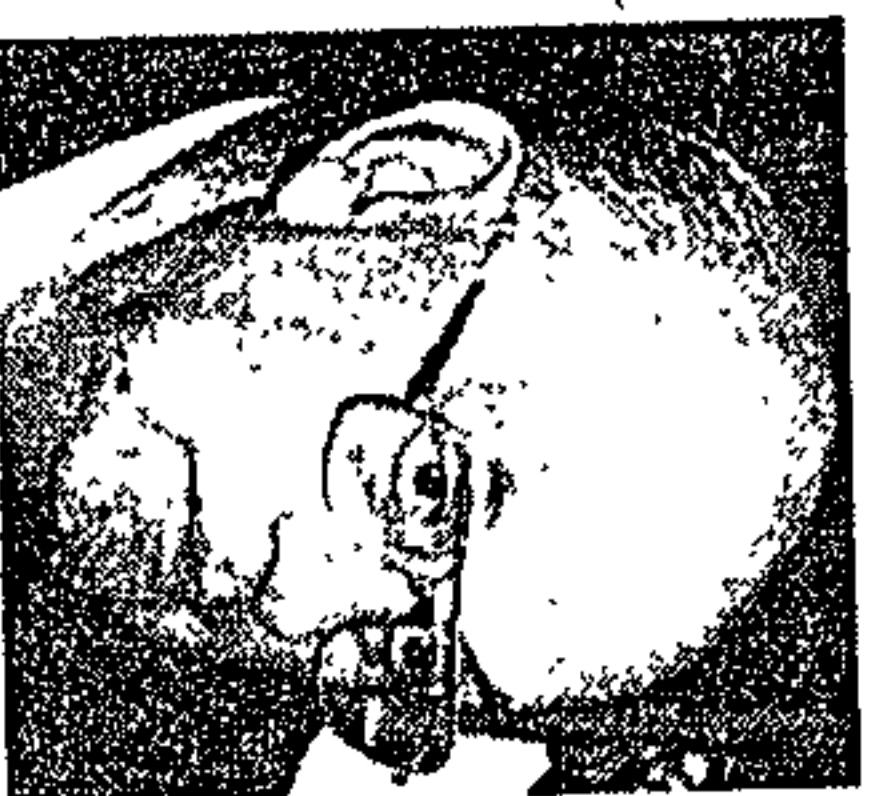
Asked for official comment on the report, a spokesman for Mr Botha's office said: "This is a party political affair and there is no way that I can help you."

Approached for his reaction on the report, Mr Du Plessis, responded: "I have absolutely no comment."

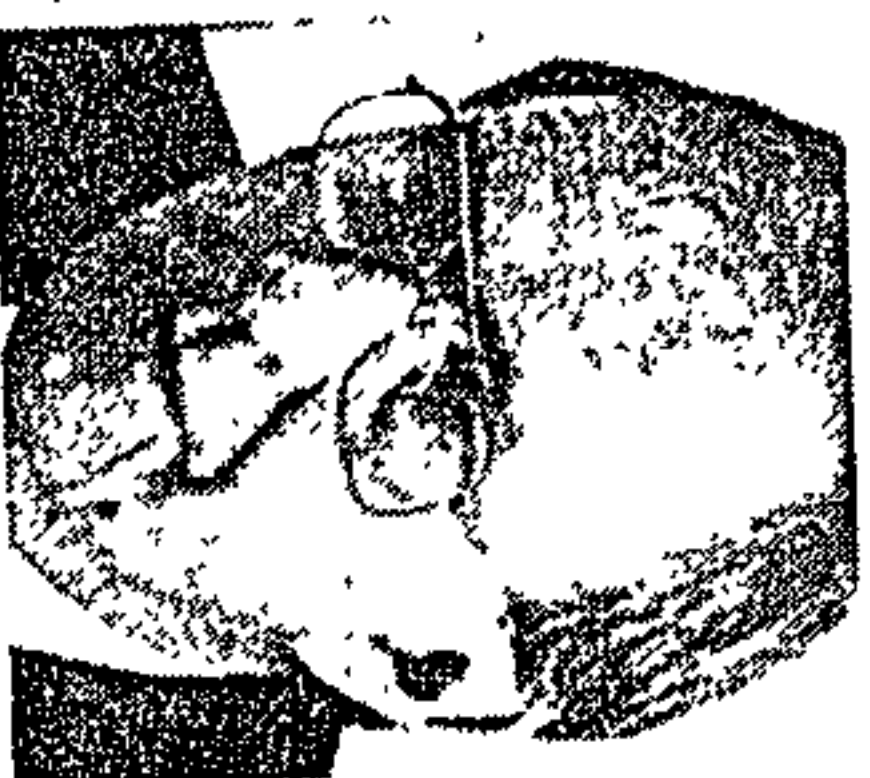
However, another Nationalist source dismissed the report as inaccurate.

The Financial Mail report stated that all contact Mr Botha had with his caucus since

## Secrets from the Nat caucus claimed



President P W Botha



Mr Barend du Plessis

speculation about a presidential successor to Mr Botha in the NP's caucus had been "damned by Mr Botha himself, who addressed members on what he termed 'discussions about my style'."

"He accused certain juniors of discussing the restaurant of the old Cape Provincial building, saying he knew who was there."

The report continued: "This was the first contact Mr Botha had with his caucus since

the FM reported that a group of Nat MPs had formed a so-called Club 22, to advance the presidential stakes of Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

"Addressing the caucus, Botha said his style and that of his successor would naturally differ, but that he was no longer prepared to tolerate discussions about his style."

However, FM reports that the government's economic policy dominated the caucus meeting and that Mr Du Plessis "painted a gloomy picture of what was to come" should the latest programme not be implemented successfully.

The report states: "Criticism was levelled at government departments, which, finding themselves with part of their budget unused at the end of their financial year, promptly spend it all instead of risking taking cuts by the Treasury in the main Budget."

"However, the main culprits... are perceived to be certain subsidiaries of Armscor which, at the end of the financial year, go hawking the latest military hardware to Defence chiefs."

"Some Nationalists are of the opinion that Du Plessis feels that substance should be given to implementing the proposed reforms rather than worrying about impending by-elections."

"This stance brought the minister into direct confrontation with senior cabinet colleagues during the first cabinet meeting in December last year."

"With Botha's backing, Du Plessis prevailed and that suddenly elevated him in the cabinet (and perhaps in the presidential stakes)," the FM reports.



# NRP is set to throw in the towel

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE ailing New Republic Party has set itself firmly on a path that will finally see the party's disappearance from the political stage.

The party's most important provincial body, its Natal head committee, yesterday recommended that the party dissolve.

The topic has been under discussion in the NRP for some time among its top members, but the party has repeatedly shied from the final decision.

A statement by the NRP's Natal chairman, Mr Duncan McGregor, granted dispensation to its members "to participate in any way" in the formation of Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party in Somerset West on March 17.

## Boost

The Natal decision will be discussed at an NRP federal congress on March 26. Observers expect this congress to endorse the Natal decision.

The move is a boost for Dr Worrall's plans. He intends to establish a party that can attract disenchanted National Party voters. He viewed NRP voters as an important "first catch" in this process.

Dr Worrall left on an overseas visit yesterday and was not available for comment.

The NRP move and its effects will also spur rumblings in the Progressive Federal Party.

Several leading members of the PFP have been agitating in party ranks for closer alignment with Dr Worrall and others in a bid to create greater unity in opposition ranks to the left of the Government.

The PFP rebels have regarded the party's "old guard" leadership, headed by party boss Mr Colin Eglin, as stumbling blocks to such an alignment.

## Pressure

The PFP's federal council met in Cape Town yesterday with opposition re-alignment as the main point on its agenda.

But several council members travelled to Cape Town determined to pile on the pressure to force Mr Eglin to make way for a new leader.

Opposition sources indicated that Dr Zac de Beer was re-emerging as a candidate for the leadership.

Dr De Beer is the party's chairman of finance and has denied that he is interested in the leadership.

(304A) Sunday Times  
21/2/88

304A

# Whites in Natal cities support Indaba - survey

CP Correspondent

MOST of Natal's urban white voters would support pro-Indaba candidates in the municipal elections scheduled for October this year, according to a market research survey.

This finding is among the final results of a December survey by Research Surveys, on behalf of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, and released this week.

The survey covered a random representative sample of 1 002 voters in the Natal constituencies of Maritzburg North, Durban Central, Umbilo, Durban North, Umhlanga and Pinetown.

Asked to respond to the question: "If a candidate in the forthcoming municipal elections was a supporter of the Indaba, would you

tend to support or oppose that candidate?" Fifty five percent of those canvassed said they would support the candidate, with 12 percent opposed and 33 percent undecided.

This endorsement of pro-Indaba candidates extended through the ranks of National Party voters - 43 percent supportive, 19 percent opposed and 38 percent undecided - and each of the six constituen-

cies, an Indaba spokesman said.

"The latest findings are entirely in line with those released over recent weeks and are also consistent with the findings of many previous surveys conducted entirely independently of the Indaba. These have shown that whites generally, and Natal whites in particular, believe reform should take place more rapidly.

"Inevitably our critics will, without any scientific justification, seek to dismiss the survey results. However, it should be pointed out that the method of sample selection used, known as Random Stratified Sampling, is exactly the same as that employed by the Human Sciences Research Council in their surveys, many of which are commissioned by government.

"real need to upgrade and improve conditions" in squatter settlements - 86 percent agreeing, nine percent disagreeing and five percent undecided.

There was some shift in attitude, however, when respondents were asked whether the "cities and towns of Natal should use some of their resources" to provide basic facilities to squatter settlements, but opinion remained overwhelmingly positive - 77 percent "Yes" as opposed to 19 percent "No".

When asked whether they would be prepared to accept a two to three percent increase in rates to finance the provision of such facilities, there was a further slippage in respondents' agreement, but still a majority positive verdict - 42 percent "Yes" as opposed to 38 percent "No".

Other findings of the survey showed that 54 percent of white voters in the region supported the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals, compared with only 13 percent who opposed them.

These also showed majority support for the Indaba from Independent, PFP and NP voters.

The majority of respondents - 40 percent - said they would support the NP in a general election.

## Council taken to court

By STAN MHLONGO

FORMER Lekoa town clerk NP Louw sacked by the council three days before Christmas last year, has taken the matter to the Industrial Council.

Louw said the matter was expected to be brought before the court next month.

He claimed he fell out of favour with the council and was sacked after the suspension of the head of Lekoa municipal police, Captain N Debruyn.

This was after a dramatic shootout between Lekoa municipal cops, better known as the "Green Beans", and members of the West Rand SAP riot squad on the outskirts of Sebokeng in December.

The "Green Beans" mutinied after being ordered by De Bruyn to carry out a traffic inspection.

One of the main grievances of the "Green Beans" was low salaries and bad working conditions. Among others, they alleged they earned R126 a month.

"Since the survey was conducted in areas which rank among the most highly-populated in the province, the results may be considered representative of majority urban white thinking in the province," he said.

Other findings included an analysis of respondents' opinions on squatter settlements in and around Natal's cities and towns.

There was almost complete consensus among respondents that there was a





By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday decided to go into direct competition with coloured and Indian parties in Parliament.

The 60-member federal council of the party, which met in Cape Town at the weekend, decided to take part in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

Asked if this meant the PFP would field candidates in all three Houses in the next general election, the chairman of the federal council, Mr Ken Andrew, said this was possible.

The PFP decision to broaden the party's political horizons could spark a wave of unprecedented rivalry among opposition parties to the left of the NP.

The move follows a 1985 deci-

# PFP to run for all three Houses

CAPE TOWN 22/2/88 30KA

sion by the federal congress of the PFP which mandated the federal council to decide when and how the party should take part in all Houses of Parliament.

In the past the council shied away from making a definite decision but finally decided at the weekend to discuss possible opposition re-alignment.

"We felt the time was ripe to take the great step," Mr Andrew said. "The decision certainly holds interesting opportunities and challenges."

It will now fall to PFP leader

Mr Colin Eglin to decide on the mechanics and timing of implementing the party's decision.

However, the PFP's federal council also reaffirmed that the tricameral Parliament was "inadequate" and resolved to use all means to end apartheid and fight for a "non-racial democracy".

In a statement the council said the political polarization and militarization of South African society posed a threat and resolved to co-operate with like-minded political groupings wherever possible.

A committee comprising Mr Eglin, Dr Zac de Beer and Mr Errol Moorcroft was formed to do this.

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party (NRP) took yet another step towards its final disappearance at the weekend when the party's Natal head committee recommended that the party dissolve.

The Natal decision is expected to be ratified when the NRP's federal congress is held next month.

The Natal committee also gave the green light for remaining NRP members to link up with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party which will have its founding meeting in Somerset West on March 17 and will be formally launched at a congress in Durban at a later date.

22/4/88  
3087  
Inuitan

# SA shakes its fist

THE South African Government has warned the African National Congress and the Front Line states, saying: "Enough is enough, next time we send in our troops."

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, were reacting to last week's rocket attack on a farmhouse on the banks of the Limpopo River, and to the attack on a branch of First National Bank at Oshakati, Namibia.

Mr Pik Botha effectively declared South Africa's regional detente policy was dead.

And General Malan vowed to "eliminate" the ANC wherever it may be.

Certainly, the next time terrorists crossed the border, South Africa would take follow-up action, he said.— Own Correspondent.



CAP 7/15 22/2/88

306A

# Pik promises election fight on group areas

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The National Party was entering the general municipal elections with a commitment to implementing proposed changes to the Group Areas Act, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said at the weekend.

The government stood firm on the President's Council recommendation to render "open" status to selected areas, as well as on giving developers the choice to determine the status of new developments, Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha, Johannesburg leader of the NP, spoke at a party function to announce the names of its first 31 candidates for the Johannesburg City Council in the third-tier elections scheduled for October 26.

He said it was not certain whether the proposed changes to the Group Areas Act would be

implemented during the present session of Parliament.

He said the NP was determined to gain control of SA's biggest city and was planning to place candidates in each of the 51 wards. The full complement of candidates would be announced at a later date.

Mr Botha said the politicization of local government through the devolution of power to third-tier administration and the introduction of regional services councils had irrevocably politicized municipal elections.

NP leader in the council Mr Danie van Zyl, nominated to stand in Linden, said the NP had been ruling the council in coalition with the Independent Ratepayers' Association (IRA) for the past 10 years. "We hope to have full control at the elections," he said.

Mr Cecil Long, nominated in Robertsham, became the first IRA member to join NP ranks.

Although other IRA members had indicated they might join the NP, no further announcements had been made, Mr Van Zyl said.

At the moment the NP holds 17 seats in the Johannesburg city council, the IRA seven and the Progressive Federal Party 20. The candidates are: Dr Frikkie Uys, Mr Danie van Zyl, Ms Nan Roberts, Mr Ian MacPherson, Mr André du Plessis, Mr Arthur Faulkner, Ms Julia Coetzer, Mr Eddie Venter, Mr Johan Fick, Ms Mariëtta Marx, Mr Eddie Jones, Mr Jan van Blerk, Mr Hein Kruger, Mr Rupert Korb, Ms Christine Burgess, Ms Desiree Simpson, Mr Daryl Swanepoel, Mr Richard MacArthur, Mr Henry Molowitz, Mr Koos Roets, Mr Kevin Wearing, Mr Jan Burger, Mr Rene Lion-Cachet, Mr Chris de Wet, Dr Petrus Pretorius, Mr Cecil Long, Mr Ernie Fabel, Mr Danie de Waal, Mr Jacobus Pienaar, Ms Linda Lewis, and Mr Willie Jansen van Rensburg.



# Drugs Smuggler's

## Cape Spree

CM 6 T.M.B.  
22/12/88 (3841)

By CLARE HARPER  
**CONVICTED Italian drug smuggler Roberto Palazzolo went on a property-buying spree in the Cape. His purchases included a Franschhoek farm and a house on Clifton beach.**

- R5-m Franschhoek farm
- R200 000 Clifton house
- Home in Bantay Bay
- Hunting lodge in Namibia

It was established yesterday that Palazzolo bought an historic Franschhoek farm, La Terra de Luc, for more than R5 million during his year-long stay in South Africa when he should have been serving time in a Swiss prison. He also used to own a R200 000 house in Clifton's Third Beach, a R400 000 house in Bantay Bay, a R500 000 house in East London, another in Bisho and a hunting lodge in Namibia.

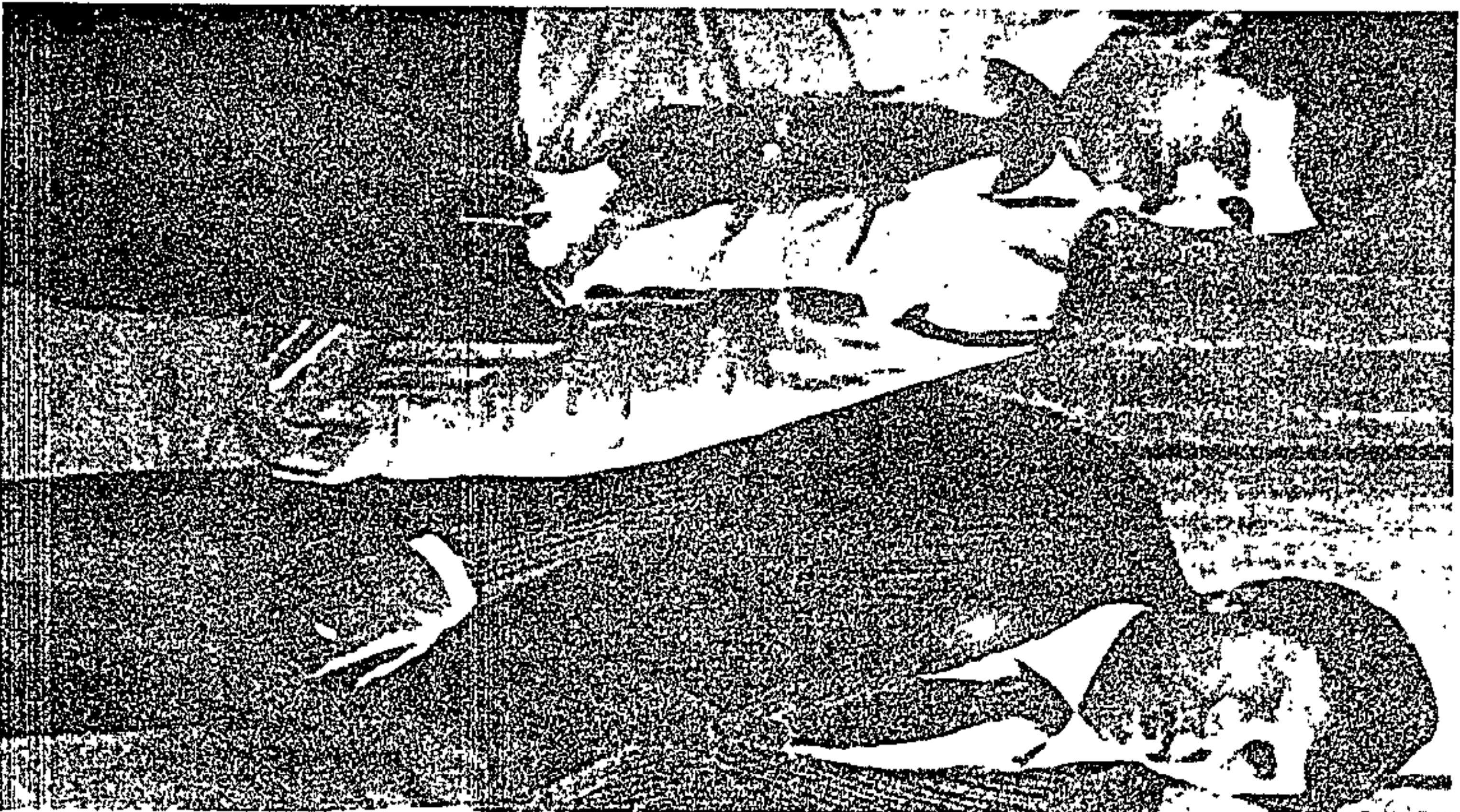
The police are investigating the circumstances surrounding his entry into South Africa after being given Christmas leave from prison in 1986 from which he failed to return. According to Mr Vorster, the son of Mr David John Vorster, the past owner of La Terra de Luc for 25 years, Palazzolo bought a half-share of the farm in June last year and bought the rest in December.

The farm is the biggest exporter of plums in the country, Mr Vorster said. Palazzolo installed himself along with his priceless antique furniture in the farmhouse, which is a 30-year-old replica of the original Huguenot home, in June last year. Mr Vorster said that as Palazzolo was a newcomer to farming, he had stayed on at La Terra De Luc farming for himself and Palazzolo. His brother, Mr Willie Vorster, would soon be taking over the managing of the farm from him, Mr Vorster said.

Palazzolo, who was deported from South Africa earlier this month, is now completing a 5½-year prison term in a Swiss jail for complicity in heroin smuggling.

Our correspondent reports that a spokesman for the Swiss police said Palazzolo was originally arrested in April 1984 on charges of smuggling in heroin from the US.

The "Pizza Connection" smashed in that year was involved in a R60-million smuggling racket. Palazzolo was wanted by Swiss police not just for money-laundering, but because he was a convicted member of the infamous drug-smuggling ring.



**DRUG SMUGGLER...** Roberto Palazzolo is accompanied by a Swiss policeman soon after he was brought from South Africa to Switzerland where he is serving a prison sentence.

Pictures: REUTERS



# SA Govt has ended reform — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused the government of abandoning its reform programme while pretending blacks were responsible for the lack of progress.

He also laid down the condition that, unless the government accepted the reality of a black majority in South Africa, he would not negotiate with it.

He told Inkatha's central committee in his presidential address that the "whole white political machine" was geared to trouncing the Conservative Party in October's nationwide municipal elections.

"National issues and fundamental reform are being put on the back burners by the government as they marshall their forces to cope with the 'broedertwis' which has now broken out in Afrikanerdom," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

He said Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, had pandered to the far right by slating the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba's constitutional proposals.

Mr Buthelezi said this meant a rejection of the fact of a black majority. He added that if Inkatha was willing to negotiate with the government despite this, it would be trampled on by the history of black politics.

"We have to make a stand on this issue," he said. "It is so fundamental that we must establish the reality of there being a black majority as an absolute precondition for negotiation." — Sapa.

# PFP to fight for seats in all Houses of Parliament

**Political Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — The PFP resolved yesterday to go into direct competition with coloured and Indian parties in parliament.

The 60-member federal council of the party, which met in Cape Town at the weekend, decided that the time was ripe for participation in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

Asked if this meant the PFP would field candidates in all three Houses in the next general election, the chairman of the federal council, Mr Ken Andrew, said this could well be the case.

The PFP decision to broaden the party's political horizons could well spark a wave of unprecedented rivalry

among already fractious opposition parties to the left of government.

The move follows a 1985 decision by the federal congress of the PFP which mandated the federal council to decide when and how the party should participate in all three Houses of Parliament.

In the past the council had shied away from making a definitive decision but finally decided to take the plunge at the weekend meeting to discuss possible opposition re-alignment.

It will now fall to the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, to decide on the mechanics and timing of implementing the party's decision to fire on all three cylinders in the tricameral system.

However, the PFP's

federal council also reaffirmed at the weekend that the government's tricameral parliament was "inadequate" and resolved to use all means at its disposal to end apartheid and fight for a "non-racial democracy" in South Africa.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the federal council also noted the "serious threat" being posed by the growing political polarisation and militarisation of South African society, and resolved to forge co-operation with like-minded political groupings wherever possible.

To this end the PFP decided to set up a committee comprising Mr Eglin, Dr Zac de Beer

and Mr Errol Moorcroft.

Meanwhile, the New Republic Party (NRP) took yet another step towards its final disappearance at the weekend when the party's Natal head committee recommended that the party dissolve.

The Natal decision is expected to be ratified when the NRP's federal congress is held next month.

The Natal committee also gave the green light for remaining NRP members to link up with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party which will have its founding meeting in Somerset West on March 17 and will be formally launched at a congress in Durban at a later date.



1000 23/2/88

304A

## Protest banner was work of AWB

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has accepted full responsibility for a large banner strung across the front of the Voortrekker Monument early yesterday and said it was the only way it had of drawing attention to demands for a "boere volksstaat".

The banner, quoting a verse of Die Stem, is believed to be one of a series of protest actions planned against the Government's announcement to privatise several State corporations.

The AWB's leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, is scheduled to lead a "volksaamtrek" at the Skipton Hall on Saturday.

The Monument Council ordered the immediate removal of the banner.

The AWB's action has angered the Administrator of the Transvaal and chairman of the Monument Council, Mr Willem Crijwagen, who has condemned it as "improper".

In a statement approved by Mr Terreblanche yesterday, the AWB's press and liaison secretary, Mr P W Bingle, said the group had no other means to put over its case in spite of repeated requests in respect of their "justified demand for a volksstaat".

He said the AWB had too much respect for the monument to want to damage it in any way.

"We did not even consider for a moment writing anything on the monument, and the fact that the slogan was on a banner and was put up at great risk — even the possible loss of life — confirms this and our seriousness." — Sapa.

D/D 23/2/88 304A  
By JILL JOUBERT

GRAHAMSTOWN — Until blacks are accommodated in the constitution in a way which was acceptable to them, any future constitution would not enjoy legitimacy and South Africans would remain at square one.

This was said last night at the annual meeting of the Albany constituency of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) by the former MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft.

Until apartheid in every form and guise — whether it be the old fashioned apartheid of "blankes alleen" or the new mode of "own affairs" — was rooted out, there could be no long-term peace or stability, he said.

The PFP's involvement in politics had served to humanise South African society to persuade South Africans of the folly of apartheid and provide a new vision, Mr Moorcroft said.

"Despite the vicious smear campaign against us by the government, the party was able to claim the support of about 3000 000 white South Africans in the last election."



MR MOORCROFT

Every reformist step taken by the government had been a step taken in the direction of the PFP rather than in the direction of Verwoerd.

"We have been proved right. The government has been proved wrong in almost every sphere in which it has been involved," he said.

A strong principled opposition had fearlessly exposed and fought the government's radical excesses and continually posed a civilised alternative policy.

But the constitution was still based on racial differentiation and racial domination.

"We have been told

## No peace until apartheid rooted out — Moorcroft

racial differentiation is non-negotiable, that cornerstones such as the Population Registration Act will remain the basis of any future dispensation," he said.

It was more important than ever to make South Africans aware of the stumbling block to peace and how it could be removed.

The most effective way for any political party to grow rapidly was obviously through mergers with other like minded parties.

"Mergers are a well established South African tradition," Mr Moorcroft said.

He noted various possibilities stating "exploration, patience and diplomacy" were needed.

Collaboration with extra-parliamentary groups was also noted.

"If we can get them to understand and accept

what we are attempting to achieve, not in the promotion of an apartheid system but its destruction, then we can reasonably ask them that while they pursue their strategies unhindered by us, they allow us to pursue our strategies unhindered by them.

"There appears to be a willingness by extra parliamentary parties to put participatory politics on the table for discussion," Mr Moorcroft said.

● In ideological terms, the government was now at its most bankrupt, the financial chairman of the Albany constituency, Professor Ian MacDonald, said.

He was reporting on the meeting of the PFP Federal Council.

He said two major issues had emerged.

The first was the participation of the PFP in the Houses of Represen-

tatives and Delegates.

"There was a reassessment on a wide front of every possible advantage of participation to create the kind of future the PFP wants for South Africa."

There was a belief that the PFP should function as a non-racial party, indicating an entirely new political ball game in which there would be risks and difficulties but also a spirit and direction, Prof MacDonald said.

The other thrust was the need to get rid of apartheid and create a democratic non-racial society.

"These kinds of values are shown by a wide range of opposition parties — to work actively to create in South Africa conditions which spell for a decent future for all South Africans."



THE PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY (PFP) has a long history of commitment to the principles of non-racialism and democracy. The party's involvement in politics has served to humanise South African society to persuade South Africans of the folly of apartheid and provide a new vision, Mr Moorcroft said.

"Despite the vicious smear campaign against us by the government, the party was able to claim the support of about 3000 000 white South Africans in the last election."

Every reformist step taken by the government had been a step taken in the direction of the PFP rather than in the direction of Verwoerd.

"We have been proved right. The government has been proved wrong in almost every sphere in which it has been involved," he said.

A strong principled opposition had fearlessly exposed and fought the government's radical excesses and continually posed a civilised alternative policy.

But the constitution was still based on racial differentiation and racial domination.

"We have been told

racial differentiation is non-negotiable, that cornerstones such as the Population Registration Act will remain the basis of any future dispensation," he said.

It was more important than ever to make South Africans aware of the stumbling block to peace and how it could be removed.

The most effective way for any political party to grow rapidly was obviously through mergers with other like minded parties.

"Mergers are a well established South African tradition," Mr Moorcroft said.

He noted various possibilities stating "exploration, patience and diplomacy" were needed.

Collaboration with extra-parliamentary groups was also noted.

"If we can get them to understand and accept



# PW has abandoned reform — Buthelezi <sup>b1 D 23/2/88</sup> 300/44

PRETORIA — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, had abandoned his reform programme, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the University of Pretoria students yesterday.

Addressing the Students' Representative Council Forum, Chief Buthelezi said that although he was ready to negotiate about the future of the country, real negotiations had not

even begun.

The government only negotiated with whom it wished he said, and there was still no negotiating agenda to which both blacks and whites could subscribe.

Regional Services Councils and black city states, which would affect millions of blacks, were about to be foisted on them without any consultations whatsoever.

Afrikaners were becoming increasingly polarised with the "broedertwis", while blacks were becoming increasingly radicalised.

People who still wished to negotiate were facing "hideous forces of destruction" from those who did not want negotiations to succeed.

The only precondition he would set for negotia-

tions would be that the agenda be based on a commitment to normalise South Africa as a modern, Western-type multi-party industrial democracy.

It was imperative, he said, that young Afrikaners in particular put pressure on the government to come to the negotiating table before black and white "scorched earth" forces collided head-on. — Sapa

which has been specially created for negotiation in this regard.

**Teachers: general registration**  
\*34. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether he or his Department has been involved in any discussions concerning the general registration of teachers; if not, why not; if so, (a) (i) with whom and (ii) on what dates were these discussions held and (b) what was the outcome in each case;
- (2) whether he or his Department has taken any steps to promote the general registration of all teachers under a single registering authority; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps, (b) what bodies or persons were involved and (c) what was the result;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

**The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION** [Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House]:

Since Question No 35 of 16 June 1987 the position is as follows:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) (i) Committee of Education Ministers 3 August 1987  
Teachers' Federal Council 2 September 1987  
Representatives of the 14 September 1987  
Teachers' Federal Council 14 September 1987  
Education and Culture (House of Assembly)  
Teachers' Association of South Africa 16 September 1987  
Joint Committee of Education Ministers 6 November 1987  
Teachers' Federal Council 3 December 1987  
Teachers' Federal Council 21 January 1988
  - (ii) (b) The bodies in (a) support the establishment of a general registration body for teachers in principle.
  - (2) Yes.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(a) and (b) A draft Bill was made available for comment to the Teachers' Federal Council, the Teachers' Association of South Africa, the African Teachers' Association of South Africa and the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa. The draft Bill was discussed with the Joint Committee of Education Ministers.

(c) The comments of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa and the Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa are being awaited. The other bodies in (a) and (b) support the establishment of a general registration body for teachers in principle.

(3) No. Since the process of consultation has not yet been finalized, further details are not being disclosed.

*Own Affairs:*

**Principal of Winburg High School: meeting of MP announced on intercom**

\*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether the principal of a high school in the Orange Free State, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply, (a) gave information about a meeting of the local member of Parliament, (b) invited the pupils of certain classes to attend the meeting and (c) furnished information on where written invitations to the meeting could be collected, on or about 22 October 1987 by means of the school's intercom system; if so, (i) what is the name of the (aa) school and (bb) principal concerned, (ii) (aa) who requested the principal to give the above-mentioned information and (bb) of which political party is this person a member, (iii) under the auspices of which political party was this meeting held and (iv) what are the further particulars of the case;
- (2) whether any action has been taken or is envisaged against the principal concerned; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

(1) (a), (b) and (c) yes,

(i) (aa) Winburg High School,  
(bb) Mr J A M Voischenk,

The matter is currently being investigated by the Director of Education, OFS in accordance with the stipulations of the Ordinance:

(1) (ii) (aa), (1) (ii) (bb), (1) (iii) and (1) (iv) fall away;

(2) (a) and (b) fall away;

(3) yes, if necessary.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, if it is a fact—and the hon the Minister admits it—that this principal made political propaganda, does he intend taking disciplinary steps against him?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member had only listened carefully to what I said, he would not have needed to waste the House's time. I did say that the matter is being investigated at the present moment, after which we shall, if necessary, make a statement. I cannot furnish further answers at the present moment.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, he admitted in his reply that the event about which the question was put, did take place. Political propaganda was therefore made over the intercom. Can he tell us whether it was made for the NP and whether he envisages any action being taken in that connection?

**Principal of Laerskool Sanddrift: election agent for NP**

\*2. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether the principal of a school under the control of his Department, about whom particulars have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply, acted as an election agent for a candidate of a political party during the general election for the House of Assembly in 1987; if so, (a) (i) who is the principal concerned and (ii) to which school is he attached and (b) to which political party does this candidate belong;

(2) whether any action has been taken or is envisaged against the principal concerned; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

(1) Yes,

(a) (i) Mr M H O Kloppers,  
(ii) Laerskool Sanddrift,

(b) NP;

(2) the department is investigating this matter that has just come to its attention;

(3) Yes, if necessary.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask him what action he intends taking apart from that which he has already mentioned, because it is quite clear from the replies to Questions one and two that teachers are actively misusing their school careers for the NP.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I shall let my reply suffice, but I should like to add that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones. [Interjections.]

**Technikons: race quotas/restrictions**  
\*3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 3 on 2 September 1986 and Question No 7 on 16 June 1987, any amendment has been made since September 1986 or is intended to be made to the policy of race quotas or restrictions in regard to the admission of students to technikons; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is the present policy regarding such admissions, (b) when was the amendment made and (c) who participated in the decision to amend this policy;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

**The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:**

(1) Yes.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# AWB strings up volksstaat banner across monument

D/D 23/2/88

304A

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) yesterday accepted full responsibility for a large banner strung across the front of the Voortrekker Monument and said it was the only way they had of drawing attention to their demands for a "Boere Volksstaat".

The banner, quoting a verse of the national anthem, Die Stem, is believed to be one of a series of protest actions planned against the government's announce-

ment to privatise several state corporations.

The Monument Council ordered the immediate removal of the banner, and the action by the AWB has infuriated the Administrator of the Transvaal and chairman of the Monument Council, Mr Willem Cruywagen, who has slammed it as "improper".

He questioned what the organisation hoped to gain by such conduct.

"The action we will take depends on the report-back we receive

from the monument superintendent," he said.

In a statement yesterday the AWB said they had no other means to put over its case in spite of repeated requests in respect of its "justified demand for a volksstaat".

He said the AWB had too much respect for the monument to want to damage it in any way.

The banner was strung during the early hours of yesterday and covered about half of the 40m-high monument.

— Sapa

†Indicates translated version

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Voters registered

6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many voters were registered in (a) each (i) constituency and (ii) province and (b) the Republic as at 31 January 1988 or the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The latest date for which the required information is available, is 31 December 1987. These figures are reflected in the accompanying annexures A, B and C, for the House of Assembly, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, respectively.

## ANNEXURE A

## SUMMARY OF VOTERS' STATISTICS FROM THE POPULATION REGISTER

31 DECEMBER 1987

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE	847 834
NATAL	362 101
ORANGE FREE STATE	233 753
TRANSCAAL	1 639 836
TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTERS REGISTERED IN THE REPUBLIC ON 31 DECEMBER 1987	3 083 524

## REMARK

The number of voters registered in each electoral division in each of the various provinces is furnished hereunder.

## NUMBER OF VOTERS REGISTERED IN EACH CONSTITUENCY OF THE REPUBLIC

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

Albany	15 937
Algoa	18 046
Alwal	10 287
Beaufort West	9 432
Bellville	14 947
Caledon	13 707
Cape Town Gardens	16 335
Ceres	10 538
Claremont	16 816
Constantia	19 676
Craddock	10 467
De Aar	10 292
De Kuilen	20 367
Durbanville	24 250
East London City	16 718
East London North	17 753
False Bay	17 028
George	19 068
Gordonia	10 692
Graaff-Reinet	9 814
Green Point	13 789
Groote Schuur	14 899
Heidelberg	22 455
Humansdorp	17 132
Kimberley North	14 015
Kimberley South	15 518
King William's Town	18 001
Kuruman	10 125
Maitland	19 398
Malmesbury	19 552
Mossel Bay	14 252
Namaqualand	9 913
Newton Park	17 970
Oudshoorn	12 847
Paarl	16 047
Parow	16 142
Piketberg	14 727
Pinelands	16 021
Port Elizabeth Central	14 586
Port Elizabeth North	16 408
Prieska	8 882
Queenstown	12 331
Sea Point	17 129
Simonstown	20 625

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Stellenbosch	13 492
Sundays River	13 211
Swellendam	12 521
Tygervallei	17 613
Uitenhage	15 963
Vasco	16 403
Vryburg	10 021
Walmers	17 367
Wals Bay	4 639
Wellington	19 813
Worcester	14 888
Wynberg	16 969
PROV. TOTAL	847 834

## NATAL

Amanzimtoti	19 095
Berea	16 701
Durban Central	16 731
Durban North	18 982
Durban Point	16 971
Durbanville	21 395
Greytown	15 417
Klip River	16 456
Moor River	18 353
Newcastle	18 549
Pietermaritzburg North	20 116
Pietermaritzburg South	20 761
Pinetown	19 086
Port Natal	16 273
South Coast	16 563
Umbilo	15 878
Umfolozo	18 049
Umlhlanga	21 152
Umlhlangana	19 363
Umlazi	16 210
Vryheid	16 210
PROV TOTAL	362 101

## ORANGE FREE STATE

Bethlehem	16 014
Bloemfontein East	20 340
Bloemfontein North	17 206
Bloemfontein West	15 927
Fauresmith	9 964
Heilbron	13 610
Kroonstad	15 946
Ladybrand	13 908
Parys	17 441
Sasolburg	20 718
Smithfield	12 953
Virginia	19 987

Welkom	23 196
Winburg	16 543
PROV. TOTAL	233 753

## TRANSCAAL

Alberton	21 673
Barberton	17 968
Benoni	20 345
Bethal	29 084
Bezuidenhout	21 269
Boksburg	21 942
Brakpan	20 776
Brentwood	23 841
Brits	17 944
Bryanston	21 428
Carletonville	20 414
Delmas	22 487
Edenvalle	21 566
Ermedo	18 245
Florida	19 667
Geduld	22 442
Germiston	20 536
Germiston District	22 371
Gezina	19 475
Heiderkraan	28 709
Hercules	22 688
Hillbrow	18 276
Houghton	20 565
Innesdal	19 519
Jeppe	21 765
Johannesburg North	19 057
Johannesburg West	19 233
Kempson Park	21 458
Klerksdorp	23 815
Koedoespoort	21 335
Krugersdorp	22 144
Langaagte	19 591
Lichtenburg	16 505
Losberg	22 385
Lydenburg	16 531
Marasburg	20 025
Meyerton	26 440
Middelburg	23 484
Modderfontein	27 827
Nelspruit	20 728
Nigel	21 639
North Rand	36 629
Overvaal	23 650
Parktown	18 093
Pietersburg	20 689
Potchefstroom	18 766
Potgietersrus	19 056

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



Pretoria Central	17 676	total division in each of the various provinces is furnished hereunder.
Pretoria East	34 084	
Pretoria West	24 730	
Primrose	20 131	
Randburg	21 426	
Randfontein	21 685	
Russik	18 817	
Roodeplaat	24 121	
Roodepoort	21 366	
Roseville	20 123	
Rustenburg	22 449	
Sandton	25 069	
Schweizer-Reneke	15 671	
Southernberg	17 774	
Springs	19 924	
Standerton	22 677	
Sulfontein	19 073	
Sunnyside	17 844	
Turfontein	24 256	
Vanderbijlpark	23 868	
Ventersdorp	16 484	
Vereeniging	20 993	
Verwoerdburg	24 983	
Waterberg	18 072	
Waterkloof	19 968	
Westdene	19 968	
Witbank	25 148	
Wonderboom	26 937	
Yeoville	20 442	
PROV. TOTAL	1 639 836	
REP TOTAL	3 083 524	

## ANNEXURE B

SUMMARY OF VOTERS' STATISTICS  
FROM THE POPULATION REGISTER

31 DECEMBER 1987

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE 1 429 931  
NATAL 66 358  
ORANGE FREE STATE 31 456  
TRANSVAAL 161 482

TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTERS  
REGISTERED IN THE REPUBLIC  
ON 31 DECEMBER 1987 1 689 227

## REMARK

The number of voters registered in each elec-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Retreat	27 546
Rietvel	20 906
Riversdal	19 553
Robertson	18 565
Schauderwille	24 001
Silvertown	20 512
Southern Cape	15 500
Springbok	13 909
Stenkopf	17 549
Strandfontein	32 675
Suurbraak	21 138
Swarikops	31 523
Swarland	29 050
Table Mountain	19 945
Uppington	25 610
Vredendal	16 052
Wuppertal	16 841
PROV. TOTAL	1 429 931

## NATAL

Durban Suburbs	11 001
Greenwood Park	12 650
Natal Interior	11 147
Natal Mid East	12 035
Wentworth	19 525
PROV. TOTAL	66 358

## ORANGE FREE STATE

Heidelberg	5 188
Eastern Free State	5 392
Opkoms	6 098
Southern Free State	7 623
Western Free State	7 155
PROV. TOTAL	31 456

## TRANSVAAL

Alfa Park	11 628
Bosmont	11 749
Eersterus	21 809
Eldorado Park	27 437
Klipspruit West	22 353
Newclare	16 457
Northern Transvaal	3 784
Reigerpark	17 159
Rust Ter Vaal	13 496
Toekomsrus	15 610
PROV. TOTAL	161 482
REP TOTAL	1 689 227

## ANNEXURE C

SUMMARY OF VOTERS' STATISTICS  
FROM THE POPULATION REGISTER

31 DECEMBER 1987

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE 21 129  
NATAL 531 357  
TRANSVAAL 91 515

TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTERS  
REGISTERED IN THE REPUBLIC  
ON 31 DECEMBER 1987 644 001

## REMARK

The number of voters registered in each electoral division in each of the various provinces is furnished hereunder.

NUMBER OF VOTERS REGISTERED IN  
EACH CONSTITUENCY OF THE  
REPUBLIC

## HOUSE OF DELEGATES

PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD  
HOPE

Malabar	6 710
North Western Cape	5 646
Rylands	8 773
PROV. TOTAL	21 129

## NATAL

Allandale	16 363
Arena Park	16 804
Bayview	15 411
Bruckfield	17 743
Camperdown	15 629
Cavendish	21 099
Charworth Central	18 133
Clare Estate	16 899
Durban Bay	12 071
Glenview	17 705
Havenside	15 342
Isipingo	16 600
Marranhill	12 277
Merebank	19 468
Montford	17 273
Moortross	18 321

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

# CP, like UDF, adds to conflict — de Villiers

Political Staff

The Conservative Party, like the United Democratic Front, was contributing to increased radicalism and conflict in South Africa, said Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of the Budget, in the House of Assembly.

Replying to the second-reading debate on the own affairs mini-budget yesterday, Dr de Villiers said the reason for the increasing extremism of the CP was the growing influence upon it of the AWB.

The CP embraced this fascist organisation and it seemed more than a coincidence that there were significant similarities between the Nazi party's list of guiding principle earlier this century and the AWB's list, said Dr de Villiers.

He devoted his entire reply to the subject and gave an analysis of the "warped" religious symbolism in the AWB flag.

The CP not only defended and identified with the AWB but accepted the inclusion of AWB members in the CP caucus.

"We have a fascist organisation in our midst and the CP embraces it," said Dr de Villiers.



Dr Dawie de Villiers

CP leader Dr A P Treurnicht justified resistance and violence as a means to achieve the goal of a white fatherland in the same way that the UDF justified these means to reach its goals.

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson and J M Patten, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

*Handwritten notes:*  
25/2/85  
25/2/85



# Idasa won't lie down and die

**A**NY attempt by the government to halt foreign funding for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) would seriously undermine the organisation's work.

Mr Wayne Mitchell, Idasa's national co-ordinator, acknowledges that very readily. But he goes on to stress that such an attack by the government would not succeed in dealing a death blow to the institute.

"About 80 percent of our funding comes from foreign sources, so if the government made use of the Affected Organisations Act to restrict that, we would be seriously affected."

"But we would then just have to cut our garment according to our cloth. We haven't exercised any great effort at internal fundraising and that's being considered now as a counter move," said Mitchell.

A pragmatic approach to thorny problems seems to be characteristic of 27-year-old Mitchell, who has been with Idasa since its inception more than a year ago. Before that, this political science graduate from the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) worked as a senior personnel consultant at General Motors, where he was involved in the implementation of the Sullivan Code. He is convinced the security police are behind the government's attempt to restrict foreign funding.

General JV van der Merwe, the security police chief, has been widely quoted as saying the biggest danger to South Africa at present comes not from outside its borders but from the extra-parliamentary organisations operating within them.

"Idasa is not into confrontation," Mitchell pointed out, "but if the state

*The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) is facing a crucial year in which the government seems set to move against it and other extra-parliamentary organisations.*  
**WAYNE MITCHELL, Idasa's national co-ordinator, talks to SOUTH about the institute's strategies for 1988.**



is openly going to declare war on us, we will just have to re-strategise our position. There is no way we will curl up and die because of state action."

He is equally forthright in responding to criticism from people allied to the mass-based progressive movement who claim that organisations like Idasa, the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Freedom Forum represent the middle class and so, despite their efforts to advance the broad democratic struggle, will inevitably be working against the interests of the working class.

"I believe that people and organisations to the left of the government must be tolerant of liberal strategies," he said. "Any pressure exerted on the government is pressure to be welcomed. Fears that liberals might subvert the mass movements are totally unfounded. They haven't got a large enough support base to do that."

His opinion of South African liberals is tinged with cynicism.

"Liberalism is a luxury South Africa cannot afford," said Mitchell.

"In my experience people who claim to be liberal aren't around when the going gets tough. Liberalism has been in a state of flux ever since the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) took that hammering in the last election."

"The big question is where do liberals go from here? I believe they must decide whether they are happy living with the present government. If not, they must get more involved in working for positive change. They must actually side with the oppressed."

The role of Idasa was an educative one, Mitchell maintained, with the institute regarding itself as a service to the community.

"We're not into the game of mobilising for our own political power. Our work is to convince the white population that there is a democratic alternative and to indicate how they can work towards it."

One of Idasa's many triumphs last year, said Mitchell, was getting Afrikaners students face to face with their radical black counterparts at a national students' conference at Stellenbosch University.

Another such exchange of viewpoints will probably be held later this year at the Rand Afrikaners University.

Other plans for 1988 include: • Further projects of an international nature to be held outside of South Africa. The major project will concentrate on the subject of democracy in Africa, examining such aspects as constitutionalism and the application of the bill of rights and the rule of law.

• More external programmes with students, academics, businessmen and farmers being flown to Zimbabwe to see at first-hand a country operating under majority rule.

• A national seminar on the Freedom Charter to be convened in Cape Town in July which will target businessmen and Afrikaners. Speakers identified

with the mass-based structures will explain the history of the charter and interpret it.

A major conference, entitled "Looking at Strategies for Change", will attempt to streamline the many different strategies of the organisations working for change.

• More study groups in which black Nationalists will debate issues with Afrikaner Nationalists.

• Additional tours of the townships with the emphasis on whites having the opportunity to assess the situation by meeting credible civic leaders.

• An effort will be made to play a facilitating role between establishment teachers and those attached to the progressive movement. The first workshop will be held in the Eastern Cape in May.

• More weekend camps to put white high school pupils in touch with their peers from organisations like the Cape Youth Congress.

• More workshops on various issues like economics in a post-apartheid society, democracy and law, and more video festivals on issues concerning genuine change.

The organisation plans to expand and to open up a regional office in Natal.

"This year is very much one of expansion and consolidation, with a number of exciting projects lined up," Mitchell said.

"Although there isn't another Dakar initiative among them, we will be staging a major conference in which we will be talking to all those with a stake in South Africa."

"After all, it is very difficult to hold such a conference and consciously exclude people defined by social scientists as having the support of the majority of the population," Mitchell said.



# Palazzolo failed to found industries

**EAST LONDON.** — Although convicted drug smuggler Mr Vito Roberto Palazzolo was brought to South Africa and given special permanent residence by Ciskei in order to establish industries in Ciskei, he established no industries during the year in which he was in South Africa and Ciskei.

This was confirmed yesterday by Ciskei's Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Som-

tunzi, who said no business had been conducted by Papillion International, the company Mr Palazzolo formed with the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes.

Meanwhile, the operation of another company registered in Ciskei in which Papillion International was a major shareholder, Interstate (Pty) Ltd, was outlined by Interstate's only director, Mr P Swanepoel of Greenfields, East

*Cap. Feb 25/2/88 (Sapa) (30/11)*

London. Mr Swanepoel said the company was still operational and was primarily a "marketing and consulting" company.

He said he had had "nothing" to do with Mr Palazzolo and that the two companies — Papillion and Interstate — were two separate entities. The Ciskei company register shows, though, that Papillion held 3 000 of the 4 000 listed shares in Interstate. — Sapa



Mr Palazzolo.

on a joint venture for a five-day Middle East peace mission. — Sapa-Reuter



2049  
PFP aim is  
co-operation<sup>25</sup><sub>2</sub>  
88

EAST LONDON — A report in the Daily Dispatch of Monday, February 22, incorrectly interpreted a decision of the PFP Federal Council to take part in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates as going into direct competition with Indian and coloured parties in parliament.

This was definitely not the intention, it was stated here yesterday.

"The PFP believes that confrontation politics is destructive," the statement said. "It seeks rather to use the present structures to achieve conciliation and an end to apartheid."

"It will seek co-operation with like-minded political parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates."

"This forms part of our overall goal to achieve co-operation with all political parties to reject apartheid and to fight the system through the system."

JOHANNESBURG —Major employer bodies, including Assocom, the AHI and FCI, will meet today to decide whether in principle they support the plea for wage and price restraint made by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

They will issue guidelines for the private sector within a day or two

## Wage freeze Indaba today

of the meeting.

The discussions are expected to result in an appeal to the private sector, rather than a private sector wage and price freeze.

There could be exchanges among the pro-

ponents and those opposed to the restraints.

However, says one industry source: "It will be difficult for us not to be seen to be doing something, even if the guidelines we issue are not as precise as those being followed by the

government. They may be more qualitative than quantitative."

It is understood employer bodies are interpreting the Sats decision not to grant a general salary increase or to raise tariffs as a sign that the government

is serious about curbing spending and expects the private sector to follow its suit.

"The philosophy of the State President's policy is now filtering to various levels of government. This is not new, but shows the government are serious about what they have been saying." — DDC



# PFP aims to destroy the tricameral system

The scrapping of the "most visible symbol of apartheid", the tricameral Parliament, lies behind the Progressive Federal Party's new strategy to broaden its involvement in the system.

The party's federal council took the decision to become involved in all three chambers of Parliament, and not just the House of Assembly, as part of a strategy to firm-up the alliance of political forces against apartheid.

The PFP's view is that the structures of the system must be used at every level, and where possible on a nonracial basis, to collapse the system from within.

Apart from taking part in every House of Parliament, it will also participate in this year's local government elections for the various population groups, where this is considered appropriate.

"Taking part" in the system in its various racial compartments and at its various levels does not necessarily mean the PFP will itself become involved at every opportunity.

According to PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin, the strategy will be implemented in combinations of three basic ways:

- The PFP will field candidates in elections.
- The party will accept public representatives currently serving as members of other parties.
- The PFP will form close working alliances with other parties and groups which share its commitment to the removal of apartheid.

In the process, Mr Eglin said in an interview, it was not possible to say just what the impact would be on existing parties in and out of Parliament.

The PFP leader is aware the strategy has both an "upside and a downside", in that the decision to take part in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates may well incur the wrath of those outside parliamentary politics committed to the destruction of these two chambers.

But, he said, the PFP was just as implacably opposed to racial chambers of Parliament and it was dedicated to the scrapping of the system.

He said: "I have no doubt the tricameral Parliament was the catalyst for the crisis we have in South Africa today, precisely because it deliberately excluded blacks.

"If I thought our going in to those Houses in any way interrupted or propped up the system, I would resign from the leadership of the PFP. That is not our motive for

The reasoning behind the party's new strategy is explained by The Star's Political Correspondent, David Braun, reporting from Cape Town.



Eglin . . . question of relevance.

going in. We are going in in order to scrap the system. It is an evil system."

The decision to adopt the new strategy has apparently not been discussed in depth with any of the party structures.

The PFP congress at Durban in 1985 decided the issue of the party's involvement in the other two Houses of Parliament should be left for the leadership and the federal council to decide.

Mr Eglin and the council believes the effect of the state of emergency on opposition to the Government has increasingly made participation

in system structures more relevant, and possibly the only effective way of reforming the system.

There were signs of a general reconsideration of tactics by all the major actors in the South African political system, and as such the PFP had to make quite sure it was relevant.

"Our decision now to participate not only puts us in as one of the actors in an evolving situation, but may even precipitate that evolutionary action," Mr Eglin said.

If the strategy of both realignment and more involvement worked, he said, it might well develop into a potent factor for getting rid of the tricameral Parliament and getting something else in its place.

Mr Eglin said he suspected there would be legitimate suspicion that the PFP was becoming more part of the system and a co-optee in apartheid structures.

But very few people were able to criticise Mrs Helen Suzman's use of the system, he added.

"We can understand there will be some scepticism, but everything will depend on how well we perform and use the system to attain our objectives.

26/12/92  
8/8/88  
20/12/92



# The view from the ladies' bar

Dominee Piet van der Walt, of the Standerton Gereformeerde Kerk (Reformed Church), is at great pains to explain that he is not a racist. Conservative yes, but not a racist, says Van der Walt, who heads the Volkswag committee organising the festivities commemorating the Great Trek.

At a time when Standerton's Afrikaners are deadlocked between the choice of electing the National Party (NP) candidate Henrie Erasmus or returning Conservative Party (CP) MP Rosier de Ville (who had been disqualified because he held public office) to parliament on March 2, Van der Walt's Volkswag, a "cultural organisation" closely linked with Eugene Terre'Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), has no place for Nats.

"We cannot commemorate the Great Trek with people advocating power-sharing," says Van der Walt. "The Volkswag's aims are not racist — only an ardent love for what is its own. We do not regard other population groups as inferior."

But two blocks away from the face-brick rectory, in the ladies' bar of the Touristo Hotel — an infamous hang-out of AWB stormtroopers — Van der Walt's soulmates are involved in a somewhat less conciliatory discussion. Huge Afrikaners, forearms tanned, predominantly dressed in tightly fitting khaki shorts and brown boots, surround a young CP supporter who errs in their eyes by implying that it is the duty of all whites to improve their qualifications in the wake of the black onslaught.

"There is no time for that," echoes the towering khaki brigade. "Too many blacks are educated already, the time has come for action." The beers are downed and the young barmaid from Yorkshire, who seems quite at home among these brawny specimens and their foul language, tops up the mugs.

For a city dweller, it is a close encounter of another kind. It dawns upon one that the names of these people are to be found on the voters' rolls of Standerton — they actually have the power to elect. But then, the thought of them not voting and instead using their powers of persuasion in another way — which they seem quite capable of — is perhaps an even more daunting idea.

No wonder that Nat chairman Nic Oosthuizen voices his deepest concern about the

role of militants in Afrikaner politics: "The threat of the AWB is greater than most people realise," he says. It's true.

Abrie Hanekom, long-time NP trouble-shooter spearheading the party's effort to recapture Standerton, sees the AWB's involvement as being to the advantage of his party. "People can now see how this so-called cultural organisation operates ... with the approval of the CP," he remarks, sitting behind a cramped desk in the small house which houses the NP headquarters.

Political statists are by nature optimistic. Hanekom's viewpoint is expected; after



De Ville ... helping the elderly

all, he is not being paid by the Transvaal NP hierarchy to concede defeat.

But, over in the CP's air-conditioned camp — complete with computers ticking out voter information — the AWB connection seems less of a problem. Conservative ideology proclaims that there is nothing wrong with a desire to protect "one's precious cultural heritage."

Although different in appearance and approach perhaps — and the sight of candidate De Ville assisting an old man down the steps of the Magistrate's Court after voting for the CP, illustrates the more gentlemanly manner

— the justification of CP policy rests squarely on racism, more sophisticated perhaps, making use of the ballot box. But the end idea remains the same — the colour of your skin determines your destiny — and that of others.

In Standerton's favourite restaurant, a talk with CP treasurer Daan Combrinck strengthens this perception. Combrinck, in whose Volkswagen agency hangs the picture of leader Andries Treurnicht, frowns at the presence of a sole coloured patron in the restaurant. But does he honestly object to this? He does. "I believe in total separation," says Combrinck. No mixing in hotels, on the beaches or in business districts.

He explains proudly that he practises what he preaches. Should he go into his kitchen at home, he expects the domestic servant to leave the room until he has departed. And, as if to pre-empt accusations that his actions are racist, Combrinck says the same would apply if she had been white.

Inevitably the conversation steers towards Christianity, a subject close to the heart of the Conservatives. After all, they are led by a man of the cloth. This is how Combrinck explains the meaning of Love Thy Neighbour: "This Commandment also places a responsibility on your neighbour to accept that groups are entitled to their own culture."

To him, Alan Hendrickse's philosophy of racial integration places a question-mark over his Christianity, despite his being an ordained minister — says Combrinck.

Back at CP HQ, chairman Willem Pistorius ventures into the economic field. P W Botha's privatisation plans are a blueprint for the likes of Oppenheimer and other *volksvreemdes* to take over institutions such as Sasol and Eskom, for which the Afrikaner had sweated blood over the years.

Overseas investors, at the invitation of Barend du Plessis, will get a foothold in SA, accumulating the country's wealth, says Pistorius. Disinvestment and sanctions are ignored.

What exactly is Pistorius's concern? The truth is that P W Botha's programme of economic reform spells disaster for those who frequent the ladies' bar at the Touristo Hotel — it would remove their *raison d'être*. Perhaps that would be just as well.



# Curbs retard reconciliation

GOVERNMENT'S sweeping curbs on the extra-parliamentary opposition will further discourage blacks and their organisations from taking part in government-sanctioned political structures.

Extra-parliamentary opposition spokesmen said yesterday the curbs would further polarise political sentiment, erode black faith in the efficacy of articulating demands through official channels and make the process of national reconciliation all the more difficult to achieve in the long-term.

"There was an undercurrent of debate within the UDF about participation in the October municipal elections. People arguing that tactics have been roundly defeated," said David Webster, spokesman for the Five Freedoms Forum which has attempted to mobilise white anti-apartheid sentiment.

## PATRICK BULGER

"The extra-parliamentary movement has been severely damaged, and it will have to rethink its strategy."

The rethinking will take concrete form this weekend with top level-meetings of UDF officials, a meeting of the central committee of Azapo and a meeting of the central executive of Cosatu.

Azapo national president Nkosi Motala said yesterday Azapo's 92 branches countrywide would be crippled by the ban.

"The reality is that this is a total ban on organisations like ours — similar to the ban of 1977. We are a political organisation and all our administrative work is intended to facilitate

political programmes. Our activities have been ground to a halt.

"We have been operating within the confines of SA law. The legal noose is getting tighter and tighter. This seems to be the last nail in the coffin.

"The government seems to be saying that people should not resist repression," Motala said.

According to Cape Town political activist Michael Evans, the ban would "limit and retard the process of reconciliation".

Evans was a major contributor to the Five Freedoms Forum conference in Johannesburg last year. He argued that the broader white public remained estranged from the extra-parliamentary movement.

Speaking in his personal capacity, he said he felt the curbs would inhibit the bridging role it had wanted to play

between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary adherents.

"A lot of people saw some hope for a tentative alliance, raising the real possibility of negotiating an end to the conflict. These curbs will limit that process."

According to the SA Institute of Race Relations, "the SA government may have lost a useful opportunity of resolving the serious problems confronting it".

In a statement it said there had been an apparent rethinking about taking part in official political structures among the extra-parliamentary opposition.

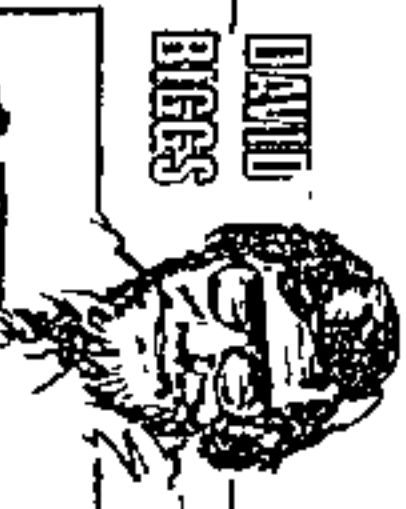
"This offered the possibility of breaking the stalemate between government and its black opposition. The banings appear to have removed that possibility."

B/day 26/2/88.

3045



Spectrum



## El Nino and the knee know

I WAS relieved to learn that the Free State floods could be blamed on the "El Nino Effect" 6000km away near Brazil.

Most of the problems in this country are blamed on the ANC or the English Press, so El Nino makes a welcome change.

Actually, I could have told you we were due for some serious floods even before I heard about El Nino.

After that week of dreadfully hot weather I pulled into my local garage to fill my bike and was greeted by a long grumble from the petrol attendant, who regards me as a sympathetic ear for all his woes.

"You mark my words," muttered Amos, "somebody is going to drown very soon."

I asked him how he knew.

"It's my knees," he said. "They're giving me hell. Last time they were as sore as this was just before the Laingsburg flood. My knees always know when there's going to be a flood."

Personally I thought it was a bit far-fetched. How could impending floods in the Free State affect Amos's knees in Fish Hoek, I asked myself.

Now I'm having second thoughts.

If El Nino, which is 6000km away, can swamp the Free State, why should the Free State flood, which is only 1000km away, affect Amos's knee.

In future I'll watch that knee like a hawk and if it gives Amos so much as a twinge, I'm moving my stuff on to the roof.

## Pride of brides

# VAN ECK!

'I believe in talking to people ... ask them what they think ...'

DALE LAUTENBACH of the Argus Political Staff talks to the controversial independent MP.

HE inspires anger, withering disdain or praise and admiration; he provokes reaction ... and, of whatever sort, it is bound to be strong.

Jan van Eck does not inspire indifference.

The controversial independent MP for Claremont has risen to prominence as a parliamentary politician in the remarkably short period of less than 18 months. His detractors would say too short and by far too prominent.

He is the easygoing, friendly MP who sits in the back benches and as Progressive Federal Party newcomer and now as independent — with a small "i" — may seem insignificant enough.

But then he starts with these speeches of his ... not the same old "we need a government with vision" speech, not the "urban this" and "scrap that" and "lift the emergency" speech (although all these are obviously his underpinning convictions).

Jan van Eck comes into parliament with stories from the potholed and stone-strewn streets of the townships, streets where few other MPs venture except with official escorts.

### Specific

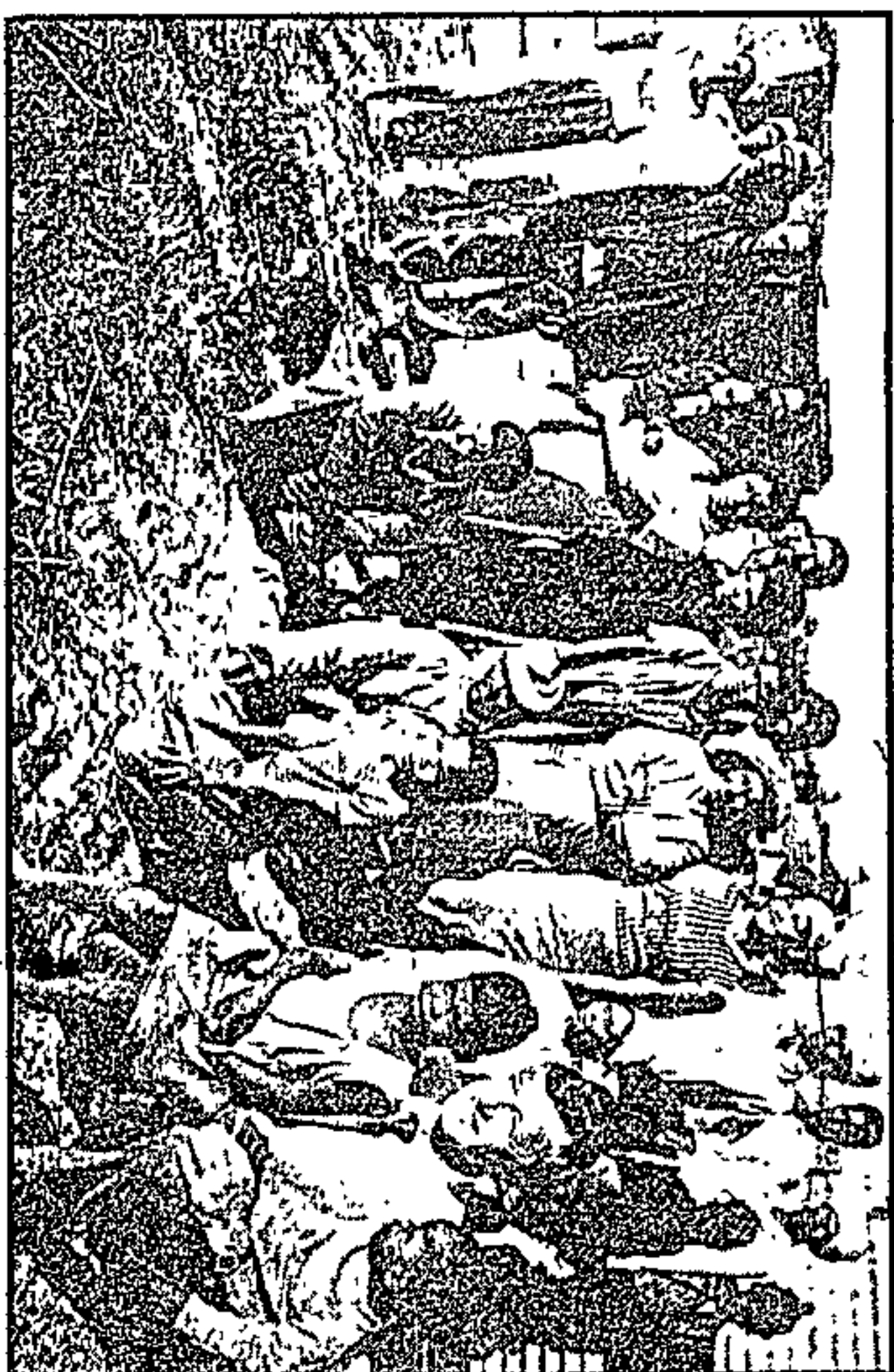
He tells of ordinary people and their everyday experiences, tales which allege torture and police brutality and which, because they are specific instances of people he can name, with whom he has spoken, beg investigation and response.

When an opposition MP stands up and, with emotion, says he has heard of terrible things, Government MPs can lash back without leaving the realm of the abstract. But when Van Eck gets up he's probably been in KTC or Nyanga the same day.

When he alleges torture on the basis of sworn statements he has taken and from people he has interviewed, National Party benches in the House of Assembly erupt with cries of "Scandalous!" He has been called a liar.

"What possible reason

OUT AND ABOUT: Mr Jan van Eck, MP, below, with some of the Cape's squatter families he frequently visits ... telling Parliament about ordinary people and their everyday experiences.



would I have to lie?" he has responded. "What for? If whose interests?"

In left-wing circles Van Eck has a credibility based on his reputation for willingly involving himself with the issues that count on the left: the tortures, detentions, conflicts stirred and manipulated this way and that with the plight of those who have little control over their lives and the legislation that determines it.

With a foot in the parliamentary camp his acceptance in strictly non-partisan extra-parliamentary politics is unofficial. It is acceptance based not on his outrage at the system — the left is impatient of liberal outrage — but on his actions.

When there is confrontation, he is there, summoned often and at all hours by township contacts who have come to trust him. It is work that began when Molly Blackburn asked him to attend Matthew Goniwe's funeral in Cradock in 1985.

It seems too from his PFP

days as chairman of the United Monitoring Committee. As independent he sees it still as his task to be where the sharp edge of the system meets the people and, more than that, to broadcast what he sees and hears, using the privilege of his parliamentary platform, to a wider public.

"I share with the left a commitment towards getting rid of this government and seeing a non-racial, democratic government in its place. I've never sought the approval of the left. I've not sat down and had lengthy talks with the leadership."

"But I think because I have gone out into the streets of the townships our paths have crossed. The Western world is too inclined to talk to leaders. I believe in talking to people. I've learnt a lot about democracy out there."

"I've always been strong on individuality and the freedom of every individual to express and realise his or her potential."

"I've always instinctively been suspicious of any system — school, government, hospital, whatever — because it normally seeks to protect itself rather than ensure the good of the people. People in the system forget that they are supposed to serve; that they're there to make the lives of others easier, not more difficult."

On account of this he is often accused of being naive.

"I don't see that as a negative attribute. I'd rather be naive than a so-called realist who has lost all ideals and the motivation to strive to make them happen."

A typical day in his life as MP and as city councillor (he will seek a seat again and stand in the October municipal elections) may begin with a meeting in KTC where talk is death and fire.

He will rush to Kenilworth as a member of an action committee disrupting the location of a petrol station, he will try to do something about a neighbourly moan

that someone's dog barks all night and he will cut an elderly woman's grass himself because he forgot to organise the council to go along and clean up the verge in front of her house and he had promised that it would be done.

Van Eck's detractors call him headline grabber and say he's in it for the glory of Jan. A response to that, like the man or not, is: Does it matter if what he's doing is bearing witness to what may well be true?

He's no ideologue and doesn't concern himself with high-minded political debate and analysis. He's a doer before he's a thinker.

That may seem too simple an analysis in a world accustomed to hunting the signs of political deviousness. If Van Eck's dark secret is that the thrill of publicity turns him on and he enjoys the satisfaction of having extended a hand to someone less fortunate than himself, it would at least be a very human failing.

### Motivations

To leave speculation about his personal motivations, though, and judge his political actions, it would seem they are premised again on the fact that he believes every individual matters.

While most political figures would claim to believe similarly, what makes Van Eck different is that he acts on this conviction in the most literal way.

Whether it's Lawaakamp, Noordhoek, the Dias Festival or Kakamas, Van Eck will claim it as his terrain if he smells the rat of injustice.

"I am trying to actively sabotage the intentions of the state of emergency; to expose where it seeks to suppress, to assist in the growth of the democratic movement where the Government seeks to destroy it."

"What I'm doing is going to become more difficult ... the system will put obstacles in my way, there has been talk of preventing me going to the townships ..."

He shrugs. He will carry on.

EMPHASIS: Mr Jan van Eck addressing a meeting.



3047 Blday 26/2/88

## PARLIAMENT

# Nats are turning SA into a banana republic — Eglin

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY** — The government was turning a once proud SA into a "third grade banana republic", PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

Real power in SA was not in the hands of Parliament, the courts or the people as a whole but with "the restricted political clique who operate the security apparatus", he said.

Speaking during the third reading of the mini-budget in the House of Assembly, Eglin said his party was not only appalled by the "Draconian content" of the latest emergency curbs but by the implications they held for the future of the country.

He said that after an examination of the new emergency regulations, he found they were even worse than he had believed from first reports.

The new regulations did not merely deal with 17 organisations and a trade union movement but "hang like a sword of Damocles over every individual and every organisation in South Africa".

Eglin said that far from ridding SA of the "revolutionary climate", government was playing into the hands of the revolutionaries.

"This government, by banning what is lawful political activity and preventing perfectly legal expression of views, is going to fan the fires of conflict that exist in our country."

The major cause of the "revolutionary climate" was the government's failure to scrap apartheid and its denial, over the past 40 years, of basic human and political rights to the majority of the country's citizens.

**CAPE TOWN** — The representation of the PFP on Parliamentary standing committees has been cut from two members to one since the defection of three members of the PFP.

Jan van Eck left the party to become an independent while Peter Gastrow and Pierre Cronje joined forces with the New Democratic Movement of Wynand Malan.

As a result of the defections, the National Party now has eight MPs on each standing committee instead of seven, the Conservative Party two and the PFP one.

PFP Chief Whip Malcomess said the move to cut the PFP representation was not democratic, pointing out that it was the Opposition which cast a critical eye on any proposed legislation.

### Political Staff

"When by decree — without any reference to Parliament and beyond the jurisdiction of the courts — a minister can illegalise legal activities, there can be no respect for the law, the moral authority of government or for the constitution," he said.

The restrictions placed on Cosatu would further polarise the trade union movement and assist those who wanted to convert the political struggle in SA into a class struggle.

Eglin said government was "undercutting in a massive way" those people abroad who are opposed to sanctions and who still hope for peaceful progress towards a democratic and truly representative form of government.

The regulations were a monument to the fact that government had lost its way, its moral authority and its faith in a democratic future, Eglin said.

At the start of his speech, Eglin referred to Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk, who spoke immediately before him, as "that smiling minister" and said: "What the blazes you have to smile about in this Cabinet, I don't know."

Replying to Eglin, Deputy Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said the PFP "over-emphasise black rights in this House".

Van Niekerk said the National Party was trying to solve the problems of South Africa.

"We are not a racist party — we are trying to sort out the differences between the races," he said.

## PFP defections hit committees

### Political Staff

He said he believed the cutback to be a retrogressive step in democratic government, and pointed out that increasingly the legislative work was done in the standing committees. By the time a Bill was debated in one of the three Houses the work had already been done.

He said the result of less representation for the PFP was that the party was going to be less effective that it would like to be.

7/226/2/88  
**Idasa to  
hold <sup>204A</sup>  
political  
workshop**

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**

**EAST LONDON —** A workshop on the major political ideologies in South Africa will be held here tomorrow afternoon.

Four academics will lead the workshop, which is being presented by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Ideologies to be discussed include liberalism, Afrikaner nationalism, African nationalism and socialism.

The Border regional director of Idasa, Mr Steve Fourie, said the workshop would give the public an opportunity to take a closer look at these ideologies and to assess for themselves what role, if any, these systems could play in resolving major political issues in the country.

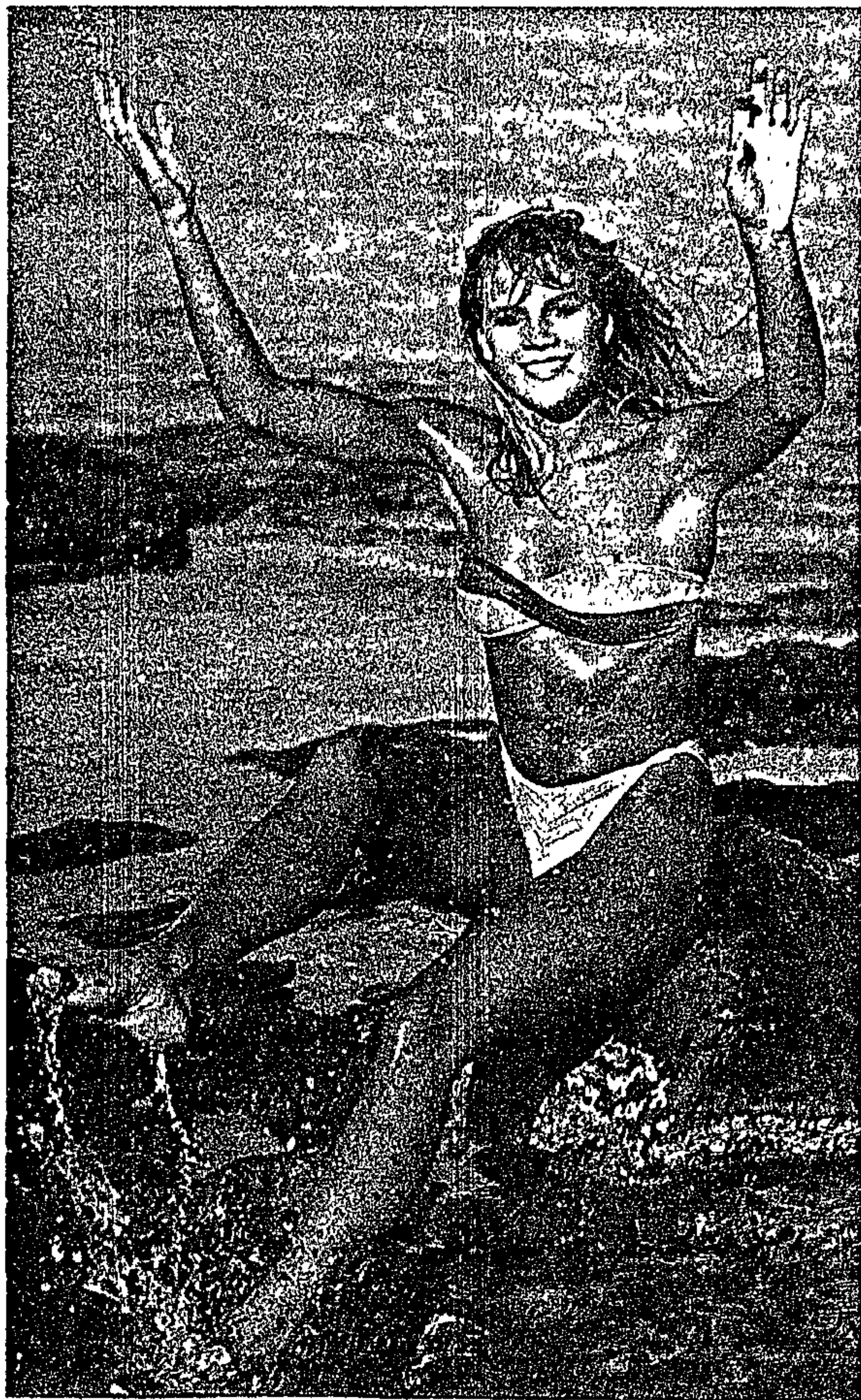
Mr Fourie added that the workshop would, in addition to academic analysis, involve political discussion at a practical level.

The speakers are: Professor Rodney Davenport and Dr Jeff Peires, head and senior lecturer respectively in the history department at Rhodes University, Professor Simon Bekker, professor of sociology at Unisa, and Mr Mark Swilling, a political scientist attached to the centre for policy studies at Wits University.



MAGUS 26/2/88

# Treurnicht outdraws PW in election meetings



## The Argus Correspondent

STANDERTON. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht drew a larger audience than President Botha when their parties held simultaneous meetings last night in preparation for the March 2 by-election.

President Botha was two-and-a-half hours late after fierce storm lashed his helicopter, forcing it to detour to Jan Smuts Airport.

Finally arriving by car, President Botha drew 1 000 voters, about 400 fewer than the Leader of the Opposition.

After leaving the presidential landing pad in Pretoria and reaching the Heidelberg-Evander area, the helicopter carrying President Botha, his wife Elize, daughter Rozanne, Minister of National Education Mr F W de Klerk was diverted to the west in a bid to fly under the storm and keep to its scheduled 8.30pm landing on the rugby field at Standerton High School.

## Airport manager

However, passengers said visibility was so bad that the pilot, an Air Force captain, had to wear infra-red sights to find his way in the deluge. The other two crew members could see nothing.

The pilot, finally surrendering to the elements, landed at Jan Smuts Airport and President Botha was driven to the Standerton meeting by the airport manager.

Mr Botha's meeting was delayed until 10pm, by which time Dr Treurnicht's engagement at the other end of town had finished.

The Conservative Party gathering at Kalie de Haas Primary School was twice informed, at 8.15 and 9.30pm, that President Botha had not yet arrived at the NP venue. The news was greeted with great delight by CP supporters.

## Criticised

Dr Treurnicht was given a tumultuous welcome.

● Both the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party have criticised President Botha for using an air force Puma helicopter.

Today Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative MP for Overvaal, said he had no objection to President Botha using the air force on presidential business.

"But he is not entitled to use CP taxpayers money to come to Standerton to fight the CP."

Mr Peter Soal, PFP MP for Johannesburg North, said people had come to accept that the Government abused its position in this way.



# Storm Over P W helicopter ride

cap Twp's 27/12/88 304A

Political Staff

**PRESIDENT P W Botha's unsuccessful night Air Force helicopter ride to get to Thursday night's by-election meeting in Standerton drew a storm of condemnation yesterday, with allegations that Mr Botha abused the taxpayer and the Defence Force.**

Last night the President's spokesman tried to compare Mr Botha's transport arrangements to General Smuts's use of prime minister Dr D F Malan's aircraft to fly to Britain to receive an award. "Attempts to question the transport arrangements for the State President are petty politics which should be avoided at the best of times," the spokesman said.

Both the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party were sharply critical of President Botha for using an Air Force Puma helicopter, capable of carrying a platoon of troops, to fly himself, Mrs Botha, their daughter Rozanne, Transvaal leader of the National Party Mr F W de Klerk and officials of their staffs.

## President 'worked up'

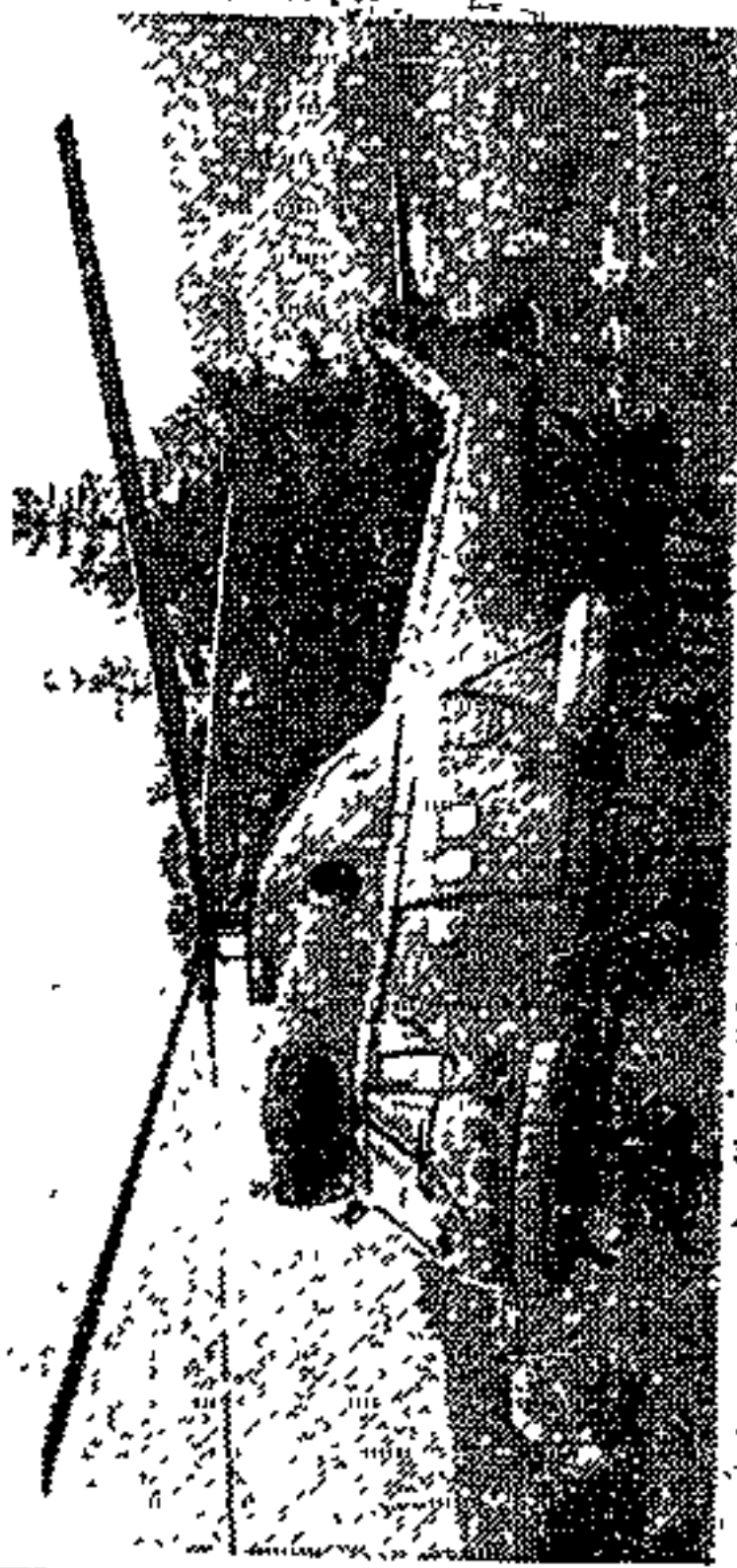
The helicopter flight to Standerton had to be called off after the pilot made desperate efforts to fly through, and then around, heavy rain and thick mist.

According to the Nationalist mouthpiece in the Cape, the Burger, which quoted unnamed passengers on the flight, the President was so "worked up" that he appeared to want to move the clouds away with his hands.

But the pilot, an Air Force captain, was insistent that he would take no further chances with Mr Botha on board and, having reached the vicinity of Heidelberg and Evander, turned back to Jan Smuts Airport.

There followed a "very quick" car ride to Standerton in the airport manager's Mercedes — with Presi-

To page 2



An air force Puma helicopter

grip van  
ankes in  
epe soos  
stration  
iesburg,



# Ban a setback for negotiations admits Stoffel

D/D 27/4/86  
304A  
Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — There was "no doubt" that the restrictions placed this week on UDF and 17 other organisations would negatively affect the government's negotiations with black leaders, the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, admitted yesterday.

"It will affect negotiations. There is no doubt that it will affect them negatively, in my view, in the short term," he said in an interview.

"My estimation — I would put it no higher than that — is that in the medium term we will be able to recuperate the losses, and go further than would have been the case."

Dr Van Der Merwe, who was appointed last year by President P. W. Botha to his Constitutional Planning to promote negotiations with black leaders, also said that because restrictions had been placed on some individuals this did not mean that the government would not talk to them.

Asked how the government could talk to someone like Mr Archie Gumede of the UDF, who was restricted this week,



MR vd MERWE

he said he did not want to talk about any individuals.

"But take Mr Gumede for example. The fact that he is involved in an organisation which has been restricted does not mean we will not talk to him."

"Undoubtedly there will be a negative effect."

"I can quite imagine a person like that will not talk to you. He is as mad as hell."

"It will be difficult to regain a measure of credibility," he said.

The restrictions on these organisations could not change the policy of talking towards as wide a variety of perspectives as possible.

Asked if, as the government's chief negotiator with black leaders,

he had agreed to the restrictions on the organisations beforehand, Dr Van Der Merwe replied: "I can't dissociate myself. I don't even want to try to."

"I form part of the government and I accept what the government does."

He said there was a very important distinction between bannings on organisations under the Internal Security Act and the restrictions imposed this week.

"The government wants to lift the emergency as soon as possible and make it possible to lift the emergency."

As soon as the emergency was lifted, the restrictions on the organisations would also be lifted.

There was no doubt that some of the organisations had revolutionary tendencies, whether it was the intention of the leaders or not.

"There is amply evidence that to a significant degree the actions of the UDF had the effect of promoting some of the unacceptable aims of the ANC to such an extent that the ANC is claiming the UDF to be their own," he said.



AWB'S Eugene Terre Blanche shakes hands with adult followers at yesterday's meeting while a junior version holds up the organisation's insignia

## AWB men on the march

□ From Page 1

AWB is no Sunday school picnic.

"Government has chosen the easiest path of negotiation. The communists are already embracing them.

"We will govern ourselves as our forefathers did, without the intervention of international monetary powers with their Coca-

Cola cultures.

"We will govern ourselves with our own white, superior genes."

Mr Terre Blanche also warned government against the privatisation of Sats and the Department of Post and Telecommunications. Attempts to sell them off were an indication that government was "bank-

rupt" and had been forced into a "sell out".

Mr Terre Blanche said: "We know government will run. We will secure this country and bring peace to it."

Groups of riot police stood by but took no action as the crowd burst from the hall into the streets chanting anti-black slogans and singing Afrikaner nationalist anthems.

Mr Terre Blanche said: "We are hungry for our volkstaat because we promised it to God."

304A



# NP faces defeat in crucial race

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE Conservative Party could be heading for victory in both crucial by-elections on Wednesday — by half a length in Standerton and by a nose in Schweizer-Reneke.

In both rural constituencies the mood has changed dramatically in the last few days — the Politics of the Drought has changed to the Politics of the Flood.

"The recent deluge is definitely going to influence the results," says Schweizer NP candidate Willie Lemmer. "The mood has certainly

become more upbeat since the drought has been broken, but the flood may also affect voters' ability to get to the polling booths on Wednesday.

Two weeks ago the NP's biggest fear was that the severe drought and complaints about the Government's farming policy would induce disaffected voters to switch to the CP. Today the same fear is expressed about the

be a tough CP/NP battle with the CP's Pieter Mulder defending the slender lead of 191 votes he gained in last year's general election.

In Standerton the CP has a much larger cushion, but the NP claims to have made substantial gains in support since last May.

NP candidate Henrie Erasmus insists the result will hinge on the quality of the organisation. "And," he adds, "the NP is 500 percent better

prepared than nine months ago.

"There has been a late surge of NP support. Our message seems to be getting through as we reach more and more voters," he says.

But confident CP organiser Willem Pistorius predicts an increased majority for his candidate, Rosier de Ville.

## Close

He scored a surprise victory last year but has since been skittled out of Parliament because it was found that he was a state employee at the time of his election.

Mulder also predicts a CP victory in Schweizer but concedes it will be by a very small margin.

"No more than 500 votes separate us. The key factor will be our ability to get our voters to the polling booths on Wednesday," he says.

The NP's Lemmer agrees it is going to be a close race.

But he believes the CP has overplayed its hand with its propaganda in Schweizer and that the voters are going to help him wrest the constituency back from CP control. The Jaap Factor is still an

important issue which may determine the fate of the election.

If HNP candidate Jaap Marais can improve on the 500-odd votes he received in May, it may weaken the fortunes of the CP sufficiently to let the NP slip in through the back door.

For all three parties the election results are of vital importance.

The NP wants to show that the growth of the CP in the rural areas has been stemmed.

The CP wants to capitalise on its May momentum, especially with municipal elections pending.

And for the HNP, this may be Jaap Marais's last stand. Even a good showing in Schweizer cannot save the party's flagging fortunes and it may well suffer more defections to the CP after March 2.

Few events can still influence the results.

The Great Leap Year TV jaw-jaw between Mr F W de Klerk and Dr Andries Treurnicht may sway the wavering few.

## Damage

But the results of canvassing indicate that most voters have already made up their minds.

De Klerk himself in Schweizer and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Standerton will be on hand to repair any damage that may be done by the debate.

The NP has the most to lose — and very little to gain — by the outcome of the debate.

Even if Mr de Klerk wins the argument, he may still lose the elections two days later.

This could have dire consequences for both his party's fortunes in the Transvaal platteland and his own personal fortunes in the leadership stakes.

In Standerton, the results are not expected until early Thursday morning and in Schweizer the counting may take even longer because of the size of the constituency.

# New PFP policy worries coloured and Indian MPs

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE decision of the Progressive Federal Party to become active in all three Houses of the tricameral Parliament is doing the PFP good — but may still harm opposition politics.

This is the fear of politicians in other groups to the left of the Government.

PFP office bearers report strong, positive reactions from PFP supporters who had become concerned at an apparent inertia that had struck the party as it struggled to come to terms with last year's election defeat and subsequent desertion of four of its MPs.

But MPs in the coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates have reacted apprehensively to the PFP's unilateral decision, announced after its federal council meeting in Cape Town last Sunday.



**DENIS WORRALL**  
Competing with the PFP?

tions with him".

"We both welcome unification. It is now a question of strategy."

A strong group in the PFP still believes the ultimate aim in opposition politics must be a united "new movement, a new party — but we must get there in a way that does not antagonise our constituencies," said one of the group.



**COLIN EGLIN**  
Out to woo Hendrickse

Both Dr Worrall and PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin have had a series of meetings with Mr Hendrickse.

But Mr Hendrickse's MPs have expressed deep misgivings about the PFP's plans.

The PFP has mapped out three routes it may pursue in penetrating the Houses of Representatives and Delegates:

- It may field PFP candi-

dates in elections.

- It may canvass existing MPs to join the PFP.

- It may negotiate an alliance with the LP.

The first two options, LP members say, could dump the two parties into a struggle for dominance. The last is bedevilled by credibility problems — the PFP was against the LP's original participation in the tricameral system and now seeks to co-operate with it.

## Worthy

A PFP federal council member said the eventual strategy would depend on how Mr Hendrickse played his cards in future clashes with the Government.

"If Mr Hendrickse continues to be a worthy opponent of the Government, then we would seek co-operation with him."

## Narrow

They fear they may become drawn into a draining battle for support with the PFP — a battle that may shift the focus of energy from fighting the Government.

And in canvassing support among Representatives and Delegates, the PFP may find itself competing with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party, to be formed in Somerset West in three weeks' time.

The remaining left-of-government opposition party, the National Democratic Movement, has remained outside the moves — dismissing them as too narrow a confinement to the purely Parliamentary scene.

A member of the group favouring extending the PFP area of operation said Dr Worrall's decision to go ahead with his own party was "one of the reasons" that led to the PFP decision.

"The PFP, too, has to go ahead. We have to look at the political climate, read it, and react to it."

The source said the aim and effect of the decision was "not to antagonise Denis Worrall or jeopardise rela-



# Power-sharing is still all talk and no talks

(304A) ST 28/2/88

NO NEW security clampdown was — or is — necessary to keep President Botha in the saddle.

The 1984-87 cycle of revolt has long since confirmed that not even violence can destabilise the Government. But, however firmly the Government remains entrenched, this does not necessarily mean apartheid will remain entrenched.

Since 1960 South Africa has been in a state of violent equilibrium: Not even with the help of bannings is the Government able finally to stamp out black revolt — and revolt is not capable of overthrowing the Government.

Within the black community the overthrow of the Government has indeed taken second place to a bitter power struggle between rival factions rent with ideological and strategic divisions. It is, however, a crude over-simplification to shrug this off as "black-on-black" violence — because non-blacks also play a role in black politics.

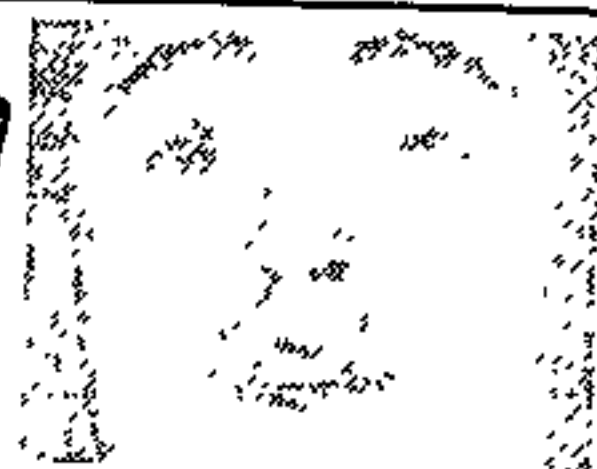
This power struggle is one of the factors keeping the Government in power and real political reform on the back burner.

Last year's general election among whites was a watershed, in that the Government sought and obtained a mandate for power-sharing with blacks.

It is a measure of the racial po-

**by John Kane-Berman**

*Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations*



larisation in the country and the great cynicism and bitterness that Government policies have engendered among black people that probably the most promising election since 1948 from their point of view was dismissed by them as insulting or irrelevant, because they had no vote in it.

## Unrealistic

There is no sense of urgency in the Government about carrying out its power-sharing intentions. Black South Africans, liberal whites, much of business and the outside world believe Mr Botha is moving far too slowly, but it is probably unrealistic to expect him to move faster than his constituency. In the last few years, his timing has been such that the threat from the right has been contained.

This week's security clampdown is no doubt partly aimed at minimising losses to the right resulting from the public sector wage freeze.

Despite their conservatism on security issues, a steady stream of opinion surveys shows that white attitudes on racial issues are liberalising.

Whatever may happen on the right, Mr Botha doesn't face any threat from the white left.

The media seem to think the white left needs to stop its squabbling and simply get its act together, but this view overlooks fundamental cleavages between those who would like to see a multi-party democracy in South Africa achieved by evolutionary means, and socialists who would prefer something closer to African or eastern European systems.

Even among multi-party liberals there is profound disagreement over strategy, which accounts for the difficulties within the PFP.

With regard to black actors, it looks as if the ANC is in a structurally weak position, which will not change in the short or medium term. Cosatu is now in the firing

line. How effectively will it survive this week's onslaught? How will it deal with growing unemployment and the problem of alternative labour?

The strategic direction and the fate of Cosatu are one of the key imponderables in any political forecast about South Africa.

Another important actor is the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and another key imponderable is the fate of its proposals, to which the Government has yet to give a formal response.

These political imponderables aside for the moment, the process of social and economic change under way in South Africa is, I believe, irreversible.

On a previous occasion I have argued in this space that it is like peeling an onion, where each layer that is peeled off merely exposes the one underneath, until one gets to the core, which is the Population Registration Act. And you can't put the peels back on the onion.

## Pragmatic

The most important role of the Government in much of this desegregation process so far has been to do nothing. This itself is a fundamental change. Previously, notably under Dr Verwoerd, the Government played a pro-active role in shaping every aspect of natural life.

Mr P.W. Botha, however, has presided over a pragmatic withdrawal — for example, from trying rigidly to enforce the Group Areas Act. He also eventually gave up trying to reverse urbanisation by tightening up the pass laws and repealed them instead.

The key lesson of the past 10 years is that the Government is only one of the actors in the reform process. Rank-and-file black people, black organisations, such as trade unions, employers and liberal lobbyists also played important roles — sometimes, in fact, the decisive role.

One clear message for people seeking to advance the process of change is not to concentrate so much on demanding that the Government act, so much as to initiate action themselves and demand that the Government lay off.

This, largely, is how many private schools were desegregated.

Finally, one must note that there are three essential components of any real change process. The one is the erosion of apartheid laws, already well under way.

Secondly, a policy of socio-economic upgrading is being implemented. However, South Africa faces a fiscal crisis. Without the necessary funds, socio-economic upgrading will grind to a halt.

## Negotiation

We cannot be certain that privatisation will succeed in raising the funds required — or that they will be spent in the most cost-effective way rather than in accordance with "own affairs" considerations.

The third necessary component of the change process is, of course, negotiation.

At the moment, there is very little real constitutional negotiation going on between the Government and black organisations — and, given the security clampdown, now even dimmer prospects than there were a week ago.

The Government seems to persist in the belief that it can choose its negotiating partners. Experience shows, however, that clamping down on radicals makes it more, not less, difficult for negotiation to take place. The list of restrictions that black organisations will demand to be lifted before they negotiate with the Government is now that much longer.

Having painstakingly obtained his mandate from whites to share power with blacks, Mr Botha has gone and put himself into a position where he cannot even share a table with blacks to talk about power-sharing.

Certainly, he has blown his own National Council clean out of the water.



# Dr No's 'mixed blood'

By RUTH GOLEMBO

**CONSERVATIVE Party leader and apartheid champion Dr Andries Treurnicht has strongly denied suggestions that there is sufficient mixed blood in his family to have him re-classified as "coloured".**

He was reacting to claims made this week by Labour Party MP Desmond Lockey.

Mr Lockey also said that the Cape leader of the CP, President's Councillor

Jan Hoon, had no right to claim "white" status because his forefather, David Hoon of the Swartland, was born of Sarnbouw of Madagascar and Rachel, a slave woman of the Cape.

Dr Treurnicht says he has delved into his origins and insists his family tree, going back six generations, proves he comes from fully-white European stock.

"This latest attack by Mr Lockey is just an attempt by a coloured to run down white people," Dr Treurnicht said.

## Satisfied

"I commissioned the Human Sciences Research Council's genealogy section to draw up my family tree and I am satisfied that up to the sixth generation my family have all been white.

"Of the 64 people in that generation, 27 were German, 20 Dutch, 13 French, two Belgian, one Swiss and one Swedish."

Mr Lockey is a former student of the University of Western Cape historian, Dr Hans Heese, whose book



**ANDRIES TREURNICHT**  
"The claims are rubbish"



**DESMOND LOCKEY**  
Sure of his facts

Groep Sonder Gense traced the origins of Afrikaner families.

Mr Lockey maintains that only two Treurnicht families can be traced in South African history and both had sexual relationships across the colour line.

The racially-mixed background of Afrikaners was raised by Mr Lockey in Parliament this week, rekindling much of the outrage which erupted shortly after Dr Heese's book was published three years ago.

## Treurnicht says his family tree is as white as snow

book show that one forefather of the Treurnicht family married a slave and the other had an illegitimate child with a Hottentot woman.

One Treurnicht family came through the marriage of Jan Gerhardtus Treurnicht to Dorothea van der Schyff, the great-granddaughter of a slave woman called Maria Hansen.

The other Treurnicht family group come from the marriage of Hendrik Treurnicht and Catharina van Koningshoven. Catharina van Koningshoven's mother was Jannetje Bort, a slave girl who worked in the kitchens for Simon van der Stel.

"I worked closely with Dr Heese in researching his book and I have no doubt about the accuracy of the details.

"The Afrikaner has no definite origin and does not come from a particular race or colour group," says Mr Lockey. "So how dare they force others to be classified?"

At the time, 64 angry Afrikaners threatened to sue the Sunday Times for publishing their names, thereby implying that they were less than whiter than white.

The Sunday Times announced that it would defend the action and nothing further has been heard from them.

Mr Lockey says the race classification laws should be repealed to save Dr Treurnicht from embarrassment. He says the old Cape Families Register and Dr Heese's

## ditly

says that a white he whose appearance makes him white.

"There are hundreds of coloured people who look white."

This week Dr Heese also spoke out against the absurdity of classification.

"The conclusions I drew in my book were that looks and, more important, association or church membership were the deciding factors for classification as white or coloured."

"When the Mixed Marriages Act applied, race was judged mainly by appearance."

"If that was not accurate enough, the rule of association was applied."

"The origin of a person is never investigated further than the third generation back."

## Rubbish

Dr Treurnicht dismissed Mr Lockey's claims as "rubbish", saying: "The allegations are based on the 10th generation of Treurnichts. According to my records the first Treurnicht only arrived in South Africa in 1775."

Mr Hoon was not available for comment.

Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, said in Parliament this week 918 people had applied to be reclassified from one race group to another in the past year.

Of them, 313 were Cape coloureds who wished to be classified as white and 382 applicants were classified black but wished to be classified coloured.

Other applications came from coloureds who wanted to be classified as Chinese, Griquas who wanted reclassification as coloured, Indians who wanted to be classified as black and 55 Malays who wanted to be white, Indian or coloured.

NO-NO

ST

30/4

28/2/88



# Conservatives corner most postal votes in Schweizer-Reneke

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

The Conservative Party has scored more than half the postal votes in the three-cornered Schweizer-Reneke by-election, with the National Party a poor second and the HNP looking likely to lose its deposit.

According to figures released an hour before applications for postal votes closed on Friday, the CP has polled 771 votes, the NP 523 and the Herstigte Nasionale Party 36.

The returning officer for the constituency, Mr Gawe Viljoen, said 2 230 special votes had been cast by the weekend. The deadline closes tomorrow night.

Wednesday is polling day for about 15 000 voters registered in the Western Transvaal town.

An early indication of voter trends is impossible to come by in Standerton, the other constituency to vote on Wednesday, as the bitterness which has characterised the struggle between the CP and NP has found its way into the postal votes system.

## Opposing party

Mr Danie Schoeman, returning officer for the south-eastern Transvaal constituency, said the parties had not indicated which applications for postal votes had been processed by them for fear the opposing party

would find out the voter's address and reach him or her before the vote could be processed.

In the past, parties who reached the voter first have taken him or her to the local magistrate's court to register a special vote, hoping to influence the voter on the way.

Special votes generally reach the returning officer before postal votes, and must thus be accepted as the only valid vote.

The CP and NP have largely ignored postal votes in this by-election, said Mr Schoeman. Of the 22 677 voters registered in Standerton, only 549 have voted by post, and 2 670 special votes have been recorded.

"No more than 40 or 50 were gathered by the CP," said Mr Schoeman.

He expects at least 3 000 special votes to

have been cast in Standerton by tomorrow night — at least 330 more than in the white general election last year.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha is to address the final public meeting in support of Standerton's NP candidate, Mr Hennie Erasmus, in Evander tonight.

## Huge crowd

The CP campaign for the election of Standerton attorney Mr Rosier de Ville held its final public meeting last week, when Dr Treurnicht addressed a huge crowd.

Mr de Ville won the seat from the NP's Mr Willie Hefer in last year's general election, but the result was declared invalid because Mr de Ville's position as deputy

sheriff made him ineligible.

The HNP, whose candidate this year is Dr Treurnicht's brother, Mr Attie Treurnicht, lost its deposit in Standerton.

The CP also won the Schweizer-Reneke seat — by 191 votes — in the May general election, but its candidate, Mr Kobus Beyers, has been sequestered and has forfeited the seat.

Last year's unsuccessful NP candidate, Mr Willie Lemmer, is to stand again, this time against the son of the late Dr Connie Mulder, Dr Pieter Mulder of Potchefstroom, for the CP.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais is his party's candidate. The party lost its deposit last year.

Report by Claire Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria

# Heavies go into huddle on eve of big TV bout

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Both teams in tonight's great De Klerk-Treurnicht fight have gone into a huddle and were not prepared to talk tactics yesterday.

The television debate between the two political heavyweights of the north has taken a new dramatic turn with SABC's announcement that it is to be simulcast in English.

Now interest among English-speakers is being focused on who will "play" the two leaders in the radio simulcast.

Clearly much hangs on the choice of a voice. A rich and confident baritone could win vital debating points,

while a reedy falsetto could of course be disastrous.

The ever-suspicious CP camp will be watching eagle-eyed (or rather perhaps, listening bat-eared) to ensure that SABC does not use the occasion to advantage Mr F W de Klerk.

The debate will be recorded this morning and translated. CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux will then check the translation.

Meanwhile the only secret that has leaked out of the De Klerk camp is that their fighter has been advised not to waste time clarifying NP policy but to go on the offensive.



# CP, AWP clash on links

The Argus Foreign Service: Dateline: LONDON

**T**WO rightwing South African politicians gave different interpretations of the links between their parties when they took part in a BBC radio programme here.

Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, spoke by telephone on the World This Weekend programme yesterday.

Mr TerreBlanche said members of the AWP were also members of the CP, and vice versa. What the CP wanted was "very near" to what the AWP wanted.

He said: "And I believe one day, if it is necessary to defend our Fatherland after this Government collapses, we will fight side by side."

But Dr Treurnicht said: "The Conservative Party indicated right along the road that we are not in favour of violence as a method in politics. The AWP is a separate organisation. The Conservative Party is a political party."

"We operate with political methods and our aim is to gain majority support of the white electorate at the next general election."

Asked if he dissociated himself entirely from the AWP, he said: "I don't dissociate myself from an organisation to which I'm not linked."

He said: "We have similar aims. We have similar resistance against Mr P W Botha's reform movement. But we do so on our very own. We are an independent organisation."

South African journalist Mr Stanley Uys, also on the programme, said he believed the CP found the neo-Nazi style of the AWP too extreme, even by its own standards.

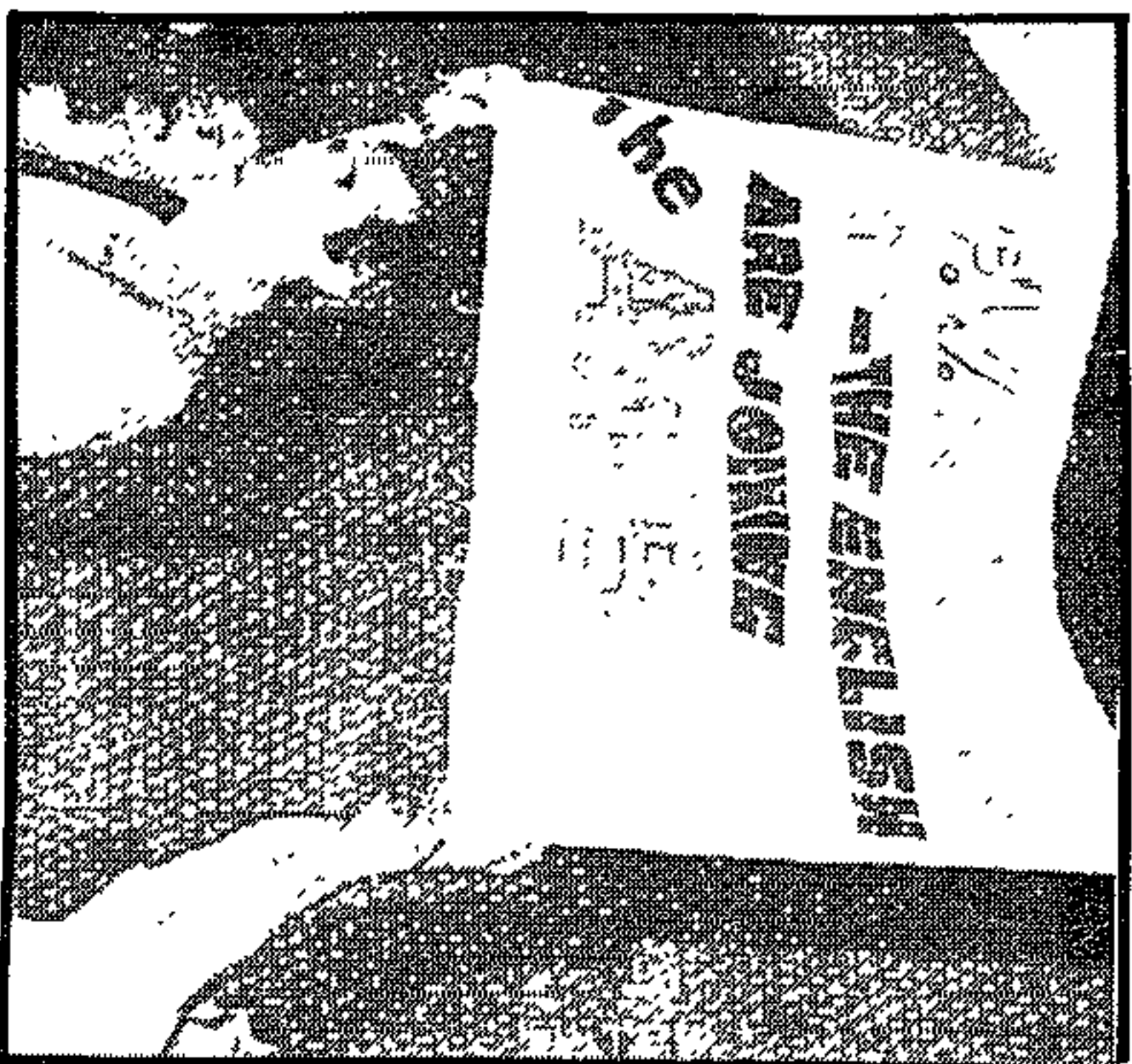
He said: "It is obviously going to make an attempt to become the government of the country, and in order to do this it is going to need the support of a lot of people who are dedicated Nationalist Afrikaners and many English-speaking people."

Mr TerreBlanche said his organisation rejected power-sharing. It wanted to claim land rightfully the Afrikaner's, if necessary by violence.

He added: "When the Government sells us out as the white colonial governments did in Africa, when there is no law and order any more, we will not lay down to be slain by the ANC terrorist gangs."

"Then we will have to defend ourselves and we will restore law and order, even if it is necessary to do it by force."

"We don't want violence but we are absolutely sure that Mr Tambo is on his way with the bloodiest revolution ever known in Africa."



**WELCOME TO THE ENGLISH:** AWP deputy leader Mr Jan Groenewald welcomes English-speaking people to the organisation

## English-speakers welcomed by AWP

**T**HE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging this weekend officially welcomed English speakers into its ranks and announced growth plans for SWA/Namibia.

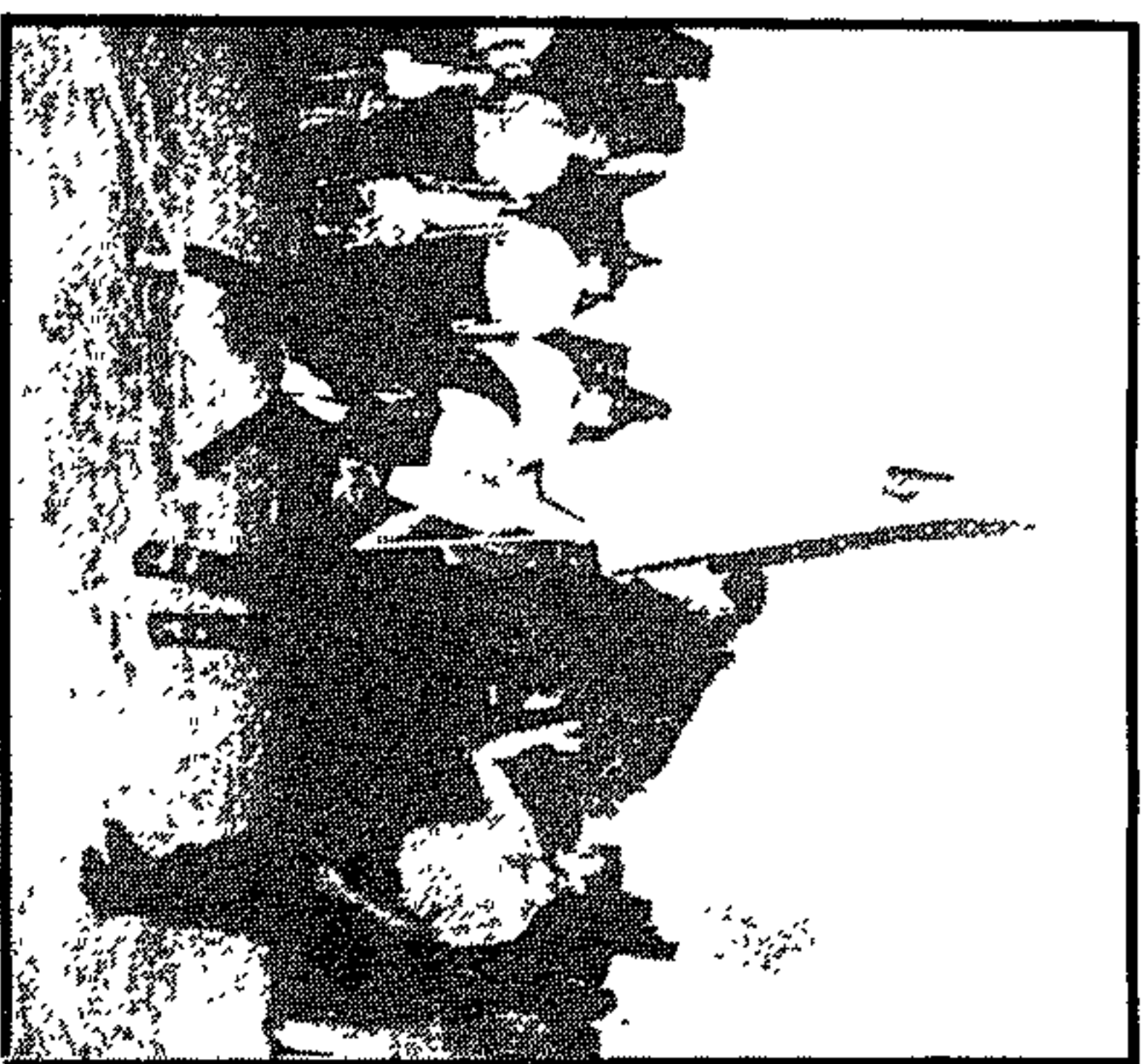
In a blaze of colour and to thunderous roars of "AWB, AWP" a crowd of about 6 000 packed the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria on Saturday in a show of strength against the government's "sell-out of a nation" and in support of a Boerevolkstaat.

The proceedings started when AWP leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, neatly dressed in a blue suit and accompanied by several members of the "Groottraad" arrived at the hall shortly before 10.30.

The hall was a shower of red, black and white. English banners were displayed for the first time at a meeting of the AWP and warned the ANC: "An assault on the SAP and SADF is an assault on the AWP."

Chairman of the meeting and deputy leader of the AWP Mr Jan Groenewald spoke English in his opening address as he welcomed those "who had declared their solidarity with the AWP."

There was applause when a banner was held high saying: "PW you've had it — the English are joining the AWP."



**TO HORSE:** A member of the AWP saddles up in preparation for Saturday's meeting in Pretoria

## Tourists gape as petition handed in

**T**HE Union Building temporarily belonged to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on Saturday afternoon as its leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche climbed the steps to the government building to hand to a police officer a petition for the State President demanding an Afrikaner national state of "Boerevolkstaat".

Overseas tourists visiting the Union Buildings gaped as hundreds of khaki-clad AWP men and women thronged the steps of the building waving the red, white and black AWP flag.

They awaited the arrival of Mr TerreBlanche, who carried a motion accepted earlier by a crowd of 6 000 people at the Skilpadsaal.

Members of the South African Police stood by as the crowd cheered a convoy of cars, decorated in AWP stickers and flags, led Mr TerreBlanche to the Union Buildings.

The petition demanded the return of the old Boer Republic to be declared "Boerland", that Afrikaners in the Cape Province be allowed to join their counterparts in a "Boerevolkstaat" and that integration, power-sharing and the "sale of a nation's property" be stopped (a reference to government privatisation).



# Minister checks on AWB

ARMS  
29/2/88  
304A

THE defiant actions and attitudes of the rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were being looked into by the Government today.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, was looking into the matter, said a spokesman for the Minister. He said the activities of the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging were also being monitored.

The spokesman said the actions of the AWB, especially the speech by its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, on Saturday, were being carefully monitored by the Government.

There was criticism today that the Government was treating the AWB differently from leftwing groups. In National Party circles there are hopes that the behaviour of the AWB would embarrass the Conservative Party which has close links with it.

Conservative leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has refused to condemn the AWB. He says he sees it as a cultural organisation.

At a weekend rally of about 5 000 supporters in Pretoria, Mr Terre'Blanche demanded that the Government return the Boer republics. He said the Afrikaner would claim his own "volkstaat".

Brown-shirted AWB "storm-troopers" brandished firearms, rubber batons and knives.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said today that there seemed to be one set of laws for one section of South Africa and another for the AWB.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said today that there seemed to be one set of laws for one section of South Africa and another for the AWB.

## Mesmerised

He said the behaviour of the AWB was disgusting.

He said: "If ever there was incitement to violence it is the behaviour of the AWB at its weekend rally. And yet the Botha Government, which prides itself on its kragdadigheid, seems to be mesmerised by the AWB.

"While lashing out at others, it sits back meekly while AWB members, the children of Verwoerdian apartheid, taunt, provoke and incite."

At the rally in Pretoria's Skilpad Hall, the AWB vowed to step up its opposition to power-sharing.

A string of speakers branded the Government traitors.

Mr Terre'Blanche told the cheering crowd: "The Government has chosen the easiest path of negotiation. The communists are already embracing them."




Mr Adriaan Vlok



YOUNG AND OLD: A young AWB supporter stands with an older member at the weekend rally in Pretoria.





Earlier, a group of supporters rode up to the hall on horseback. They drenched a flag of the African National Congress with petrol and set fire to it amid loud cheers.

One AWB member arrived with a rifle, telescopic sight and bullets strung around his waist. He was taken away by other members before Pressmen could photograph him.

Mr Terre'Blanche said: "We will govern ourselves as our forefathers, without the intervention of international monetary powers with their Coca-Cola cultures. We will govern ourselves with our own white, superior genes."

### **"Bring peace"**

He warned the Government against privatisation. Attempts to sell State concerns were an indication the Government was bankrupt, he said.

He added: "We don't want war but everybody should know that the AWB is no Sunday school picnic. We will secure this country and bring peace to it."

Riot police stood by but took no action as the group burst from the hall, chanting anti-black slogans and singing Afrikaner nationalist songs.

Mr Terre'Blanche, flanked by bodyguards with pistols and batons, led a motorcade to the Union Buildings.

Police sealed off the buildings and Mr Terre'Blanche handed over a petition calling for the creation of an independent Afrikaner state to a senior police officer.

Mr Terre'Blanche told reporters: "We are hungry for our volkstaat because we promised it to God." — Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter.

● More pictures and reports

— page 13.

**AWB AT THE UNION BUILDINGS:** AWB supporters, waving the organisation's red, white and black flag, wait for their leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, where he delivered a petition to the State President calling for an Afrikaner national state.



His condition has been  
Political Correspondent  
phone twice earlier in the day  
expressed my love for him  
unspiced  
fully admitted to an  
ana.

306A  
29/2/88  
306A

## 'Prepare for the night of the AWB'

### Leader warns of 'violence'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche warned a 6 000 crowd of followers on Saturday "to prepare for the night, when in violence, the AWB will claim what is rightfully theirs".

He was addressing an AWB rally, one of the largest ever, in Pretoria's Skilpad Hall. Brown-shirted "AWB-soldiers" brandished firearms, rubber batons and knives.

At the close of the four-hour meeting, hundreds of cheering AWB supporters followed their leader in a motorcade up to the Union Buildings where they delivered a petition demanding that the soil of the Boer republics of the Free State, Transvaal and northern Natal be returned "immediately" to the Afrikaner.



STORMTROOPERS... Mr Terre'Blanche, flanked by an AWB stormtrooper, addressing the Saturday morning meeting.  
Picture: REUTER



## Govt might act on AWB

*Political Staff*  
*29/12/81* *(30/12/81)*  
THERE are strong indications that the government is planning to act against the militant AWB in terms of the new security legislation introduced last week.

A senior government source indicated that the weekend rally by armed AWB men — many of whom were in nazi-type uniforms — was being investigated seriously.

"The regulations which were published last week apply as equally to the right wing as they do to the left," said the source.

● AWB warns of violence — Page 3



# Prepare for night of violent action says Terre'Blanche

**JOHANNESBURG** — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, warned a crowd of 6 000 followers at the weekend "to prepare for the night, when in violence, the AWB will claim what is rightfully theirs".

Mr Terre'Blanche addressed a AWB rally, one of the largest ever, in Pretoria's Skilpad Hall on Saturday.

At the close of the four-hour meeting hundreds of cheering AWB

supporters followed their leader in a motorcade up to the Union Buildings where they handed a petition directed at the State President to a police guard.

The petition demanded the immediate "restoration" of the historical Boer republics. The petition also contained an "objection" to the government's privatisation drive, which the AWB described as an "act of treason".

The delivery of the

petition was the third of three emotional demonstrations prepared by the enthusiastic chanting and cheering crowd. They burned a petrol soaked "captured" ANC flag and copies of the Natal Indaba Bill of Rights.

Mr Terre'Blanche made his appeal for readiness during a speech in which he welcomed the increase of English speakers in the movement, and launched a vicious attack on the government.

— DDC

IT WAS a night of boerewors, kocksusters and "realistic idealism" in Standerton when President Botha hit town on Thursday.

Being assigned a National Party by-election meeting had seemed a daunting task. More daunting was that it was held in this conservative rural outpost, *nogal*.

But feelings of being the nigger in the woodpile, in a manner of speaking, were soon dispelled. Apprehension gave way to curiosity and, finally, to a strange mixture of disbelief and relaxation.

Perhaps *hoor, hoor!* is the Volk version of "Amandla!", but that is another matter.

There were two and a quarter hours to kill before Mr Botha arrived to deliver the speech Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk called a *bul-spraak*.

To the only black man at the meeting, the speech was largely just that — in another sense: P W spoke of four million telephones in South Africa, 40 000 in Angola and 1 000 in Chad.

He spoke of the "hundreds of thousands leaving the heaven of socialist progress in Mozambique for the hell of apartheid in South Africa."

But the jubilant party faithful evidently loved the bull talk — and showed it by stomping their feet, clapping their hands, cheering their leader and giving him a long standing ovation when he was through.

The NP at fever-pitch is an unbelievable experience, so I thought after the Standerton meeting.

Only 24 hours earlier they had effectively dared black South Africans to do their worst. They had clobbered 17 organisations opposed to NP rule into submission, and there was no hint of remorse in the air, nor any reflective appraisal of the possible consequences of the bannings. Nor any care.

Of immediate concern was the *Kah-Pee* and the fact, as repeated by local candidate Hennie Erasmus and Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel, that the Nationalists had lost Standerton before.

There was also no visible concern about a black man among the Volk. In truth, everybody

# My night in PW's laager

By JON



OWELANE

showed surprised curiosity at seeing a black face at a white election meeting — and soon lost interest.

They were very friendly at the braai which preceded the meeting. The *tannie* who served kocksusters watched with no small amount of curiosity — interest, perhaps? — as the unlikely visitor munched her offering.

She asked a political correspondent who his companion was, and gave another a look which seemed to spell approval. And she smiled.

The live band played some *boeremusiek*, and abruptly switched to the distinctive township *kwela* beat of an age gone by. It was good stuff, and

## Kocksusters, boerewors and boeremusiek with the Volk in Standerton

people inside the covered stands of the school sportsground smiled and stared curiously.

Outside someone was overheard asking a prominent Nationalist attending the braai who the black man was, and was promptly told "He's welcome here, he's a reporter on *The Sunday Star*."

And, incredibly, the band started another tune and a voice cooed softly into the mike: "Have I told you lately that I love you?"

### Support

Not so at the other meeting, the one to solicit support for the candidate hundreds of Conservative Party posters in the town call "the man who can stand firm."

They held their braai across the muddy waters of the Vaal, and were not as welcoming and as approachable as the Nationalists the other side of town.

A woman asked a colleague as he bought a boerewors sandwich. "Who's that kaffir roaming around here? What's he doing there?"

The kaffir was a reporter covering the election meetings.

She replied promptly, coldly. "He's just here to cause a sensation."

It was time to leave and return to the Nats' meeting — only to be told Mr Botha would be late because bad weather had forced his helicopter



PRESIDENT Botha ... standing ovation.

strategy", "vertical differentiation" and "eie sake".

No political party, and no government, was perfect, declared Mr Botha.

Several times, for curiously inexplicable reasons, I imagined 1 000 pairs of eyes focusing on my back, which was turned to them.

It was when Mr Botha made references to elements brewing trouble in the urban black areas, when he spoke of being accused of governing South Africa with an iron hand, and when he declared that Africa and the world were "on fire."

Those imaginary eyes once again jabbed my back when he asked any farmer in the crowd to stand up and say he could have made it without black labour.

But it had been a good night, speaking purely in terms of my intact health, and National Party MP for Jeppe, Mr Hennie Bekker, also thought it had been a good night.

After leading some of the songs on stage, Mr Bekker walked across to the Press table, leant over and firmly shook my hand and asked if everything was okay.

Everything was okay.

(Report by J Owelane 47 Sauer St Johannesburg)



Lest we forget



## SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. &amp; POLITICS

1988 MARCH.

1. Additional Allowance - Bicycle allowance

FootnotesAREA C: In all other areas.

AREA A: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, The Cape, Urban, Germiston, Goodwood, Inanda, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Ugersdorp, Kullis River, Nigel, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Sasolburg, Simon's Town, Springs, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonia, Wonderboom and Wynberg;

AREA B: Bloemfontein, East London, Kimberley, Klerksdorp, Malmesbury, Odendaalsrus, Paarl, Pietermaritzburg, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand, Virginia, Welkom, Wellington, Witbank and Worcester;

Superceding w.d. no's: 311 &amp; 385

## Slabbert, Malan to share platform

CAPE TOWN — The former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, is to share a political platform with Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM) at a meeting in Cape Town next week.

This will be the first time since his dramatic departure from Parliament over two years ago that Dr Slabbert, who now heads the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), will appear under the banner of a group represented in the tricameral system.

SA 1/3/88 POLITICAL COUP

The move represents something of a political coup for the NDM as recent opinion polls indicate that Dr Slabbert enjoys widespread support among unenfranchised and extra-parliamentary groups.

Mr Malan said he could not speak on behalf of Dr Slabbert, who is overseas, but that his appearance on a NDM platform "demonstrates that if you talk about legitimate politics it can only be when all are involved, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups".

Mr Malan said the meeting is scheduled to be held in Cape Town City Hall on March 9 at 8 pm. — Sapa.



## State land for all people, says PFP

*Sater 11/3/88*  
State land was held on behalf of all the people of South Africa and not for one section of the population, as would be the effect of the State Land Disposal Amendment Bill, Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP Bryanston) said yesterday.

Opposing the second reading of the Bill in the House of Assembly, which was supported by the official Opposition, he said it had the effect of enabling the transfer of power to dispose of State lands from the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs to a Minister in the Minister's Council of either the House of Representatives or Delegates.

"We regard this as an ugly piece of apartheid legislation which also further entrenches the Own Affairs concept."

The PFP's approach was that State land was held on behalf of all the people and not one particular population group.

The money acquired from disposal of State land should go into the Treasury and not to the Own Affairs administrations.

Replying to the debate, the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr Japie van Wyk, said the Bill broadened the concept of Own Affairs. — Sapa.

# PFP about to straddle two Houses

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party is on the verge of being the first party to straddle two Houses in the tricameral system.

Successful negotiations have been held between the PFP and the three-member Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates which will lead to it representing the PFP in the House.

Mr. Pat Poovalingam, PRP leader, said today the PRP caucus had decided to join the PFP and a special general meeting of members of the party would be held on March 19 in Durban.

At the meeting it would be recommended that the PRP disband and the members join the PFP.

Mr. Poovalingam said the main reason for joining was that the PFP "has been the engine for political reform."

"The valiant fight put up in the earlier years by Helen Suzman has begun to bear fruit only in the last two years and we believe the PFP will carry on its tradition of influencing change for the better in the country."

PFP leader Mr. Colin Eglin said today he was delighted at the decision to disband the PRP and for members to join the PFP.



## POLITICS

The Government paid out R650 000 towards a conference of the Young Presidents' Organisation (YPO) held in South Africa last year, the Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, said in the Assembly yesterday.

Replying to questions from Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP nominated) on the committee stage of the Additional Appropriation Bill, he said the YPO was an organisation of "top management people", and delegates to the five-day conference in October had included people from 46 countries.

The Government had decided the conference should be supported "in the interests of trade promotion in South Africa".

It was to SA's credit that such a conference was held in this country.

# Financial aid for conference *Star 1/31/48* 'was worth it'

304A

When Mr Derby-Lewis asked how an organisation could organise a conference of this nature and then "arrive in South Africa and ask for assistance", the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the conference had not been a spur-of-the-moment event.

It had been scheduled well in advance. The R650 000 was "by no means" the full cost of the conference, but the Government's contribu-

tion had made it possible.

Considering the conference's benefit — not only in terms of the impressions these people had returned with to their countries of origin but in their representations to congressmen and senators while the conference was on, and financial benefits in terms of foreign exchange — the R650 000 was a "very modest" contribution for an "affair of this nature", Mr du Plessis said. — Sapa.

portion of this month

# Additional funds tabled for all Houses of Parliament

3044

Bills for the additional appropriation of funds for the financial year ending March 31 1988 were tabled in all three Houses of Parliament.

The amounts were:

- House of Assembly R121 645 000.
- House of Delegates R34 594 000.
- House of Representatives R141 000 000.

In the House of Assembly, the additional expenditure will be added to the original R5 676 797 000 already voted to give a total of R5 798 442 000.

An additional amount of R64 795 000 is to be

spent on Education and Culture. R32 323 000 — about 16 percent more than the original estimate — will go to improvement of conditions of service.

Agriculture and Water Supply will receive an extra R1 000.

Local Government, Housing and Works gets R18 061 000, Welfare R3 845 000 and Health Services R753 000.

Budgetary and Auxiliary Services will spend an additional R1 867 000.

In the House of Delegates, the additional amount will be added to

the original estimate of R759 922 000 to give a total of R794 516 000.

Of the additional sum, R15 989 000 will be spent on Education and Culture, R7 660 000 on Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, R5 603 000 on Health Services and Welfare, R4 842 000 on Improvement of Conditions of Service and R500 000 on Budgetary and Auxiliary Services.

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson and J M Patten, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.





Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party (left), and Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk (right) with Mr Riaan Eksteen, director-general of the SABC, before their debate last night.

# Swords clash in big debate

Star 1/3/88 (304H)

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and Mr F W De Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party, squared up to each other in a live television debate last night. The debate took place on the eve of by-elections in the Schweizer-Renkke and Standerton constituencies. It was the first time such a clash had been allowed on SABC-TV. Here is an edited version of the debate which was chaired by Mr Johan Greeff, former Speaker of the House of Assembly and now the chairman of the President's Council.

**Mr Greeff:** "We now come to the first subject for discussion, namely a constitutional and political plan for the future of South Africa."

**Dr Treurnicht:** "This is undoubtedly one of the most important subjects in our political history and our political dispensation — the political and constitutional future for South Africa."

"From my side, I want to state that there are certain points of departure that are very important. The one is the variety of nations."

"A second important point of departure is this: It is very important for any nation, and in particular for us as a white community, to know who is governing us. For any nation it is important."

"It is at this stage where we see red lights flickering as far as the National Party's vision of South Africa's future is concerned."

**Mr de Klerk:** "The National Party ... came into being to ensure white freedom; that the value system of whites in this country might never be threatened; that the

Representatives is in a position to put a spoke in the wheel of the Government and say that you will not hold an election, or you will not amend the constitution to hold an election later if the Labour Party does not give the green light."

**Mr de Klerk:** "Your analysis of the present constitution is, in my opinion, based on an error of reasoning. In the first instance no decision can be made by Parliament without the assent of the whites."

## Protection

"To say that his system subjects the whites to domination is not correct. In the second instance, there are in fact entrenched clauses in the constitution."

"Therefore I say the right that the coloureds and the Indians have in respect of the entrenched sections is also a right the whites have, which is also there for the protection of the whites, and that ensures that the system has a firm foundation."

**Dr Treurnicht:** "No, that

must ensure that there can be no group domination. The underlying principle must be consensus in decision making."

**Mr Greeff:** "The time for this subject is now over. We may now move to the next subject for discussion, namely, the role of extra-parliamentary organisations with reference to the NP and CP."

**Mr de Klerk:** "There is immense interest in this part of the debate. The dramatic events that took place around the AWB this weekend has placed a huge question mark, Dr Treurnicht, over your glowing defence of the AWB as a cultural organisation, particularly during the past week."

**Dr Treurnicht:** "The AWB intimates that it is registered as a political party. We have approached them on that point and asked them what the position is. They told us they had registered as a party, but they have stated publicly that they do not intend to function as a political party."

"Let's take a closer look at this. The AWB is vehemently opposed to the ANC. The NP says it



white freedom; that the value system of whites in this country might never be threatened; that the whites in this country might never be subjected to domination; that the whites in this country would retain the freedom they had gained.

"That is why a distorted image of the NP is being created when someone should allege that this party has placed itself on a path along which the intention is to move to a situation where there can be domination.

"Simply, a majority vote, typical power-sharing in terms of one voters' roll based on a simple head count, and a situation in which the majority imposes its will on the minority, is not part of the NP's future.

## Diversity

"But we cannot simply stand still at this point in South Africa. In addition to the reality of diversity, and the reality of the existence of different peoples; in addition to the reality of the existence of groups which are not nations as such, there is another reality: this is that the interests of all those people living in the same magistrerial districts; in the same regions; and in the same areas, are interwoven.

"The big challenge facing us is to find a way — without subjecting ourselves to domination — to live in peace and good neighbourliness with other people."

Dr Treurnicht: "I have no problem with the idea of good neighbourliness and with good attitudes and with mutual respect and so forth, but we have to deal with a fact which has now been built into the constitutional dispensation. The established right which the white had, namely, that he had a sovereign Parliament and that he had the right to decide; he had the say over his own area.

"That right has been removed. The white is no longer in a position where he has a sovereign Parliament. He has one chamber in a tricameral dispensation. We are now in the situation where the Rev Hendrickse with his party in the House of

that ensures that the system has a firm foundation.

Dr Treurnicht: "No, that is definitely not true, Mr de Klerk. To begin with, the position of the present constitutional set-up: the situation is now that whites have been landed with an arrangement that they won't be able to change; the constitution can't be amended without the approval of the majority in the other two houses.

"Now let me add, we're not disputing that you have the majority. But that majority is decreasing, and after the next election it will be smaller. I am working on the assumption that in the next election the CP could win a majority of white votes.

"Should we gain that majority in the Assembly, we'd like to know from the NP: what do you plan to do? Will you acknowledge that as the express will of the white electorate?"

Mr de Klerk: "If you ever should win an election, then you would not be in the position of having to ask the NP. You would be in a position to take decisions yourself. We would then be in opposition.

"That question is really not relevant. You would then have to establish a relationship with other population groups.

## Revision

"You would have to negotiate with them. The constitution makes provision for its own revision.

Dr Treurnicht: "Your intention is to bring the blacks into the same dispensation. You have not made it clear whether this will be by means of a fourth chamber, but you say that they will be included and will form part of the legislature and executive power in the land. This is the most important issue."

Mr de Klerk: "I am sorry to see you are shying away from discussing your own policy. As far as the NaP is concerned, you, your party, and all your propaganda have neglected the other side. You will not recognise the other pillar on which we want to build the future — the pillar which says that any system

a political party.

"Let's take a closer look at this. The AWB is vehemently opposed to the ANC. The NP says it is, too.

## Outsider

"The CP says it is also opposed to the aims of the ANC. Apparently, the AWB thinks — and I am not a spokesman for the AWB but judging as an outsider — it would seem it anticipates a situation where there is a collapse of law and order in the country.

"And if after that there is no political party in power which can maintain law and order, then the AWB maintains it would be the organisation to step in. This we can safely leave right there, because we are now fighting to get the political party into power. And in this political struggle, the AWB supports the political thinking of the CP."

Mr de Klerk: "You have just defended the AWB and your association with the AWB again. And in the same breath you say that the AWB anticipates a situation in which law and order in South Africa will collapse.

"In other words, the AWB has so little confidence in the CP that it is supporting your position now. It has so little faith in the CP that it expects you to fail, and there will be a day when it will take over.

"No other interpretation can be placed on Mr TerreBlanche's words."

Dr Treurnicht: "Mr de Klerk, you are obsessed with the AWB. You have reason to fear it because the AWB is drastically opposed to the political direction you represent. If you were to give up your policy of power-sharing, you would render the AWB virtually meaningless overnight."

Mr de Klerk: "The NP is not afraid of the AWB. If you think we are afraid of them, you are underestimating the strong muscle of the NParty.

"We are not afraid, we put forward our policy, unafraid and fearless. You complain that we say you are too radical. We will stop saying so if you dissociate yourself from the AWB."



# Testing time for CP, NP at polls

Star 1/3/88

304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The two parliamentary by-elections in the Transvaal tomorrow are the culmination of a particularly bitter and vindictive battle between the National Party and the Conservative Party.

At stake is a lot more than the seats of Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton, constituencies won by the CP from the NP in the 1987 general election.

The CP is determined to show that its growth has not peaked and that it is steadily on the march to win control of the Transvaal, and eventually South Africa.

The NP desperately wants to show the CP swing has been stopped, if not reversed.

The CP is predicting privately it will win Standerton with a majority of 3 000 votes (last year's majority was 952) and Schweizer-Reneke with 1 000 (1987: 191).

The NP is outwardly expressing optimism it will win Schweizer-Reneke and come close in Standerton. But, privately, senior members say it will be a moral victory if the party can hold its 1987 position.

The third party in both by-elections, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, is not expected to make much of an impact.

In Schweizer-Reneke, where HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais is standing, the Nationalists are hoping the HNP factor will split the right-wing vote sufficiently to allow the NP to win.

Both by-elections are the consequence of the sitting CP MPs being disqualified.

In the case of Standerton, Mr Rosier de Ville was disqualified because he stood for election while holding an office of profit under the State as deputy sheriff of Standerton.

In Schweizer-Reneke, Mr Jakobus Beyers was declared to be insolvent, disqualifying him from being an MP and also a voter.

Mr de Ville, having resigned as deputy sheriff, is standing for re-election. The CP in Standerton is claiming the National Party "ran him out of Parliament" on a technicality.

In Schweizer-Reneke, the CP has been insinuating that the Government's disastrous financial policies led to Mr Beyers's downfall.

The big campaign issues, however, have been the Government's constitutional and economic policies, security and petty apartheid.

Nationalists believe they have the CP licked when it comes to the issue of security. The voters of both Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke are conscious, they say, of being close to South African borders (even if these are homeland borders).

In time, the NP believes, the voters must also see the wisdom of the Government's reform initiatives and the non-viability of the CP's partition policy.

The CP has focused mainly on two emotional issues in its campaign, the breakdown of the Group Areas Act and integration on beaches.

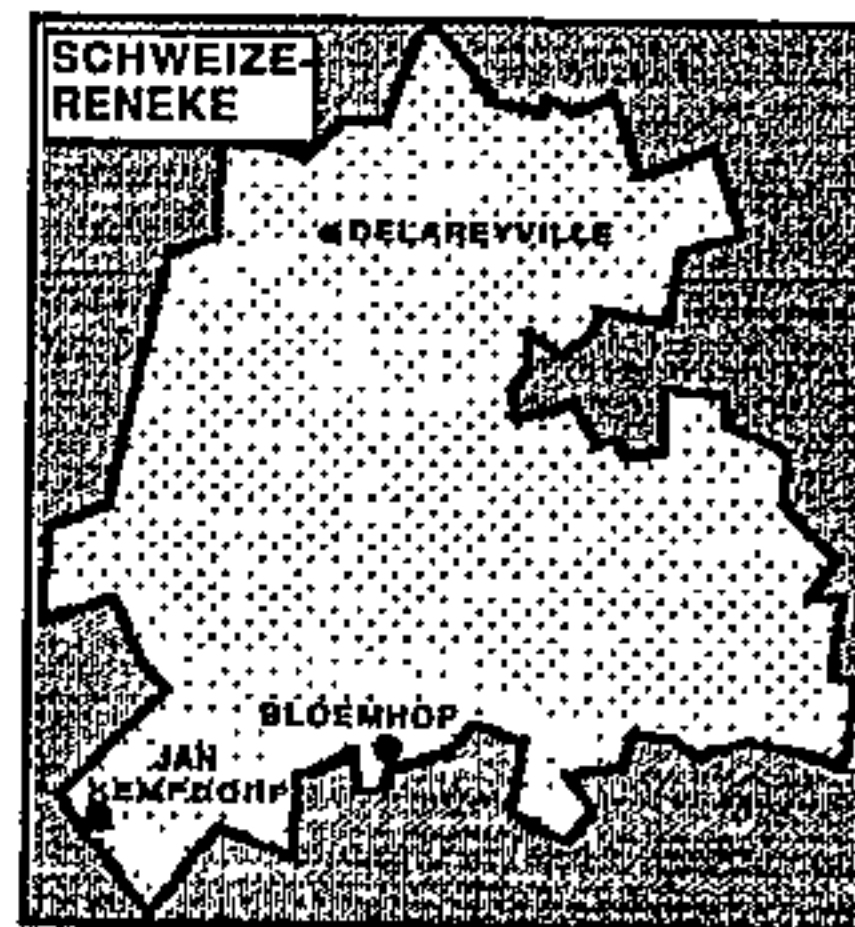
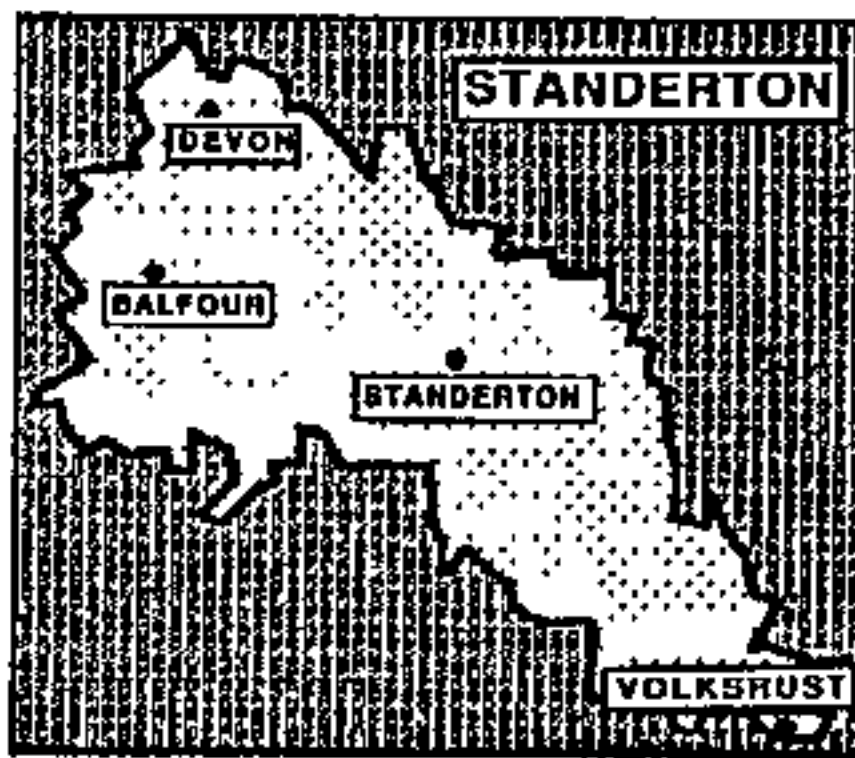
Part of this campaign has involved publicity about the recent over-crowding on Durban beaches, in which, the CP claims, blacks fornicated in the children's swimming pool, defecated on the beach and generally behaved in a drunken and disorderly manner.

A further tactic of the CP has been to exploit the group identity of Afrikaners, attempting to make out that it alone represents the real interests of this group.

Last year's election revealed that about 36 percent of all Afrikaners who voted in the Transvaal supported either the CP or the HNP. The National Party's share of this group shrank to about 58 percent.

Both parties anxiously await the outcome of tomorrow's polls to see how the battle for the hearts and minds of this group is progressing.

(Report by DM Braun, Press Gallery, Parliament)







The Great Debate . . . Dr Andries Treurnicht (left) and Mr F W de Klerk, separated by mediator Mr Johan Greeff, chairman of the President's Council.

# Debate 'exercise in evasion' — Marais

Steve 1/3/88  
Pretoria Bureau

Last night's television debate between Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk will not swing the vote in the two parliamentary by-elections — in Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton — being held tomorrow.

This is the view of Professor Toekes Kruger, head of the department of political science at Unisa.

"It will not swing the vote either way.

## ALREADY DECIDED

"Everyone (in the constituencies) may have watched the debate, but they would have already decided how they will vote tomorrow."

Professor Kruger also found the debate unsatisfying in that it did not deal with policy issues.

"I wonder what Mr de Klerk would have debated if not the AWB?" he said.

Dr Treurnicht was clearer on policy issues, he thought, although both men evaded specific questions. Professor Kruger, who pointed out that he did not belong to any political party, gave the debate to Dr Treurnicht "by one or two points".

(3049)

Hersigste Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais, who is a third candidate in the Schweizer-Reneke by-election, described the TV debate as "an exercise in evasion".

Dr Marais said it was "rather disappointing that, in an extended debate, neither party got his position over clearly on any issue".

On the participants' performance, Mr Marais said Mr de Klerk gave the impression he was self-confident.

"I think, on the whole, he came through better than Dr Treurnicht."

Mr Marais said Dr Treurnicht appeared to be intimidated by the AWB mass demonstration in Pretoria at the weekend.

In a close-fought election like the Schweizer-Reneke by-election, such a show could have an effect.

NP party workers in Standerton, where Wednesday's other by-election is to be held, differed from this view, although they were delighted with Mr de Klerk's performance.

Mr Abrie Hanekom, deputy secretary of the Transvaal NP, said the debate would have "little effect at this stage".

(Report by C Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

King in  
loyees'



is taken as a  
basis; if not,

AND CUL-

ment of the  
ral Affairs are  
tion. Details  
course;

per student  
he Minister of

ted cost to the  
udent for the  
of the medical  
control of his  
aspect of what  
ished?

ON AND CUL-

University

Cape Town  
Stellenbosch

OFS  
Pretoria  
Natal  
Tritwatersrand

on the subsidy  
ating the 1988



# HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

† Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

## Constituency boundaries: redelimitation

\*1. Mr D J DALLING asked the State President:

Whether he intends to initiate procedures in 1988 which will result in the redelimitation of constituency boundaries for the House of Assembly; if not, why not; if so, (a) what procedures and (b) when?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

A Joint Select Committee of Parliament is presently investigating the entire matter concerning the delimitation of constituencies of all three the Houses.

The redelimitation of constituency boundaries will consequently only come under consideration after this Committee has submitted its report.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 23 February 1988:

## South African newspapers: non-South African journalists on staffs

\*18. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether his Department keeps statistics on the number of non-South African journalists on the staffs of South African newspapers; if not, why not; if so, how many were there as at the latest specified date for which statistics are available?

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Department does not keep statistics on a continual basis of non-South African journalists on the staffs of South African newspapers. As part of its control of aliens in South Africa, the Department during the second half of 1986

obtained returns in terms of section 5 *quat* of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937), from thousands of employers in respect of foreign workers in their employ. This survey included 21 South African newspapers. From their returns it has been established that 115 non-South Africans, who can contribute towards influencing public opinion, are in their employ as journalists and photographers. The number represents 103 holders of permanent residence permits and 12 holders of temporary work permits. According to the records of the Department, 59 of the permits for permanent residence were issued prior to 1976, 16 between 1976 and 1980, 26 between 1981 and 1985 and 2 during 1986. Of the holders of temporary work permits, 3 have already left South Africa, whilst the permits of the others are being reviewed on a regular basis.

Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it possible that there are actually non-South African journalists employed on the staff of the SABC?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the survey did not include the SABC, and I therefore cannot reply to the question.

New Questions:

## Treatment of animals: legislation

\*1. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether he received any representations in 1987 from any persons or organizations on the possible improvement of legislation relating to the treatment of animals; if so, (a) from whom in each case, (b) what was the gravamen of the representations and (c) what action does he intend taking as a result?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

Yes. The representations can be categorized as follows:

- Firstly (a) Various groups of people and institutions including the Animal Welfare Society of South Africa and the Animal Anti-Cruelty League, as well as certain individuals.
- (b) That legislation to regulate and control animal experimentation be enacted.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



Therefore action is being taken against the transgressors in the interests of the residents of the area and the law abiding persons who visit the beach.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he perhaps inform us how the police decided that the men who were flocking to the beach were of dubious character? [Interjections.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, have there been any arrests or have the police acted in any way against these gentlemen of dubious character, or have they only acted against the topless sunbathers?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the hon member is now after something that is not clear to me. [Interjections.] People flock to the beach and the local residents complain to us that there are unsavoury characters in the neighbourhood. Therefore we act against those people who cause the influx of unsavoury characters. Now the hon member is angry with us; now he is at loggerheads with us. I do not want to spoil the hon member's fun. I do not think that the hon member will be seen in that light when he pays a visit there.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask whether he is saying that although he has said across the floor of the House that the result of this is that a lot of insubrious characters have arrived there, the police have taken no action against those other people?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if the people who flock there do not commit an offence, why should we pick them up?

Topless bathing/sunbathing: directives to members of SAP

\*12 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any directive has been issued to members of the South African Police regarding topless bathing or sunbathing; if so, (a) what is the content of the directive and (b) (i) by whom and (ii) when was it issued?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) and (b) Fall away

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Seating arrangements: non-Whites in back two rows of aircraft

\*13. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether, on flight SA 314 from Cape Town to Johannesburg on 10 February 1988, the back two rows of the aircraft were occupied by persons who are not White; if so,

(2) whether these persons requested to be allowed to sit in these rows; if not,

(3) whether this represents a change in the policy of the South African Airways in regard to seating arrangements for persons who are not White; if so, (a) why and (b) who took the decision in this regard; if not, what is the policy of the Airways in regard to the seating of persons of different race groups in their aircraft?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS.

(1) Particulars of the race of air passengers are not recorded on passenger records.

(2) Particulars of requests for specific seats are not kept.

(3) No, a uniform policy in respect of seating allocations in the economy class, viz a choice of seat during check-in or if such a choice is not made, at random by computer, is applied.

Ballot papers: security measures

\*14. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether any security measures are taken to ensure that ballot papers are not tampered with after a general or by-election; if not, why not; if so, what security measures?

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Yes. The hon member's attention is invited to section 80 read with section 107 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979). Marked ballot papers and the counterfoils of such ballot papers are sealed separately in the presence of representatives of political parties. The marked ballot papers are kept in the sealed packets by the Returning Officer and the counterfoils are kept in the sealed packets by the Chief Electoral Officer in Pretoria for a period

of twelve months before they are destroyed. All these documents are kept in safe custody for the said period. Access to such ballot papers may be granted only by an order of the Supreme Court.

Government's economic policy: advertising campaign in Press

\*15. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

Whether the Bureau for Information is involved in the current advertising campaign in the Press aimed at presenting the Government's proposed economic policy for the Republic to the public at large; if so, (a) to what extent, (b) what was the cost of this campaign as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (c) which newspapers are involved, (d) what is the combined circulation figure of these newspapers and (e) on whose (1) advice and (2) authority were these advertisements placed?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

Yes.

(a) The Bureau for Information was responsible for the preparation and placement of the advertisements.

(b) R153 768,16 on 1 March 1988.

(c) (i) Newspapers

Rapport

Sunday Times

Sunday Tribune

Beeld

Die Burger

The Star

The Argus

The Citizen

Sowetan

Business Day

Oosertig

Die Volksblad

City Press

Ilanga

Imvo Zabantsundu

Eastern Province Herald

(ii) Magazines

Africa Business

Finansies en Tegniek

Finance Week  
Financial Mail

(d) 2 123 718 (newspapers only)  
2 197 818 (magazines included)

(e) (i) Bureau for Information

(ii) The Deputy Minister of Information.

Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask whether he would be prepared to give us an estimated figure as to how much of the new budget is going to be used to promote the image of the hon the State President and the NP?

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That is not a question arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply.

Ellisras: new power station

\*16. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:

Whether a new power station is being constructed in the Ellisras area; if so, (a) what is its megawatt output, (b) what (i) is its capital cost and (ii) was its original budgeted cost, (c) when (i) did construction commence and (ii) was it completed or is it due to be completed and (d) on what date was this power station originally due to start operating?

†The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

Yes, the Matimba power station.

(a) 3 900 MW on completion.

(b) (i) R3 927 million on forecast (in 1988 money values).  
(ii) R3 880 million, excluding interest charges.

(c) (i) 1981.

(ii) September 1991.

(d) Unit 1 of the power station should have started to operate in September 1986 but was only put into operation in September 1987 and the delay did not increase the estimated final cost of the project. Unit 2 was completed in December 1987.

\*17. Mr D J N MALCOMESS—Transport Affairs [Withdrawn]



*1/3/88*  
**Govt prepares for more crackdowns**

By BARRY STREEK *(227) (3000)*

THE first steps towards a parliamentary investigation into foreign funding of anti-apartheid organizations were taken yesterday.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said he would propose today that a select committee be appointed to investigate whether tighter controls were necessary to prevent money being brought into South Africa that endangered public safety or the maintenance of public order.

The committee will also investigate whether a new bill, the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, ensured that political aims and objectives were pursued "without interference, financial or otherwise, from outside the Republic".

PFP spokeswoman on civil liberties Mrs Helen Suzman said her instinctive reaction was "to say that this will be an effort to deliver the final death blow to whatever is left of extra-parliamentary organizations after the recent banings".

CHIEF TALKS 1/3/88

# PRP to disband and join Progs

304A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The opposition Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates is to disband and its members will join the Progressive Federal Party, party leader Mr Pat Poovalingam said yesterday.

The PRP has three seats in the 45-member House of Delegates.

Mr Poovalingam said that by "joining with the PFP, we in the PRP can better fight apartheid and expose more fully the hypocrisy of those who support the government".

"I will recommend to the next meeting of my party that it disband and its members join the PFP," he said after talks



Mr Pat Poovalingam

with PFP national leader Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Roger Burrows, the party's Natal leader.

"The PRP stands for a truly non-racial society in South Africa and has always accepted unequivocally the policies

and principles of the PFP.

"Had it not been for the Improper Political Interference Act, those of us in the PRP would without doubt have been members of the PFP.

"After the act was repealed, the PFP's campaign against the 1983 constitution and certain sensitivities by some of its senior members regarding co-operation with extra-parliamentary bodies persuaded the PFP to keep aloof from the House of Delegates.

"The forum provided by Parliament should be used continuously to highlight the complete immorality of apartheid and the racism inherent in it."



# Whites' rights the crux of great TV clash



Dr Treurnicht



Mr De Klerk

THE preservation of white rights and identity was the main thrust of last night's TV debate between Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

The first television confrontation between two political opponents boiled down to a restatement of often-stated policy positions.

Dr Treurnicht was adamant that his party's solution to South Africa's problems lay firmly embedded in the preservation of white rights and the maintenance of a white identity.

Mr De Klerk strove to give equal force to his argument that the communal interest of all people in South Africa could not be denied and that a broader democracy coupled with entrenched rights for the Indian, coloured and whites was the only solution.

To this, Dr Treurnicht responded that relinquishing a sovereignty over own interests represented the destruction of white South Africa, its heritage and its future.

Mr De Klerk countered that this was not true. Power sharing did not mean a sell-out of any one group. While the veto applied in respect of the Indian and Coloured Houses, it applied equally to whites.

● John Scott sums up the debate — Page 3

To page 4

From page 1

## TV debate

According to the constitution, whites were perfectly safe.

Dr Treurnicht argued on the lines that if the Conservative Party came to power, the elected white government would decide its own political future and, if necessary, change the constitution to ensure that the electorate's will was implemented.

Mr De Klerk countered that while it was true that the Conservative Party could decide the country's future, should it win an election, it would nevertheless have to accept that it was in partnership with the other constituent members of Parliament and that their views had to be taken into consideration.

On the question of a fourth chamber to include blacks, Mr De Klerk made it clear that this was not part of government thinking.

One of the major issues of the debate was the fraternization between the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Mr De Klerk claimed that, by its failure to condemn actions of the AWB at its rally at the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria on Saturday and its subsequent march and motorcade on the Union Buildings to present a petition to the State President demanding the establishment of a Boerestaat, the Conservative Party had condoned the AWB's radical views.

Dr Treurnicht claimed that the AWB was basically a cultural organization that saw its future in a political victory by the Conservative Party over the National Party.

Mr De Klerk countered by saying that the AWB, by its own admission, was a political organization intent upon bringing about the downfall of the National Party and the usurping of power to establish a white Afrikaner state.

Sapa

# PW hints at flag minus Union Jack

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha suggested last night that Parliament should give "serious attention" to the possible removal of the Union Jack from the South African flag.

Mr Botha's strong hint that changes to the country's 60-year-old flag should be considered follows appeals by British MPs of various parties to Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to ask the Republic to remove the Union Jack from its flag.

Mr Botha said in a statement last night that he had consistently followed the point of view of his predecessors Dr H F Verwoerd and Mr B J Vorster, who had not been prepared to "reopen the fierce debate of the past" on the design of the flag.

"But if the British government wishes to interfere with the composition of

DO YOU think the Union Jack should be removed from the South African flag? Have your say in our Teleletters column by phoning 208-4722 between 9am and midday today.

a South African symbol on this basis, the question may be asked whether the South African Parliament should not give this matter its serious attention."

Mr Botha added: "It is surprising that the agitation against the South African flag from Britain is not taking into consideration the feelings of English-speaking South Africans."

In his statement, the State President noted that the current design of the flag was accepted by Parliament in 1927 "after a long and bitter political dispute".

To page 4

From page 1

## Flag

Mr Botha said the flag symbolized not only the history of South Africa, "but is indeed a symbol of national unity and nationhood".

Mr Botha's remarks drew lively reaction from political parties in Parliament.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said: "It is strange how on this occasion Mr Botha appears to be ready to bow down before foreign pressure — even before the pressure has taken place."

"The alacrity with which Mr Botha has re-

sponded to the taunts from certain British MPs on the flag issue either shows how desperate he is to divert attention from the political bankruptcy of his government or reveals the fact that he would really like to change the South African flag."

"Whatever the reasons for Mr Botha's hurried response may be, if a national flag is going to have any value it has to be a symbol of unity, not just for one section, but for the South African people as a whole."

The chief whip of the PFP, Mr John Malcommess, said: "It would appear that Mr Botha is leaping to a conclusion which suits him — a group of people and not the British government have proposed this move."

"It appears that Mr Botha will use any excuse he can find to change the flag."

English-speaking MP in the CP, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said: "It is ironical that the British took our country in their empire-building way and now they want to take part of our flag. If that is what they want, we will support them."

The deputy chairman of the National Party in Natal, Mr Jurie Mentz, said: "You cannot just wipe out our history. Britain has played a big part in the development of our country. Our history is in our flag, incorporating as it does the flags of the OFS and Transvaal republics."



# The great TV yawn debate...

By JOHN SCOTT

AS debates go, the Great TV Debate was dullsville.

It was so clinically correct, so studiously polite, that you would never have guessed two politicians straddling the entire political spectrum from the right to the left of Genghis Khan were actually talking about how 30 million South Africans could live together without tearing out one another's throats.

Both Dr Andries Treurnicht,

who had the first word, and Mr F W de Klerk, who had the last, were sartorially impeccable, in dark suits and muted striped ties. Neither ever raised his voice nor flashed with anger.

F W initially seemed more relaxed, sitting in his little box with a characteristic, half-smile hovering around his mouth. But as the debate progressed, switching from one to another when their miniscule and strictly allotted times ran out, it was the Nationalist Transvaal leader who began to bumble a bit.

In fact, at the end he was positively platitudinous about support for visions of peace and other virtuous phenomena.

Dr Treurnicht, on the other hand, showed the merest trace of being rattled early on when asked to spell out the consequences of CP policy (he rambled on about the Nats bringing blacks into the Cabinet — fat hope of that).

But he visibly gained in confidence, even when sidestepping questions about his storm-trooping support group, the AWB, and

ended on a stronger note.

Neither of them were ever stuck for words, though once or twice Mr De Klerk seemed to draw a deep breath before replying. The constant irony lay in his defence of policies (the need to accommodate millions of blacks politically outside their homelands, for example) that not so long ago his party was attacking when suggested by the opposition of the day.

Dr Treurnicht, in turn, switched to English momentarily to refer to concepts such as

"equal opportunity and democratic processes" as though these were political swear-words.

The chairman, Mr Johan Greff, was so neutral you didn't see or hear him unless he was gruffly calling for time.

My guess is that TV debates will fall flat on their face unless someone somehow desanitizes them. A bit of the old soapbox cut and thrust, with noises off, would help.

Who won? That depends entirely on whose side you were on in the first place.

# Govt threat 'ridiculous' <sup>3044</sup>AWB

By CHRIS STEYN

**ACTION** against the AWB would be a misuse of government powers, said AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday.

Reacting to indications that the government was planning to act against the militant organization, Mr Terre'Blanche said: "I assume that the National Party would try anything to stop the rise of the movement, but it would be ridiculous to restrict us."

The government would "totally overplay their powers if they try to restrict the AWB", he said. "And if they actually did that, there will be no evidence of free speech left in the country."

Government sources indicated that the weekend rally by armed AWB men — many of whom were in nazi-type uniforms — was being investigated.

Although Mr Terre'Blanche warned followers at the weekend "to prepare for the night, when in violence, the AWB will claim what is rightfully theirs", he denied yesterday that the organization was a threat to the state.

● Mrs Helen Suzman yesterday criticized the fact that "heavily armed" AWB members had met with "no resistance whatsoever", while stern police action had been taken against a peaceful group of clerics in Cape Town.



CAPF Times 1/3/88

# CP, PFP react to Anglo move

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Labour Party and the Progressive Federal Party yesterday welcomed the decision by Anglo American Properties (Ampros) to disregard the Group Areas Act — but the Conservative Party called on the government to act against the company's "open civil disobedience".

The government maintained a low profile on the issue yesterday with the Deputy Minister of Development Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, who is responsible for the administration of the Group Areas Act, saying he had "no further comment".

Mr Badenhorst also said he could give no estimate of when the proposed amendments to give "more teeth" to the Group Areas Act would come before Parliament.

Asked if he could give an indication of what sort of amendments to the law were being considered, Mr Badenhorst replied: "That is not known yet."

The Labour Party leader, Mr

Allan Hendrickse, said his party wanted to congratulate Anglo American and "assure them they can count on our support".

Businessmen were in a position to play a strong political role and it was high time they took a political lead, especially since President P W Botha had appealed to them for their support for his economic policies, he said.

The PFP spokesman on the Group Areas Act, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the Anglo move would be "a strong blow" against the law.

## Race relations

"There are of course hundreds of landlords and estate agents who have been ignoring the Group Areas Act in this way for years.

"They deserve the respect of all decent South Africans for the risks they take in the interests of better race relations and of sounder business practices."

The CP spokesman on Constitutional Development, Mr Moolman Mentz, said the Anglo decision was "frankly not surprising" and added that Mr Badenhorst's "tub-

thumping may well fall on deaf ears".

"Mr Badenhorst must act against Ampros's open civil disobedience if he and his party wish to retain any credibility with the voters, particularly the ones directly affected by the government's dithering with the Group Areas Act application."

Mr Van der Merwe said he was surprised by Mr Badenhorst's threat to give more teeth to the Group Areas Act in order to apply it more strictly because this was not recommended by the President's Council.

"If Mr Badenhorst knows what is going on, he must realize that the Group Areas Act is on its way out, even it may take some time.

"The mixed status of areas like Hillbrow, Mayfair, Woodstock and others has come about in spite of the Group Areas restrictions.

"This process is continuing at an increasing pace in many others and cannot be stopped because the government case is devoid of all moral justification," Mr Van der Merwe said.

# LP welcomes Anglo stand on

CAPE TOWN — Anglo-American Properties' decision to disregard the Group Areas Act in future has drawn mixed reaction.

The Conservative Party has called for the government to act against Anglo, while the Labour Party congratulated the giant property company on its stand.

Both parties have also issued scathing comments on the statement made by the deputy-minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, that the Group

Areas Act would be given teeth once provision for open areas was made.

The CP's Mr Moolman Mentz said that the decision by Anglo-American was "frankly not surprising" as the government had been disregarding the Act for years.

Mr Mentz said the CP had called on the government to act in Hillbrow in 1984 and again before the general election last year.

He said Mr Badenhorst had made many "hard line" statements in the past but that no action had followed.

"Mr Badenhorst must act against Ampros' "open civil disobedience" if he and the National Party wished to retain any credibility with the voters, particularly those directly affected by the government's "dithering with the Group Areas Act application".

The Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said it was high time that business took a political lead, especially after the State President had appealed to them for support for his economic measures.

"Businessmen are in a

position to play a much stronger political role and the Labour Party supports Anglo in this particular effort.

"The Labour Party appeals to all businesses, especially those involved in housing and estate agencies to follow Anglo's lead.

On the question of Mr Badenhorst's new threat, Mr Hendrickse said the time had come for the deputy-minister to be challenged to translate his threats into action.

"He is living in a fool's paradise, very far from the realities of South Africa."



# Stand down call: no comment

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The National Party MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, declined to comment yesterday on the call by opposition MPs for his resignation as chairman of the parliamentary standing committee on trade and industry.

Mr De Pontes said from Cape Town last night that he had no comment to make.

A Conservative Party spokesman on economic affairs, Mr Clive Derby Lewis, said earlier that Mr De Pontes should be suspended until his relationship with the convicted drug smuggler, Roberto Palazzolo, was cleared up.

He said the suspension should be enforced as the committee members had access to "sensitive" information at times.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on economic affairs, Mr Roger Hulley, said that if questions currently on the parliamentary question paper were not satisfactorily answered, Mr De Pontes should stand down until they were.

The police investigation into the whole Palazzolo affair in South Africa is still in progress and no official statements have been released yet.



# 'Duck and dive' TV debate

**CONSERVATIVE** Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk ducked and defended when they clashed in their much celebrated television debate last night.

Dr Treurnicht ducked questions on aspects of his party's partition policy and its viability while Mr de Klerk was on the defensive when it came to aspects of National Party policy and black political rights.

Mr de Klerk had Dr Treurnicht against the ropes when it came to the CP's close links with the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

He wrung from Dr Treurnicht the remark that he did not subscribe to the AWB's "boerestaat" policy, but he would also not distance himself from the AWB as he did not think it was a political party.

On balance Mr de Klerk, with his pleas for a realistic approach, came out of the debate marginally better than Dr Treurnicht.

On the other hand Dr Treurnicht's simplifications of basic issues such as his view of the right of different race groups to govern themselves — without dealing with the realities of the situation — no doubt made an impression on conservative-minded whites.

As political observers expected Dr Treurnicht again showed that he is a slippery politician and that it is difficult to pin him down on any-tthing of substance.

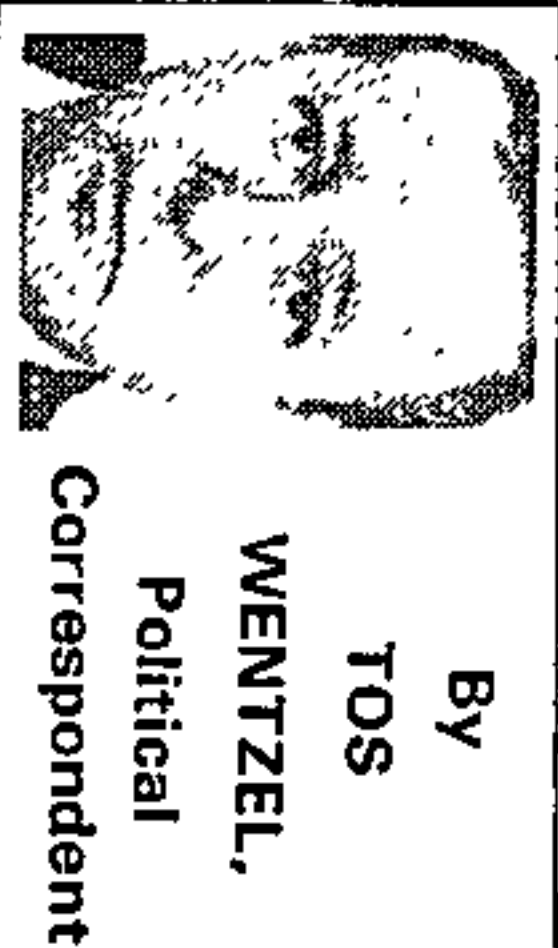
## Sectional debate

Being in a Government with no clear idea at this stage on what it has in mind for real political rights for blacks Mr de Klerk was on the other hand forced on the defensive on this issue.

The future of the political control of whites over their own affairs was one of the main issues in a largely sectional debate, chaired by Mr Johan Greff, chairman of the President's Council.

The first subject to be discussed was a constitutional and political plan for the future for South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht maintained that for any nation, especially



By  
TOS  
WENTZEL,  
Political  
Correspondent

Like a "Trojan horse" it was undermining the democracy and free enterprise Dr Treurnicht said he stood for.

He challenged Dr Treurnicht to say if he associated himself with the newly-acknowledged radicalism of the AWB.

## Obsessed

Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk was obsessed with the AWB.

The AWB had stated that it was not planning to operate as a political party. The AWB anticipated a situation where law and order could collapse and pretended that it could then act.

This could "calmly" be left there as the battle at present was to get the political party in power and in this political battle the AWB supported the thinking of the CP.

The CP did not agree with the AWB's "boerestaat" idea.

On the Group Areas issue Mr de Klerk said the National Party would ensure that a ground pattern of own residential areas would be maintained but in specific areas the factual situation would have to be regulated.

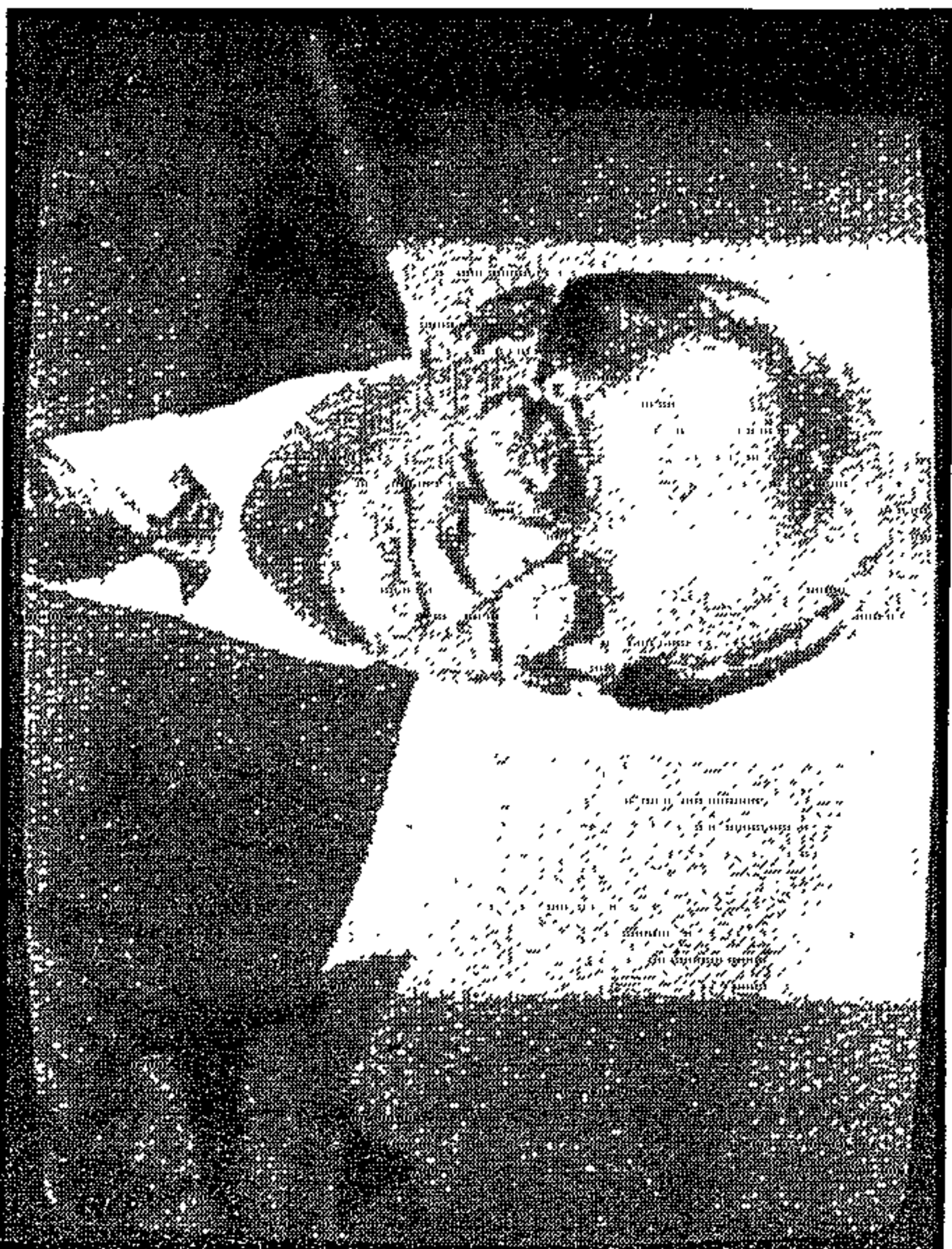
Dr Treurnicht referred to the "crowding out" of whites from their own living areas.

Conditions on the beaches of Durban had been shocking. In traditionally white areas such as Hillbrow, Mayfair, Bezuidenhout, Durban and Cape Town the situation was worsening by the day.

Mr de Klerk said the National Party was not happy about the beach situation.

It saw the "broadening" of beach facilities as part of the solution but own beaches for those who wanted this would be maintained.

Near the end of the debate Dr Treurnicht returned to the inclusion of blacks in the National Party's constitutional model.



Dr Treurnicht: "Conditions on the beaches, in white areas have become shocking. The National Party is obsessed with the AWB."

While there were 166 representatives for whites he calculated that there would have to be 4 500 blacks if their representatives were brought into Parliament.

Mr de Klerk said Government leaders, and also black leaders, did not see a fourth chamber as part of the solution.

Negotiations were necessary to decide how blacks should become involved in legislative processes.

Blacks already had "own affairs" to a much larger extent than the arrangements for whites, coloureds and Indians in the present constitution.

While all groups lived in the same country a way would have to be found to give a fair participation in decision-making to all, unless the aim was continued white domination, otherwise these other groups would be driven into the arms of the radicals.

Dr Treurnicht said the Government was preparing the way for domination by planning joint decision-making.

Mr de Klerk's last point was that the division and the sharing of power must ensure that the reasonable people in the country would stand together against the real enemy which wanted to grab all power.



Mr de Klerk: "Like a Trojan horse, the AWB is undermining the democracy and free enterprise you say the CP stands for."

## Time please, gentlemen said the chairman

**DEBATE:** to hold formal argument. That, anyway, is one definition given by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary.

You couldn't get much closer to that truth than the sheer formality that enumbered the debate between Messrs Treurnicht and De Klerk last night.

And *encumbered* is the word, for, regardless of what Oxford, Chambers or any other authority might espouse, when you're talking television debate, you're talking potential sparks and fire.

Oh, it was formal all right. From the precision with which they (or their studio attendants) had applied their ties before the show (show?) to the most refined curl of the lip (no sneering here) or cynical hint of a smile — though Dr Treurnicht did offer one brief beamer, which the camera caught in the nick of time.

Time! We were left in no doubt, not for a second/second.



By  
TONY  
JACKMAN,  
Television  
Reporter

kond, as to who was allowed how much of it.

The SABC, no doubt with some leverage from the parties/Parties involved, was so intent on giving each his precise number of seconds that I began wondering if it was Thursday and this was St Elsewhere.

Maybe there's something to ponder in that.

I kept expecting the chairman to say: "Game, Navratilova" — though both would have been a bit shocked had he done so.

Dertig sekonde. (Sorry, but we have this space problem).

There was too much choreography here — if the word can be applied to

something so static. And spontaneity? Forget it.

Mr De Klerk has, it could be argued (will somebody please argue!), been taking lessons from Pik.

Sure, he needs a few more, but he's learning. There was a certain fatherly style, though, which gave a nod to that accomplished user of the medium.

There was also a certain Pik-styled lowering of the voice, and Mr de Klerk did a good degree of nodding — which is not to imply he was agreeing with Dr T, of course.

## Fire, please

Dr Treurnicht was upright and forthright which, I suppose, was appropriate. A touch too dry and bland, though — or is this the doomineergitte style that sends his supporters into a frenzy of voting?

But oh, where was the debate? The ducking and diving, the challenging. Any po-

tential for this was lost in a sober clique of clocks and time-keepers — Geagie voorsitter this, meener that.

Time? Fire, gentlemen, please.

Dress? There was little to tell the difference between them — both elegantly, if a touch too soberly, suited, Mr de Klerk with his diagonal black and blue-striped tie, Treurnicht with his diagonal black and burgundy number.

As for playing to the viewers — some of them out there are voters, and don't they know it — not once did either of them so much as glance at the camera. Only in their words, and the occasional hint of body language, was there any acknowledgement of a target audience.

One more little point: there was more greenery behind Dr T, but no doubt this was an oversight.

Die tyd vir hierdie onderwerp is verstryk.



tant to know who governed over them.

The sovereign Parliament of the whites had been taken away and they now had only one chamber in a tricameral parliament with a veto right given to the two other groups.

Mr de Klerk replied that the National Party stood for the whites never being dominated, but on the other hand whites had never in history been on their own and never would be. The interests of the groups were inter-woven.

The challenge was to find a way of peace and good neighbourliness without exposing whites to domination. This was why he maintained that CP policy was not viable.

Dr Treurnicht hit back by referring to the Nationalists' concept of city states.

There had already been considerable progress with the development of black states.

When it came to the discussion on the CP's links with the AWB Mr de Klerk referred to the weekend rally of the AWB and Dr Treurnicht's recent "glowing defence" of the AWB as a cultural organisation.

He maintained that Dr Treurnicht was being misused by the AWB.

## Opposition slates debate — CP, NP claim victory

### Political Correspondent

**T**HE National Party and the Conservative Party today both claimed victory in the De Klerk-Treurnicht television debate.

But opposition spokesmen said it had been a waste of time in which the country as a whole had lost.

UCT academic Professor Robert Schrire, professor of Political Studies, said the debate had been a stalemate in the sense that people probably came away from it with attitudes unchanged.

He thought Dr A P Treurnicht had won in the more fundamental sense because he dictated the issues. With the exception of the AWB issue, Mr F W de Klerk was on the defensive.

Finally the country was the loser because people who were not white would have been left with a complete sense of hopelessness.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said the debate had not addressed any issues beyond white politics.

In the context of election politics in constituencies such as Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton, which are going to the polls in

by-elections tomorrow, it was Dr Treurnicht who won. Mr de Klerk, on the other hand, had shown greater reality in the overview of South Africa he had taken.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said the debate had been irrelevant, as it was clear that neither politician had the solution to bringing about a new political dispensation.

Mr Frank le Roux MP, Chief Whip of the CP in Parliament, said his followers were proud of Dr Treurnicht's performance. He thought Mr de Klerk had been snide and had not dealt with the real issues raised by the CP.

Mr Con Botha, MP, chief information officer of the NP, said Mr de Klerk had been more articulate and therefore more effective than Dr Treurnicht.

After the debate Mr de Klerk said Dr Treurnicht had failed to spell out CP policy or its consequences, and he had again refused to take a stand on principle against the radicalism of the AWB.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk had not answered questions, and the answers he had given had not satisfied him.

## Political Staff

The Government has introduced legislation which might be aimed at curbing the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)

The new Bill, the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, also gives the Government much wider powers to stop foreign funding of extra-parliamentary groups and dramatically increases penalties for breaking the law.

Parliament has decided to appoint a select committee to examine the Bill.

Clauses 16 and 17 of the Bill could be used against the AWB (as well as other organisations), observers say.

They empower the Minister of Justice to "identify" any flag, standard, banner, badge, emblem, mark or slogan if he believes its display may have the effect of harming relations between groups.

Any person who publicly displays an "identified" emblem can be convicted and imprisoned for not more than two years or fined not more than R4 000.

The same penalties apply to anyone who "attends or remains at any gathering, concourse,

# New Govt Bill

Star 2/3/88

## could restrict AWB activities

304A

procession, congregation of persons" where an identified emblem is displayed.

The bill makes it clear that the Minister of Justice may "identify" an emblem if he thinks the display of it could have any effect referred to in clause 16 of the Bill.

### Hostility

Clause 16 states that it is an offence for anyone to say or do anything which causes hostility between different national, cultural or religious groups or hurts or insults members of the group or incites violence against them.

The penalty is also up to two years' imprisonment or fine of R4 000.

The remainder of the Bill is aimed at ensuring that "political aims and objects ought to be pursued in the Republic

without interference, monetary or otherwise, from abroad".

The Bill closes loopholes in existing acts aimed at controlling political funding but also creates a new category of "restricted" organisations or persons.

The Minister of Justice may declare a person or organisation to be "restricted" if he believes it pursues the political aim of endangering public safety or is being used to channel money into the country for that purpose.

A Registrar of Restricted Organisations and Persons is created and all foreign money coming to restricted organisations or persons will have to be paid to the registrar.

Only money not to be used for political purposes will be returned.

The remainder will be

either returned to its source or disposed of as the Minister decides.

Powers are given to the authorities to ensure that money returned to the organisation or person is used only for the declared purposes.

The registrar may appoint inspectors who may at any time, without notice or a warrant, enter any premises and search for money and records.

### Closely defined

The Bill closely defines foreign funding by, for instance, including money paid from the South African bank account of a person resident, or a company with a head office, outside the country.

The maximum penalties for contravening these provisions are a fine of R20 000 or twice the money involved,

whichever is the greater, or 10 years' imprisonment, or both.

The Bill also closes loopholes in other Acts.

The Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act is scrapped and, instead, the new Bill "absolutely prohibits" political parties from getting money from abroad and all other organisations and persons are prohibited from getting overseas money for political aims.

The new Bill also tightens the Affected Organisations Act by applying it to persons as well as organisations and by making it compulsory for affected organisations and persons to keep financial records and furnish them to the Registrar of Affected Organisations and Persons.

The Fund-raising Act is changed to ensure better control of fund-raising from the public and vastly to increase fines for contravening the Act.

The maximum penalties are increased from three to 10 years' imprisonment and from a fine of R1 500 to R20 000 or both.

The Bill also widens the powers of the authorities to inspect organisations or persons connected with fund-raising.



# AWB, ANC the same <sup>Star 2/1/58</sup> Pik (304A)

Wes Rand Bureau

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Randfontein last night that the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) was giving the ANC an excellent example of how radicals should behave both by its action in Pretoria over the weekend and its actions at political meetings.

Mr Botha asked a crowded hall whether any group of responsible people could see themselves voting for a group of radicals who were not prepared to talk or listen to anyone else but were only interested in "batons, knives and loud mouths" to put across their point of view.

Mr Botha made several comments on Monday's television debate between Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr F W de Klerk.

He said Dr Treurnicht was clearly too scared to repudiate the AWB, his "lieutenants".

He said that, judging from the behaviour of the AWB supporters in the hall, it was clear to see why he was afraid to repudiate them.

"I, however, am more than used to baboons. They are scared and



Mr Pik Botha . . . a bloodbath would ensue if AWB or ANC ever came to power.

frightened. People who are so scared often do not know what they are doing," Mr Botha said.

He warned members of the Conservative Party to note what would become of their party.

"Dr Treurnicht's meetings will eventually also become like the AWB's meetings. They (the AWB) have ridiculous ideals and don't

realise the vastness of the land that belongs to white South Africans.

"They want to impress with their brown pants, their brown boots and the strange-looking chicken necks they wear on their arms.

"The AWB and the ANC are identical in their beliefs. They are both radical groups who want to take over South Africa by force and intimidation."

He asked where black South Africans would be housed should the Conservative Party come to power. The majority of people on farms, in factories and on the mines were blacks, and he warned that if these people were resettled, the resulting unemployment would lead to crime, which, in turn, would lead to terrorism.

If either the AWB or the ANC came to power, a bloodbath would ensue.

At one stage, Mr Botha challenged the AWB members to come on to the stage en masse for a debate, but the suddenly quiet back rows declined.

(Report by G Elsas, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

ns  
rs

# Standerton

Star 24/88

## voters get cold start

n of  
yes-  
sis-  
son  
k.  
nia  
an  
kor,  
ala-  
der  
first  
evi-

Voters went to the polls today in two fiercely-contested Transvaal by-elections, in Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton.

In Standerton voting got off to a cold start after an early shower.

Of the 22 518 registered voters of the south-eastern Transvaal constituency, 60 cast their votes before going to work.

and  
and  
re-  
the  
and  
rs,

The seat is contested by the Conservative Party's Mr Rosier de Ville, the National Party's Mr Hennie Erasmus and Mr Attie Treurnicht of the HNP. Mr de Ville won the seat in the general election last year but was later disqualified because he stood for election while holding an office of profit under the State as deputy Sheriff of Standerton.

our  
nd  
ed  
ed.  
ms  
g-

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will arrive in Standerton later today after putting in an early appearance at Schweizer-Reneke.

to  
or-  
nd  
m

Polling in Schweizer-Reneke is expected to be close, with the seat being contested by HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, Mr Willie Lemmer of the National Party, and Dr Pieter Mulder of the Conservative Party.

K  
is  
st  
ly  
he

(Report by E van der Merwe and C le Grange, of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

y,  
to

See Page 13.

### The 1st Bookie's Bet

For the Vaal tomorrow:  
**BEST BET** — Sunny Tramp, Race 6. **BEST EACHWAY** — Cricket Season, Race 7.

by be restricted

of the  
ville

t  
din

contin-  
ly wi  
psych  
arri  
and t  
tendi  
ithin  
ighs  
resto  
trib  
on t  
chan  
bede  
e go  
poi  
mer

tu



# De Klerk won TV debate — poll

## Schweizer-Reneke candidates



Willie Lemmer  
National Party



Pieter Mulder  
Conservative Party



Jaap Marais  
Herstigte Nasionale Party

## Three-way battles for the votes

By Carina le Grange

Voters in two Transvaal constituencies go to the polls today in House of Assembly by-elections. In both Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton it will be a three-way battle because the National, Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties have nominated candidates for the by-election.

Mr Willie Lemmer (NP), Dr Pieter Mulder (CP) and HNP party leader Mr Jaap Marais face each other in Schweizer-Reneke. The winner will be decided by 15 254 voters on the roll, electoral officer Mr Gawe Visser said yesterday.

### DECLARED BANKRUPT

The seat became vacant after Mr Robus Beyers, the CP MP who won the seat from the NP's Mr Lemmer in last year's general election, was declared bankrupt last year.

Almost 2 600 special votes had already been cast by midday yesterday, while 1 327 postal votes had been granted.

Voters can choose between 14 polling booths. They are in Christiansburg, Jan Kempdorp, Bloemhof, Amalia, Schweizer-Reneke, Geysdorp, Barberspan, Sandvlei, Delareyville, Doornbult, Wolmaranstad, Witpoort, Leeudoringstad and Makwassie.

The results are expected to be out by 1 am on March 3.

In the Standerton constituency 22 493 voters — 2 600 more than last year — will decide the fate of Mr Attie Treurnicht (HNP), Mr Henrie Erasmus (NP) and Mr Rosier de Ville of the CP who won the seat from the NP last year. The result was later declared invalid as Mr de Ville was a State employee at the time of the election.

The electoral officer, Mr Danie Schoeman, said 3 200 special votes had been processed by yesterday and 530 postal votes granted.

Polling districts are Platrand, Devon, Balfour, Grootevlei, Greylingstad Bracken Mines, Sarel Cilliers, Val, Tuitua, Standerton Dordetop, Volksrust and Evander. The result is expected to be out by 1 am or soon afterwards on March 3.

## Standerton candidates



Attie Treurnicht  
Herstigte Nasionale Party



Rosier de Ville  
Conservative Party



Henrie Erasmus  
National Party

By Duncan Guy

Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk won Monday's TV confrontation with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in the run-up to the key parliamentary by-elections in Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton today.

That is the verdict of whites in the Transvaal who watched the television debate, according to an opinion poll commissioned by The Star.

The poll was conducted by Marketing & Media Research, and showed 42 percent of respondents thought Mr de Klerk won. Only 28 percent thought Dr Treurnicht won.

Whites in the two constituencies were included in the poll.

Of the 843 Transvaal whites interviewed, 56 percent (473) did not watch the broadcast.

Forty-two percent of the remaining 370 Transvaal whites interviewed thought Mr de Klerk won and 28 percent believed the CP leader won. Forty-five percent of those polled supported the NP and 23 percent the CP.

### Opposite trend

In the western Transvaal, which includes Schweizer-Reneke, Mr de Klerk had 7 percent more support than the 32 percent of Dr Treurnicht.

In the south-eastern and eastern Transvaal, the poll showed an opposite trend. Around 42 percent said Dr Treurnicht won and only 37 percent Mr de Klerk.

Of the English-speaking Transvaalers who watched, half said Mr de Klerk won, but 43 percent said they supported the NP. There were 19 percent who said Dr Treurnicht won, half of them CP supporters.

There were 36 percent of Afrikaans-speaking people who thought Mr de Klerk won, but this was 11 percent lower than those who supported the NP. Of the 35 percent of Afrikaans speakers who thought Dr Treurnicht won, 33 percent supported the NP.

Eighteen percent of the 370 people said they thought the debate ended in a draw while 12 percent were undecided. The south-eastern and eastern Transvaal gave Dr Treurnicht his highest percentage of support in the debate. Mr de Klerk won his highest support in Johannesburg.

## NP says

Mr Con Botha, Member of Parliament and Chief Director of Information:

As has been the case in all our elections, the issues confronting South Africa will again today, in Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton, boil down to one all pervasive question: How is one to govern our multi-faceted society in such a way as to offer as many opportunities to all, and to remove as many grievances as possible as to render future harmonious coexistence probable?

Such is the nature of our society that all questions, as a matter of course, are brought into group context. Constitutional issues are seen as problems relating to group participation. Social adjustments are seen as movement to or from an apartheid dispensation. Economic policy is seen as favouring a particular population group.

The party which offers the electorate the best hope of resolving the South African dilemma is clearly the one that can count on the support of the electorate.

That dilemma is simply the question of how to ensure that everyone will have equality of opportunity, while preserving group identity.

For 40 years now, the electorate has expressed its confidence in the National Party in successive general elections. If one should consider these four decades, it is clear why such an unprecedented display of confidence came about.

Few would dispute the claim that all population groups, and particularly those of colour, are infinitely better off than in 1948 politically, socially, and economically. At the same time, no one can deny that all groups have been actively encouraged to preserve their respective identities.

Not only can the National Party point to a proud record of achievement but, viewed against the programmes of both main opposition parties, it alone offers the electorate a plan of action which offers hope to all South Africans. Therein lies the real test.

## HNP says:

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), and candidate in the Schweizer-Reneke constituency:

We have been in the fight against the Government policies for almost 19 years and we have the unique distinction that our interpretation of political events has been proved correct in every respect.

The HNP therefore has a record of reliability and credibility which no other party can equal. The hardest blow one can deliver against the Government is to not only vote against it, but to vote for a party with a policy opposed to it.

You will also be voting for a policy of racial separatism which was not only the policy of the National Party but which is an expression of our national intuition and wisdom.

A vote for the HNP will be a vote for a candidate who will oppose the Government more fundamentally than the candidate of the Conservative Party and a candidate who has a moral right to oppose the Government's policies because the HNP has never compromised on principles and values.

### RETREAT

A vote for the HNP is the best way in which to let the Government retreat and at the same time let the CP reconsider its position on various issues on which it still closely resembles the Government's position.

The more votes the HNP gets, the stronger will be the pressure to consolidate right-wing opposition and to accelerate the return to a genuine policy of separate development. And the greater will be the possibility for right-wing co-operation for the sake of our children's future.

The HNP is the true representative of our nation's deepest convictions and to be free to govern ourselves. The HNP insists that the interests of white people should not be sacrificed for the non-vital desires and interests of other groups. This is the central issue of the political struggle in South Africa.

## CP says:

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative MP for Overvaal:

The best way to encourage someone is by setting an example. If I am used to a Volkswagen, I would expect you to trust me when I tell you it is a good car and that you should buy one yourself.

So I am going to tell you why I am Conservative and why you should also be one.

I had no say in being born — not had I a say in being born a white Afrikaner in South Africa. The same applies to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu.

The fact is we were born as different people.

It is the word "different" that makes the difference. The difference between whites and Indians or whites and Zulus is much greater than the difference between Portuguese and Spaniards, Austrians and Germans.

Yet each of these peoples is entitled to self-determination while South Africa's whites are expected to be mixed with Indians, Zulus, Swazis, Vendas and so forth in a state where eventually the Mangosuthus will rule over all of us and where my First World value system will undoubtedly disappear.

I vote Conservative because the CP acknowledges my right to self-determination. CP policy excludes the danger of whites being swamped socially and politically by millions and millions of people of colour.

Those people can govern themselves in their own areas of South Africa.

I vote Conservative because the CP has a definite plan.

The Nats have ruined our country financially, they have caused the steady impoverishment of our people. We have international sanctions, thanks to so-called reform. We live in a state of emergency.

The fat-cat Nat Ministers expect us to tighten our belts yet last year they provided amply for themselves with the highest-ever Cabinet pay increases.

The have no constitutional plan except glittering generalities and old clichés. They thrive on arrogance. They have long overdue for pasture.



# AWB logo could be outlawed under new Bill

MC45 2/3/98  
Political Staff

A PROVISION in a new Bill curbing foreign funding of organisations could be used against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

This is a clause prohibiting emblems which could cause racial hostility or could insult any group.

The Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill tightens prohibitions on overseas funding and incorporates prohibitions in existing legislation on the stirring-up of racial, cultural or religious animosity.

A new clause provides for a fine of up to R4 000 or imprisonment of up to two years, or both, for the display of "certain flags, standards, badges, emblems, marks or slogans" or for attending meetings at which these are displayed.

It is the opinion in parliamentary circles that the provision could be used to curtail AWB activities.

● The National Democratic Movement (NDM) of Mr Wynand Malan emphasised today that it was not backing the harsh Bill.

However, it had decided to support a parliamentary investigation of foreign political funding.

The move to appoint a committee was supported by the National and Conservative parties but opposed by the Progressive Federal Party and independent Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck. One of the committee's aims will be to consider whether the new Bill is the best way of preventing foreign interference in South African politics.

The Bill gives the Government enormous powers to declare organisations "restricted" and then to seize their funds to decide if they are being used for unauthorised purposes.

Explaining the NDM's support of the committee investigation, Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, said the NDM would try to use the inquiry to attack the Bill. He said the special committee would provide greater scope for investigation of foreign funding than a normal parliamentary standing committee.

● See page 10.



Conservatives ahead in postal votes

# D-Day for NP and CP in crucial by-elections

THE National Party and Conservative Party's battle for supremacy in rural Transvaal will be decided today in two important by-election polls in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke.

The CP, which captured both seats from the NP during last year's May 6 general election, was pulling ahead yesterday in an intense race for early votes in the two constituencies where by-elections were forced by the disqualification of both CP candidates.

Spokesmen for the parties agreed that according to postal and special votes cast by yesterday afternoon, the NP was trailing the CP with the HNP virtually out of the picture.

By late yesterday afternoon,

ELSABE WESSELS and  
DOMINIQUE GILBERT

NP's Transvaal deputy secretary in charge of the Standerton by-election, Abrié Hanekom, admitted 60% of the special votes had been processed by the CP and 40% by the NP.

The fight is between the NP's Hennie Erasmus, Rosier de Ville of the CP, who unseated Erasmus in last year's general election, and CP leader Andries Treurnicht's brother Attie for the HNP.

## Power

Already 3 910 of the registered 22 491 voters have voted in special and postal votes, according to the returning officer, Standerton's

chief magistrate Danie Schoeman. Party spokesman in Schweizer-Reneke said yesterday the by-election was a 50/50 race between the NP and CP.

The outcome will decide the balance of power between the NP and CP in the western Transvaal, where the CP captured four of the eight seats from the NP last year.

The candidates are Willie Lemmer (NP), Piet Mulder (CP) and Jaap Marais (HNP).

Last year's polling percentages of more than 70% in both constituencies were expected to be much higher today.

Polling booths open at 7am and close at 9pm. Polling results are expected by 2am tomorrow morning.

(Report by E Wessels and D Gilbert, TML 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Pi  
st  
Fi  
th  
to  
w  
si

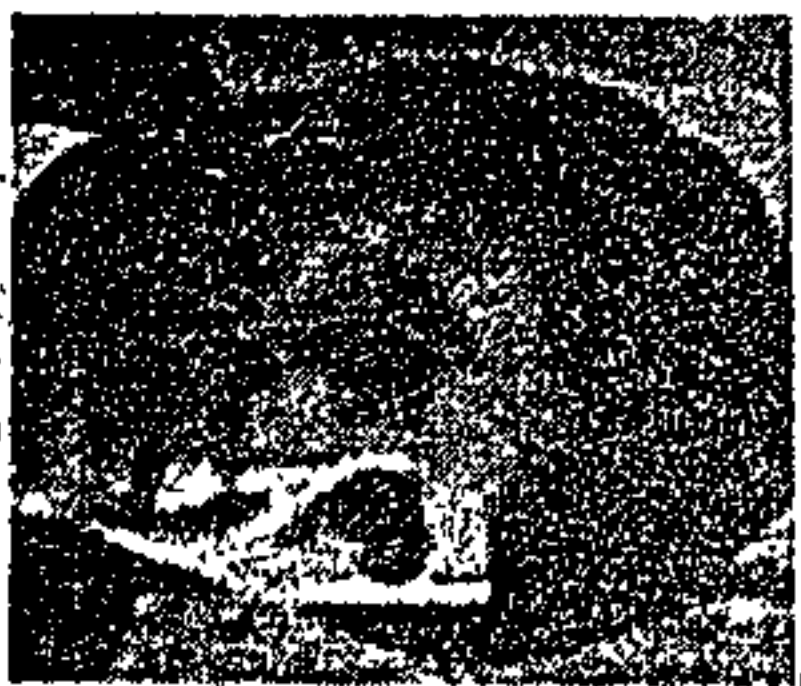
p  
n  
i  
v  
t  
j  
s

304A  
B/dam  
# 2/3/88

Alfred Dreyer  
billy. — Sapa-Reuter

scale Dam to rise.

burg to Cape Town, was stranded at De Aar and was  
ers.



# Palazzolo: SA immigration clerk arrested

Political Correspondent

2/3/88

A CLERK in the Department of Home Affairs had been arrested in connection with a permit for permanent residence being granted to convicted drug smuggler Robert von Palace Kolbatschenko, known here as Roberto Palazzolo, according to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday. Although Mr J D Scheffer, had been arrested, no charges had been formulated as yet.

Repeating to a question from Mr John Malcomess (PE Central) the Minister said that it was his intention to make all the relevant facts public as soon as possible.

He said that he had been advised not to do so at this stage because a police investigation was underway and the premature disclosure of any facts might prejudice the case.

Mr Botha said the Department of Home Affairs was co-operating with the police in the investigation and had already supplied the police with all the information it had available.

Asked whether police were investigating alleged connections between Palazzolo and an organised crime syndicate, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok said "No".

However inquiries were being conducted as to whether a criminal offence had been committed.

The Palazzolo affair hit the headlines three weeks ago when it was disclosed that the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes and a former mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange had met Palazzolo in a Swiss jail where he was serving a sentence for his part in a drug-smuggling ring.



Clare Times 2/3/88

# Dossier opened on AWB

Political Staff

THE extremist right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is currently being investigated in terms of the Internal Security Act, Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Speaking during a snap debate on events outside St George's Cathedral on Monday, the Minister issued a tough warning to the AWB and other radical organizations.

His announcement that a dossier has been opened on the AWB comes in the wake of Saturday's march on the Union Buildings and on the eve of by-elections in Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton.

Since the AWB meeting at the Skilpad Saal police have been collecting evidence on comments by AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

2/3/88  
Sowetan

# 'Same old debate'

3047

THE preservation of white rights and identity as opposed to the undeniable acceptance of communal interest was what it was all about.

After the Brouhaha about the Big Debate — the first ever confrontation on television between two political opponents — boiled

down to a re-statement of often-stated policy positions.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, was adamant that his party's solution to the problems of South Africa lay firmly embedded in the preservation of white rights and the maintenance of a white identity.

His opponent, Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the Transvaal National Party, strove to give equal force to his argument that communal interest of all peoples in the Republic could not be denied and that a broader democracy coupled with entrenched rights for the Indian, coloured and whites was the only solution to the South African dilemma.



Hear the crunch,  
 hear the crunch of marching feet  
 Hear the din,  
 hear the din o'er distant fields  
 Fighters on the march  
 (With) fresh ideals contemptuous of pretence and be-  
 trayal,  
 (A) burning fire which tolerates no servitude.  
 But, born of love and pain,  
 glowing resistance burns in our heart.  
 O, may God protect us with the drawing in of the  
 laager to protect our struggling country  
 We will work, we will grow, we will fight,  
 we will bleed for our Afrikaner land

• "Song of the Movement" by Eugene Ney TerreBlanche.

# TerreBlanche is a force to be reckoned with

Star 3/3/88

304A

## AWB fans flame of mounting SA strife

By Claire Robertson  
 Pretoria Bureau

It loses something in the translation, but Mr TerreBlanche's anthem captures the blood-and-thunder spirit of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, an appeal through strength and sentiment.

And symbols. Much of the AWB's attraction, and the offence it gives, centre on its neo-fascist flag, its brown-shirted "troops", the *kommando* horsemen, the eagle emblem.

An exclusively Protestant God is invoked in every symbol, and in the organisation's motto: "Fan the flame for God and Volk and Fatherland".

### Swastika

"The triple seven of the red, white and black flag, reminiscent of a streamlined swastika, represents the Biblical prophecy of the 'final and absolute triumph in and through Jesus Christ', according to the AWB's policy statement.

"The number 777 stands in direct opposition to the number 666 — the number of the anti-Christ, the beast of Revelations."

"The movement's eagle emblem — another symbol of the German Reich — represents the eagle referred to in Deuteronomy and the Psalms, and is not to be confused with other eagle emblems, says the AWB.

Numbers seem to hold a cer-



Mr TerreBlanche . . . audiences are mesmerised by the AWB leader's fiery rhetoric.

tain significance for the AWB — all numbers but the number of members it has, which it will "never reveal", according to a spokesman.

The AWB's favourite number crops up in the organisation's brief history.

"In 1971 seven concerned young Afrikaners began to search for an alternative to the Westminster system (of government)," reads the AWB's

history. "One of those men is now the leader of the AWB."

Eugene Ney TerreBlanche was 27 years old at the time. He is 44 now and the AWB, founded in a garage in Heidelberg two years after the first meeting, celebrates its 15th anniversary this year.

Every year it gathers another symbol or ceremony about it — this week it publicly burnt the flag of its avowed enemy, the African National

Congress.

Whether leading a mock charge on a spirited stallion or rousing a crowd of thousands with a shouted address, Mr TerreBlanche — former policeman, farmer, poet, author, dramatist and failed HNP candidate — commands unquestioning support, bordering on adulation, from his followers.

His own chapter in the AWB's history — titled "A

volk's leader comes forth" — reads:

"Our volk was always fortunate and comforted by the fact that, in its hour of crisis, it did not lack dynamic leadership."

Cometh the hour, cometh Eugene Ney TerreBlanche, the history states in rough translation.

"In the beginning, he had to endure scorn and derision. Particularly the *geldmoppers* (financially powerful press) and its Afrikaans-press henchmen strove to discredit the leader of the AWB and the movement itself as followers of Nazi ideology."

This did not succeed because "a Boer who shows pure and natural leadership is soon claimed by the volk as its own".

Mr TerreBlanche has gathered about him a "Great Council" of men and women from all spheres whose task is to "advise the leader".

The goal of the AWB is clear: it wants part of South Africa for an Afrikaner *volkstaat* with its own army and police force.

### Nationalised

This state will not have political parties but will have elections at least every five years. The whites-only state will admit non-Afrikaners if they identify with the ideals of the Afrikaner-Boerevolk.

A chiefly agrarian state, it will be run on free-market principles with the exception that the mines would be nationalised.

Freedom of the press is "accepted" — but with conditions.

The AWB will not incite revolution, the organisation stresses, but should this be forced upon it, "it will triumph in the struggle, with God's help".

It will not tolerate "a black communist victory — then it will be a struggle to the death".



# Transvaal setbacks give NP the cold shivers

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party's rampant performance in the Transvaal by-elections yesterday has sent shivers of apprehension through the governing National Party.

The Conservative Party tripled its majority in Standerton and quadrupled its majority in Schweizer-Reneke, dealing a devastating psychological blow to the National Party, which had hoped to prove that CP support had peaked in the Transvaal.

The results have also practically eliminated the Herstigte Nasionale Party as a major factor in white politics.

Both HNP candidates, including the leader, Mr Jaap Marais, who stood at Schweizer-Reneke, lost their deposits.

Election experts now predict the pending Randfontein by-election will be won comfortably by the CP and the party is likely to win control of most white local authorities in the Transvaal in the October municipal elections.

## BRAVE FACE

On the results yesterday, if a general election were to be held now, the CP would win between 12 and 14 more seats, including the Transvaal seats of Krugersdorp, Lydenburg, Stilfontein, Meyerton, Potchefstroom, Wonderboom, Maraisburg, Rustenburg, Hercules, Springs and probably Gezina and Pretoria West.

In the Free State, Kuruman and Sasolburg would be likely gains for the CP.

Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk has tried to put a brave face on his party's latest electoral setbacks.

He said the result of the by-elections was disappointing, but could not be seen as a defeat.

A triumphant Dr Andries Treurnicht, the CP leader, said the results would have a snowball effect in every other election, especially in Randfontein and the municipal elections.

## RESULTS BAD NEWS

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said the results were bad news for South Africa and a clear indication of a fundamental shift in party allegiances in rural Afrikanerdom.

Election analyst Dr Dirk Laurie said the results put another 12 to 13 seats within reach for the Conservative Party.

Another analyst, Professor Willem Kleynhans, said the CP could now win 14 more seats.

He predicted South Africa would move towards a two-party system in which the CP and the NP were the only parliamentary vehicles for white political aspirations.

The NP would have to look harder at how it could attract English-speaking supporters to offset its heavy losses to the CP.

Professor Kleynhans also predicted that if Mr Botha stepped down only after the next general election, Mr de Klerk's chances of succeeding him would be zero because he would lose most of his Transvaal power base.



# AWB leader laughs off security investigation

Star 3/3/88

304A

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

The leader of the "Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, says he does not feel "in the least" threatened by the fact that his organisation is being investigated in terms of the Internal Security Act.

"I know that it is just a bluff," he said, referring to the statement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that the AWB was under investigation.

## CALL FOR VOLKSTAAT

Mr Vlok's statement in Parliament followed the delivery of a petition at the weekend to the Union Buildings by Mr TerreBlanche and hundreds of his followers. The petition called for the establishment of an Afrikaner Volkstaat.

Mr TerreBlanche said yesterday that the investigation was a ploy to attract support in the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections and a sop to "the colts" an apparent ref-

erence to politicians who had compared government treatment of Mr TerreBlanche's convoy on Saturday with an attempted march on Parliament by church leaders.

Scores of church leaders were briefly arrested during the Cape Town march.

Mr TerreBlanche said the two events could not be compared. Archbishop Tutu was "marching for the release of people who are, or might be, guilty of crimes".

"The AWB has a legal, fair request — it wants its own land," said Mr TerreBlanche.

Reacting to criticism that AWB members — including the Aquila Guard — were armed on Saturday, Mr TerreBlanche said: "Tell Mr Vlok that if he gives me 30 SA policemen I will dissolve the Aquila unit."

"What did you expect them to do? Leave their weapons behind when they left the hall where the rally was held before the petition convoy?" he said.

● See Page 15.

GOVERNMENT'S new Bill aimed at cutting off foreign funding to anti-apartheid groups in SA could affect at least 80 organisations operating in a wide range of areas, including development, education, legal aid, trade union organisation and community issues.

The organisations receive at least R120m from overseas every year, according to one estimate, and a cut-off of funds would be seriously crippling. Some may even cease functioning.

The big issue will be just what activities of the organisations will be regarded as "political" enough for government to stop funds.

Government threats to foreign funding are not new, but they reached a peak at the time of last May's general election, when statements by State President P W Botha and other Cabinet Ministers made it clear action would be taken and new legislation might be introduced.

Before the election it was disclosed that government's Directorate of Fund Raising was investigating a number of anti-apartheid organisations under the Fund Raising Act, which can prohibit individuals from collecting money without government authority.

The directorate denied it was

# Foreign funding Bill could chop R120m to 80 SA organisations

ROGER SMITH

concentrating on anti-apartheid organisations, but it emerged organisations investigated included the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), Idasa, the Reform Trust, the Black Sash, the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, the Black Lawyers' Association (BLA), the SA College for Higher Education (Sached) Trust, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Durban academic Professor Fatima Meer's Institute for Black Research (IBR), the Reverend Allan Boesak's Peace and Justice Foundation, the Durban Community Research Unit and the Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Facsas).

Some of these organisations receive foreign funds through the SA Council of Churches (SACC), the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) and the Kagiso Trust.

The SACC, SACBC, several trade unions and the Kagiso Trust receive about R18m a year from the

European Community (EC) special fund for the victims of apartheid, which is split, with about R9m going to the Trust and R8m going to the churches and unions.

Trust director Achmat Dangor has said the money was made available from Brussels as projects submitted to the EC administration were approved.

The SACC's Reverend Beyers Naude said last year that 95% of their funds were from overseas donors, of which about 80% was used to help victims of apartheid, detainees' families and victims of vigilante action.

It is understood that this includes funding for the legal costs in "political" cases, although there are apparently other funds in SA

and overseas for this purpose.

Last year it was reported that the US Ford Foundation listed donations aimed at furthering human rights in SA as follows (figures are approximate): Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies (R600 000); UCT Centre for Applied Legal Studies (R280 000); Natal University Centre for Legal Studies (R600 000); Black Sash (R400 000); Grahamstown Rural Action Committee (R50 000); and the Western Cape Mens' Hostel Association (R40 000).

For furthering education, the foundation gave UCT R500 000; Rhodes University R10 000; Wits R140 000; Education Operations Trust R300 000; Sached R300 000; Drama Outreach Project R10 000; and Loy Films R22 000.

Black student support programmes at UCT, Wits and the University of Western Cape received R1,6m.

The foundation also disclosed that it donated about R300 000 to

the Phelps-Stokes Foundation in New York for bursaries for SA political refugees, and about R400 000 to the pro-sanctions lobby TransAfrica.

The diverse nature of the sources of funding and the organisations they go to leaves it unclear what the extent of government's crackdown might be in terms of the new legislation.

For example, the Johannesburg Legal Resources Centre, which provides legal aid to individuals and communities who cannot afford it, receives 60% of its funds — more than R1m — from different organisations overseas.

SIPHO NGCOBO reports that the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union (Sabamawu) received R70 000 from the French-based Public Service International (PSI), to which it is affiliated. PSI is its major source of finance.

Idasa national co-ordinator Wayne Mitchell said his organisation received much of its funds from West Germany, the Scandinavian countries and the US.

One of the organisation's sponsors in the US was a group called "The Friends of Idasa," which is chaired by former US Democratic Party Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.



# Natal Indaba has pointed the way to national compromise

The murkiness of the South African situation cannot hide the fact that there are three crucial issues that will have to be addressed: the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the political model that will eventually prevail.

The two Acts are seen as cornerstones of apartheid and are totally rejected by anti-apartheid forces both within and outside the tricameral parliamentary system.

The fact that the Group Areas Act has caused great bitterness and has contributed to the housing crisis is well known. Absurd anomalies arising from the Population Registration Act were again highlighted in recent parliamentary debate.

Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP, Ado) referred to it as the "the ungodly and immoral foundation of apartheid".

He told the House of Representatives about his white aunts, uncles and cousins who, he believed, lived in Durban but whom he had never met because of their racial classification.

Mr Hendrickse said: "I was 13 when I met my grand-uncle. It was the first and last time. And why? Because he had been classified white. Even today I do not know how many kids he had ... somewhere in Durban I have a few white aunts, uncles and cousins."

Mr Ishmail Essop (LP, Griqualand West) said he was classified Cape Malay, two brothers were coloured, one white, two sisters were coloured and a third was Indian.

Mr M Loonat (LP, Gelvendale) said his white grandmother had married an Indian. His mother, classified Indian, married an Indian. They had six children, three of whom were classified Indian, three Cape Malay.

But even if these two Acts could be abolished — and apartheid thus eliminated — there is still the question of political power-sharing. That is what the National Party is talking about, albeit a convoluted system intended to retain power for the white man. The ANC, on the other hand, is interested only in what it terms political equality, which in fact means political control.



Mr Peter Hendrickse: white aunts, uncles and cousins.

Although it could be described as a model most suitable for Natal, it does at least demonstrate that the constitutional debate need not be only about either white control or black domination, writes Johan de Villiers.



Mr Ishmail Essop: three brothers — two coloured, one white.

It identifies three principles that are not seen as negotiable:

- A unified South Africa — no homelands.

- Black representation in a single parliament — no multi-chamber institution.

- A universal franchise — no vetoes or ratios.

The ANC view is that South Africa belongs to all who live in the country and that the group context is irrelevant.

But in all this the ANC differs from the National Party. The NP believes in:

- National separation — in other words, homelands.

- Black representation through institutions other than a single parliament — in other words, the National Council and homeland assemblies.

- A divided franchise — in other words, one based on separation, ratios and vetoes.

It also believes that groups, and particularly minority groups, should lie at the heart of the political system.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in the House of Representatives last week: "At the heart of group accommodation is the fact that groups desiring it should have the freedom to live their own community lives. The Government will respect this desire."

He said this in the face of a barrage of criticism about the Population Registration Act. Mr Botha added: "It is sometimes claimed that formal recognition of groups is

unnecessary when freedom of association is guaranteed.... But this model of free association is in essence a majority model — numbers will finally be the decisive factor."

The chance that the NP and the ANC will reach an accord on political power seems slim at present.

Perhaps both should shift towards a compromise — at least an interim compromise. One such system has emerged from the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba.

It holds that "power-sharing is a political formula by which no single political or race group is able to dominate, whether it is a majority or a minority".

It sees the legislature consisting of a First Chamber of 100 members and a 50-member Second Chamber. Every adult will have two votes, one for each chamber.

Elections for the First Chamber will be based on proportional representation. A party or group would have representation in direct proportion to its percentage of electoral support.

In the Second Chamber an attempt is made to balance the principle of majority rule with the protection of minority rights.

It is envisaged that members of this chamber will represent the following groups:

- African background group — 10 members.

- Afrikaans background group — 10 members.

- Indian background group — 10 members.

- English background group — 10 members.

- South African group — 10 members.

Voters taking part in elections for the Second Chamber must belong to the group whose candidate they intend voting for. But this will not apply to the South African group, which will represent voters who

prefer not to vote according to background.

The crucial point in this dispensation is that any law affecting the language, cultural, religious and other rights of any background group has to be agreed to by the majority of that group (six out of 10) in the Second Chamber before it can become law.

There are a total of eight power-sharing mechanisms. Reference has already been made to proportional representation, minority vetoes and the composition of the two chambers.

Then there is also the fact that laws will have to be passed by both chambers — the majority-controlled First Chamber and the minority-controlled Second Chamber.

But before any law can be debated by the chambers it has to be passed by a 15-member standing committee. Here too there is a balance between those in the majority and those in a minority. The same principle applies to the composition of the Cabinet and amendments to the Constitution.

Although this could be described as a model most suitable for Natal, it does at least demonstrate that the constitutional debate need not be only about either white control or black domination.

Democracy is not necessarily best served by untrammelled majority rule. On the other hand, there can be no hope of solving the country's problems while the majority of people have no say in the running of the country.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, recently said: "We seek a peaceful and rapid end to apartheid and to foster negotiations among all parties that will lead to the creation of a democratic society with equal rights for all South Africans."

The key words are negotiations and equal rights

## 100 YEARS AGO

From The Eastern Star, Johannesburg

The law of this country with reference to native and coloured persons being out at night after 9 o'clock is being most unduly strained by officious policemen.

We reported not long since that respectable Coolie and Arab traders and shopkeepers had been subjected to the indignity of being treated as though they were loafing Hottentots, and arrested when in the streets on business or otherwise, after nine at night.

This week some of our police force arrested Brillianso, the circus performer — now part proprietor of the circus here. Brillianso has, as everyone knows, a slight dash of colour, but not more than many who claim to be of only white parentage.

Well, he was arrested after performing at the circus, and brought before the Assistant Landdrost yesterday morning.

Brillianso admitted the charge, but said he was not a native. His father was Italian and his mother a Capetown woman, and he claimed to be of his father's nationality. The constable who arrested him said he had no special instructions to arrest Brillianso, but Mr de Hart, who appeared for him, declared that four constables had been sent to effect his arrest.

The Assistant Landdrost said he did not consider Brillianso was a native, and dismissed the summons against him. If he had dismissed the policeman as well it would have been no more than he deserved.

## the small society

HOO-BOY! I THOUGHT EVANGELISTS WERE SUPPOSED TO FIGHT THE DEVIL...





De Ville triples CP majority

# Nats badly mauled in Standerton vote

Star 3/3/88 364A

By Esmare van der Merwe

The Conservative Party's Mr Rosier de Ville nearly tripled his majority to 2 854 in yesterday's parliamentary by-election in Standerton, a seat he had won in the May 1987 general election from the National Party.

This runaway victory — the CP polled 9 078 votes compared to 7 096 last year — dealt a major blow to NP hope Mr Henrie Erasmus, who polled 6 224 votes (6 144 last year).

HNP candidate Mr Attie Treurnicht lost his deposit after polling only 261 votes, compared to 834 last year.

A noisy 400-strong crowd, of which a majority were CP supporters, awaited the results which were announced by election officer Mr Danie Schoeman shortly after midnight last night.

Rowdy CP supporters, singing "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" and shouting CP slogans, refused to leave the entrance hall



Tense ... CP candidate Mr Rosier de Ville (left) and party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht await the Standerton result.

of Standerton's Town Hall to clear the way for Mr Schoeman's announcement.

Others gathered in the rain, sheltering themselves with some of the posters which had earlier decorated the polling station.

Chaos broke out after the results were announced, with some CP supporters fiercely or-

dering two black photographers from an American news network to leave.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht arrived in Standerton at about 8 pm after accompanying Mr de Ville to some of the 13 other polling stations throughout the platteland constituency. A jubilant Dr Treurnicht said after the announcement that the CP victory showed "a significant growth in right-wing majorities" which would act as "a strong growth stimulus" for the Randfontein by-election later this month and the October municipal elections.

A clearly discouraged Mr Erasmus said that the NP had increased its support by 80 votes.

The HNP's Mr Treurnicht earlier admitted his party would lose its deposit, since "many people who support the HNP's policy regard the CP as a faster means of overthrowing the Government, and thus vote CP."

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).



# CP cruise home in marginal seat

By Carina le Grange

Dr Pieter Mulder of the Conservative Party, son of the late Dr Connie Mulder, won the by-election in Schweizer-Reneke yesterday with an increased majority of 794 over the National Party.

Excitement ran high in the town as party supporters in the three-way election battle waited until early this morning for the result.

Despite the NP's confident prediction of a win by about 400 votes, the CP retained the seat which became vacant when the estate of Mr Kobus Beyers was sequestered after his election last year.

Dr Mulder won 6 400 votes, the NP's Mr Willie Lemmer 5 606 and the Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, 414. The percentage poll was 81,7 and there were 19 spoilt papers.

In last year's general election, the CP won the seat with a majority of only 191 and the HNP received 544 votes.

Shortly before the polling booths closed last night, the NP was still predicting a modest win of 400 votes while the CP claimed it would retain the seat with 1 000 votes. The HNP had readily acknowledged it would "come third", but seemed surprised that it received fewer votes than last year.

It was clear the HNP did not split the vote of the right wing and having its party leader as candidate did not push up the votes either.

Dr Mulder was hoisted on to the shoulders of a supporter even before the results could be announced and was cheered wildly before a garland of flowers in party colours was put around his neck. He managed little more than thanking his supporters for their hard work.

Mr Marais said the HNP was deeply rooted and had a duty to continue the "struggle".

Mr Lemmer said the CP had effectively used "scare tactics" to win the seat.

(Report by C le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



# NATALS THE RA SHEET

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

16645 3/13/88

3044

A SHARP swing to the right has been confirmed by the two by-election results in the Transvaal.

The Conservative Party quadrupled and trebled its majorities in contests with the National Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The National Party had expected defeat but had hoped at least to maintain the position it held at last year's general election.

Instead the CP majority in Standerton was 2 854, up from 952 last year, and its majority in Schweizer-Reneke 794, up from 191 last year.

In Standerton the CP share of the vote rose from 50,4 percent last year to 58,3. The NP's share dropped from 43,6 percent to 39,9.

In Schweizer-Reneke the CP's share went up from 48,4 per cent to 51,5 per cent and the NP share went down from 46,8 per cent to 45,1.

## Natal beaches

The results tallied very nearly with CP pre-election predictions.

The party fought its election largely on allegations that the National Party was "selling out" the whites and that apartheid was being broken down, citing the non-application of the Group Areas Act and events on Natal beaches as examples. It also exploited President Botha's unpopularity in some Transvaal areas.

The by-elections also confirmed that the HNP had disappeared as a factor of any significance even in Afrikaner rural areas. Its small share of the vote dropped even further.

President Botha today expressed the Government's determination to continue with reform in spite of disappointment for the National Party.

He said the two results did not change the composition of the parties in the Assembly.

Temporary disappointment could not keep the Government from doing its duty.

"The Government achieved a huge majority in last year's general election and with that mandate we will continue to seek solutions for our often difficult problems.



VICTORIOUS CP candidate in Standerton, Mr Rosier de Ville, is hoisted aloft.

JUBILATION in Schweizer-Reneke. The CP's Dr Pieter w...

brates with party workers.

P.T.O.



Excessive demands

"We will give the security of our country high priority at all times.  
"Reform in the economic, social and constitutional areas must be continued but I want to point out that excessive demands often lead to excessive reactions.  
"To stir up and exploit emotions is irresponsible and dangerous.

"Foreign meddling as well as the actions of radical elements which contravene internal laws cause revulsion among patriotic voters.

"This will have to be rectified," Mr Botha said.

Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said the results, although disappointing, were not a defeat because the CP won both seats in last year's general election.

The fact that the National Party had maintained its number of votes in both seats showed stable support for the party.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's initial reaction was to look forward to the Randfontein by-election next month and to local elections in October.

He thought the results would have a snowball effect for the CP in future elections.

"Bad news"

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said that the results were "bad news" for South Africa.

It was clear that there was a fundamental shift of party allegiance in rural Afrikanerdom.

This was inevitable ever since Mr Botha, about five years ago, found himself stranded in an ideological no-man's land somewhere between racial apartheid and non-racial sharing.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, said that his party's struggle would continue.

There was now even less of a chance of co-operation with the CP.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging claimed victory and said it had been the major force behind the Conservative Party's triumph.

AWB accepted

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said the victory proved that his organisation was accepted by the "volk".

"The special relationship between the CP and the AWB has led to this achievement by the CP," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Movement, said today that the results had been predictable.

The National Party must realise that it could not out-rightwing the rightwing.

"It has pandered to the CP over the last six months to the disregard of our international interests or the economic consequences of some of its foolish actions," Dr Worrall said.

1	20.1
1	20.1
1	20.1
4	1.00
4	1.00
4	1.00
4	1.00
4	1.00
INDEX	RANK

8	403-LAUNDRY-A
6	408-LDY STOCKING-B
3	437-LDY STOCKING-A
8	441-CLOTHING-D
6	441-CLOTHING-C
5	441-CLOTHING-B
4	441-CLOTHING-A

INDUSTRY AREA

Median hours are 45  
Sector: CLOTHING KNITTING MILLINERY  
Area: ALL

As at 12th month of 1987

Source: SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS

## BY-ELECTION RESULTS

### STANDERTON:

Mr Rosier de Ville (CP) 9078  
Mr Hennie Erasmus (NP) 6224  
Mr Attie Treurnicht (HNP) 261  
Percentage poll 69,4  
Majority 2854  
Spoilt papers 37

### SCHWEIZER-RENEKE:

Dr Piet Mulder (CP) 6400  
Mr Willie Lemmer (NP) 5606  
Mr Jaap Marais (HNP) 414  
Percentage poll 81,54  
Majority 794  
Spoilt papers 19  
— Sapa.

## Blacks dismayed by election results

### The Argus Correspondent

BLACK people have reacted with dismay to the Conservative Party victory in the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections.

"This is depressing news for a black person. It does not give me any hope. If this trend is to become a major force in the white community, it is not good news for us," said Professor Herbert Vilakazi, head of the University of Zululand's sociology department.

Another black academic, Mr Phil Mtmkulu of Unisa's Department of Development Administration and Politics, said that blacks had not expected the National Party to stem the tide from the right.

### "CRUMBLING"

"My observations are that blacks are keen observers of white politics but are not that interested.

"With the CP winning both seats in the 1987 election, it would have astonished me if they suddenly lost those seats.

"The Nats appear to be crumbling. They will have to decide whether they are moving forward or backward to get some supporters back from the Conservative Party.

"Blacks have very little sympathy with the Nats against the CP," Mr Mtmkulu, a former secretary of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, said.

### "DANGEROUS"

"The CP victory was not unexpected. One would have expected the voters of Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke to have voted this way," Mr Joe Latakomo, the editor of the Sowetan newspaper, said.

"This still indicates to me, and a lot of black people, that the dangerous swing to the right, particularly on the platteland, is continuing.

"The point is that both the Government and the CP are offering, one to a greater extent than the other, a sort of white 'baasskap'," he said.



# CP claims an early victory

CPK 14/5

3/3/88

(304A)

Own Correspondence  
**STANDERTON.** — With a huge voter turn-out in Schweizer Reneke — but a trickle of voters in rain-soaked Standerton — the Conservative Party early today claimed victory in both constituencies.

In Standerton, where heavy rains slowed last-minute polling, the CP expected a gain of at least 12%. The party's election analysts believe this to be a big enough swing to bring the CP to power if sustained throughout the country in the next general election.

The town was plunged into darkness soon after 9pm as heavy rains came down but voting continued under emergency lights and candles.

At Schweizer Reneke an exceptionally high 75% of the more than 15 000 voters had cast their ballots a full three hours before the polls closed.

NP spokesmen claimed to be leading the field with over 300 votes but CP election agent Mr Kobus Beyers boasted a 1 400 majority on recruitment and was predicting a final 1 100 majority.

## More votes

The HNP, almost out of the picture, also claimed more votes than on May 6 last year.

By-election candidates Mr Willie Lemmer (NP), Mr Piet Mulder (CP) and Mr Jaap Marais (HNP) paid short visits during the day to the 14 polling stations in the large constituency.

In Standerton the CP was confident of a 60%-40% voting ratio in its favour, aided by a lower-than-expected poll.

Rained-out electioneers said the weather was responsible for the reduced turn-out, with just over half the voters having cast their ballots with an hour to go.

NP campaigners, standing around their tent, were overheard as saying the NP "may as well throw in the towel".

At Standerton the names of the two main opponents flashed in neon lights outside its City Hall last night — at least till the lights went out.

The nearby HNP tent, where bowls of biltong were on hand to woo voters, stood empty and lonely.

The three-cornered election battle is between the NP's Mr Hennie Erasmus, the HNP's Mr Attie Treurnicht (brother of CP leader Andries) and the disqualified MP for Standerton, the CP's Mr Rosier de Ville.

# Vlok: We're not scared of AWB

3048

Chrt Times  
3/3/88

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday gave his strongest indication yet that the government is to act against the AWB.

Mr Vlok said in response to an interjection: "That member must not tell me we are scared of the AWB. He must still see what we are going to do with the AWB."

He had been criticized by MPs for the police's failure to act against armed members of the AWB following a rally in Pretoria at the weekend, while peaceful clerics were "humiliated" by a police water cannon and arrested on Cape Town on Monday.

Mr Peter Mopp, United Democratic Party MP for Border, introduced a motion, unanimously adopted, in which the arrest of the churchmen was condemned "in the strongest possible terms".

Mr Vlok, in his response, said: "We will act against these people (the AWB). He added that MPs "must be a little patient and see what we plan to do".

On Tuesday Mr Vlok announced that the AWB was being investigated in terms of the Internal Security Act. He said no action had been taken against the AWB on Saturday because the organization had not broken any laws.

He said that when the AWB arrived at the Union Buildings to present their petition they were warned by the police and then "ran away" whereas the churchmen outside St George's Cathedral were bent on confrontation and were guilty of "civil disobedience of the worst form".



# NP can't run SA for ever says Pakendorf

DID 3/3/88

304A

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The National Party would possibly have to look either to the right or the left for support during the next election to ensure a majority in Parliament, Mr Harald Pakendorf, political observer and former editor of Die Vaderland, said here last night.

Mr Pakendorf was addressing a meeting of the local branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs at the Newton Park library auditorium.

The NP, Mr Pakendorf said, was not as permanent an institution as it appeared.

"Forever is a long time. The NP cannot run the country forever," he said.

The NP was in a period of decline and its support base had changed. The NP was most popular among Jews, Italians, Greeks, Swiss and probably English South Africans but had a problem with Afrikaners.

However, the NP was not about to disappear but was becoming weaker and would have to adapt its policies.

He said the percentage of people prepared to admit they supported the NP had dropped to below 50 per cent.

However, if the NP looked to the left for support it would find a void. "The left is not even in slow decline. It is crumbling.

"The PFP, as much as the NP, is in decline. The fact that it wants to dabble in the other two houses of Parliament is a sign of weakness, not strength," Mr Pakendorf said.

A recent opinion poll put the PFP's support base at 11 per cent. "My own estimate is that it's well below that now."

South Africans had a choice between partition and a system guaranteeing equal rights.

"There are morals in between but these are the two extremes," Mr Pakendorf said.

He predicted that the political debate would change. The question of who would govern would change to how would government be effected. The issues of grouping as opposed to freedom of association would be debated as would the issue of centralised and decentralised government.



MR PAKENDORF

Mr Pakendorf said the Conservative Party stood no chance of winning a possible general election in 1990 but would undoubtedly gain more seats in Parliament.

Even if the CP were to triple its number of

seats from 22 to 66 it would not be enough to take over government.

If there were a general election in 1995 population figures would make it impossible for the CP to push through its current policy. He predicted that by the end of the century whites would constitute only 12 per cent of the population.

The Conservative Party was not as strong as it would appear, the NP was strong but weakening, and the left lacked the organisational ability to get its act together.

Mr Pakendorf said he was not sure whether the CP had growth potential.

An important factor was the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), a semi-fascist organisation which claimed support from the army, police, railway workers, civil servants and teachers.

He said that the AWB had influence was not in doubt. However, it was difficult to gauge its strength.

# Beaches: A WB 3/3/88 call to Louw

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The local branch of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has called on the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, to attend a meeting here later this year in connection with AWB opposition to blacks on beaches.

This follows the handing in of a 600 signature petition by the movement at the town clerk's office here at the end of last week.

The organiser of the petition, Mr John du Toit, said that the petition also called for the authorities to erect suitable warning notices on beaches within 30 days.

He said a letter had been sent to the administrator and invitations had been extended to all the mayors and councillors of Gonubie, Beacon Bay and East London to attend the meeting scheduled for April 11.

Mr Du Toit said the mayors or their representatives would be given the opportunity to

address the meeting.

"We want to know what is going on. We know that the beaches in East London have never been declared open beaches and it's time the authorities told us exactly what is going on."

He said that when the previous town clerk here left, signs declaring the beaches for whites only were removed and never replaced. The issue had subsequently fallen under the jurisdiction of the administrator who had directed that the status quo remain.

"What is happening now is an infringement of the law. The beaches here have never been declared open," Mr Du Toit said.



# Botha replies to Boer Republics petition

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT Botha has taken the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to task in a reply to the petition which AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche delivered at the Union Buildings on February 27.

President Botha accused the AWB of creating "nebulous dreams" and said it had no mandate to insist that the Government give in to its demands — including one for a Boer Republic.

Mr Botha said that since Mr Terre'Blanche had made his petition public, he had decided to release his reply "in the interest of a complete record."

In the petition the AWB demanded that the old Boer Republics of Transvaal, Free State and North-Natal should be restored "inalienably" as Boer ground.

It also demanded an end to integration, power-sharing, the "surrender of our fatherland, estrangement of folk possessions and the march to black domination".

President Botha said the National Party had won a convincing majority to gain a mandate to carry out its policy.

If the AWB wished to implement its policy it could do so by seeking a mandate through its own political party, the Blanke Volksparty or through its members in the Conservative Party.

President Botha said he had a problem with the AWB demand for exclusively-Afrikaner land, as there was enormous confusion among different organisations like the AWB about what sort of white or Afrikaner state they wanted.

"Against this background my question to you is, who do you speak for and what is it that you want to be implemented? Before you approach the Government in this manner again, you must take a hard look at the basis of your demands.

"You are creating a set of false expectations for your followers and you are building up emotions around nebulous dreams which have nothing to do with the practical circumstances of South Africa.

"You would do far more for the Afrikaner and for South Africa if you tried to approach the country's problems in a more responsible manner instead of carrying on policies in a way that creates division and suspicion."

# AWB 'ready to take over by force'

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging would take over with might in South Africa if the Government capitulated to the ANC, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the AWB, told a meeting attended by about 800 people in the Paarl Town Hall.

Only a section of last night's crowd applauded Mr Terre'Blanche and one person shouted that he was misleading the public. After the meeting about 100 people crowded on to the platform as membership forms were handed out.

In his speech, Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB did not hate other race groups but loved its own white nation.

## "Cowardly"

He said there was no place for moderates in South Africa. The ANC was on its way and the Government was cowardly.

The AWB stood outside party politics and for the first time the white man in Africa now had a "volksbeweging". If law and order broke down in South Africa the AWB would restore it.

In two years the rightwing would be in power.

He defended the movement's Swastika-type emblem and said it was composed of the figure 7, a key number of the Government.

Argus man ordered out  
ARGUS photographer Mr Willie de Klerk was escorted from the hall by one of Mr Terre'Blanche's bodyguards. He dismissed the fact that Mr de Klerk was there as a professional journalist and said he would have been welcome at the meeting had he been white.



Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

**IN FULL SWING:** Arms flailing, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche of the AWB propounds his views at yesterday's Cape Town Press Club luncheon.

could ban this emblem but it could not ban or jail an idea.

● Earlier Mr Terre Blanche entertained a large, if sceptical, crowd at a Cape Town Press Club luncheon at a city hotel, reports a Staff Reporter.

With total self-assurance and at times almost evangelical, finger-stabbing fervour, the khaki-clad Mr Terre Blanche made an impassioned plea to the Press to understand his viewpoint, the basis of which was a demand for an independent whites-only "volkstaat".

Flanked by members of his armed bodyguard corps, Aquila, but with the controversial AWB flag nowhere to be seen, Mr Terre Blanche said: "I don't care what you say about me, but listen to my case, members of the jury."

"I also want my own fatherland."

"And because I want it, I grant that right to every other South African."

"You cannot demand land just because you are white. You can demand land only if you are a volk (people)."

Mr Terre Blanche denied he was a racist and said the National Party was "absolutely racist" in dividing Parliament into separate houses for white, Indian and coloured MPs.

The AWB did not believe Afrikaans were better than anyone else — "just different".

"If the Irish can say they are different from the British then they must understand me when I say I am different from the Zulu, not better."

### Catcalls

To catcalls at the start of his speech, Mr Terre Blanche indicated that he would speak only in Afrikaans as he believed every South African should be bilingual.

He challenged Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to explain why he refused to debate with him on television.

Mr Terre Blanche denied that he was a nazi and said his inspiration, if anyone, was Paul Kruger.



# Deja vu as Mulder comes to Parliament

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Mulder came to Parliament yesterday. The resemblance was quite eerie. Similar features, though on a smaller scale, the same nervous twitch of the neck, the same quick, confident, almost glib speech.

This was of course Pieter, son of the late Dr Connie Mulder, and the new MP for Schweizer-Reneke.

A crowing Conservative Party, gloating after its two by-election victories, proudly presented the second Mulder generation at a press conference in Parliament.

And it was quite confident that another would be joining him at the end of the month when his brother, Dr Corne Mulder, fights the Randfontein by-election.

Dr Pieter Mulder, until now a professor of communications at Potchefstroom University, showed that politics runs in the blood of the Mulders.

He gave a fluent account of the election campaign and fielded questions easily.

He also made it clear that no major revelations about his father's Department of Information secrets were to be expected.

"My dilemma is that whatever I say can't have the same effect. My father could have said: 'Mr President, I was there and you were there, you know what I'm talking about'.

"I can only say that 'my father said he knew you were there'."

## OCCASIONAL FACT

But he did say he would be giving the occasional fact, though most of it was old news and it was unlikely to "bring down the Government".

On the campaign Dr Mulder said that he had gone to Schweizer-Reneke prepared to deal with farmers' issues, but the campaign had soon got down to the basic national issues such as power-sharing.

The National Party had poured an enormous amount of effort into Schweizer-Reneke, including paid officials, more money and Ministers or Deputy Ministers at every meeting.

"Subtle" intimidation had also played a large part in the NP campaign. Many voters were farmers with loans and NP workers had asked them "What will happen to your loans if the CP wins?"

The campaign had been in tense, as shown by the 81 per cent poll.

There had been a high number of postal and special votes which the more experienced NP was good at.

But the enthusiasm and inexperience of the CP had prevailed against the NP's experience and lack of enthusiasm.

What would the professor of communications do in the outback of the western Transvaal?

"Be the MP for the area," he said.

Ask a silly question...

(Report by P Fabricius, Press Gallery, Parliament.)

## 'CP victory spells chaos'

THE Conservative Party victories in Wednesday's by-elections in Standerton and Schweizer-Reinecke are viewed by Dr T K Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa, not only as a severe blow to the reform policy of the National Party, but also as spelling disaster for the country.

"We are not supporters and apologists for the ruling National Party policy, but we wish to state categorically that the resounding victories scored by the Conservative Party in the by-elections do not only present a severe blow to the reform policy

13049  
Sowetan 4/3/88





Like father like son . . . Dr Pieter Mulder steps into his father's shoes in Parliament and may soon be joined by his brother, Dr Corne Mulder.

# CP success has forced a Nat re-think

Stev 4/3/88 304 A

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is having to rethink its strategies following this week's significant setbacks in two Transvaal parliamentary by-elections.

The matter was discussed at the weekly NP caucus meeting in Cape Town and will no doubt feature prominently in party meetings in the near future.

What concerns the NP most is that it appears to be unsuccessful in countering the Conservative Party's exploitation of emotional issues such as integrated beaches and overcrowding of blacks in some traditionally white residential areas.

The NP found it took a severe knock, particularly in Standerton, because of the events on Durban beaches during the festive season.

## Demonstration to voters

According to NP sources, the party has determined that it must "out-govern" the Conservative Party by demonstrating to the voters that it can and will protect their interests.

This can be done in two ways. The party has apparently decided that:

- Whites must be persuaded that they are secure, and this includes aspects such as being able to use beaches in a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere.
- All South Africans must be able to see and feel the benefits of the NP's reform programme.

To these ends, South Africans can expect to see Government action with regard to group areas and the control of public amenities.

Already announced are plans to declare "open

areas" for property ownership and residence by people of all population groups in each of the major centres.

Once these have been established, the Government intends cracking down on contraventions of the Group Areas Act in each area designated for the exclusive use of a particular race group.

At the moment, the policy is to turn a blind eye and to act only on complaints.

In future, if a community decides en masse that it wants to remain ethnically exclusive, the Government will enforce that.

In the words of Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk: "We will ensure that the basic plan for own residential areas is maintained."

On the question of beaches, there is a difference of opinion as to how this should be handled.

Mr de Klerk said during the TV debate earlier this week that positive action would be taken by applying the law in respect of beaches.

Some NP sources believe this means the Government will continue to endorse a policy of reserving some amenities, such as selected beaches, for the exclusive use of particular race groups.

Others believe the solution lies in crowd control, by limiting the number of people using a particular beach at any one time.

The second thrust of the new NP strategy — to demonstrate the fruits of reform — may not be as easy.

One senior NP source believes the best way to do this is to show South Africans that the Government is negotiating with black leaders about a new constitutional plan.

"We must show the voters that the NP is on the right road and that their future is best assured with us," the source said.

(Report by D M M Braun, Press Gallery, Parliament.)

# Reform will go on says Botha

4/3/88

204A

PRESIDENT Botha yesterday expressed the Government's determination to continue with reform against the background of two Transvaal by-elections which came as a disappointment for the National Party.

In Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke the Conservative Party trebled and quadrupled its general election majorities.

Mr Botha said the two results did not change the composition of the parties in the assembly.

Temporary disappointment could not keep the Government from doing its duty. "The Government achieved a huge majority in last year's general election.

## Mandate

"With that mandate we will continue to seek solutions for our often difficult problems.

"We will give the security of our country high priority at all times.

"Reform in the economic, social and constitutional areas must be continued but I want to point out to South Africans that excessive demands often lead to excessive reactions.

"To stir up and exploit emotions is irresponsible and dangerous.

"Foreign meddling as well as the actions of radical elements which contravene internal laws cause revulsion among patriotic voters.

"The situation which is caused by this will have to be rectified," Mr Botha said.

• See page 7 for reaction to the by-election results.



A sharp swing to the right has been confirmed by two by-election results in the Transvaal in which the Conservative Party quadrupled and trebled its majorities in fights with the National Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The National Party had anticipated defeat but had hoped to at least hold its position at last year's general election.

Instead the CP majority in Standerton was 2854, up from 952 last year and its majority in Schweizer-Reneke 794, up from 191 last year.

In Standerton the CP share of the vote went up from 50,4 percent last year to 58,3. The NP's share went down from 43,6 percent to 39,9.

In Schweizer-Reneke the CP's share went up from 48,4 percent to 51,5 percent and the NP share went down from 46,8 percent to 45,1.

### Support

The results tallied very nearly with CP pre-election calculations of the support the party would draw.

The party fought its election largely on allegations that the National Party was "selling out" the whites and that apartheid was being broken down, citing the non-application of the Group Areas Act and events on Natal beaches as examples. It also exploited President Botha's unpopularity in some Transvaal areas.

The by-elections also confirmed that the HNP has disappeared as a factor of any significance even in Afrikaner rural areas.

Its small share in the vote came down even further.



De KLERK ... "not a defeat."



TREURNICHT ... "Randfontein next."

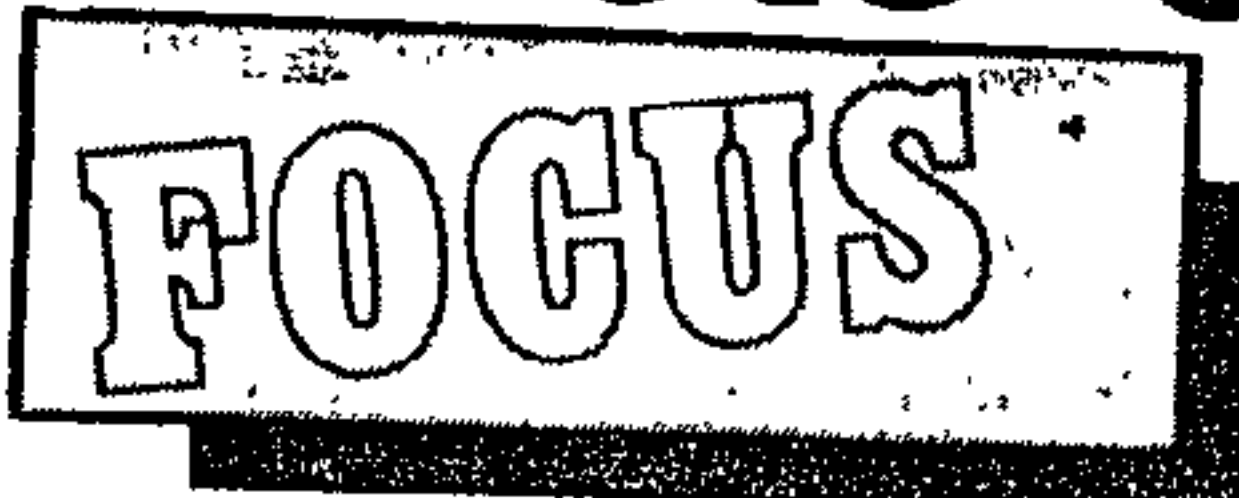


COLIN Eglin ... "sad day for SA."

# 'Demise of HNP boosts CP votes'

Sowetan 4/3/88

304A



## on results of 2 white by-elections

Initial Nationalist reaction was that the results were in a way not a defeat for the party because the CP had won the seats in the general election.

The CP immediately started projecting the results to increased support for itself in a by-election which is coming up in Randfontein next month and in the local government election in

October.

The Progressive Federal Party described the result as sad news for South Africa.

The HNP said that the struggle continued.

Dr Treurnicht's initial reaction was to look forward to the Randfontein and local elections.

He thought the election would have a snowball effect for the CP in every other election.

The Transvaal Nationalist leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said the results, although disappointing, were not a defeat for the National Party.

### Salaries

The CP had won both seats in last year's general election.

The bigger CP majority in Standerton he ascribed to the demise of the HNP and a sympathy vote for the CP candidate as a result of the circumstances under which he was unseated after being elected last year.

There were also the recent economic meas-

ures with regard to salaries and related matters which the Government had to announce in the interests of the country.

When the positive fruits of these economic measures showed the situation would again improve.

The fact that the National Party had maintained its number of votes in both seats showed stable support for the party.

Against this background he believed Standerton remained within reach for the National Party at a general election.

### Shift

Referring to Schweizer-Reneke Mr de Klerk said the National Party had increased its number of votes and the relative position had not changed much.

This showed that the Standerton result had not laid down a firm tendency.

He felt that the National Party could also win Schweizer-Reneke at the next general election.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that the results were bad news for South Africa.

It was clear that there was a fundamental shift of party allegiance in rural Afrikanerdom.

This was inevitable ever since Mr Botha some five years ago

found himself stranded in an ideological no-man's land somewhere between racial apartheid and non-racial sharing.

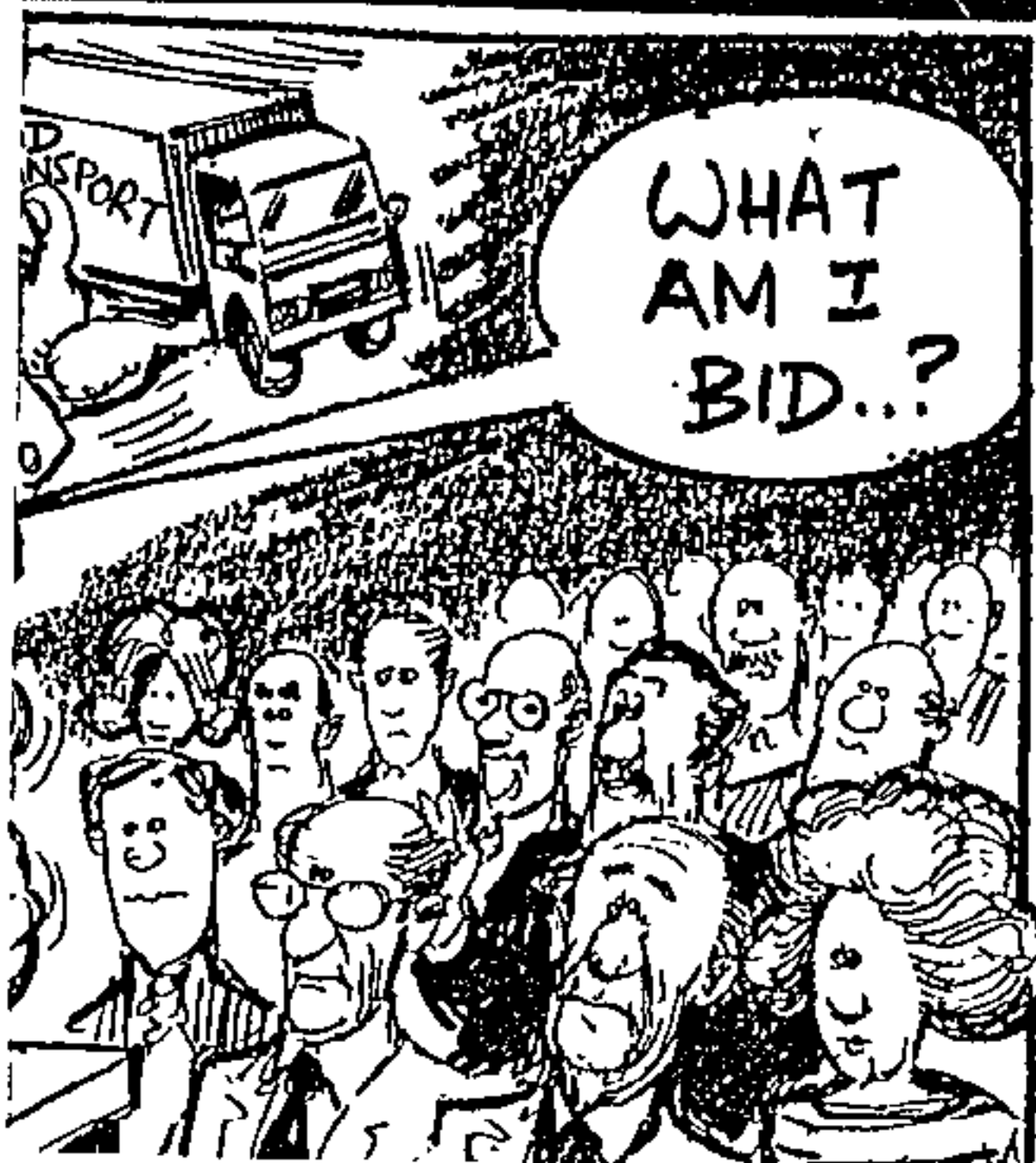
The Government along with white South Africans were going to have to make up their minds where they were going.

They could not afford to fiddle any longer, Mr Eglin said.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP said that his party's struggle would continue.

There was now even less chance of co-operation with the CP.

The results were a challenge to the National Party, Mr Marais said. — SOWETAN Correspondent.



## Lest we forget...

THE Sowetan today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the New Nation, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 446 days;

- Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape freelance journalist, 630 days;

- Vincent Mfundisi, of SABC-TV, has been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 154



11405 4/3/88 (304A)

By TOS WENTZEL and BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

THE National Party is conducting an intense post-mortem on its setback in the Transvaal by-elections amid a growing feeling in its ranks that white fears must be allayed.

The matter was discussed at a parliamentary caucus meeting of the party soon after the results, which showed that the Conservative Party had made further progress, were announced.

According to Nationalist MPs there was disappointment but not panic in their ranks.

Senior Government sources maintain the party has a "positive approach" to what has to be done to counter the CP onslaught.

They say the feeling is that reform measures must continue, that it must be proved that reform can work and that the radicals from all sides must be "out-governed".

### White fears

The party must be able to put up a clearer alternative and the negotiation process for further constitutional reform must become more visible, they say. The CP is driving the National Party on to the defensive on these issues.

Nationalist politicians also feel that something must be done to allay white fears about personal security and about being "crowded out" of their residential areas and on beaches by members of other groups.

These are issues which the CP has been exploiting successfully.

National Party spokesmen today confirmed that the beach issue and particularly Durban's beaches over the New Year had played a major part in the outcome of the by-election.

Although there are differences of opinion in the National Party about what steps should be taken, there is agreement that measures will have to be implemented before the municipal elections on October 26.

Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party and Minister of Home Affairs, said today the Government was "worried about disorderly and bad behaviour on the beaches and the problem must be addressed".

However, he rejected arguments that the Government would be rushed into action as a result of the by-elections although he agreed the issue had played a significant role.

### Crowd control

He repeated a recent statement he made in Parliament that the Government accepted open beach facilities but also accepted that all population groups were "entitled to adequate facilities".

Many members of the NP caucus want exclusive as well as mixed facilities while others say race should be left out of the issue altogether.

Others feel effective crowd control and improved and more facilities would provide the answer.

Mr Botha declined to say whether the final Government decision on the beach issue would be forced on municipalities.

He said there would have to be consultation between local government, the provinces and the central government.

Meanwhile, the CP is cock-a-hoop after its victories.

Mr Tom Langley MP, a CP frontbencher, said there had been a five percent swing to the CP in Schweizer-Reneke and an eight percent swing in Standerton.

He said a five percent swing at a general election would give the CP 45 seats and a 10 percent swing 84 seats.

# Government rethinks strategy on how to beat CP onslaught

# Nat POW-WOW



# Elections thrashing PW slams 'foreign' elements

4-10/3/88  
304H  
W/1400

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

PRESIDENT PW Botha yesterday blamed "foreign interference" and "actions by radical elements that break internal laws" for the National Party's humiliating defeats in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke.

Botha brushed the results off as a "temporary disappointment", and said, somewhat enigmatically: "Foreign interference as well as actions by radical elements that break internal laws undoubtedly cause aversion to patriotic voters."

When John Vorster was Prime Minister, "foreign interference" and "radical elements" were precisely the factors which led people to vote for the NP in its landslide 1977 general election triumph.

Between then and now something fundamental has changed. Though their concerns are the same, rural Afrikaner voters in the north of the country no longer trust the National Party to safeguard their interests.

The most noteworthy feature of the Conservative Party's showing was that it increased its support despite the NP's use of all methods at its disposal to win back the seats, including a timely crackdown on anti-apartheid opposition and a vicious smear campaign in the Afrikaans press.

In Standerton the CP trebled its majority from 952 to 2 854 while in Schweizer-Reneke it increased its majority from 151 to 794.

This setback for the NP has added momentum to the CP's next challenge — the nationwide municipal

## PW blames 'radicals' for defeat

vaal, three in the Free State and one in the Cape."

It is probable that, were there a general election this year, the CP could at least double its current tally of 20 seats in the white chamber.

However, the really big winner seems to be the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) whose links with the CP were exploited to the full by newspapers such as *Beeld*.

The only effect of that appears to have been to drive more voters into the CP. The propaganda campaign inadvertently revealed that rural Transvaal whites don't really mind the AWB's neo-fascist image and behaviour — a factor the government will have to take into account if it ever considers banning it.

It has also shown that *kragdadige* election eve gestures — like bombing

From PAGE 1

Angola and effectively banning 17 anti-apartheid organisations — do not impress rightwing voters enough to win them back to the NP.

The National Party, like the United Party of old, is increasingly being forced to rely on English-speaking support, in Johannesburg, Natal and the Eastern Cape, to compensate for the loss of the northern Afrikaners.

The major difference with history is that, unlike the NP of old, the CP is not a national coalition.

It is regionally based in the Transvaal and Orange Free State and without a major breakthrough among Afrikaner voters in the Cape Province the ceiling on the number of seats it can win, falls short of an overall majority in the country.



White power: A Conservative Party fan savours victory in the Standerton by-election

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

elections in October.

The CP representative in the Transvaal, Chris van den Heever, predicted his party would take control of local councils throughout the Transvaal, in the *platteland* and in blue-collar urban areas.

The Randfontein by-election later this month will be an important indicator of whether blue-collar workers are swinging to the CP in the same measure as rural voters.

If Wednesday's results are extended throughout the province, the NP can no longer be confident of retaining control of a single town council in the Transvaal outside of Johannesburg, including Pretoria.

Effective CP control over white local government in the Transvaal must be giving the NP nightmares — particularly its Transvaal leader, FW de Klerk, whose own political future is on the line.

Political scientist and veteran pollster Willem Kleynhans was surprised by the size of the CP victories — a swing of eight percent in Standerton and three percent in Schweizer-Reneke.

"If they repeat this in a general election, they will win at the very minimum every seat in which the National Party has a majority of less than 1 000 — that's 11 seats in the Trans-

To PAGE 5

151

150  
148  
146

145

144

143

17

142

141

nk pages



# CP says it can win the next election

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party believes it will win control of the Transvaal and possibly wrest power from the National Party at the next general election.

Although President P W Botha and Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk yesterday put on a brave face following the marked swing to the right in the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections there is no denying that the NP, despite its all-out campaign, took a severe thrashing.

Senior Nationalists admitted privately that a brake would now be placed on racial reform.

Speaking at a press conference in Cape Town for victorious Schweizer-Reneke candidate Dr Pieter Mulder, CP frontbencher Mr Tom Langley

dismissed Nationalist claims that the CP had not improved its position since May 6 as "trash".

The swing towards the CP since last year's general election had been 5% in Schweizer-Reneke and 8% in Standerton, he said.

CP projections showed that a 5% swing during a general election would bring in a harvest of 48 seats. A 10% swing towards the official opposition would give them 84 seats — sufficient to become the new government.

Mr Langley said the most populous Transvaal province where the CP currently holds all of its 21 seats was definitely within the grasp of the party.

Any medium-size to large seat in the Transvaal where the NP majority was 2 000 or less was now within reach, he said.

However, last year's general election had demonstrated that

CP was not a "party limited to one province". While the CP had cornered 37% of votes cast in the Transvaal the figure for the OES was 42%, he said.

Mr Langley said the marked swing to the CP in this week's by-elections and greater exposure the party was receiving in the media would also assist its growth in the Cape, particularly in the rural constituencies.

The party now looked

To page 3

From page 1

## CP victory

forward to the Randfontein by-election later this month and the "challenge of taking on the government full-scale" in the October municipal elections.

Dr Mulder said he was "very satisfied" at having increased the CP's majority in the face of the "total onslaught" of

the NP during its expensive campaign.

He estimated that between half and two-thirds of HNP voters had now joined the CP.

In other reaction to the by-elections, President Botha said the results did not change the composition of parties in the House of Assembly. The government would do its duty and continue with reform.

The government achieved a huge majority in last year's general election and with that mandate we will continue to seek solutions to our often difficult problems," he said.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the result demonstrated a major shift of party allegiance among rural Afrikaners.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party,

Mr Jaap Marais, said the fewer votes for the HNP were "a renewed challenge". Mr Marais said, however, that there was no doubt in his mind that the HNP would continue its campaign.

He said a closer relationship between the HNP and the CP was now "less likely".

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse appealed to the NP not to

look back over its shoulder at the CP, "but take cognizance for the larger number of South Africans across the colour line who are prepared to support the processes of reform".

The Chief Minister of Lebowa, Mr M N Ramodikeon, said blacks should identify and boycott the businesses of Conservative Party and AWB members.



THE WHITE RIGHT

## Fight for the press

The emergence of the Conservative Party as official opposition in parliament has given government yet another headache: what to do about the party's request that their right-wing publication, *Die Patriot*, be granted



Le Grange . . . power to decide

press gallery facilities.

So far accreditation for *Die Patriot* has been a see-saw game between the CP and Speaker Louis le Grange. Former party secretary Frans van Staden wrote to Le Grange towards the end of last year, asking for press gallery accreditation for *Die Patriot's* political correspondent, Koos Bester, and reporter Gaye Derby-Lewis (wife of CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis).

As Speaker, Le Grange has the right to accept (after security clearance) or deny press gallery facilities — which include offices, access to the press diningroom and a constant flow of order papers, *Hansard* and official notices. The Speaker also has the right to suspend or withdraw press gallery facilities.

Le Grange made no decision and referred *Die Patriot's* application to the Press Gallery Association. Although there were certain members of the association who opposed the application, it was felt that it was not up to the journalists to make a recommendation. They referred the issue back to Le Grange.

Those who objected said that *Die Patriot*, which is not a member of the Newspaper Press Union, was not a bona fide newspaper.

304A

Bester, however, told the FM that his paper is registered with the Post Office as a newspaper and that he had worked as a fulltime journalist for Nasionale Pers's *Beeld*, Perskor and the SABC (which is also not a member of the NPU).

Bester says that while the issue is still unresolved he has to sit in the public gallery where nobody is allowed to make notes.

Meanwhile Le Grange has written a second letter to the CP's chief whip, Frank le Roux, informing him that as the decision lies with the Speaker he has decided against allowing *Die Patriot* accreditation. He gives two reasons:

- Membership of the NPU is regarded as a prerequisite; and

- As *Die Patriot* is owned by a political party and has a small circulation, their request could not be considered.

CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis says his party is now investigating joining the NPU. The CP feels that the denial of press facilities is nothing but party politics and it puts more strain on relations between the official opposition and the Speaker. Looking at how the two Afrikaans press groups and the SABC back the Nats, the CP seem to have a case.

*CAPE TIMES 4/3/88*  
**Assocom did  
not warn PW**

THE chief executive of Assocom, Mr Raymond Parsons, yesterday issued a statement clarifying an earlier statement issued by the association in connection with meetings held between Assocom, the State President and members of the cabinet.

It said that the original statement could have given the impression that the question of the restrictions placed on certain organizations had been raised with the State President.

This had not been the case.

Although the matter had been raised with several cabinet ministers, the issue had not been formally raised when the delegation paid a courtesy visit to the State President, Mr Parsons said. — Sapa.

● The original statement from Assocom was accurately reported by the Cape Times on page 3 of yesterday morning's edition under the headline: "Assocom warns PW on bannings". This was not so, as now made clear by yesterday's statement. The headline was based on that part of the statement which has now been clarified.



# Shows support — CP

PRETORIA — The result of the by-elections confirms the political direction taken in the elections on May 6 last year, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Dr Treurnicht said the result showed growing support for the CP and less support on a percentage basis for the government. It also confirmed that the HNP was not in demand among the voters.

Dr Treurnicht said he expected a show-down at the Randfontein by-election next month.

● The television debate precedent created during the recent by-election would be exploited by the Conservative Party in future, Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said yesterday.

He said that he doubted that the National Party would take up the challenge of more debates following the by-election results.

Mr Langley was introducing the new Member for Schweizer-Reneke, Dr Piet Mulder, to the press.

Mr Langley said he believed that the television debate between the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht and the Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk, had proved to be either a draw or a gain for the CP.

Dr Mulder said the future trends of elections, particularly in view of constituencies growing to 20 000 and 30 000 voters, was away from the old organisational system. TV and particularly TV debates and campaigns would gradually become the norm.

Dr Mulder was sworn in yesterday.

● The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said the fewer votes for the HNP in yesterday's two by-elections were a renewed challenge for the party.

Mr Marais said, however, that there was no doubt in his mind that the HNP would continue its campaign.

Regarding possible cooperation on the right of the political spectrum, Mr Marais said the situation had been created where a closer relationship between his party and the Conservative Party would be less likely. —Sapa

# Poll setbacks could hit NP reform plans

## Bloomberg refuses to quit board seat

Daily Dispatch  
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A Cape Town attorney, Mr David Bloomberg, has been asked to resign from the board of Metropolitan Life because of allegations, which he denies, that he was involved in corruption in Transkei.

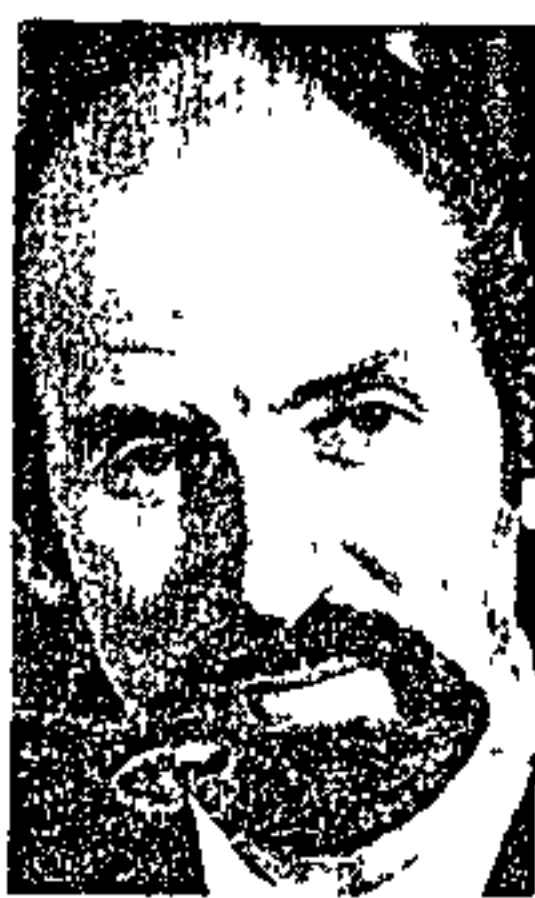
Mr Bloomberg — a member of the city council and prominent in racing circles — has refused, however, to resign.

"I am not guilty of any offence at all and I have not been charged with any offence," he said.

Mr Bloomberg noted that the allegations had been made "in a court of inquiry in Transkei, of all places. People are making reckless allegations in pursuit of vendettas and this can go on interminably."

"This is a time when one looks to one's friends to stand by one."

Metropolitan Life, a Cape Town-based insurer,



MR BLOOMBERG

ance company specialising in the black market, was built up by Mr Bloomberg from humble beginnings and is now a subsidiary of Sankorp, the industrial arm of Sanlam.

A director of Sankorp, Mr Etienne le Roux, said yesterday that the request for Mr Bloomberg's resignation did not imply that the board believed that he was involved in corruption in Transkei.

"But Metropolitan Life does a lot of business in the area. We don't say Mr Bloomberg has done anything wrong. We are thinking of the good of the company."

Agreeing with this, the chairman of Metropolitan Life, Mr Marinus Daling, said, "Our request for his resignation is not based on whether Mr Bloomberg has done right or wrong. Our action is based on the interests of the company."

Mr Daling admitted that he had not consulted all the members of the board. "But a majority were in agreement," he said.

Mr Bloomberg said that Mr Daling had threatened to remove him from the board, "and issue an appropriate press statement", if he refused to resign.

"But I refuse to be intimidated. I asked to be allowed to address the board, but that has been denied me."

Mr Bloomberg is also on the board of African Oxygen (Afrox).

Afrox's managing director, Mr Peter Joubert, said yesterday, "David assures me that he has no beneficial interest in any overseas company and at this stage I do not intend taking any action about his membership of the board."

Mr Joubert said he did not expect any evidence that would change this situation.

Mr Bloomberg said, "If I considered myself guilty of anything at all I would resign immediately, not only from Metropolitan Life but from all the boards on which I sit."

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A shaken National Party is embarking on a major reassessment of its reform programme after its decisive defeat in the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections.

A number of senior Nationalists, including cabinet ministers, admitted that a brake would be placed on racial reform, while Dr Andries Treurnicht's rampant Conservative Party predicted it might take power at the next general election.

"We have made a commitment to reform and we cannot abandon that," said one senior NP member. "But without doubt there will now be a reassessment and a slowing down. The rank and file party member will feel much more inclined to yield to pressure from the right."

Indications were that the government would push ahead with its economic reform package, but that racial reforms would be put on the backburner. Security would continue to receive top priority.

The government was expected to move swiftly to clarify its stance on reform, which insiders said meant a hard line on racial issues.

In his reaction to the results, President P. W. Botha said the CP had not won new seats and the government would do its duty and continue with reform.

"The government achieved a huge majority in last year's general election and with that mandate we will continue to seek solutions to our often difficult problems," he said.

But senior Nationalists said the NP's defeats, despite its all-out ministerial and press campaign, would almost certainly slow down or stall reform moves towards further integration in neighbourhoods, schools and on the beaches.

With political analysts predicting further CP gains in the October municipal elections and in the general election due next year or early in 1990, Nationalists believe the government will have to take note of the anti-integration sentiments expressed in the swing to the CP.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday the PFP would have to force itself into political relevance if it was not to lose supporters who would vote Nationalist to cut down right-wing gains.

At a victory press conference in Cape Town, a CP spokesman, Mr Tom Langley, dismissed as "trash" Nationalist claims that the CP was in no better position than at last year's general election.

Mr Langley said the swing towards the CP since May 8 last year had been five per cent in Schweizer-Reneke and eight per cent in Standerton.

He said the Transvaal, where the CP currently holds all of its 21 seats, was definitely within the grasp of the party.

However, last year's general election had demonstrated that the CP was not a "party limited to one province". While the CP had cornered 37 per cent of votes cast in the Transvaal, the figure for the Free State was 42 per cent.

Looking at an election in 1989 or 1990, the CP believes it can assume power, winning 50 seats in the Transvaal, 14 in the Cape, 10 in the Free State and three in Natal.

Two seats in the Eastern Cape, Sunday's River and Uitenhage, are among the seats earmarked by the CP.

National Party MPs were talking yesterday of putting pressure on the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, to compromise, in the interests of keeping the CP out of power, on his determination to force whites to the polls if the Group Areas Act is not scrapped.

However, an LP spokesman said last night it was President Botha's job to make the initial move and the LP would not back down on the issue.

Reaction, results P5  
Editorial opinion P12

  
**YOU COULD  
CALL IT**  
*Delightful. . .  
Different . . .  
or even  
Devine . . .  
Whatever. . .*

**OUR ARRAY OF  
JEWELLERY  
STARTING FROM  
Silver Ear Studs to  
Heavy Gold and  
Exquisite Diamond  
Jewellery, to a Gorgeous  
Range of Watches**

## Plaatjes seeks asylum in US

WASHINGTON — The South African running star, Mark Plaatjes (right), has renounced his citizenship and sought political asylum in the US to run in the \$25 000 Los Angeles marathon on Sunday.

The Athletics Congress, the governing body for athletics in the US, has deemed Plaatjes a stateless person eligible to compete here.

The decision was announced at a Los Angeles press conference and the South African — whose best marathon time is 2:8:58 — became the immediate favourite for Sunday's event.

Plaatjes, who was barred from running the 1985 Boston marathon, surrendered his passport in





# Star 5/1/88 Ghost of Wakkerstroom stirs

**I**S Standerton another Wakkerstroom? Twice in South African election history, by-elections at Wakkerstroom were the precursors of the fall of a government. This time the Conservative Party is talking as if Standerton is the catalyst for a similar electoral upheaval.

How ironic it was that bosom friend of President Botha, former Nationalist Senator Koot van Staden, who died this week, should be quoted just before the by-election (in a television flashback from his reminiscences) as saying that the greatest moment in his political career was when Smuts was beaten at Standerton. Within a couple of days of that flashback being screened, President Botha was beaten at Standerton — if not in person, then in reputation.

In the Treurnicht-De Klerk television debate this week, the CP leader said: "We are not disputing that you have the majority, but that majority is decreasing, and after the next election it will be smaller. I am working on the assumption that in the next election the CP can win a majority of the white votes."

After this week's by-election results were known, Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk said they

THE  
INDEPENDENT

JOHN  
PATTEN



could not be seen as defeat, because Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton had been Conservative seats. He forgets something.

The CP winner in the Standerton election last year was deliberately unseated by the Nationalists on a technicality, with a view to reversing the 1987 result. That decision has blown up in the Nationalists' faces, and the CP has capitalised hugely. It was indeed a defeat for the NP.

In 1987, the CP surprised some by winning 23 seats in Parliament — just enough to become the official Opposition. But analysts calculated that the general election outcome was no more than the electoral manifestation of the CP defection that had taken place five years earlier.

The by-elections this week were something more ominous. They showed substantial CP growth, raising doubts whether past theories are correct that the defection represented a

304A  
ceiling on right-wing electoral strength. An extrapolation of this week's results suggests the CP could win anything from 35 to 40 parliamentary seats, and that the psychological advantage gained could lead to a further bandwagon effect, particularly as the CP is cutting heavily into the Nationalists' Afrikaner power base.

It is too early to say whether Standerton this week is another Wakkerstroom. The CP can be contained by firm leadership, but not by opportunistic campaigning or hypocritical attempts by the NP to look like both a reformist and a reactionary party.

In 1948, Smuts's United Party won the majority of votes and lost the election. The reason was that he refused to abandon the loading of urban seats and the deloading of platteland seats in the delimitation.

It is not the abandonment of loading and deloading that President Botha particularly needs to safeguard reform policies that are essential to future peace. It is the abandonment of racially compartmentalised parliamentary voting in the tricameral system.

His greatest challenge is to risk joint voting to defeat white racism. He does not look brave enough to take the risk.

# Soulless monster stumbles

Star 5/3/88

304

**A** PARTHEID, stripped of its moral and spiritual garb, has found it terribly difficult to cling to its ideas and direction. The argument has been lost, hence the resort to the mailed fist.

In the days of yore, the Nationalists could point at such paragons of virtue as the NGK and such stalwarts of rectitude and foresight who served the folk with distinction in both religion and politics — Malan, Verwoerd, Treurnicht etc — to steel and convince the masses that their's was a morally just cause.

Not anymore. The dogma has been exposed for the lie that it has always been. Apartheid, it has been universally agreed, is a heresy, the NGK has been cast out as a pariah from the community of Christendom, and locally it is avoided and shunned like a plague by other churches.

Shorn of its spiritual veil the politics of greed has been trying vainly to pick up new threads to sustain and underpin its hegemony.

Watching the demonic demonstrations of the AWB last Saturday, I could not help but pity those miserable victims. Apartheid is reaping its harvests.

Those men, rabid in their commitment to their calling, are mere casualties. Flotsam and jetsam of history.

Even the most incorrigible optimists among that lot should surely know they are fighting yesterday's battles.

Their's will be a life I would not wish on anybody. The battle lines, they say, have been drawn — on the beaches, integrated facilities and even another ambitious scheme to carve up our country into small packages to satisfy the misguided fancies of a minority. They stand no chance. Any gains on their part will be short-term.

Dr Treurnicht is out to make maxi-

ALL THINGS  
CONSIDERED

BARNEY  
MTHOMBOTHI



**NO PRETENCE: Dr Treurnicht knows exactly where he is taking the folk.**

mum use of this fear and bigotry. Listening to the debate this week, I got the impression he, like Dr Verwoerd whose mantle he is keen to wear, knew exactly where he stood and exactly

where he was taking his flock, and eventually the country, too. Mr de Klerk did not.

Dr Treurnicht did not mince his words. His party stood unashamedly for the white man. Whether that is savvy is a moot point.

Mr de Klerk's party, burdened by the baggage of the past, is groping in the dark, offering its supporters nothing but trust.

As a member of the Government, he had no course of action to solve the problems. He mouthed sophistries, which neither pleased his supporters nor convinced the sceptics. No wonder the CP had an easy walk in the by-elections.

Recent developments illustrate the confusion within the ruling party. Only a day after Dr Gerrit Viljoen had told the world his department was to incorporate People's Education into the black education curriculum, his government moved against black organisations, including the NECC, whose co-operation is vital if Dr Viljoen's commitment is to mean anything at all.

When Mr Mbeki was released from prison, the Government made no effort to hide the fact that his release was a bait to nab its favourite children, the elusive black moderates, to help it launch its latest arrangements.

That was before the policemen started complaining and Mr Mbeki's home was duly turned into his prison.

Now after the recent clampdown, we are told, by Mr Vlok significantly, that the bannings would help remove the intimidation factor and the moderates will come out of the bushes.

Surely both arguments cannot be valid.

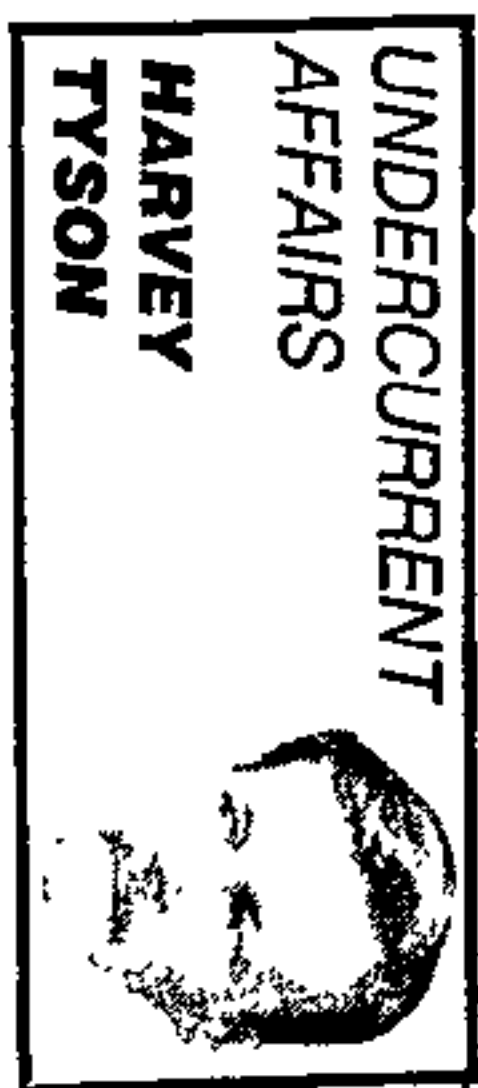
Now I think I know who is in trouble.



# El Presidente P.W. calls tune

Star 8/31/88

304A



UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS HARVEY TYSON

THE neo-Nazis blustered. The CP politicians crowded. The anti-apartheid church leaders marched en masse on Parliament this week... but all seemed oblivious to the reality that they were too late to stop the counter-revolution.

South Africa some time ago accepted, without knowing it, what my colleague David Braun calls "The Franco Option".

The reality of it hit me with startling clarity as I looked down from the new glass-walled parliamentary dining room on Tuynhuys, the petit palace of El Presidente.

It is hard to visualise this Franco-style authoritarianism in a leafy, peaceful haven such as the Cape Town Gardens, where the shirt-sleeved guards (white and brown) relax against Parliament's railings, chatting up the girls (brown and white) and gazing at the street sweepers, busy in the early morning sunlight brushing dust from the new PWD cobblestones.

It comes as a shock to see that the sweepers, too, are white as well as brown. "You're looking at the bureaucracy of a multiracial oligarchy," grinned PRP leader Colin Eglin.

But at that moment I was not looking at this peaceful if novel scene. I found myself staring at South Africa through the glinting glasses of El Presidente.

To see his view one has to place oneself in position by asking a number of questions.

Why is P W Botha so happy, so at ease, in the midst of a conflict which holds the attention of the whole, horrified world? How can he sleep at nights when people are locked in jails under the Draconian regulations that supplant the law? How can he happily dispense medals and open flower shows when the nation is moving from confrontation to crisis and back again?

The answer is that the President sees no crisis. He does not feel beleaguered.

He is reported to have told a private audience last week: "There is no pressure on me to negotiate with blacks. I have invited them to talk. When they are persuaded there are no other fruitful options, they will finally come forward."

Meanwhile, as with the Cubans and the Namibian issue, it suits the Franco-style form of government that things continue as they are.

It would seem that the all-powerful State President believes his "total strategy" of total domination is working well. He believes (as did General Franco) that he can roll back any revolution and impose highly efficient government, with sufficient blessings to keep the masses docile.

He is younger and healthier today than his mentor, Dr D F Malan, was when he became Prime Minister. His tightly-knit supporters expect a long presidential reign. The pretenders to his presidency do nothing except pay constant court to The Leader.

He has reason to smile, for like General Franco he is a first-class organiser. Unlike General Franco, Mr Botha, the former paid political organiser, has not had to rely on a military coup to give him power. He gained it virtually singlehanded.

Now no decision of any significance is taken without his personal approval. Even appointments within government departments await his nod.

Every governmental report comes to him, as a tight two-page briefing from his directors general. Often the briefing is verbally delivered. Always there are searching questions.

Every Cabinet Minister jumps at the ringing of the red-light telephone which is directly connected to Tuynhuys.

El Presidente is a technocrat par excellence. He goes nowhere without being constantly in touch with all of government. He seldom misses question time in the Assembly or any nuance in caucus politicking.

It is said that his private Operations Room contains a computer that tells all at a press of a button, even trivia such as the levels of dams.

The whole system, from the National Management Committee to the Regional Services Councils, is eminently suitable for the Franco Option.

The grand plan now is, not political, but economic reform. The key is the Popula-

tion Development Programme, designed to keep population growth within reason by upgrading socio-economic conditions of the underprivileged. Housing, electricity, education and TV for the masses — these are recognised agencies in balancing the birth rate... and they also fit the counter-revolutionary strategy of providing benefits in order to remove incentives to revolution.

Privatisation will pay for much of it. Total strategy also envisages a total pooling of all State revenues, which the President-in-Council can distribute into pots of priorities which lesser Ministries can then try to divide up equitably.

The Franco Option seeks first to demonstrate by force that the Government not only has the determination, but also the means to maintain power. Then the regime dishes "goodies" to the masses and provides efficient government for all. Muggings stop, and the trains keep moving.

Can it work?

Clearly the President is confident it will. At what cost? The cost of all freedom, of course, plus other costs.

Next week I shall examine the other side of the coin.

# NP still has time for reform

CAPE TOWN — Analysts examining election trends over recent years believe it is unlikely the Conservative Party will come to power before the end of the century.

Therefore they believe that the National Party still has a breathing space of at least a decade to make its power-sharing plans work and to bring peace to South Africa.

If it fails, however, the country is likely to continue polarising until the Conservative Party becomes the dominant force in white politics.

Analysis of more recent election trends shows that the swing from the National Party to the right has been steady but small; not more than 2 percent a year since the 1970s when the Herstigte Nasionale Party first started making inroads on the Afrikaner power base.

The HNP's penetration of the white electorate improved from 3,2 percent in the 1977 general election to 13,8 percent in 1981 — the year before the CP broke away from the NP.

The CP consolidated the HNP support base in the referendum of 1983, and in the 1987 election took 26,6 percent of the votes.

This week's by-elections showed a massive swing from the remaining HNP support base to the CP, while the swing from NP to CP varied

from just more than 1 percent in Schweizer-Renkke to close on 4 percent in Standerton.

Standerton is the result of greatest concern for the NP because the constituency represents large pockets of blue-collar and mineworker support.

The results might not have changed the composition of the House of Assembly but they did confirm the steady swing to the right.

The process could well be accelerated in October when local authorities for all race groups throughout the country go to the polls.

The CP has set its sights on winning political control of as many municipalities as it can get hold of, with the express purpose of destroying the regional services councils and to prevent open residential areas being established.

President Botha has already declared that the Government is to proceed with reform despite the by-election results.

The Government is concentrating on socio-economic upliftment of the impoverished communities, structural reforms to the economy and a rationalisation of State services.

DAVID BRAUN  
Political Correspondent

304A

ster  
5/3/88



# SA does not believe in war — PW

3048  
5/13/88

## POLITICAL STAFF

CAPE TOWN — South Africa did not believe in war — or that war could solve the problems of the region, President Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a ceremony at Tuynhuys, where the Star of Africa Order was awarded to a number of South Africans, he said South Africa preferred the way of friendship and co-operation with its neighbours.

It was prepared to make a contribution to the economic, technological and social development of the region.

He said ingenuity and perseverance had given South Africa the best-equipped defence force in this part of the world.

## Tribute

With its total population of about 30 million people, South Africa could if necessary field some 500 000 well-equipped soldiers.

This was a formidable force against the sustained onslaught on the country. Compared to this, Nigeria, Africa's biggest country, could muster an army of only 133 000.

Mr Botha also paid tribute to the national service system. He said he had no doubt that young men benefited a great deal by national service.

At the same time there was sadness about the loss of a number of them in the service of South Africa, and their sacrifice would be remembered, he said.



# CP's recipe for victory

In the quiet valley period after the bitter fight for the conservative heart and soul of the Afrikaner in two rural Transvaal by-elections this week, one might well ask what really happened out there?

Could it be that the rural Afrikaner has finally abandoned the "kruithoring" (powder horn), traditional symbol of Afrikaner nationalism and National Party emblem, for the Conservative Party's tortoise with its retractable head?

The election results at a glance may suggest the NP still has appeal to a solid chunk of the close to 39 000 constituents in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke. And it seems to be a dependable amount of support.

It may seem NP support has peaked among Afrikaner voters in those two constituencies. The CP increased its majorities by three and four times in both Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke, while the percentage poll stayed more or less the same as last year.

## FENCE-SITTERS

Where did these extra CP votes come from?

From the Herstigste Nasionale Party — especially in Standerton, where the dying HNP lost close to 600 votes. Another theory is they came from a considerable section of "draadsitters" (fence-sitters) who had not made up their minds since the CP's breakaway from the NP in 1982.

The by-elections have underlined the fact that the traditional character of the NP as comfortable home to the rural Afrikaner — especially in the Transvaal — has changed. Why?

The Afrikaans-speaking Transvaal "platteland", the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found a few years ago, does not want his traditional values, such as separate amenities, to be tampered with. Another (independent) study also showed that the older generation in rural towns far outnumber young people.

Until a few years ago it was not strange to hear some one say his father voted for the NP, and therefore he will stay loyal to the party. It ran in the blood. Someone said this may be the reason why the political split in



**RIGHTWING ROMANCE:** Beeld cartoonist Orin Scott takes yet another swipe at the AWB-CP relationship. "When is our wedding day Apie . . . Apie?" the serenading AWB trooper asks Dr Treurnicht.

## Holding on to the traditional values

KARIN BRYNARD

Progressive Federal Party, whose support it must inevitably erode.

In a next general election many voters to the Left of the NP might feel obliged to vote for the NP to keep the CP out. It would be far better, and more productive for the NP to abandon attempts to gain right-wing support in favour of the Left, he says.

One cannot regard this week's by-election results as an absolute barometer for future political trends in the Transvaal platteland.

First, the opposition usually fares better in a by-election than in a general election.

Afrikaner politics was so painful.

Although the Government took strong action against anti-apartheid groups and promised to bring morality into line with traditional values, the right-wing still seems to be winning the race in the platteland.

This loyalty also suggests that "verloopte" NPs who went astray will not easily be won back, political commentator, political commentator Harald Pakendorf remarks.

Thus it stresses the futility of attempts to woo back conservative support.

If the growth of the CP in Transvaal rural areas says anything, apart from the threat to the NP, it bears ill news for the country's largest coherent group to the Left of the NP, the

future which stays the same, says Kobus du Pisani of the Centre for Contemporary History at the University of Bloemfontein.

Since 1966, the first time a chink appeared in the NP's apartheid policy, the party has moved to the Left, he says. But it did not take all its traditional nationalist constituents with it.

By the late 1970s the HNP captured the support of 14 percent of the electorate which did not feel at home in the NP any more. This percentage has escalated to close to 30 percent of support by the HNP and CP combined.

The rural Afrikaner is, apart from political affiliation, a conservative in both life-style and outlook. The new constitution promised a total solution to economic (sanctions) and political (black unrest) problems. The conservative feels that neither has been realised and is highly suspicious of further reforms, Du Pisani says.

## PEOPLE'S MOUTHPIECE

Hennie Kotze, head of political science at Stellenbosch University, says the most important thing the CP achieved was to become the mouthpiece of middle and lower income groups among the Afrikaner.

On the other hand more than 40 percent of the NP vote is English-speaking. It is not the sole representative of the Afrikaner any more and can make only more real progress towards the Left, says Kotze.

The struggle between the NP and CP, he says, has changed to a class struggle, with the CP fighting for middle and lower income groups.

Both Kotze and the CP's national secretary, Kobus Beyers, believe that the CP's relationship with the AWB did not influence the outcome of this week's by-elections.

What does this mean? That the CP will be the next governing party after an election? No, say political scientists like Hennie Kotze. The CP support can grow to 36 to 40 percent at the most.

Although a percentage such as this brought the Nationalists to power in 1948, the NP today enjoys more than 50 percent of the national support. Apart from that, 70 percent voted in favour of power sharing and reform.

● The author is Political Writer for the magazine *Insig*.



# CP could topple Nats if election rules not changed

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Government has been advised to seek ways of staving off a take-over of power by the Conservative Party at the polls within the next decade — or even sooner.

Political analysts say the toppling of the Government through the ballot box is on the cards unless timely changes are made to the electoral system.

Their advice to the Government after this week's by-election victories by the Conservative Party with increased majorities is that a close look be taken at the rules of the game — with a view to changing the rules, if necessary.

Although analysts do not expect defeat for the Government at the next general election they say it could happen thereafter.

## Close look

Political scientist Professor Albert Venter of Rand Afrikaans University said the Government would have to change the election system if it were to avoid defeat by the CP in future general elections.

He said that if he were in the Government's position he would take a close look at the election system and at its own position.

One way in which it could stave off defeat was to change the system of "loading" and

"unloading" between urban and rural constituencies.

The present trend, especially in the Transvaal and parts of the Free State, was for the CP to be stronger in rural constituencies while the NP was stronger in the cities.

By bringing the strength of the vote in urban constituencies more in line with that in platteland constituencies, the CP's voting strength would be diluted in areas where the party received most of its support.

## Distribution

The Government could also consider a change in the distribution of seats between the provinces — especially between the Cape and Transvaal.

The CP's increased majorities in Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke this week were not unexpected, but were an indication that other seats in the Transvaal and in large parts of the Free State could also be captured by the CP in future elections.

Professor Venter said that a general election victory for the CP would have serious implications for South Africa. It could result in a considerable increase in world pressures on South Africa and would increase polarisation.

A CP victory would be seen by the world as a message from South Africa's whites that they choose apartheid. It would also have internal repercussions

such as the alienation of moderate blacks and further polarisation between blacks and whites.

Mr Donald Simpson, a researcher in the political science department of Potchefstroom University, said that this week's by-election results should be viewed cautiously because of unusual circumstances.

A factor that should be taken into account was that a substantial proportion of HNP votes were channelled to the CP and did not, therefore, form part of the swing from the NP to the CP.

However, Mr Simpson's analysis showed that if this week's swing to the CP were also to occur in other seats in a general election, the CP could win 40 seats. This would put the CP on a similar footing to Dr Malan's National Party in 1943.

If the trend continued under the present electoral system the Government could face a general election defeat in the 1990s.

Mr Simpson also suggested that the Government would have to make adjustments to the electoral system to stay in power.

Such adjustments should include a change to prevent the present situation under which a party with a minority of votes could win a majority of the seats in a general election.



# Thoughts of Clem . . .

MY bet is that even if you're early, he'll be at the door before you, as he is at Ravenswood, the eighteenth century Anglo doss house here in Cape Town.

Clem Sunter is tall, nicely assembled, pink (an all day cricket match the day before). He is balding a little, to reveal a pate wherein must reside much brain, his hair instead flourishes in awesome brows

He is the author, as we well know, of *The World and South Africa in the 1990's*, a slim shiny volume of future possibilities, and the star of the same-name video.

He is also the inventor of Sunterspeak, that powerfully fashioned language that has, or should have, struck hope, or chill, into the hearts of millions of South Africans.

"The future is normally not what it used to be."

"High Road . . . Low Road."

"We flex and interplay the key uncertainties."

"Dual-logic economy."

"Active future."

"Each-ism."

"Triad and non-Triad."

Finally, boyishly, there is his 'heck of an important concept.' Us.

Sunterspeak is, in fact, plain common sense.

HIS Guru is Pierre Wack, the love of his life his wife, Margaret.

When you ask whether South Africa has embarked any distance up the 'High Road' or down the 'Low Road', he says that in terms of whether his presentation has influenced South Africa, the jury is still out.

"Pierre Wack, who was head of Royal Dutch Shell's planning, says you don't look for short term results with scenario planning. You're trying to change the microcosm of the person, their mental map. You do that slowly. Essentially you're asking people to convert themselves, rather than trying to convert them from outside. Then it sticks."

What is the first thing he'd like to see change?

"Attitude — where people really see each other as partners in this country. That whites perceive the blacks as a very valuable asset in terms of the economy and in turn the blacks see the whites as an asset in the sense that South Africa has done extremely well rel-

## ANGLO'S SUNTER ON THE POWER THAT'S 'OUT THERE'

W/LE ARGUS 5/3/88

by GORRY  
BOWES-  
TAYLOR  
Weekend Argus  
Reporter

Picture:  
DANA LE ROUX,  
Weekend Argus.



ative to the rest of Africa."

The strikes last year jolted people in the mining industry into realising that the blacks now have real economic clout.

"It's no longer a question of just having a group of unskilled workers in your company, you now have highly skilled black workers who can't be replaced. The more white management and whites generally realise that there is real power out there, the more they will see they will have to extend that partnership into the political sphere as well."

### ANXIOUS

And he is anxious about the effect of people here fanning overseas criticism of this country.

"The more you convince the outside world that we have nothing but demons in South Africa the more difficult it'll be for our High Road scenario. Attitudes will eventually harden.

"I think the rest of the world is perceived by South Africans as too much of a player in that sense. The government on the one hand appeals to the world against sanctions, the blacks appeal for more sanctions when they should actually be looking to each other.

"I guess that is the most important change I'd like to see, people saying we've got to share in the future. We're going to lay down the rules together."

HE is back behind a corporate

desk now, this synchronised man. He has spread Sunterspeak in almost every nook and niche of the country (with help from colleagues Michael Spicer and Jim Buys), to all colours and political protestations, to most of the Cabinet and government departments, to virtually all English and Afrikaans universities and, as he says, "lots" of schools.

What is his own, er, "active future"?

"I like to think I can do something else on the scenario front. The subject that really interests me is the development of ideologies. What I call a bit of each-ism. That has to be one of the best concepts in our world material where Gorbachev and Deng are both moving towards a pragmatic blend of ideologies. So are Spain, France, Vietnam, and New Zealand just to name a few others. You take a degree of capitalism, a degree of socialism and you mix them together in a combination that works for you.

### EXAMPLES

"Some countries prefer higher profile government, others prosper under virtually totally free enterprise. I try to emphasise that there are benign and malign forms of government intervention. That which restricts entrepreneurs is definitely malign, killing the human spirit — for you have to accept that the engine room of

economic growth is the entrepreneur — whereas benign intervention increases the freedom of the individual."

He gives as good examples of benign intervention education and hospitals, "because educated, healthy people are freer than sick ignorant ones.

"What I say, particularly, when I'm talking to left-wing audiences is that the primary objective must be to double the per capita income from R4 000 to R8 000 (in today's terms) in the year 2 000. It means a real growth in this country of eight per cent per annum over the remainder of the century.

"When that is achieved you will have the schools, the hospitals for everybody and you will also give people the income to clothe and feed themselves.

"It's a heck of an important concept that."

IN Sunterspeak he spells out dual-logic economy, whereby big business sub-contracts to medium-size business, who sub-contracts to micro business.

"That marvellous channel for getting the wealth from the top echelons to the bottom echelons. That cascading of wealth through all levels of society."

Take the black taxi industry: "It's not just the taxi industry per se, it's all the spin-off industries — paint spray shops, panel-beating, spares.

"I was told that 60 percent of the houses in places like Guguletu have backyard businesses. 60 percent! That's tremendous.

"I believe one's got to get used to the idea that the fastest growing market in South Africa today is the Third World Metropolitan Market. The opportunities there are unbelievable.

"There is a book about to be published, *Third World Destiny* by Nick Green and Reg Lascaris which talks marvelously about all the opportunities that are available in that market and the fact that you've got to be upbeat about having Third World characteristics."

South Africa has an urban population that is growing at five percent per annum which in itself creates many opportunities.

"You've got a lot of young people out there and in the late 90s on our High Road scenario you'll probably have more rich black teenagers than white teenagers and there's a hell of a scope in a market like that. We haven't even touched it."



THE frightening scenario is that of a government caught between opposing forces, of white extremism and black activism, apparently progressively at a loss as to how to muster moderates of all races into a significant force for peace.

6/16 11/4/85 5/13/88

306/11

# POLARISATION

IN the Parliamentary constituency of Standerton, situated south-east of Johannesburg, a cross-section of white farmers, town-dwellers and workers went to the polls this week to give the Conservative Party a more resounding victory than they did ten months ago.

In Schweizer-Reneke, a sprawling and mainly rural constituency in the western Transvaal, the same happened.

In their much talked-about television confrontation this week, Conservative leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned Mr F W de Klerk: continue on the road you are (of selling out the whites) and you will be driving more and more people into the arms of the AWB.

In turn, the Transvaal Nationalist leader and aspiring president warned: if Conservative policies had to be applied, more and more black people would be driven to the ANC.

Dr Treurnicht justified his party's close association with the militant AWB on the basis that the CP was working for victory at the ballot box while the AWB foresaw the day when law and order would break down and it would have to step in.

In a speech a few days before, AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche had prophesied: the choice coming for people in this country is between the AWB and the ANC.

And in spite of Mr De Klerk's warning to Dr Treurnicht about driving blacks to the ANC, the Government itself has been drawing outrage and accusations of doing the same for the ANC, through its restrictions on the UDF, Cosatu and 15 more organisations.

It all comes down to the same thing — POLARISATION.

GOVERNMENT members, or at least some, seem aware of the danger signals, if a speech made recently by Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the House of Assembly, is anything to go by.

Speaking in the Assembly the former Springbok rugby captain, clergyman, ambassador to the court of St James, MP and Cabinet Minister underlined the potential threat of a polarisation of political extremes in South Africa by reference to his- torian Alistair Horne's book, *A Savage War of Peace*, on Algeria's revolution.

Although direct comparisons could not be made between the situations in Algeria and in South Africa, he said, there were certain significant parallels.

Horne's book showed that, as in South Africa, a terror campaign was begun in Algeria as a lever to obtain political power by violence and to get rid of white domination. The aim was to instil fear among whites by means of gruesome acts of terror. The reaction of the French rulers was that violence had to be suppressed by violence.

As a result Algeria became a battlefield for eight years, with as many as 40 murders a day at

IN little more than a fortnight South African politics have taken several dramatic turns — for the worse. WEEKEND ARGUS political writers LEON MARSHALL and FRANS ESTERHUYSE look at the events and their implications.

times, arising from a polarisation of political extremes. The outcome was that a million Arabs were killed and about as many whites were forced to leave their homes.

With all the military might at its disposal, France could not avoid a political solution. At one stage the possibility of partition was considered, but General Charles de Gaulle dismissed it as a *fantasy* because of the interwoven character of Algeria's economy.

On the Arab side, warnings were given that a million soldiers would be needed to defend the borders in the event of partition.

Dr De Villiers was directing himself at the Conservatives and the implications of their partition policies, claiming that whether the CP intended it or not, what it was saying was that black people had become enemies of the whites.

Whether and at which point he wished his seniors in government to take note, only he would know. But he continued to read: "It is by closing the normal paths of legality to a mass of 8-million people that one risks driving it back into the arms of the declared adversaries... who aim to solve the Algerian problem by violence."

He then quoted what he described as Horne's profound lesson applicable to all of us: "Often, in Algeria, the essential tragedy was heightened by the feeling that — with a little more magnanimity, a little more trust, moderation and compassion — the worst might have been avoided."

The Progressive Federal Party's Mr Peter Soal interjected: "Does your President read the book?"

Dr De Villiers made his speech before last week's Government clampdown which closed the normal paths of legality to a mass of people at the risk of driving them into the arms of the declared adversaries...

As often with Nationalists these days, he proceeded to warn of the impossibility, costs and dangers of the CP's partition plan — an impossibility because to make it work would mean moving 5 500 people a day, costly not only in terms of the transport, bureaucracy and policing it would require but also in terms of the social disruption, the revolt and hatred and the blind rage which this policy of injustice would bring about; a recipe for revolution he called it.

YET, while apparently fully aware of the growing polarisation and the dangers it poses, the Government, for all its talk about consensus government, negotiations and reform, seems lame-struck by the magnitude of the task and of stop-

ping the polarisation.

Oh yes, against black activists it has a reflex answer — outlawing, banning and restriction.

Against white activists, like the AWB, though professing concern and muttering threats, it is consistently less resolute.

How clearly this showed in the events of recent days.

■ In Cape Town clerics, including Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Stephen Naidoo and Dr Allan Boesak, were walking in dignified procession to Parliament to hand President Botha and MPs a protest note against the clampdown on 17 organisations.

On the basis that protesting in the vicinity of Parliament was illegal, they were blocked by police, sprayed with a water cannon while kneeling on a pavement, and some were arrested to be released later on their own recognizances after being told charges would be investigated against them. It was a soggy note they eventually got through to the lawmakers.

■ In Pretoria, after a rousing meeting of 5 000 in the Skilpadsaal — uniformed bodyguard, rubber truncheons, holstered pistols, et al, with Mr TerreBlanche declaring there was no place for moderates in Africa — a delegation marched up the steps of the Union Buildings to deliver a petition for President Botha demanding the return of "traditional Boer land" and accusing the Government of "acts of treason".

There was no water cannon or other action to stop them.

The frightening scenario is that of a government caught between opposing forces, of white extremism and black activism, apparently progressively at a loss as to how to muster moderates of all races into a significant force for peace.

Had Dr De Villiers wished, he could have gone further and quoted another paragraph from Horne's book, one that perhaps comes closest to spelling out the dilemma.

"For the West as a whole the Algerian War contained the lessons of two classic failures. First, the failure either to meet, or even comprehend, the aspirations of the Third World... Secondly, the lesson of the sad, repeated failure of the moderates, or a 'third force', to compete against opposing extremes is one of constant relevance to the contemporary scene; whether it be in Northern Ireland, Southern Africa or Latin America."

What seems to worry the Nationalists most

about Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton is the extent to which the Conservatives succeeded in exploiting white fears of domination and disgust at incidents on racially mixed beaches as well as at residential integration.

AND so it was with the De Klerk-Treurnicht television debate — a spectacle that reminded strongly of the position the United Party of old and the PFP often found themselves in.

Instead of asking Dr Treurnicht to list the incidents on beaches he speaks of as a percentage against cases where it went smoothly, taking into account what the latter might have done for better relations, Mr De Klerk was ready with the assurance that the Government was not only aware of but indeed concerned at such incidents.

Upset at Dr Treurnicht for deliberately refusing to see the new Nationalist ideology in its entirety, Mr De Klerk was sweet reasonableness about working towards a shared say for all, without domination of any group by any group.

But blacks would be in the majority, retorted Dr Treurnicht. And who would elect the President? For all his assurances about no domination, Mr De Klerk was emphatic that nothing would change without the say-so of whites — a logic that somehow reminded of the old UP's justification for their proposed white-dominated federalcy: "White leadership with justice."

Nationalists are reported to have emerged from their by-election post-mortem feeling reform measures should continue, that proof should be given that reform could work, that radicals from all sides should be "out-governed" — and that something should be done to allay white fears about security and about being "crowded out".

That it is no easy choice for the Government is clear: by scrapping apartheid altogether, it will indeed risk driving more whites to the Conservatives and AWB. By not doing so it has no hope of winning over blacks and getting its conciliatory plan started.

But while tramping round, banning here, sweet-talking there, society is taking its own course, worry breeding anger, anger breeding polarisation...

To take two more quotes from Horne's book:

Many a French leader, and especially the pious noirs (European settlers) of Algeria waged the war in the good faith that they were, indeed, shouldering the 'White Man's Burden'. Many a French para gave his life heroically, assured that he was defending a bastion of Western civilisation...

The Algerian war was one of the last and most historically important of the grand-style 'colonial wars' — and a war of peace in that no real declaration of hostilities was ever made. Equally it was undeniably horribly savage, bringing death to an estimated one million Muslim Algerians and expulsion from their homes for approximately the same number of European settlers...



304A S1T 6/3/88

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has emerged from the fringe to become a powerful influence in South African rightwing politics.

Once the AWB brought ridicule upon itself for tarring and feathering an academic and a ludicrous plot by some members to sabotage the homeland casinos.

Now it sits in the inner sanctums of right wing councils.

Attempts by the Government to smear the Conservative Party for its association with the AWB have clearly backfired: The CP romped home in two critical platted by-elections this week.

Does this mean Eugene Terre Blanche, the messianic and threatening leader of the AWB, is now kingmaker of the right?

His continuing support is certainly now vital to the fortunes of the Conservative Party. Hence Dr Andries Treurnich's steadfast refusal to disavow the movement in spite of NP attempts to identify him with AWB excesses.

## DRIES VAN HEERDEN

looks at the new role of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in rightwing politics

Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Henne Kotze believes the NP has overplayed its hand with its AWB scare tactics in the by-election campaigns.

"They forgot that CP supporters have already written off the NP," he says.

"They made a clean break with the NP because they earnestly believe the Government is selling out the white man."

"If they have to choose between Mr Terre Blanche and President Botha, they obviously consider the AWB leader to be the lesser of two evils."

Professor Kotze says the

average voter is not concerned with the subtle differences in policy between the CP and the AWB.

What is more important to him is his perception that it is only the rightwing parties which can guarantee continuing white privileges.

The AWB's early history is obscured by the leaders' efforts to envelop the organisation in symbolism and mythology.

Mr Terre Blanche himself claims it was formed in 1973 in a garage in Heidelberg by "seven concerned young Afrikaners looking for alternatives to the Westminster system."

In the early stages two Pretoria advocates — one of whom is still very active in rightwing circles — were prominent.

In its formative years the AWB was certainly a militant offshoot of the HNP — Mr Terre Blanche himself stood as an HNP candidate in the 1971 elections.

But then there was a plethora of janatic fringe rightwing groups — the Witkom-

# Nat smear attempt fails: AWB emerges as rightwing power

mando, the Odal Clan, Action Save White South Africa, the Kaptekommando — all of which ended on the political scrapheap.

In the early years the AWB's claims to fame were restricted to almost infantile outrages like the tarring and feathering of Professor Floors van Jaarsveld of Tukkies.

They gatecrashed an attempt to draw up a petition favouring the opening of the Breytenbach Theatre in Pretoria to all races and later AWB members were convicted

for amateurish attempts to bury firearms in Western Transvaal mealie fields.

Mr Terre Blanche transformed a ragtag band of political misfits into a formidable force on the right — no doubt helped by the free publicity they received from Government speeches.

The AWB's relations with the HNP soon soured. The HNP saw them as competing for the rightwing vote, especially after Mr Terre Blanche registered his own

Blanke Volkstaat Party in 1979.

During last year's general election Mr Terre Blanche tried to act as a power broker on the right to conciliate the HNP and CP into a united front. His efforts were dashed by the long-standing feuds between the two.

He did, however, successfully manage to infiltrate the ranks of the CP's parliamentary caucus by getting five of his supporters elected as CP MPs — what is called the "Trojan Horse Strategy" by the NP.

CP politicians now find themselves confronted with the problem of what to do with an organisation that possesses such a tremendous potential to embarrass.

Seen from his perspective, Dr Treurnicht probably made the right decision not to alienate the AWB.

After all, wasn't it Dr Connie Mulder who quoted Confucius with approval: "My enemy's enemy is my friend?"

And the Government still faces the prickly problem: How to confront the "Tydse Seven Brigade" and its silver-tongued leader. Should they ban them or not?

An investigation in terms of the Internal Security Act is currently under way but President Botha will certainly move cautiously.

The National Party will always be haunted by the ghosts of Gideon Scheepers, Jopie Fourie and Robey Leibbrandt, all of whom became potent symbols of Afrikaner martyrdom.



# Save 'our' beaches - AWB

CP Correspondent

"SAVE our beaches" - that's the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's new campaign in the East London area.

The extremely right wing organisation has started a petition aimed at barring blacks from using local beaches. It claims "massive" public support with over 600 signatures already collected.

Although the beaches in the area have not been officially declared open by the Administrator of the Cape, as is required by law, notice boards restricting blacks from access have been removed and local authorities have as yet not taken action against anyone.

Co-ordinator of the campaign, John Du Toit, said the petition stated that the AWB was "strongly opposed to non-whites" on the local beaches and called for the signs to be put up again within a month.

"No beach is open to all races, it's only

that signs were taken away," he said. "At the moment every single black that sets foot on the beach is breaking the law."

Earlier Du Toit said the campaign had been launched in reaction to "the incredible number of non-whites who visited Eastern Beaches on New Year's day."

He claimed the majority "did not come to enjoy the beach or its facilities, it was a show of power".

At the time, the AWB mounted patrols on another beach nearby, regarded as one of the "safest" bathing beaches.

"We kept it white all day long," said Du Toit. "People were walking up to us to congratulate us. We had only two adverse comments."

The petition was handed to the city council last week, but Du Toit said they had not had any response yet.

"The council is like (President) PW

Botha - it is non-committal," he said.

Town clerk Les Kumm confirmed he received the petition, but said he hadn't counted the signatures on it.

He said that although the beaches were not yet officially opened, both the police and the council had indicated they would not take action against black people on any of the beaches.

"How do you prevent 30 000 black people coming to the beach even if the signs are up," he said.

He said he had not heard about the AWB patrols until afterwards, but said that if they threw anyone off the beach they were acting irregularly.

The AWB campaign is to end with a "save our beaches" public meeting on April 11.

The Administrator of the Cape and local mayors have been invited to attend. - El-news

6/3/88  
304A  
CP Press

# Cabinet meets to discuss CP threat

From Page 1

programme. It is certain, however, that the Government will weigh very carefully the impact of specific reform measures against rightwing feelings.

The reaction of MP parliamentarians has led to fears in opposition ranks to the left of the Government that the Nationalists will speed up their encroachment on opposition territory.

PPP leader Colin Eglin told reporters there was a danger that some of his supporters spurred by their fear of the CP, would be corralled by the NP.

But leaders of the soon-to-be-formed Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall said there was "no chance" the CP could come to power.

Mr. Keith Gurney, chairman of the IP steering committee, said IP calculations showed, however, that CP gains could force the NP into a coalition with groups to its left to maintain a parliamentary majority after the next general election, which could come within 24 months.

Just how to attract support from the left, while fending off the threat from the right, will be the thorny task of NP strategists in the seven months leading up to October's nationwide elections for new local authorities.



# **ANC sees AWB's flag burning as 'childish display'**

**CP Correspondent**

THE exiled ANC views the burning of its flag by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as "a childish display of political immaturity".

A former well known wrestler, Manie Maritz, burnt an ANC flag after he entered the hall on horseback and Terre'Blanches' military guard, Aquila, was introduced to the public at a rally at the Skilpad Hall in Pretoria on Saturday to commemorate the battle of Majuba.

Reacting to the burning of the flag, an ANC spokesman said in an interview, that the banned organisation was not the source of the problem which confronted both black and white people in South Africa.

"The source is the very government that people like themselves (the AWB), had put into power in the first place on the basis of the same ideology of apartheid that the AWB today espouses," said the spokesman.

"The ANC on the other hand has represented, from the time of its inception, ideas and principles designed to protect humanity from apartheid and the evils that are today represented by the AWB."

The spokesman added that "the kind of violent language and behaviour" that the AWB has displayed against people and organisations involved in trying to bring about "sanity" in South Africa, was "completely unacceptable".

"Both the ruling National Party and the AWB represent the same evil against the black people of South Africa. The only difference is that the one (AWB), displays rabid intolerant feelings," the spokesman said.

~~SECRET~~ 304A

CIP 11/20 6/3/88

# SECRET CABINET TALKS ON CP THREAT

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE Cabinet is holding a secret meeting this weekend to take stock after the Conservative Party's Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-election victories which rocked the National Party.

The meeting, described as a "team-building exercise", was understood to have been scheduled some days before the Transvaal by-elections which saw the CP dramatically increase its majorities.

The question of how to deal with the rising rightwing backlash against the Government's reform policy was expected by observers to be one of the chief topics at the meeting.

Neither the venue nor the agenda have been disclosed and a spokesman for President Botha said: "I cannot even confirm that there is a meeting."

Several ministerial aides said their bosses would be "out of touch" for the weekend.

The Government is facing stark choices on how to proceed with its faltering reform programme, the electoral threat posed by the CP and the growing armed militancy of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

A defiant Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, the AWB leader, reportedly told a packed audience at Bloemfontein City Hall after the elections that if "the Government gives way, that very night the AWB will take over South Africa with violence".

## Chaos

Referring to warnings by Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, that an official investigation of the AWB was under way, Mr Terre Blanche said "the bell would toll" for Mr Vlok.

Mr Terre Blanche was accompanied by his newly-established armed and uniformed guard, Aquila.

The AWB has become a hot potato for the Government. Its bid to smear the CP with its AWB links proved wholly ineffective in dissuading Transvaal platteland voters from supporting the CP at this week's polls.

The results sent the NP a clear message: More reform means more CP successes.

Most academic analysts said after the polls that the right wing was still under-represented in white politics, but that there was a ceiling on its support which they put at anywhere between 35 and 50 seats of the House of Assembly's 166 elected MPs.

National Party MPs, however, were not placated by the academics' argument.

A leading MP said there was "no ceiling" on the issues exploited by the CP. These were:

- The chaos created on open beaches in the past holiday season;

- The Government's "incorrectly perceived drift to a black majority government".

## Goals

- The bad state of the national economy — worsened by the Government's pay freeze in a public sector that employs an estimated 40 percent of all economically active Afrikaners.

Dominant thinking in NP parliamentary circles late this week was that the Government had now to adopt a clearer reform profile.

Several MPs said they believed that not enough white voters had a clear understanding of the meaning, direction and goals of the Government's reform

□ To Page 2

S. Times  
6/3/88  
304A

## Pick 6 winner scoop R9 800

A NET pool of R967, Gosforth Park, Germiston, ensured 98 lucky Pick 6 winners of a healthy pay-off of R9 800,10 yesterday.

The winning numbers were: 2, 4, 2, 1, 4, 1; 2, 3, 4, 1, 4, 1.

The Pick 6 at Clarendon returned a dividend of R1 900,20c.

## Bomb deaths

ANOTHER Oshakati blast victim has died, 11 as the number of death tolls. Miss Anna Dumeni (But burn and fracture (her) yesterday police said.

## Girls killed

TWO girls, aged 11 and 12, were killed when struck by a lorry while running across a road.



By Esmare van der Merwe

The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba is supported by the majority of white South Africans, with the largest single group being National Party supporters, according to a countrywide survey released today.

The survey, carried out by leading market research company Market and Opinion Surveys, shows that 80 percent of the about 2 000 adults canvassed know of the Indaba.

Of these, 52 percent of the respondents support the Indaba — 36 percent "strongly" and 16 percent "weakly".

Fourteen percent of those aware of the Indaba oppose it — 10 percent "strongly" and 4 percent "weakly".

About 19 percent of those aware of the Indaba are "neutral" and 15 percent "are not sure".

A majority of those supporting it (47 percent) also support the NP, followed by supporters of the PFP (22 percent) and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement (12 percent).

A majority of those opposing the Indaba (51 percent) support the CP.

The above figures refer to Indaba supporters and opponents according to party-political affiliation. However, a breakdown of these affiliations reveals interesting statistics.

For instance, 19 percent of

## Whites in favour of Indaba

CP supporters aware of the Indaba support it. As could be expected, 88 percent of PFP supporters are enthusiastic. However, the cool response given to the proposals by the NP leadership is reflected in the fact that only 49 percent of Nationalist's who know of the Indaba support it.

"Quite frankly we are stunned by the results," commented Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk. "We have been very encouraged by the previous Natal survey results, but never anticipated such widespread national acceptance."

"Clearly white voters nationwide are more than ready to face the problems confronting us and to accept a new brand of negotiation and reconciliation politics," he said.

The survey canvassed Market and Opinion Surveys' nationally representative consumer panel of about 2 000 adults by means of postal questionnaires in January. The response rate was about 88 percent.

...men of Rose Taxis, which has 160 drivers, said the firm's drivers were subjected to character tests and abided by a strict set of rules.

## Breaking up of NRP comes a step closer

Star 7/13/88

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Another step towards the dissolution of the New Republic Party (NRP) was taken at the weekend with a recommendation by its Cape head committee that the party be "wound up with immediate ef-

fect".

It was decided, however, that the registration of the party should be retained until a date to be determined at the NRP's federal congress to be held in Natal on March 26.

A resolution to this effect will be submitted to the federal congress for consideration.

A similar decision has already been taken by the NRP's Natal head committee.

In a second leg of Saturday's resolution, the Cape head committee proposes that Cape members, as individuals, be granted dispensation to attend and participate in the launching of a new party.

### NEW PARTY

This means they will be free to join the new party to be formed by Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement.

The NRP's Cape leader, Mr Pat Rogers, said in a statement after the meeting: "The National Party's paranoic responses to the Conservative Party's victories in the recent by-elections confirm our worst fears of their inability to continue with the process of reform.

"This emphasises the urgent necessity for the re-grouping of reform-minded opposition forces."

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson and J M Patten, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

## ing radio azzolo

7/13/88

Mr Palazzolo.

On his dealings with Mr Palazzolo, Mr Goldberg said he had liked him.

### A KIND PERSON

"He sounded like a tough businessman, but he was also a kind person. He wasn't unreasonable, but when it came to business you had to know your oats otherwise you were out on your ear. You had to be really sharp to compete with this man," Mr Goldberg said.

"When we were not concentrating on facts and figures, he was a very nice person to chat to and a friendly person who could quite easily make a joke.

"It never appeared that he was trying to hide something. He always used to refer back to his family. Speaking about his money, he always referred to how it had been made over generations," he said. — Sapa.





Chief Buthelezi . . . got nine percent.



Mr Oliver Tambo . . . polled three percent.

# Tutu and Mandela top popularity poll

By Toni Younghusband

Mrs Winnie Mandela and the State President, Mr P W Botha, are equally trusted by a small percentage of black people, a recent survey conducted among men and women in Soweto has shown.

Of the 100 men and women interviewed, six percent agreed that Mrs Mandela and Mr P W Botha were the most trusted people in South Africa.

The survey, conducted by Soweto Research, asked the question: "Of all the well-known people in South Africa, who are the ones that are most trusted by the people?"

## Civic leader

Who do you have the most trust and confidence in?"

Archbishop Desmond Tutu captured the highest number of votes (37 percent), followed by jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, with 22 percent.

Soweto civic leader, Dr Nthatho Motlana had 13 percent of the votes and Inkatha head, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, nine percent.



Archbishop Tutu . . . captured the highest vote as the most trusted person.



Mr P W Botha . . . thumbs up from six percent.



Mrs Winnie Mandela . . . equally trusted as PW.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the second most popular white person, got four percent of the votes.

Unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, each polled three percent followed by Mrs Helen Suzman, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, policemen and boxer Gerrie Coetzee with two

percent.

According to an article in Black Market Report, this survey shows that while Archbishop Tutu has not shown up as a frontline contender in the political stakes he is very much an opinion leader whose personal integrity and accomplishments are much admired.

The article said the ANC was evidently the market leader in the po-

litical arena, but in terms of person trust Nelson Mandela did not score as well as his organisation.

"This is perhaps not surprising since Mandela is a banned person," the article said.

Eleven percent of the sample surveyed claimed to have confidence in no-one at all.

Mention was also made of sports heroes and entertainers.

INE



FINANCIAL

+23,1



*Howard*

Breakfast 8 February 1988 — 23  
Lunch 8 February 1988 — 23  
Dinner 8 February 1988 — 23

On 9 February 1988 five of the detainees were fetched by the KwaNdebele Police. To date they have not been re-admitted to Witbank Prison.

Breakfast 9 February 1988 — 18  
Lunch 9 February 1988 — 18  
Dinner 9 February 1988 — 18  
Breakfast 10 February 1988 — 18  
Lunch 10 February 1988 — 18  
Dinner 10 February 1988 — 18  
Breakfast 11 February 1988 — 5  
Lunch 11 February 1988 — 5  
Dinner 11 February 1988 — 5  
Breakfast 12 February 1988 — 1  
Lunch 12 February 1988 — 1  
Dinner 12 February 1988 — 1

Edibles which were in the detainees' possession during this period, were not taken from them.

(c) Regulation 3(1) of the Regulations promulgated in terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No 3 of 1953), by Proclamation R96 of 11 June 1987.

(d) The detainees did not state the reason for their actions to the Head of the Prison. A request was however submitted to the Head of the Prison on 28 January 1988 that the Police should be requested to visit them in the Witbank Prison. This request was conveyed as requested and a police officer from KwaNdebele visited the detainees on 29 January 1988 and 9 February 1988.

(e) In cases where a detainee or any other prisoner indicates his refusal to eat or when the staff notice that food has not been taken during successive meal times, the Heads of Prisons consistently act in accordance with internationally accepted practices. Standard procedure includes the following:

- Continued serving of the prescribed balanced diet at every meal time.
- Participants are cautioned regularly of the disadvantageous effects of such actions on their health.
- Medical treatment is available on a continuous basis.
- Complaints and requests are formally registered on a daily basis and all complaints, requests, causes or imagined reasons for the hunger strike, if any, are thoroughly investigated, attended to and resolved within reasonable limits.

The persons involved in this case were treated in the same professional manner.

(f) The steps referred to are not aimed at any other results than to act in line with normal procedures as are applicable in such cases and also to place on record that such steps have been taken.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b) The KwaNdebele Police fetched and returned the detainees on the dates as set out at (1) above. This matter does not fall within the ambit of the South African Prisons Services' activities and information regarding the place of detention while in the care of the KwaNdebele Police are therefore not known to the SA Prisons Service.

(c) According to the orders shown to the Head of the Prison by the KwaNdebele Police, they were fetched for further interrogation.

(3) No, not as far as could be ascertained.

(a), (b) and (c)(i) and (ii) fall away.

(4) No.

Natal/KwaZulu: finalization of consolidation proposals

\*22. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether the consolidation proposals for Natal/KwaZulu have been finalized; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that they will be finalized; if so, when will these proposals be made public?

*Howard*

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

No.

(a) The Cabinet is considering an interim report at present and on receipt of the final report, it will be submitted for discussion and consideration.

(b) As soon as possible.

Farms in East Griqualand earmarked for acquisition by Department

\*23. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

(1) Whether certain farms situated on the slopes of the Swarberg in East Griqualand were earmarked for acquisition by his Department in or about 1981; if so, whether his Department intends to proceed with the acquisition of these farms; if so, when is it envisaged that payment will be made to the farmers concerned; if not, why not?

†The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(1) No, however in 1977 an area known as the Swarberg Highland Farms was identified for possible purchase as mountain catchment area.

(2) Yes, but on account of a lack of funds no indication can be given at this stage when the acquisition will take place and when payment will be made to the farmers concerned.

The remainder of the question falls away.

Mr R W HARDINGHAM: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, is he aware of the predicament and the invidious position in which the owners of those farms now find themselves by virtue of the fact that they are unable to sell those farms to any other people?

Certain person: in possession of fire-arms

\*24. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, is in possession of fire-arms, if so,

(a) what fire-arms and (b) what is the name of this person;

(2) whether licences for the legal possession of these fire-arms have been issued to the person concerned; if not, what steps have been or are being taken against him in this connection; if so, when were these licences issued;

(3) whether this person possessed any fire-arms illegally at any stage; if so, what steps are being or have been taken against him?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) I wish to point out to the hon member that the possession of fire-arms by a person is a personal matter which the South African Police controls on a confidential basis by means of the issuing or refusal of licences.

(b) The name furnished by the hon member.

(2) and (3) In view of paragraph (1) above I do not consider it advisable to reveal the information. However, I am prepared to discuss the circumstances relating to the particular case with the hon member on a personal and confidential basis.

6 May 1987: polling stations closed

\*25. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether any polling stations were closed for any period during polling hours on 6 May 1987 as a result of (a) bomb scares, (b) other security considerations and (c) other specified causes; if so, (i) which polling stations, (ii) who made the decision to close these polling stations, (iii) what was the effect of the closure, and (iv) what security arrangements were made in respect of (aa) ballot papers and (bb) ballot boxes during such closure, in each case;

(2) whether any bombs or other explosive devices were found; if so, at which polling stations; if not,

(3) whether investigations revealed any other justifiable reasons for closing these polling stations; if so, what reasons in each case?



SOWETAN, Tuesday, March 8, 1988

# BIG SUPPORT FOR

A LARGE-SCALE national survey of South Africa's white voters has shown substantial majority support for the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba in all four provinces, it was claimed yesterday.

It also shows that the majority of Indaba supporters are also National Party supporters, and that the majority of its opponents are Conservative Party supporters.

The survey was conducted by Mark en Meningopnames (Market and Opinion Surveys), a market research firm whose panel is widely used by researchers both pro and anti-government and is best known for its surveys for *Rapport*, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper.

The survey shows that the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba has wide recognition nationally, with over 80 percent of respondents having heard of it, it was said. Of these, 52 percent supported it, 15 percent opposed it and 34 percent were neutral or undecided.

The breakdown into categories of support or opposition was:

## Provinces

Strongly support — 36 percent, "weakly support" — 16 percent, "neutral" — 19 percent, "don't know/not sure" — 15 percent.

This majority support

# INDABA BY SA WHITES

Sowetan  
8/3/18

304A

## The majority are members of National Party

Among those who were aware of the Indaba extended through each of the four provinces with the "for" and "against" ratio in each case being: Cape 54—9, Transvaal 49—17, OFS 49—15, Natal 57—19, (expressed on the basis of the total sample the ratios were: Cape 43—7, Transvaal 39—13, OFS 40—12, Natal 52—17).

It also extended through the ranks of all white political parties, with the exception of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

## Supporters

The survey also showed that the majority of Indaba supporters were also National Party supporters (47 percent), followed by supporters of the PFP (22 percent) and the Independent Party, led by Dr Denis Worrall, (12 percent).

The majority of its opponents were supporters of the Conservative Party (51 percent) followed by supporters of the National Party (34 percent).

At the same time the sample clearly reflected the National Party's current dominance of the South African political scene, it was claimed.

"Quite frankly we are stunned by the results," commented Indaba director, Professor David van Wyk.

"We have been very encouraged by the

previous Natal survey results but never anticipated such widespread national acceptance.

## Ready

"Clearly white voters nationwide are more than ready to face the problems confronting us and to accept a new brand of negotiation and reconciliation politics."

Mr Reuben du Plessis, managing director of Mark en Meningopnames, said the survey canvassed, by means of postal questionnaires, the

company's nationally representative consumer panel of about 2000 adults.

Eighty eight percent of members submitted completed questionnaires in time for analysis. The sample was then slightly weighted to bring certain demographics (language, sex and age) in line with those of the total white population of South Africa.

The size of the final weighted sample was 1772 respondents, he said.

## Accuracy

"The accuracy and validity of Mark en Meningopnames' nationally representative white panel have been demonstrated on numerous occasions (for example in the 1983 referendum on constitutional change and the 1981 and 1987 elections).

"We are confident that the results of this survey on the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba accurately reflect the views of whites in the RSA at the time of analysis in January of this year." — Sapa.

## Weekend retreat for SA Cabinet

2001A  
Star 7/3/88  
The National Party's recent by-election setbacks and relations between the party and the Labour Party were among the matters discussed at a weekend informal retreat of the Cabinet.

A spokesman for the Presi-

dent's office stressed today that these weekend retreats had taken place regularly since Mr Botha became the head of the Government. It is understood that the municipal elections later this year were also discussed. — Political Staff.

## Cabinet in discussions

30/4/88  
Sowetan 8/3/88  
NATIONAL Party members of the Cabinet met at an informal weekend retreat to discuss problems facing the Government including recent by-election results.

The only non-Nationalist Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, was not invited.

Relations between the National Party and the Labour Party were discussed in depth.



# No response to Malan's statement

Sowetan  
8/3/88

304A

*[Handwritten signature]*



**GENERAL Malan**

**SOUTH** Africa's bid to enter negotiations with the Soviet Union to resolve the conflicts in the region was a kite flying exercise.

Initial reaction from the two super powers yesterday was a stunned silence.

Both the Americans and the Russians were yesterday awaiting the full text of General Magnus Malan's weekend statement offering not to push for a pro-South African Government in Luanda if the Soviet Union's MP Mikhail Gorbachev reciprocated.

There was no comment from Mr. Pik Botha's ministry of foreign affairs, which would normally handle this type of initiative.

There was surprise in diplomatic and political circles that the statement should come from General Malan and not from Mr Botha.

A spokesman for the United States embassy said they were awaiting a copy of the statement and had no immediate comment.

A spokesman for the Soviet Union embassy in Lusaka said he was not aware of the statement and was not prepared to comment until they had time to study its text.

Senior government spokesman yesterday said there had as yet been no direct contact with the Soviet Union and that General Malan's statement should be seen as a

## **SOWETAN Correspondent**

"kite flying exercise."

General Malan's statement is further confirmation that South Africa is attempting to freeze out the United States altogether in resolving the conflicts in the region.

## **War**

The source said this is a matter between the two major powers operating in the region — South Africa and the Soviet Union.

In his statement General Malan referred extensively to the war in

Angola and made it clear that South Africa would continue to support Unita.

He however compared the situation with Mr Gorbachev's recent statement on Afghanistan

in which he said the Soviet Union would not insist on a pro-Russian government in Kabul if the United States did not insist on a pro-Western government.

ANTI-apartheid forces inside and outside Parliament are being organised into new alliances.

The Labour Party and the Progressive Federal Party have decided to move nearer to each other and a new front to fight the Government's crackdown on extra-parliamentary movements has been announced.

The new Committee for the Defence of Democracy has stated that it is not a substitute for organisations which have had their activities frozen.

It is clear, however, that the authorities will watch it carefully.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said today that the Minister had taken note of newspaper reports on the formation of the new body but it was too early for him to comment.

The committee has emphasised that it intends being an entity on its own as the organisations which had their activities frozen were still alive in the community.

### Gauntlet

Its main aim is to defend democracy and human rights.

It pledged to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by the Government when it recently silenced 18 anti-apartheid groups.

It has called a mass meeting at the University of the Western Cape for Sunday.

On the parliamentary scene, the leaders of the Labour and the Progressive Federal parties, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Colin Eglin, met to discuss the general political situation.

They also discussed the decision by the PFP's federal council to promote inter-opposition co-operation and to become involved in the other Houses of Parliament.

A joint statement said the parties had agreed upon "a sound practical basis for co-operation in matters of common interest".

Mr Eglin said today the agreement largely related to Parliament and to parliamentary activities.

### Effective front

Asked what the situation might be if the PFP put up candidates for the House of Representatives, Mr Eglin said the emphasis was on agreement.

The aim was to develop a working relationship between the two parties and to promote an effective anti-apartheid front.

An important aspect was to have a workable parliamentary relationship and direct contact on matters of common concern. The question of stand-

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

on Sunday.

## Anti-apartheid alliances form

(Cont from page 1)

ing in other Houses did not arise at present.

Meanwhile, the three-member Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates has announced that it will join the PFP.

Mr Hendrickse today confirmed the agreement for some co-operation between the two parties.

He said it was the right of any political party to participate in any or all of the Houses of Parliament.

In his discussions with Mr Eglin he had however made it clear that participation by the PFP in House of Representatives elections would be unacceptable to the Labour Party.

Although the Labour Party is in Government at "own affairs" level Mr Hendrickse said it had to be borne in mind that it was the strongest anti-apartheid party in Parliament.

The party was prepared to have contact with and to work with anyone who was opposed to apartheid.

What had been decided upon was a working arrangement to oppose apartheid.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would consider the question of candidates being put up for various houses when this situation arose.

# NEWS ANTI-APARTHEID Forces inside and outside Parliament regroup to fight apartheid



## NEWS FOCUS

Suzman's rally  
call at Wits

ROGER SMITH

PFP national chairman Helen Suzman returned to Wits University yesterday to call on students to support the PFP in the nationwide municipal elections in October.

She was speaking at the university for the first time since she was banned from addressing the campus during last year's general election campaign, in terms of a university decision not to allow speakers from political parties to address meetings during elections.

Suzman told yesterday's meeting — organised by the PFP student society, Progsoc — that not being allowed to speak had been "a rude shock".

Hard work

"I didn't have the opportunity to persuade some of you not only to vote but to support (the PFP) with canvassing and in the weeks of hard work which go into winning an election campaign."

She said that what the PFP advocated was not to everybody's liking, but it was the one party in the election which advocated universal franchise, a bill of rights, an independent judiciary and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation.

It was partly because of students' lack of support and votes that the PFP was no longer the official opposition.

Now, with the CP as the official opposition, every debate in Parliament started with the wrong emphasis. The real issues were sidetracked as the CP and NP argued about who was doing most to preserve white domination.

Main priorities

Government's fear of the CP and its determination not to be seen to bow to international pressure meant reform was on the backburner, said Suzman. There was no more talk of releasing jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and the government's main priorities would remain security and law and order.

"In the municipal elections it is vital for those opposed to racial discrimination to do all they can to stop the CP," said Suzman.



□ SUZMAN AT WITS YESTERDAY ... "clear alternatives to the voters"

"This does not mean saying, 'Vote for the NP', but putting clear alternatives to the voters."

She expressed the hope that students would turn out to support the PFP in the October elections.

"If the CP — or the NP, in trying to outdo the CP — get in (in the metropolitan areas),

we will return to the Verwoerdian era."

Suzman said the PFP would try to attract back its supporters who had voted NP to keep the CP out.

Extra-parliamentary organisations should be complementary rather than antagonistic to parliamentary organisations like the PFP, she said.

## NOW — THE COMPUTER VACCINE

Own Correspondent

LONDON — A Swedish computer company has developed what it claims is the first commercially available "vaccine" against computer "viruses", and says computer "hackers" will no longer be able to infect data bases.

A computer virus is a destructive program put into a system which, at a given date and time, systematically scrambles or erases all data in the computer.

The "viruses" can multiply inside computer programs, "infect" other programs and be passed from one program to another to wreak what-

ever havoc their creators desire, said Dr Fred Cohen, a computer specialist at the University of Cincinnati.

The electronic gremlins can lie dormant in a computer, making them difficult to detect and ferret out.

But Torben Kronander, spokesman for Secure Transmission who developed the "vaccine", announced: "The time of the hacker virus is over. We have had our program tested for a year now and there is no question that it works."

Although he was unwilling to give details, Kronander said the device made the task of creating a virus so complicated that only vast computer systems would be able to carry it out.



# Anti-apartheid front

Cape Times 8/3/88 304

**A NEW front to fight the government's crackdown on anti-apartheid opposition was launched in Cape Town yesterday.**

The front, called the "Committee for the Defence of Democracy", has already set the scene for a showdown with the government by calling a mass meeting at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) for this Sunday.

Formed with the aim of "defending democracy and human rights", the front is an informal alliance of church, educational and sports leaders which has pledged to "pick up the gauntlet" thrown down by the government when it recently silenced leading anti-apartheid opposition groups.

Among those at its forefront are Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Roman Catholic

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton, SA Council on Sport president Mr Frank van der Horst, president of the WP Council of Churches, Rev Lionel Louw, and University of the Western Cape vice-rector Prof Jaap du Randt.

Speaking at a press conference after the alliance's inception, Archbishop Tutu said: "We consider the defence and upholding of human rights to be our sacred duty."

He called for people to come forward "in the defence of democracy" and said he hoped the informal committee "will take off as part of the people's response from those committed to working towards a non-racial, democratic society."

The committee was a first step towards "defending and upholding democracy" in the face of the government's "draconian" violation of human rights in recent weeks.

Archbishop Tutu said he

expected churches and organisations representing women, the youth, and trade unions to be among those attending Sunday's mass rally "to show there is something which comes from the people who desire a new South Africa".

The Archbishop thanked the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, for bringing "anti-apartheid groups together."

Dr Boesak said the initiative aimed to demonstrate that "people have not decided to lie down" and were not resigned to the government's crackdown.

"This is to say to the government, you have thrown down the gauntlet and we will pick it up," he said.

Dr Boesak said the latest opposition drive was not a move to "substitute" for organisations effectively banned last week.



**DEFENDING DEMOCRACY...** Dr Allan Boesak, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector and vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape, at yesterday's meeting at the university.

Picture: ADG BRADLOW



# 'Police sympathy for AWB'

CH. Trip  
8/3/88  
201  
3064

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — One of seven expelled AWB police reservists, Mr Attie Engelbrecht, last night claimed at least 40% of reservists in the northern Transvaal were members of the AWB.

Between 80% and 100% of reservists in the area, of whom there are more than 800, were either also members or sympathisers of the organization, he said.

Mr Engelb. echt said this would give a good indication of how widespread AWB membership was in the security forces.

They had all owned up to being AWB members after being asked by the SA Police to sign a declaration that they were not members "about eight months ago", he said.

Reacting to the expulsion of the seven police reservists, Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Law and Order minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the SAP was confident of "catching out" any remaining AWB members in the force.

"We don't want them in the force, and if they are there they must make a choice very soon," Brig Mellet said.

# 'Apartheid a cheaper way of ruling SA'

RANDFONTEIN — Apartheid is a cheaper means of ruling South Africa than having the tricameral Parliament with about 50 Ministers and costly regional services councils; Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party told about 500 voters in the packed town hall here last night.

Randfontein voters go to the polls on March 29 in a by-election in which the late Dr Connie Mulder's son, Corne, is standing as CP candidate.

Dr Hartzenberg, introduced as "Lion of the Western Transvaal" said the National Party's plans to sell off roads and other services that belonged to the "volk" were to pay off debts and subsidise black education.

He further attacked the NP for requesting a mandate from what will be a black majority of voters to secure minority rights for whites.

"The NP has no policy," he said, adding that one would have to ask jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela or kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi what policy they would order the NP to follow.

"Power sharing will lead to an inevitable black takeover," he said.

Dr Hartzenberg added that unemployed blacks in homelands would never be permitted into white South Africa to seek employment.

Sharing the platform with Dr Hartzenberg were CP candidate Mr Mulder and his brother Dr Pieter Mulder.

(Report by D Guy, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

304A

SM

9/3/88



# National Democratic Movement lifts profile

## Political Staff

The National Democratic Movement is gradually moving from its present low public profile to a higher one.

As part of its strategy the NDM is following what it calls an "all-inclusive" line, making contact in parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary circles and across colour lines.

Indicative of its approach is a public meeting it is holding in the Cape Town city hall tonight.

Speakers are NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan MP and Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and now a co-director of the extra-par-

liamentary Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

Apart from a small public meeting in Stellenbosch last October, this will be the NDM's first public meeting in the Cape.

There is considerable public interest in the movement which, since last year, has been building up structures at constituency level in various parts of the country.

These are likely to emerge in time for the local government elections in October and the central Government elections expected in 1990.

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by HW Tyson, content approved by RG Anderson and JM Patten, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

5742  
9/3/88

3044

ALAN FINE

PRESIDENT P W Botha has invited the entire spectrum of trade unions to meet with him at Tuynhuis today for what unionists expect will be a pep talk on the need to exercise restraint in wage demands this year.

The discussions come amidst growing fears by the public-sector unions that the private sector will pay no more than lip service to Botha's appeal for restraint, and they will be the only ones to suffer in any anti-inflation campaign.

Invited unions include affiliates of Cosatu and National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the right-wing SA Confederation of Labour, as well as non-

## PW to talk to unions today

aligned artisan and other unions such as the SA Boilermakers' Society, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the SA Electrical Workers' Association.

But Nactu and Cosatu unions said they would not attend the gathering.

The invitation was not specific on the agenda for the meeting, stating merely

9/3/88 • To Page 2 → B/day

## PW to talk to wide range of unions today

it was "for a discussion on salaries and wages".

Unionists who were to attend were reluctant to comment on the stance they would take. One said he was expecting

Botha to appeal to their sense of patriotism and to make financial sacrifices in order to reduce the inflation rate.

← • From Page 1



LONDON — If the AWB turned to radicalism in the way organisations on the left had done in SA, the government would use the same measures against it, said Deputy Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe, in a BBC phone-in yesterday.

Asked whether the government would use detention without trial against the AWB, Van der Merwe replied: "It depends on how things develop. If the same sort of situation develops on the right that has developed on the left, then certainly we will use exactly the same measures."

Questioned about the recent restrictions on 18 organisations, Van der Merwe said black opposition had not been banned, only "organisations whose activities were conducive to the exacerbation of violence."

Explaining the tricameral system, Van der Merwe com-

# SA will be even handed

9/3/88 304A Blday

Own Correspondent

pared it with the "clamour" of the commoners in Britain for power sharing. Instead of absorbing commoners into the House of Lords, however, the British had created a separate chamber for them.

"Our clear vision that we have is of a future government in which all people will share, but in such a way that no group will be able to dominate the whole system."

Presenter Nick Ross: Does this mean whites will cease to dominate SA politics?

Van der Merwe: That is implicit in this, yes.

# Govt will act against radical AWB — minister

DFP 2/13/88

LONDON — If the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging turns to radicalism the way organisations on the left have done in South Africa, the government will use exactly the same measures against it.

Whether the government would use detention without trial against the AWB, Dr Van der Merwe replied: "If the same sort of situation that has developed on the left develops on the right, then certainly we will use exactly the same measures."

"But so far the emergence of radicalism on the right is a fairly recent phenomenon and has not progressed to that point."

During a BBC phone-in yesterday, the Deputy Minister of Information, Doctor Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "So far, there has been no proof whatsoever that the AWB has been responsible for any violent acts."

"But we are monitoring the situation and as soon as any law is infringed, we will act against them as we act against the ANC and other organisations of extremism."

Asked by a caller

Many of the govern-

ment's black opponents, he said, had "absolute freedom".

The organisations had been restricted because they were intimidating black people from normal political activity, Dr Van der Merwe added.

"By banning these organisations we are freeing democracy to take its course."

Explaining the triangular system, Dr Van der Merwe compared it with the "clamour" of the commoners in Britain for power sharing.

Instead of absorbing commoners into the House of Lords, however, the British had created a separate chamber for them.

"We followed very much the same sort of thing when we introduced coloureds and In-

dians into parliamentary democracy," Dr Van der Merwe said.

Asked whether the government had a vision of the future to match the Conservative Party's "clear vision," he said: "Our clear vision is of a future government in which all people will share, but in such a way that no group will be able to dominate the whole system."

"The simple one-man one-vote recipe has not produced democracy in Africa. We will have to find a unique recipe which will create a continuous democracy."

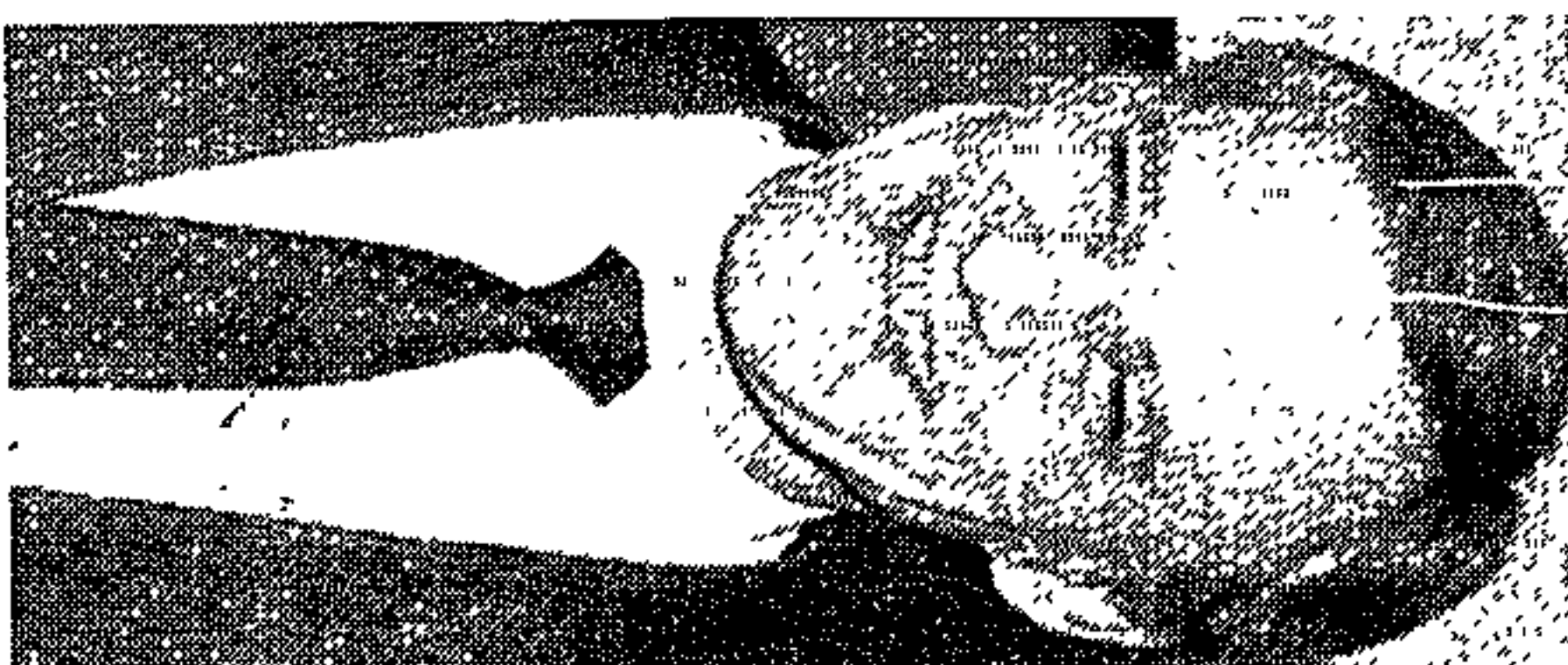
The BBC presenter asked him if this "means that whites will cease to dominate South African politics?"

"That is implicit in this, yes," Dr Van der Merwe replied.

When asked if he said the same thing to domestic audiences, Dr Van der Merwe said: "Indeed, I do."

Dr Van der Merwe said he was glad a caller had mentioned that apartheid was 100 years old. "We must bear in mind that at that time South Africa was under British domination."

"In fact apartheid is very largely a legacy of the British colonial system that we have been trying to get away from. The vast majority of discriminatory measures have been scrapped and the others are on the way," Dr Van der Merwe said. — DDC



DR VAN DER MERWE



Colin Eglin's response to the Transvaal by-elections contained, I thought, a hint of jubilation, an old warrior's joy at the sight of a familiar battlefield. Suddenly, there is a scent of the Sixties on the political wind.

The PFP, he said, was the true alternative to the fast-rising Conservatives; the Nats, bereft now of any credible vision of the future or policy for the present, are caught in the middle. Like the old United Party.

The Progs were never happier than when they were savaging the poor old Sappe, that amiable coalition of conservatives, Afrikaans and English, who tried vainly to marry the idea of white leadership to the idea of justice, and who abhorred nothing so much as the naked passions of nationalism — white or black. In those days the Progs said they were the true alternative to the Nats.

History does not repeat itself exactly, nor even necessarily, as farce, but the long tides do reassert themselves. In the early Sixties, as now, a misplaced revolutionary fervour had resulted in the banning of the major black political organisations; then, as

now, those organisations were murderously divided, and the police were methodically nailing down the lid.

Then, as now, the country's reputation was so shattered that capital leaked from every pore and the lack of foreign capital cast a pall on the economic outlook. Then, as now, the limousine liberals were emigrating if they were poor, or, if they were rich, sending out the kids.

Those were gay days. We stood, as we do now, on the threshold of a long, dark period of neo-fascist repression; the name of P W Botha was but a minor metaphor for narrowness and intolerance — his furious accusation that Helen Suzman was responsible for the assassination of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd summed up the meanness of spirit and the smouldering resentment that he seemed to us to embody — but John Vorster was the truly frightening figure of that time.

Jimmy Kruger always seemed to me a comical little man, who wielded power capriciously, and President Botha even now seems more bully than tyrant; it was John Vorster who haunted our nightmares in the

# The smell of change is in the wind

DD 9/3/88

304A

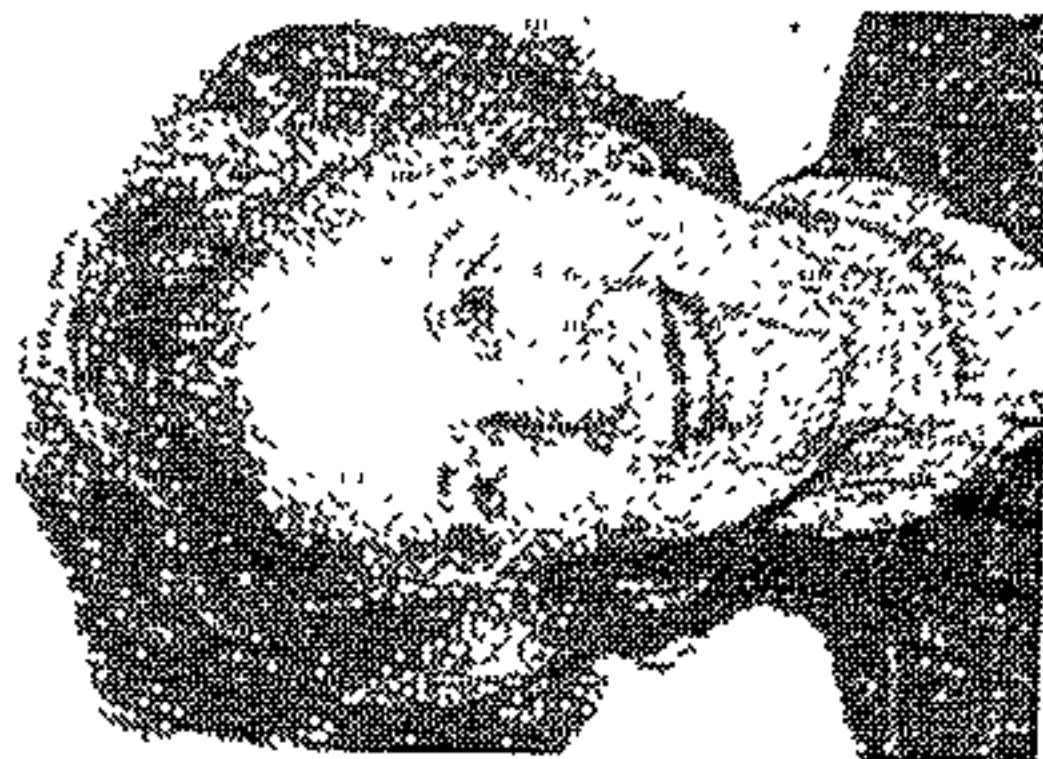
did anybody call Helen Suzman a racist.

How the old Progs must have longed, in the past few years, for those days when the party could depend on its leaders not to dash off suddenly for a bit of fun on the campuses, when Parliament was an institution both understood and respected and when the destruction of the UP seemed but a necessary prelude to the real fight against the Nats. Now the destruction of the Nats is a prelude to the real fight against the Conservative Party.

The Progs, of course, are not alone in smelling change on the wind. In the past year I have seen Marxists become neo-Marxists, then socialists, then social democrats, and now they are trying, in the guise of reborn liberals, to scabble their way back into the PFP which, in the heady pre-revolutionary days of 1985, they condemned as the bourgeois handmaiden of monopoly capital.

Helen Suzman, if not yet Piet Koornhof, is to be allowed to speak at Wits.

A few left-wingers still stand where they always stood, and a few have been slow to understand that the



SUZMAN... guts and quickness of wit.

of the left had not yet sided into the ranks of the Progs to undermine their liberalism.

The Progs could get on with the business of fighting apartheid without constantly being stabbed in the rear by rebellious cohorts of socialists. Nobody spoke then of the overthrow of apartheid as being synonymous with the overthrow of capitalism, nor

## KEN OWEN: Johannesburg

Reich, Bunting, Wolpe, many others — fled before the heat, leaving Bram Fisher behind to live out his life in prison with Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki.

Parliament alone, operating under traditions that stretched back to Runnymede, offered some protection as John Vorster, the lawyer, set about demolishing laws that reached back through time, past Groenouw and Voet to Cicero. He had respect for nothing, not even the legal heritage of his own people.

Under the protection of Parliament, Helen Suzman alone had the guts and the quickness of wit, the certainty of principle and the quality of education to stand up to Vorster, face-to-face. Sir de Villiers Graaff, a decent man and a hero of the Nazi

prison camps, subsided like a balloon under Vorster's merciless beatings; Helen Suzman, quick and angry as a terrier, flared and snapped.

As I say, for the early Progs those were gay days. The United Party's policy, like the National Party's today, was so wonderfully muddled and fudged, so riven with contradictions of racism and justice, rural Afrikaner conservatism and urban English pomposity, so illogical that the Progs knew — they knew with the certainty of converts — that they would win.

They were united then. Those to their left — the ANC, the Congress of Democrats, the SA Communist Party — had been shattered, their members driven into exile or broken in the cells. The remnants

raids of May, 1986, marked a turning of the long tides. But the gloss has gone off the revolution, and the hot light is dying from their eyes.

Ahead? Ahead lies the kind of politics that liberals handle well: the defence, through courts and Parliaments and patient public debate, of such advances as the abolition of the pass laws and job reservation, the recognition of unions, the acceptance of urbanisation, the many other retreats from Verwoerdian apartheid that occurred during President Botha's reformist phase.

Ahead, too, lies the long task of trying to dismantle, bit by bit, the neo-fascist state which President Botha constructed as the price of his reforms.

The thing I like about the old liberal-minded Progs is their courage. They keep their heads even when they are taking a beating. They fight well on the retreat. They stay the course.

But it must be a relief to get the trendy-lefties off their backs so that they can play their familiar role of "true alternative to the right" — with the Nats now caught in the withering crossfire that finished off the UP.



PATON... too famous to be touched. dreadful years when Verwoerd had the country by the throat.

In those times, it seemed, the only "extra-parliamentary" opponent of the Nationalists to enjoy real immunity from banning, banishment or detention was Alan Paton, too famous even then to be touched, or too clear-sighted to give government a pretext. Even the white communists — Gold-



# Unions wary of PW talks

By David Braun,

CAPE TOWN — More than half the trade unions invited to discuss economic matters with the State President, Mr P W Botha, at Tuynhuys yesterday turned down his invitation. Twenty-two unions sent representatives.

The conference, attended also by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, Manpower Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis, took no decisions.

Mr Botha did, however, announce he would be give the Consumer Council and other consumer organisations more teeth.

The unions which did take part in the talks are understood to have included the Amalgamated Engineering Union, SA Typographical Union, the Municipal Workers' Union and the Mine Workers Union.

The National Union of Mineworkers was not present.

A Transport and General Worker's Union spokesman said it was inappropriate for the State President to extend an invitation to a Cosatu-affiliated union when the Government had just imposed restrictions on Cosatu.

The spokesman added that the invitation was "ill-timed" in the light of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill currently being addressed in Parliament.

SPX  
10/2/88

3049

3049



CS

20/10/88 10/3/88

## Freedoms forum sets out plans

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) is planning a nationwide series of conferences and public meetings.

Publicity secretary, Ms Gael Neke, said last night the FFF had mapped out an extensive programme of consultation with other organisations, forums, campaigns and conferences for the next year.

The FFF business and economic conference begins next month.

A national meeting of FFF initiative groups was held in Johannesburg on Monday.

"The meeting, attended by delegates from Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Durban and Maritzburg was held to discuss increasing co-ordination between the regions and to formulate joint plans.

# Govt opponents massing forces

304-A  
SOWETAN  
10/3/88

between the two parties. He said it was the right of any political party to participate in any or all of the Houses of Parliament.

## SOWETAN Correspondent

ANTI-apartheid forces, both inside Parliament and outside, are being organised into new alliances.

The Labour Party and the Progressive Federal Party have decided to move nearer to each other and a new front to fight the Government's crackdown on extra-parliamentary movements has been announced.

The new Committee for the Defence of Democracy has stated that it is not a substitution for organisations which have had their activities frozen.

It is clear, however, that the authorities will watch it carefully.

On the parliamentary scene, the leaders of the Labour and the Progressive Federal parties, the

up candidates for the House of Representatives, Mr Eglin said the emphasis was on agreement.

The aim was to develop a working relationship between the two parties and to promote an effective anti-apartheid front.

The important aspect was to have this workable parliamentary relationship and direct contact on matters of common concern. The question of standing in other houses did not arise at present.

Meanwhile, the three-member Progressive Reform Party in the House of Delegates has announced that it will join the PFP.

Mr Hendrickse affirmed the agreement for some co-operation

## Contact

In his discussions with Mr Eglin he had, however, made it clear participation by the PFP in House of Representatives elections would be unacceptable to the Labour Party.

Although the Labour Party is in government on the "own affairs" level Mr Hendrickse said it had to be born in mind that it was the strongest anti-apartheid party in Parliament.

The party was prepared to have contact with and to work together with anyone who was opposed to apartheid.

What has been decided upon now was a working arrangement in terms of opposing apartheid.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would have to look at the question of candidates being put up for various houses when this situation arose.



Mr Colin Eglin.



Rev Allan Hendrickse.

## THURSDAY COLUMN

OUR columnist is away on leave. The Thursday Column will re-appear when he returns.

Meanwhile, the New Committee for the Defence of Democracy has emphasised it intends being an entity on its own as the organisations which had had their activities frozen were still alive in the community.

Its main aim is to defend democracy and human rights.

It pledged to pick up the gauntlet thrown down by the Government when it recently silenced the other anti-apartheid groups.

It has called a mass meeting at the University of the Western Cape for Sunday.



11/16/3/28

# Malan says ANC, government feed off each other

306A

CARE TOWN — The ANC and the government needed each other for their propaganda and strategy, the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wyand Malan, said last night.

He added that both had clearly opted for "confrontation strategy".

The government had swapped its ideology of apartheid for an ideology of total strategy against the so-called total onslaught.

Everything that did not fit in with this strategy was written off as part of the total onslaught, he said.

The ANC on the other hand also had a total strategy which centred on the revolution for liberation.

He said the essence of it all was two forces which fed off each other.

Referring to South Africa's involvement in Angola, he said that as long as the people of

SWA/Namibia were not given the chance to exercise their own will, South Africa would remain in Angola.

Alternatively, it would give way with its tail between its legs when it could no longer hold out there for whatever reason, and leave a mess in SWA/Namibia.

People were increasingly asking why South Africans were fighting and dying in Angola and why such enormous sums of money were being spent on the war.

South Africa could not stay there forever. The war could not be won and at some stage or other it would have to withdraw.

It was right that the people of SWA/Namibia should be given a shield behind which they could solve their problems, but South Africa acted like an imperial power and wanted to dictate how they should act, he said.

— Sapa

**T**HE once unthinkable prospect of rabidly anti-communist South Africa sitting down with the Soviet Union is suddenly being taken as a serious possibility.

A South African overture to the Kremlin to seek peace in Angola, where the two countries are on opposite sides in an apparently unwinnable civil war, is seen by diplomats and foreign affairs experts as an intriguing policy shift.

"The question is are they (the Government) trying to put a finger in America's eye or are they really serious," Mr John Barrett, of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said.

Mr Barrett and Western diplomats said there was evidence Pretoria was serious. Mr Philip Nel, South Africa's leading expert on the Soviet Union, went further.

He said that direct talks with Moscow on Angola were now a probability but cautioned they could take a long time to come about.

Until last weekend, peace initiatives in Angola were the sole prerogative of the United States, which is now denounced by Pretoria because of its anti-apartheid trade sanctions.

### Less ideological

The surprise offer to the Kremlin came from an unlikely source — Defence Minister Magnus Malan, the most hawkish member of the Cabinet who regularly warns South Africa to beware of the evil of Soviet expansion.

His statement proposed a direct deal with Moscow to set up a neutral government in Angola along lines suggested for Afghanistan by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr John Stremlau of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York said Soviet policies have become more of a "mystery" — less monolithic and less ideological.

What is clear to American analysts, however, is that the Soviets realise a black revolution is unlikely to succeed anytime soon in South Africa; destruction of the white-run economy would be a disaster; and Moscow has few contacts with whites in South Africa.

Moscow faces the fact South Africa is a "vastly complicated situation," which doesn't lend itself to simple answers and calls for a sophisticated policy, said Mr Stephen Low, a former American ambassador to Zambia.

Although the Soviets believe majority black rule is inevitable, they aren't "nearly as confident" as they were a few years ago about achieving that goal in the short term, said Dr Wayne Limberg, a US State Department analyst.

Central to Moscow is its long and close relationship with the

African National Congress. There are changes in that relationship, too.

"Soviet enthusiasm for armed struggle has

considerably diminished" in South Africa, Mr Neil MacFarlane, a professor at the University of Virginia, wrote recently.

The Soviet Union provides weapons to the ANC. Last autumn, the ANC opened an office in Moscow.

But a high-ranking Soviet official, Mr Y Y Vagris, recently refused to endorse all the conditions the ANC set for a post-apartheid South Africa.

### Tactics

Mr Stephen M Davis, author of *Apartheid's Rebels*, a book about the ANC, said this was considered a "major divergence." What the Soviets now believe, he said, is "a post-apartheid government controlled by the ANC alone is



MINISTER Malan



Secretary Gorbachev.

# SA forging links with the Reds?

Sowetan 10/3/88

304A  
[Handwritten marks]



unlikely."

The United States opposes the ANC's tactics and has criticised the fact that a large number of communists sit on the ANC's executive committee.

But Mr Davis said any perception of a crack in the ANC-Soviet alliance could open the door for Washington to forge better ties with black leaders.

Moscow's reassessment of the region means a de-emphasis on Southern Africa, as well as other parts of the Third World, American experts say.

Mr Andre Brink, a white South African writer who was invited to Moscow, noticed this in an article entitled "From Red Square," published in the South African magazine, *Leadership*.

"It comes as a sobering discovery, first of all, that Southern Africa, in particular, and even Africa in general, are not all that high on the Soviet list of priorities," Mr Brink wrote.

Mr Gorbachev, who

has stressed economic reform at home, recognises the high cost of bolstering and arming poor nations, the experts say. Moscow sent Angola about 2,5 billion dollars (about R5 billion) in weapons over the 1984-1985 period, and also armed Mozambique.

Mr Limberg said the

• To page 11



**CHRIS CAIRNCROSS**

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha yesterday warned trade union leaders to "guard against excessive wage and salary" demands this year and appealed for co-operation in the battle to combat inflation.

He delivered his warning at a meeting at Tuynhuys in Cape Town — held at his request — with the representatives of 22 SA trade unions.

Several unions (mainly black), including Cosatu, did not attend the gathering because it was alleged the meetings were to be split in two, one for predomi-

## PW cautions union leaders

notably white unions and the other representing blacks.

During the meeting Botha also called on the union representatives to assist in overcoming excessive price increases by "cultivating a spirit of price awareness among their members".

In a statement released after the meeting Botha said he had informed

● To Page 2

## PW warns unions against excessive demands

trade union leaders that government was preparing legislation to provide increased powers to organisations such as the SA Consumer Council to act in the interest of the consumer.

Referring to those trade union leaders who refused to accept his invitation to attend yesterday's meeting, Botha stressed the issues on the agenda had

concerned matters of vital economic importance in the interest of SA.

Botha said those who did not attend the meeting missed the opportunity of making a contribution towards maintaining a sound SA economy.

304A 10/3/88

10/3/88  
● From Page 1  
B/D ay

**PFP and CP comment on Cabinet changes**

# Reshuffle gives PW more power

304A  
SM  
11/3/88

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The State President is concentrating still more power in his own hands. This is what politicians are seeing as the most significant feature of the Cabinet changes announced last night.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin and Conservative chief whip Mr Frank le Roux both drew attention today to President P W Botha's growing power. The appointment of both Dr Dawie de Villiers and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe as full Cabinet Ministers in the Office of the State President was further evidence of this, they said.

President Botha now directly controls the Commission of Administration, the SABC, the Bureau for Information, the entire privatisation and deregulation policy (including political control of Eskom, Iscor and Foskor), the Economic Advisory Council, the State Security Council and the National Intelligence Service.

The rest of the Government is controlled through the Cabinet, Ministers' Councils and provincial executives, which he appoints.

Mr Botha yesterday elevated Dr de Villiers and Dr van der Merwe to the Cabinet, but they will work directly in the Office of the State President.

Dr de Villiers replaces Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, who is retiring as Minister in the Office of the State President entrusted with Administration and Privatisation.

He was Minister of the Budget in the white own affairs administration.

## Was promoted

Dr van der Merwe was promoted from Deputy Minister of Information to the Cabinet as Minister in the Office of the State President entrusted with Information, the SABC and film industry.

In the process, he has lost his second hat as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Dr de Villiers said today his new portfolio was an exciting field and an important aspect of the Government's present economic policy.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said today the appointment of Dr de Villiers and Dr van der Merwe indicated a further concentration of power in the presidency.

It was ominous that Dr van der Merwe had been given both the Bureau for Information and the SABC, he said.

This showed the Government saw the SABC as its agent rather than a corporation to serve the nation as a whole.

Mr Frank le Roux, chief whip of the CP, said the creation of a second full ministry in the Office of the State President strengthened President Botha's position in the Government.

● See Page 11.



## GOVT STAND IN ANGOLA

THE Government considers the Soviet rejection of the South African standpoint on the ending of the conflict in Angola as a rejection of the realities of the sub-continent.

*Sowetan 11/3/88*

A spokesman for the Department of Defence said in reply to a question that the issue revolved around the realities which Southern Africa could not escape, *SABC Radio News* reported.

It was in South Africa's interests that the sub-continent was not bled to death, and for this reason desired internal order and solutions which met Africa's immediate needs.

See Page 20.

30419

# Info Minister in Botha's new Cabinet

## All the President's men

The new Cabinet from April 1 is, in order of precedence:

- Mr Chris Heunis - Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning
- Mr Pik Botha - Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Mr F W de Klerk - Minister of National Education and chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly
- Dr Gerrit Viljoen - Minister of Education and Development Aid
- General Magnus Malan - Minister of Defence
- Mr Pietie du Plessis - Minister of Manpower
- Dr Dawie de Villiers - Minister in the Office of the State President entrusted with Administration and Privatisation
- Mr Kobie Coetsee - Minister of Justice
- Mr Greyling Wentzel - Minister of Agriculture
- Mr Danie Steyn - Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology
- Mr Barend du Plessis - Minister of Finance
- Mr Stoffel Botha - Minister of Home Affairs and of Communication
- Mr Eli Louw - Minister of Transport
- Mr Amichand Rajbansi - Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates
- Dr Willie van Niekerk - Minister of National Health and Population Development
- Mr Adriaan Vlok - Minister of Law and Order
- Mr Gert Kotze - Minister of Environment Affairs and of Water Affairs
- Dr Stoffel van der Merwe - Minister in the Office of the State President entrusted with Information (also responsible for the SABC and the film industry).

The new Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly is:

- Mr F W de Klerk - Chairman.
- Mr Greyling Wentzel - Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply.
- Mr Ami Venter - Minister of Local Government and Housing.
- Mr Piet Clase - Minister of Education and Culture.
- Mr Piet Badenhorst - Minister of Health Services and Welfare.
- Mr Kent Durr - Minister of the Budget and Works.

The full list of Deputy Ministers, in order of precedence, is:

- Mr Sam de Beer - Deputy Minister of Education.
- Mr Luwellyn Landers - Deputy Minister of Population Development.
- Mr Myburgh Streicher - Deputy Minister of Transport Affairs.
- Mr Roelf Meyer - Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.
- Dr M H Veldman - Deputy Minister of National Health and Technology.
- Mr George Bartlett - Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs.
- Dr Georg Marais - Deputy Minister of Finance.
- Mr Kobus Meiring - Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- Mr Wynand Breytenbach - Deputy Minister of Defence.
- Mr J A van Wyk - Deputy Minister of Water Affairs and of Land Affairs.
- Dr Kraai van Niekerk - Deputy Minister of Agriculture.
- Dr Theo Alant - Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology.
- Mr Somaroo Pachai - Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs.
- Mr Leon Wessels - Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

## Hough named to take over top post from Cruywagen

Mr Danie Hough, chairman of the Tourism Board, was named as the new Administrator of the Transvaal yesterday.

He was tipped for the position after the unexpected resignation of Mr Willem Cruywagen last month.

At the time, Government sources said Mr Hough's appointment "made political sense" because he had an excellent track record as former MEC, as Administrator-General of Namibia, and as first chairman of the Tourism Board.

Mr Hough was appointed Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology in November 1986 but stepped down for health reasons.

"I have completely recovered and am looking forward to the challenges of my new job," Mr Hough said last night.

Mr Hough, who becomes Administrator of the Transvaal on May 1, has held many varied offices in his political career.

He has been chairman of the SA Tourism Board since August 1987, a position he also held from October 1983 to November 1984.

From October 1980 until the end of January 1983 Mr Hough was Administrator-General of South West Africa/Namibia.

After his first stint in the Tourism Board he served on the President's Council from November 1984 until August 1987.

Mr Hough, then a practising lawyer, began his political career in provincial government when he was elected MPC for Pietersburg in 1967.

He was elected mayor of Pietersburg in March 1974.

In the same year he was chosen an MEC in the Transvaal, holding the portfolio of Local Government and Road Traffic.

He owns a factory at Pietersburg and farms cattle and game. - Staff Reporter-Political Staff.

## Transvaal gets another seat

Transvaal representation in the Cabinet has increased by one with last night's announcement that Dr Stoffel van der Merwe is to become Minister of Information.

The resignation from March 13 of senior Cabinet Minister Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, leaves the Cape National Party leader, Mr Chris Heunis, as the most senior member in the Cabinet.

Mr Heunis, a contender in the presidential stakes, lost support by his poor showing in his Helderberg constituency in last year's general election.

Government sources believe Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's chances in the presidential stakes have waned following the NP's losses in two platteland by-elections last week.

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President Mr P W Botha shuffled his Cabinet last night — and recreated a full Minister of Information post for the first time since the Info scandal of 1978.

He also boosted the economic management side of the Cabinet team.

The new Administrator of the Transvaal is Mr Danie Hough — former Administrator-General of Namibia and presently chairman of the SA Tourism Board.

Leaving the Cabinet is the elder statesman of the National Party, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, who retires on March 30.

Joining the team is Dr Dawie de Villiers, presently Minister of the Budget in the white own affairs administration. He succeeds Mr Schlebusch as Minister in the Office of the State President in charge of administration and privatisation.

Another new face in the new Cabinet is Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who becomes Minister of Information. He will also be responsible for the SABC and the film industry. He relinquishes his portfolio of Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning.

The new appointments, effective from March 31, mean changes in the composition of the white own affairs administration and Deputy Ministers.

These are:

- Mr Kent Durr, Deputy Minister of Finance, becomes Minister of the Budget and Works in the Administration (House of Assembly). No one is taking his place as Deputy Minister of Finance.

- Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy Minister of Development Planning, becomes Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the administration (House of Assembly).

### Investigation

- Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, becomes Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

- Mr Leon Wessels, MP for Krugersdorp, becomes Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Botha said that regarding changes in the composition in the administration (House of Representatives), he and Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse had agreed that no alterations should be made without an investigation by the Commission for Administration.

Announcing the shake-up at a press conference at Tuynhuys yesterday, Mr Botha said Mr Schlebusch had asked to step down because it had always been his intention to join the Cabinet for only a limited period.

Mr Schlebusch felt it would be fair to allow his successor to be involved in the President's new privatisation initiatives right from the start.

Mr Botha said Mr Schlebusch's resignation, and the economic policy directives he had announced recently, had meant changes had to be made to his portfolio.

He said the Government was negotiating with an expert to be appointed as adviser to the new Minister of Privatisation.

And he had transferred political control of Eskom, Iscor and Foscok from the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology to the Minister of Privatisation.

Mr Botha said the film industry had been transferred from the Ministry of Economic Affairs to the Ministry of Information because the Government wanted to pay special attention to this industry.



Malan arguing that a US narcotics investigation described as work by United States investigator described as narcotics investigators. The money made from these deals was then able to run the money "godfathers", Tommaso, because the bank notes cused were murdered. or the money, the years past.

The once unthinkable prospect of rabidly anti-communist South Africa sitting down with the Soviet Union is suddenly being taken as a serious possibility.

A South African overture to the Kremlin to seek peace in Angola, where the two countries are on opposite sides in an apparently unwinnable civil war, is seen by diplomats and foreign affairs experts as an intriguing policy shift.

The question is are they (the government) trying to put a finger in America's eye or are they really serious," John Barrett, of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said.

Barrett and Western diplomats said there was evidence Pretoria was serious. Philip Nel, South Africa's leading expert on the Soviet Union, went further.

He said that direct talks with Moscow on Angola were now a pro-

# Pretoria goes aggressively neutral

DP 11/3/88

3049



DAVID ROGERS: JOHANNESBURG

diminishing U.S. influence and said Washington's mediation in Angola was now less important.

Political commentators are talking of a new "aggressively neutral" stance which will loosen Pretoria's ties with the now derided Americans.

For months South African officials have been considering policy towards Moscow in the Gorbachev era. One of Pretoria's few foreign friends, rightwing Ba-

varian Premier Franz Joseph Strauss, personally advised President P.W. Botha to take a fresh look at Moscow. Pretoria took him se-



GORBACHEV

Barrett said even in the military, however, there were senior people rethinking their once total abhorrence to dealing with Moscow. After a chain of successes, South African-backed rebels have

been held at bay by Cuban and government forces around the town of Cuito Cuanavale.

While South Africa possessed the military might to push further north, it would clearly be costly, Barrett said. After 13 years of war, neither side is close to outright victory.

Nel, director of the Institute for Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University and one of the few South African academics to visit Moscow, said he was sure the Soviets would take notice of the Malan offer.

He pointed to a Gorbachev statement last November suggesting Moscow would be interested in a settlement for

Southern Africa similar to the Afghanistan proposals. Diplomats said there were also signs of unease in the African National Congress (ANC) that the Soviets, one of their principal backers, might start talking to Pretoria.

One puzzling question is how Pretoria would explain to its white rightwing supporters the idea of doing business with communists.

For years, it has depicted Moscow as a no-good, ungodly, Machiavellian foe, accusing it of using the ANC as its puppet and orchestrating "a total onslaught" against South Africa.

"If South Africa is seriously moving in this new direction, then it will have to change its whole philosophy to explain plain dealing with the Soviets," Barrett said. — Sapa-RNS

## Inflation

The only justification for

Why was no action

Reason let Thomas gone public and this erasing affordability and

# PFP tiptoes into the political grey

## Weekly Mail Reporter

THE new Progressive Federal Party (PFP) strategy of seeking alliances with MPs from the "coloured" and Indian houses of parliament has provoked strong reaction from those most threatened by it.

The Nationalist press has lambasted the plan. "The Progs," thundered the National Party's official newspaper in the Cape, *Die Burger*, "frustrated by their political impotence among white voters still have one thing before their eyes, and it is the eventual destruction of the tricameral parliamentary system."

"The PFP hardly has reason to feel self-sufficient," it concluded.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates

and leader of the National People's Party, Amichand Rajbansi, was equally critical. He predicted that the PFP would fail in its bid to gain control of either the House of Delegates or the House of Representatives.

Whatever judgements may be made of those who do participate within the tricameral system, the PFP decision, which seemed to come out of the blue, was the product of lengthy discussions with different groups and individuals.

And when the three Progressive Reform Party MPs — Pat Poovalingham (Reservoir Hills), Mahmood Rajab (Springfield) and John Lyman

(Camperdown) — join the PFP after the PRP is dissolved on March 19, the first steps towards the de-ethnicisation of political parties and parliamentary structures will begin.

Although all the political parties in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates are publicly committed to the abolition of apartheid and their parties are technically open to all races — the Labour Party does have some members who are not classified as "coloured" — they are essentially ethnically determined groupings.

The own affairs structure, particularly in regard to education and housing, reinforces this racial division. The PFP itself has some members

who are not white but in parliament it is as ethnically defined as all other parties in the system.

That should end sometime after March 19.

And it will cause some internal problems: the PFP will undoubtedly demand that all its MPs share offices in the same wing of parliament building and that all its MPs sit together in joint sittings of all Houses. That will certainly cause some hiccups for the planners of the tricameral structures.

But, as the meeting this week between PFP leader Colin Eglin and Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse indicated, the PFP strategy is not confined to recruiting MPs to join it but also towards developing working relationships between anti-apartheid groupings working within the parliamentary system.

In their statement after the meeting, Eglin and Hendrickse said their parties had agreed on "a sound practical basis for co-operation on matters of common interest".

Neither Eglin nor Hendrickse was specific about how this would work in practice, but it is understood that joint strategies and planning about new legislation and co-operation during meetings of the Standing Committees are areas where most of this joint action will take place.

Discussions are also being held for the development of a similar approach in the House of Delegates.

In the end, the tricameral system is controlled by the majority party in the white House of Assembly — the National Party — and the PFP strategy is hardly likely, in the short term at least, to change that.

But it could cause considerable difficulty for the functioning of the tricameral system and help unite the efforts of MPs of all races who are opposed to the government.



# PW shuffles cabinet as Schlebusch retires

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT PW Botha yesterday announced a significant political reshuffle which will elevate two rising stars in the National Party — Dr Dawie de Villiers and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe — into the cabinet.

The move, effective from the end of the month, follows the decision of the 70-year-old Mr Alwyn Schlebusch — the most senior member of the cabinet and the president's right-hand man — to retire.

The reshuffle, mainly at the deputy-minister level, does not appear to reflect any major ideological shifts in government and none of the promotions affects any politicians of colour in the tricameral Parliament.

The most significant promotion is the elevation of Dr De Villiers to Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Privatization

● Mr Clean who helped PW become PM — Page 6

— a move that is likely to give special impetus to the government's privatization drive.

Dr De Villiers, as the new head of the cabinet committee for privatization, will be charged with overseeing changes to giant parastatal corporations like Iscor, Eskom and Foskor — all earmarked for privatization.

President Botha said yesterday that a special adviser — unnamed as yet — would be appointed to assist Dr De Villiers, whose responsibilities will also include the Competitions Board and the giant Commission for Administration which handles the civil service.

The other major promotion is the appointment of deputy minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe to Minister of Information in the State President's Office, with additional responsibility for the SABC and the film industry.

In making the announcement, President Botha said the government planned to adopt "a more concentrated effort towards developing the film industry without interfering in its affairs".

Dr Van der Merwe would continue with his role of negotiating on behalf to the government with black South Africans.

Other changes announced by Mr Botha yesterday are:

● The Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr, will replace Dr De Villiers as Minister of the Budget and Works in the white "own affairs" Ministers' Council.

● The Deputy Minister of Development Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, will become the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers' Council leaving Minister of Health and Population Development Dr Willie van Niekerk to handle the general affairs portfolios only. At

To page 3

From page 1

## Cabinet

present Dr van Niekerk handles both.

● The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer, will replace Mr Badenhorst as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

● The MP for Krugersdorp and chairman of the law and order standing committee, Mr Leon Wessels, will become the Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Botha also announced that the government had decided to appoint the Chairman of the Tourism Board, Mr Danie Hough, as the Administrator of the Transvaal at the end of April when Mr Willem Cruywagen resigns.

## Comforting figures

National Party (NP) politicians and newspapers seem to be right when they say that Conservative Party (CP) electoral support has already reached its ceiling. The Sunday newspaper *Rapport* has presented survey results which suggest the Nats have regained a little of the support they lost in the 1987 general election. This is supported by an analysis of percentage swings calculated on two general elections and key by-elections since 1981.

To say that the CP quadrupled its majority in Standerton sounds sensational, but it means very little. The crucial statistic is the proportion of the total vote in key seats achieved by the governing party. (To simplify this, it is convenient to compute this as the "anti-Far Right" vote in constituencies which have been contested by more than two parties.)

It seems clear that much of the CP's present support was gained soon after it broke away from the NP in 1982.

The first important by-election after the break, at Parys in 1982, showed a 16% swing since 1981 to the Right, with the Nats scraping in with just over 50% of the vote. In 1987, five years later, the Nat share dropped to 47,8% — an addition of only 2,2% to that 16% swing to the Right.

By-election results in six key rural or blue-collar constituencies indicate that general CP support may have peaked between 1984 and 1986. Based on the 1981 HNP figures, the following approximate swings to the Right were recorded in by-elections:

- Waterberg (1983) — 26%;
- Primrose (1984) — 24%;
- Vryburg (1985) — 14%;
- Bethlehem (1985) — 18%;
- Sasolburg (1985) — 17%;
- Klip River (1986) — 16%.

But it's important to note that in five of these areas there was a partial swing back to the NP in the 1987 general election. In Bethlehem it was 1%; in Waterberg and Vryburg, 3%; in Primrose, 4%; and in Klip River, 6%. This bears out a general view that by-elections always favour smaller opposition parties, because they can concentrate their resources and capitalise on local issues.

In Standerton last month, the swing to the Right (based on the 1987 result) was 4%; in Schweizer-Reneke it was 2%. Yet the swing to the Right in Standerton from 1981 to 1987 was 21%; in Schweizer-Reneke, it was 15%. Given the conditions favouring the CP before the recent polls, the average extra 3% in those two constituencies is negligible.

Looking at all recent results, there has been a consistency in the Right's performance in rural and some blue-collar Afrikaner seats in the Transvaal. A similar pattern could be applied to the Free State, but that province seems to require a greater swing — of around 2% more than in the Transvaal — for seats to go to the CP. From 1981 to 1987, the overall swing to the Right in the Transvaal was roughly 18%; in the Free State it was 16%.

So what might happen if a general election were to take place now? The CP now has 22 seats; they need 84 to get a majority.

Assume that the HNP will no longer be a factor in splitting the vote (Jaap Marais is their best candidate and he was wiped out in Schweizer-Reneke). So the following seats would automatically go to the CP, because they're held by the NP on a split vote: Hercules, Lydenburg, Pretoria West, Rustenburg, Stilfontein and Wonderboom (CP running total: 28). And if there has indeed been a 3% swing to the CP since the 1987 election, the following seats would also fall to them: Innesdal, Krugersdorp, Roodeplaat and Potchefstroom (CP running total: 32).

On the other hand, if CP support is steadily increasing, the following seats would be vulnerable to the CP on swings of up to 10%: Gezina (4%); Maraisburg and Meyerton (6%); Alberton, Geduld, Klerksdorp and Koedoespoort (7%); Germiston District and Vanderbijlpark (8%); Kempton Park, Primrose and Springs (9%); and Vereeniging.

So a massive 10% swing across the Transvaal would give the CP 23 more seats, taking their total in the province to 45.

Free State seats were less vulnerable in 1987 — slightly higher swings were required. On this basis, a 4% general swing would give the CP Heilbron and Fauresmith; 10% would add Ladybrand, Smithfield, Welkom, Bethlehem and Winburg. Parys and Sasolburg would go to the CP, because they are held by the NP on a split vote. On a 10% swing, then, the CP would win nine of the 14 Free State seats (CP total: 54).

In the Cape and Natal, where the Right has made little headway since 1981, only nine seats are conceivably within reach of a 10% swing based on 1987 results: Vryburg, Kuruman, De Aar, Uitenhage, Oudtshoorn and Prieska; Newcastle, Vryheid and Umfolozi. In that event, the CP grand total would be 63 — and even CP sources have admitted to the *FM* that it's highly unlikely.

So this is how parliament might look after a general election held tomorrow, assuming that the balance between NP and PFP remains — or goes in favour of the NP; that the CP hold all their present seats; that there is a massive "worst-case" 10% swing after 1987; that the PFP does not split the vote in NP marginals; and that there is no new delimitation, from which the Nats stand to gain anyway (present totals in brackets):

- NP — 82 (123);
- PFP, NRP and Indep — 21 (21); and
- CP — 63 (22).

Put another way, the anti-Far Right vote in parliament would be: NP and "allies" 103, CP 63.

FM 11/3/88



## DELIMITATION

### 15 more Tvl seats?

The victories for the Right in last week's two House of Assembly by-elections and the prospect of the same happening in Randfontein later this month, has left National Party (NP) strategists with more than one major headache.

They need to come up with acceptable proposals to readjust white constituency boundaries in a manner that best limits the ability of the Conservative Party (CP) to win seats in parliament. But with CP support spread throughout SA, it's not simply a case of isolating pockets of *verkrampteid*.

A parliamentary standing committee is currently considering the possible appointment of a delimitation commission (headed by a judge) and is expected to recommend a commission later this year. There has to be another delimitation by 1990.

All interested parties can submit proposals to the commission, and comment on and object to its proposals. Generally, however, delimitations in the past 40 years appear to have favoured the NP.

According to Nat sources, likely proposals will include an additional 15 white seats for the Transvaal to compensate for the growth in population since the last delimitation and a retention of the existing number of seats in the other three provinces.

This would give the Transvaal 91 seats, the Cape 56, Natal 20 and the OFS 14. The loading factor whereby the number of voters in a constituency can exceed or fall short of the norm by a certain percentage may be reduced or scrapped. In the past, loading has meant rural seats — once Nat strongholds — could have thousands fewer voters than urban seats (often opposition strongholds). With the CP now having won the Transvaal



Elections . . . extra seats for:  
Transvaal

platteland and perhaps on its way to capturing other rural areas as well, the NP may propose a change of tack.

The CP says it is not worried by possible constituency border changes. It says its support is so well spread that it is assured of good backing whatever the boundaries are. To illustrate the point, the party says that in last year's general election it gained 610 000 votes countrywide, but won only 22 seats, while the Progressive Federal Party and other groups to the NP's left won 21 seats with only 377 000 votes — indicating highly concentrated (and easily neutralised) pockets of liberal voters. The NP, on the other hand, won 123 seats (nearly six times more than the CP), with only 1,08m votes, which was less than twice the CP total.

CP leaders say they expect the NP to do "all in its power" to delimit constituencies "to favour itself."

# Peeling the apartheid onion

Our role — promoting change through research designed to assist people working for change — is fundamentally different from the protest politics that has become so prevalent on the Government's Left. At one stage the institute drifted into that kind of politics, but we have now removed ourselves from it.

We have done an autopsy of the most important changes that have occurred in the past 15 years in order better to understand how they came about. Our investigations yielded the following ground rules:

First, objective forces such as population growth, economic growth, skilled labour shortages and urbanisation often create conditions that necessitate policy changes.

Second, the application of subjective pressure by organised groups is also crucially important: black unions, for example, campaigned for their rights, homeless black people moved out of overcrowded townships into vacant accommodation in Hillbrow, businessmen trained blacks for skilled work despite laws prohibiting this.

Third, in Pretoria Verwoerdian policies have been found to be unworkable and belief in that whole ideological structure has crumbled. With nothing to replace it, people applying subjective pressure have a much greater chance of eroding apartheid.

There are three key lessons to be drawn from this. The first is the Government is only one of the actors in the change process. In some instances it has been the least important, in that its main role was to do nothing.

The Government knew private schools were increasingly being desegregated, contrary to its wishes, but it was prevailed upon to look the other way, or at least to pretend to be looking the other way.

The second follows from the first: reform in this country is a process that happens on the ground first, and is only thereafter translated into law. The pass laws were repealed in 1986 only after they had become largely unenforceable because of hundreds of thousands of black people moving to town.

Third, one of the ways in which the Government has sought to cope with the process of change is by making limited concessions of a "thus-far-and-no-further" nature, hoping the limited concession would reduce the pressure for further change.

In practice, this has seldom worked, and there is no reason to suppose that it will work in the future.

I have likened the whole process of change to that of peeling an onion. The onion represents apartheid, with so-called petty apartheid, such as the old prohibition on black con-

This week the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr J S KANE-BERMAN, addressed a dinner for editors on the work being done by his institute. Here is an edited version of his speech.



Harvey Tyson is on leave. Because of a communications problem, the promised second part to last week's column will appear in The Saturday Star next week-end.

sumption of hard liquor, on the outer layers, and the most important apartheid statute, the Population Registration Act, at the core.

As you peel off each layer you expose the one underneath. Repeal the pass laws and you remove the layer protecting the Group Areas Act, because increased urbanisation

resulting from the repeal of the pass laws in the context of a huge housing shortage in the black townships simply squeezes more people out of those townships into white suburbs.

markable thing is how free of ugly incidents it has been, and how increasing numbers of whites see it as being in their own interests.

The other point about the process of peeling off the layers of the onion is that once you have peeled them off, you cannot put them back again.

One of our researchers has recently completed a study, which we will be publishing shortly, entitled "The Greying of Johannesburg". It reports how the Government several times threatened to confiscate illegally occupied property in Hillbrow, evict illegal people and so on, but for a variety of reasons did not do so.

Our approach has a number of implications:

- First, non-violent action is capable of bringing about important changes. So are ordinary people. Hundreds of thousands of ordinary blacks did not need the ballot box to make the pass laws unworkable. They just voted against them with their feet, just as they are continuing to vote against the Group Areas Act with their feet.

Part of our research involves examining the arguments put forward by those who oppose change. On group areas, for example, we have been able to show pretty convincingly, using police statistics, that there is no correlation between high crime rates and desegregation, contrary to claims.

Cabinet Ministers say that the desegregation of Durban's beaches has cost them 100 000 votes. But as with ordinary black people, there has been an equally striking capacity on the part of white men and women to adjust to changed circumstances.

You have a greater chance of being mugged in Lombardy East, for example, than in Mayfair or Hillbrow. This suggests that white security is more endangered by the juxtaposition of poor black and rich white areas than by residential mixing. Our research also demonstrates that the repeal of the Group Areas Act would push property prices up in white areas, not down.



# Another top PFP member calls it quits

By LESTER VENTER

THE PFP is facing another defection row — its fifth in a year.

This time the row centres on PFP federal council member Jannie Hofmeyr.

Dr Hofmeyr joined the National Democratic Movement (NDM) of Mr Wynand Malan at a public meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday. The meeting was addressed by Mr Malan and former PFP leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

At the weekend, PFP federal council chairman Ken Andrew said he had not been notified of Dr Hofmeyr's new allegiance and had not received his resignation.

PFP President's Council member Robin Carlisle said he was aware of Dr Hofmeyr's move. He said: "I believe he did not intend to resign from the PFP and my impression was he would not pursue NDM membership at this time."

Dr Hofmeyr was one of the principal architects of the party's "turbo-charge" strategy in which it made a failed bid to present itself as an alternative government in last year's election.

Since that election, four top PFP men have defected — MP Jan van Eck became an independent, while MPs Peter Gastrow and Pierre Cronje, as well as President's Council member Peter Schoeman joined the NDM.

306A

ST

13/3/88

30KAS 11/13/88

## ONE YEAR LATER... BY THE MATIE REBELS WHO BUCKED BOTHA

Political Correspondent

NO progress on the scrapping of apartheid has been made in the past year and the country's situation has deteriorated, say a group of Afrikaans academics.

The group, who call themselves Discussion Group '85 and are based mainly at Stellenbosch, rocked the political establishment with their public break from President Botha before last year's election for whites.

This weekend the group, spearheaded by Professor Sampie Terreblanche, published their assessment of the state of the nation, measured against the pre-conditions they set last year for peace in the country.

The 34 top academics, 30 of them professors, who say they are "committed to the establishment of a non-racial democracy", claim "the apparent calm in the country depends entirely on the state of emergency and is 'dangerously misleading'".

Among the academics are Prof Laurie Ackerman, professor of Human rights and a former judge; Prof Johan Combrink, professor of Afrikaans; Prof Lourens du Plessis, professor of Public Law and former editor of the NGK mouthpiece, *Woord en Daad*; Prof Henrie Erasmus, former dean of the Faculty of Law; Prof Chris Engelbrecht, the present dean; Prof Johannes Grosskopf, professor of Journalism; Prof Hannes Olivier, professor of Theology; Prof Andries van der Walt, professor of Mathematics; and Dr Philip Nel, director of the Institute for Soviet Studies.

"At most, these regulations may enable the Government to keep the symptoms of its loss of legitimacy and of the widespread polarisation in our society under control in the short term," say the academics.

# The real causes of strife are still ignored



SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE  
Rocking the establishment

### Failure

"The state of emergency arises from an absence of policy and vision."

It also arises from the Government's failure to address the questions underlying the crisis in the country. These are:

- How to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of the voiceless majority in a system of government not based on race.

- How to allay the fears of the privileged minority.

The Government's silencing of 17 extra-parliamentary organisations last month removed "virtually the last legal and authentic voices of the extra-parliamentary majority".

Such actions will harm the long-term interests of all South Africans; will require more stringent and costly oppressive measures, and will destroy the desire of blacks for moderate and rational co-operation.

Since last year's election, the Stellenbosch think tank says, the Government has al-

lowed the far right to dictate the reform agenda.

The growth in far right radicalism has been caused by:

- The information clamp that has curtailed educated debate;

- The Government's apartheid propaganda that has strengthened racial and tribal prejudice;

- The isolation created by apartheid.

But a "relatively peaceful solution" is still possible if:

- Apartheid structures are dismantled.

- There is a move away from confrontational style.

- There are immediate negotiations with the "real leaders of the blacks".

- The arrogant attitude to international relations gives way to a desire for reconciliation.

"At present little is being done about any of these conditions," the academics say.



# Reform or revolution: Scenarios for change

THE political wrestling hold applied to 18 anti-apartheid organisations such as the UDF, Azapo and others demonstrates once again with awesome clarity that in South Africa the attainment of a new and just social order is not going to be as easy as the desire for it.

In this tormented country, the past threatens the future as never before. The system has generated the challenge to itself.

The State, for all its putative military and economic strength, demonstrates increasingly the tenuousness of a conquest not accepted by the subordinate majority in society.

## Confronts

And, as the problem of change confronts SA in its most dramatic and concrete form, methods of struggle become the means for the realisation of ends. The choices, limited to two options only, excite fluent speculation. Reform or revolution.

Leadership in the dominant white minority has devised a two-fold plan for dealing with the predominantly black opposition outside Parliament.

- The introduction of reforms in the social structure by co-opting the black middle class from the ranks of the so-called African, coloured and Indian categories, hoping thus, within the definition of group rights, be able to prolong the life expectancy of white supremacy;

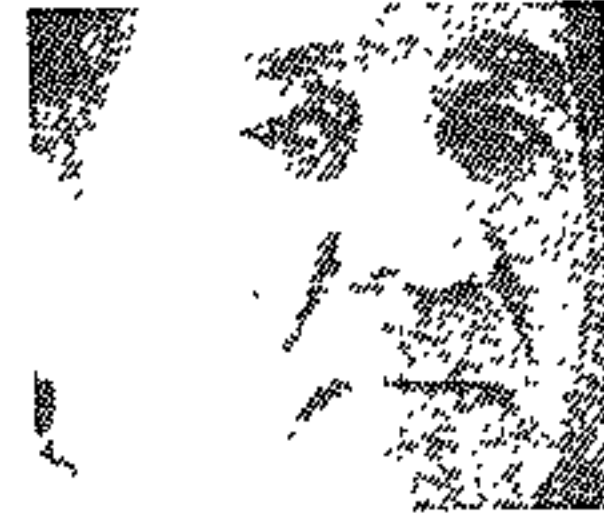
- To suppress by force any opposition within the country and in the neighbouring Frontline states.

On the other hand, those who talk most of an explosion are least able to define the shape it might take. The leadership in the radical revolutionary and reformist movements remains, for the most part, as fluid in its conceptions of how to acquire power as its opponents remain rigid on how to retain it.

The reforms of social apartheid

**by Maurice Hommel**

Head of the Department of Public Administration at the University of the Western Cape



during the 1980s are the product of the new policy. In this, the common interest of all South Africans is stressed by the State, which now claims apartheid is no longer official policy.

Yet, political apartheid of the most virulent sort indisputably remains at the core of Government strategy.

None believes that a keystone of apartheid, the Group Areas Act, will be repealed effectively, and so, whatever reformist gestures the State now makes, it will be unable to offer anything which will dismantle apartheid or even remotely satisfy the black extra-parliamentary majority.

The prestigious Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, whose publications are often used as guidance papers for key policymakers in the US, has published a document by the eminent Africanist, Robert Rotberg, in which seven possible scenarios for this country are discussed:

(a) Revolution; (b) substantial régime change; (c) power-sharing; (d) limited power-sharing; (e) concessions; (f) change but no change; (g) reaction and retrenchment.

The paper argues the two least likely scenarios capable of being realised are revolution and reaction and retrenchment.

Scenario (b) could mean a substantial change from white to majority rule under conditions of uncommonly high stress, with limited time for adjustment, little preparation and few safeguards for minorities.

Power-sharing (scenario c) is an

alternative if violence is sustained for long periods and the police and military repression fails to quell the cycles of unrest.

Continued international pressure and fading prosperity at home would be compelling factors. It would be a negotiated result, with blacks having to accept less than one man, one vote, since control of the military apparatus would remain in white hands.

## Happy

Since government is aware blacks prefer limited power-sharing to concessions, the State would be happy to oblige, since it puts it in a position to control the process. It is within this scenario, the State can experiment with the devolution of regional authority or consociational arrangements.

Scenario (f) sees the State combining repression with the granting of concessions. This is a form of appeasement mainly to placate the international community and to improve conditions under which blacks live, play and labour.

Blacks would regard this as cosmetic and irrelevant, and demand participation in the process itself. But the State knows that to negotiate the nature of change means a derogation of its authority and a weakening of its sinews of war.

The scenario for a revolution states that in SA the potential revolutionaries, while they possess justifiably enough grievances, nonetheless lack funds, arms, material and the "standard building blocks for a late 20th-century revolution".

Yet, revolution need not involve violence. To define the term as an abrupt and violent change in the structure of power excludes from the concept the conquest of power by a subordinate group but without radical transformation of the relations of production simultaneously.

Such a definition places an unnecessary limitation on the use of the term revolution. Formerly static conditions in SA have been overtaken by a dynamic which has created a ferment and climate conducive to far-reaching and broad social and political change.

This country has already entered the dangerous period of transition from the old order to the new. The white minority has not yet lost its will to rule.

But it has begun to lose confidence in its ability to retain control. What remains of the puny form of Afrikanerdom seems to have no clearly thought-out strategy for what should take the place of the god that failed them: Apartheid.

## Different

And, though black political organisations are far from being united, no really deep disagreement exists over objectives; only their tactics are different.

The present, however, does present a case for concern. None of the scenarios described are likely to be reached through imaginative leadership but rather by the compulsion of events.

If the only permanent thing is change, then one fact is self-evident. Apartheid as a system of political and economic domination is slowly bleeding to death from a haemorrhage it cannot staunch. A combination of historical forces has fuelled a dynamic for major structural change and made it at long last a pulsating reality.

● Professor Hommel is author of the book *Capricorn Blues*.

THIS PAGE — TELEPHONE EAST LONDON 26141

D/12 14/3/88  
**PFP's strategist  
resigns, joins  
Malan camp** (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Yet another key Progressive Federal Party member has joined Mr Wynand Malan's rival National Democratic Movement (NDM).

But Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, a member of the PFP's federal council and prominent party strategist, said last night that he had "not yet" resigned from the PFP.

Asked if he hoped to continued being a member of both the PFP and the recently formed NDM, Dr Hofmeyer said: "That is something that may be more of a problem for them (the parties) than me."

Dr Hofmeyer said "dual membership" held a "number of options" but he said he was not planning on leaving the PFP.

However, the chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said Dr Hofmeyer "will have to make a choice".

He pointed out that because the NDM had signalled its intention to fight elections, the extended federal executive of the PFP had decided last October that no person could belong to the PFP and NDM simultaneously.

Meanwhile, the NDM last night extended a "warm welcome" to Dr Hofmeyer. An NDM spokesman said it was "glad" to receive his expertise and knowledge.

Last year, PFP MPs Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje and PFP President's Councillor, Mr Pieter Schoeman, defected from the party to join Mr Wynand Malan — DDC

ld  
ld  
se  
in-  
nd

00.

hanquet



14/3/88

304A

## Idasa to host series of lectures

EAST LONDON — The first in a series of lectures on the nature of democracy in South Africa will be hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) here today.

The purpose of the lectures is to explore the exact meaning of democracy, the Border regional director of

Idasa, Mr Steve Fourie, said in a press release.

The next two in the series of three lectures on liberal, socialist, and African and third world democracies will be on March 22 and 28.

The first lecture dealing with liberal democracy will be given by Professor T. Beard of the political studies department at Rhodes University.

A member of the faculty of law at the University of Cape Town, Professor Dennis Davis, is to give the second lecture on socialist-type democracies.

The final lecture on African and third world-type democracies will be presented by a political science lecturer at the University of Natal, Dr Ian Phillips. — DDR

# Last voices silenced — Matie academics

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE situation in South Africa was obviously deteriorating and virtually the last legal and authentic voices of the extra-parliamentary majority had now been silenced, a group of 34 Matie academics said at the weekend.

The Stellenbosch University academics, known as Discussion Group '85, said in a statement that the apparent calm and "law and order" at present was dangerously misleading and depended entirely on the vigorous maintenance of draconian emergency regulations.

"At most, these regulations may enable the government to keep the symptoms of its loss of legitimacy and of the widespread polarization in the society under control in the short term.

"The state of emergency arises from an absence of policy and vision and a failure to address the fundamental questions which underlie the political crisis in South Africa."

Among these fundamental questions was how to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of

the voiceless majority of South Africans in a system of government which was not based on race and how to allay the fears of the privileged minority in a dispensation not based on race.

"The government's dangerous and short-sighted approach has been highlighted once more by the emergency measures taken on 24 February.

"Virtually, the last legal and authentic voices of the extra-parliamentary majority in South Africa were silenced on that date.

"(Such actions) will probably lead not only to new and more stringent international punitive measures against South Africa, but also inevitably to greater internal division and radicalization.

"This disturbingly short-sighted attitude can lead only to political and economic ruin in the longer term."

The government had been allowing the far right to dictate the reform agenda since the 1987 election.

"The increase of far-right radicalism must be ascribed partly to

the ... dearth of information and frank debate and partly to the way in which the government (as part of its apartheid propaganda over many years) has strengthened racial and tribal prejudice.

"Further, it must be attributed to the isolation created and maintained by apartheid."

The academics said they had carefully monitored political developments since their last statement on March 7 last year and had to conclude that "there is not merely no progress but the situation has obviously deteriorated".

"It has become increasingly clear to us that only far-reaching, rapid change along the lines advocated in our statement can save South Africa from political, economic and social disaster," they said.

Those who issued the statement were: Professors L Ackerman, W S Barnard, S A Cloete, J G H Combrink, J J Degenaar, J M de Villiers, Mr H J de Waal, Professors J L de Wit, Lourens du Plessis, C A Engelbrecht, G Erasmus, H J Erasmus, J S A Fourie, J S H Gildenhuys, J H Giliomee, B J Grosskopf, W J O Jeppe, Dr J Klinghorn, Professors B C Latagan, D J Louw, G Lubbe, C L McCarthy, A T Moller, E M Nel, Dr P R Nel, Professors J P J Olivier, J R Pogieter, B W Smit, B J Schutte, S M Swart, S J Terreblanche, A P J van der Walt, C J van Wyk and Dr S van der Berg.



(30 x 4)  
Cape Times, Monday, March 14, 1988 3

## Another top PFP man joins NDM

Political Correspondent

YET another key PFP member has joined Mr Wyn- and Malan's rival National Democratic Movement (NDM).

But Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, a member of the PFP's federal council and prominent party strategist, said last night that he had "not yet" resigned from the PFP.

Asked if he hoped to continue being a member of both the PFP and the recently formed NDM, Dr Hofmeyer said: "That is something that may be more of a problem for them (the parties) than me."

Dr Hofmeyer said "dual membership" held a "number of options" but he said he was not planning on leaving the PFP.

However, the chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said Dr Hofmeyer "will have to make a choice".

He said that because the NDM had signalled its intention to fight elections, the extended federal executive of the PFP had decided last October that no person could belong to both the PFP and the NDM.

Meanwhile, the NDM last night extended a "warm welcome" to Dr Hofmeyer. An NDM spokesman said it was "glad" to receive his expertise and knowledge.

# New party is to be founded

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The founding meeting of the proposed new Independent Party will be held in the Somerset West town hall on Thursday evening.

Dr Denis Worrall, a co-founder of the Independent Movement and provisional leader of the new party, says there has been "fantastic response" to the recent announcement of the party.

The main purpose of Thursday's meeting will be to collect the 500 signatures needed for the registration of a new party.

Ushers will be at the hall from about 7pm and the public meeting will start at 8pm.

Dr Worrall says the meeting is meant more for the committed than for the curious.

A number of meetings will also be held in the main centres, starting with one in the Durban city hall on March 24.

Dr Worrall stresses that the



Dr Denis Worrall.

formation of the new party is not seen as an end in itself.

It plans to seek a basis of co-operation with other parties within the "creative opposition". To this end there has been continuous contact in the past few months, Dr Worrall says.

A congress to start the new party is to be held early in the second half of the year.

CAPE TOWN — Further sanctions moves in the United States could have serious implications for South Africa, warns Mrs Helen Suzman the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton.

Addressing a PFP public meeting in the Mowbray town hall on Sunday night she said at present there were 28 bills concerning South Africa in the pipeline at the US Congress.

One was aimed at mandatory disinvestment by the 148 US firms still operating in South Africa while another sought to prohibit the export of American technology to South Africa.

Mrs Suzman said she would not change her stance against sanctions and disinvestment.

The strategy of imposing punitive sanctions and of isolating South Africa would cause more oppression, more violence and a siege economy.

These measures would nullify the influence the US and the companies could have with the South African Government.

She said it was vital for those who opposed race discrimination and who cherished basic democratic values to do all in their power to stop the Conservative Party in its tracks.

## Suzman firm on sanctions

This did not mean, "as so many misguided English-speaking voters believe", voting for the Nationalists to keep the CP out, but making it clear to the electorate that apartheid was South Africa's greatest disaster.

She hoped voters would help the PFP to retain some democratic bases in local government structures in the metropolitan areas in the October elections.

Mr Jan van Gend, MP for Groote Schuur, said opinion polls showed there had not been a fall-off in liberal opposition to apartheid, but a fragmentation of that opposition.

Liberal voters could not understand why like-minded liberals with one object, to end apartheid, were not capable of co-operating with each other to achieve this common goal.

The PFP was faced with the false perceptions on security, which were easily manipulated by Nationalists with their total control of radio and TV.



DID 15/3/88

# Banning: party quits House

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The United Democratic Party (UDP) walked out of Parliament yesterday "until further notice" to protest against the government's effective banning of the fledgling Committee for the Defence of Democracy (CDD) at the weekend.

Before leading his eight members out of the House of Representatives, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Jac Rabie, said the pull-out was in response to "the tyranny and abuse" of the Public Safety Act in terms of which the government had prohibited the CDD from carrying on or performing any acts whatsoever.

This action, following the previous clampdown on various other democratic bodies, was steering South Africa on a road to conflict.

Mr Rabie said the only organisations that were affected by the Public Safety Act were those within the black, coloured and Indian communities, whereas the AWB and the Blankebevrydigingsbeweging (BBB) could act with impunity.

Other protest over the restriction order against the CDD came from the National Democratic Movement which said the government had become the captive of its own "total onslaught propaganda".

b1/D 15/3/88

# Malain Obscures the view abroad

Ever since the South African Defence Force conspired with Louis Nel to conduct negotiations with Renamo behind Pik Botha's back, it has been difficult to know who is really in charge of South African foreign policy: the Foreign Minister or the Minister of Defence?

The question has been revived in the past fortnight by the sudden appearance of Defence Minister Magnus Malan in the gossamer network which the European countries seem to have been spinning between Moscow and Pretoria.

America's Chester Crocker, though he rushed to Luanda in the middle of it all, has lost credibility in SA, Angola and Washington. Europeans are making the running.

Malan's public offer of a deal with the Soviets — that both sides withdraw from Angola so that UNITA and the MPLA can come to an agreement on their own — had all the finesse of a commando attack on a nunnery. His offer was quickly and predictably dismissed by the Russians, leaving the rest of us to wonder whether he was trying to make an agreement or wreck one.

What makes Malan's diplomatic salvo interesting is the evidence that, as the US retreats, Europe has begun to assume an independent, and typically creative, diplomatic role in the region. The safaris of Helmut Kohl, Margaret Thatcher and Franz Josef Strauss — not to mention a number of lesser visitors — have not occurred in a vacuum.

At the risk of generalising, I should say that two impressions stand out from a visit to the northern hemisphere. The first is the decline of politics in the US; the second is the rise of a new Europe.

Any talk of decline in the US must be treated with circumspection — such gigantic powers do not wane overnight — but the political control mechanisms which are supposed to harness and direct American power seem to have gone awry.

Television has reduced public debate to moribund levels; they but reanunciations are huge, and self-interested; the Congress has been stripped of state-manship, and the Presidency of authority. The American system just doesn't seem to work.

The famous constitution, says one daring American ex-ambassador, has become "dysfunctional". It has certainly been lawyered to death; the fine print has been used to strangle the spirit.



**PIK BOTHA**

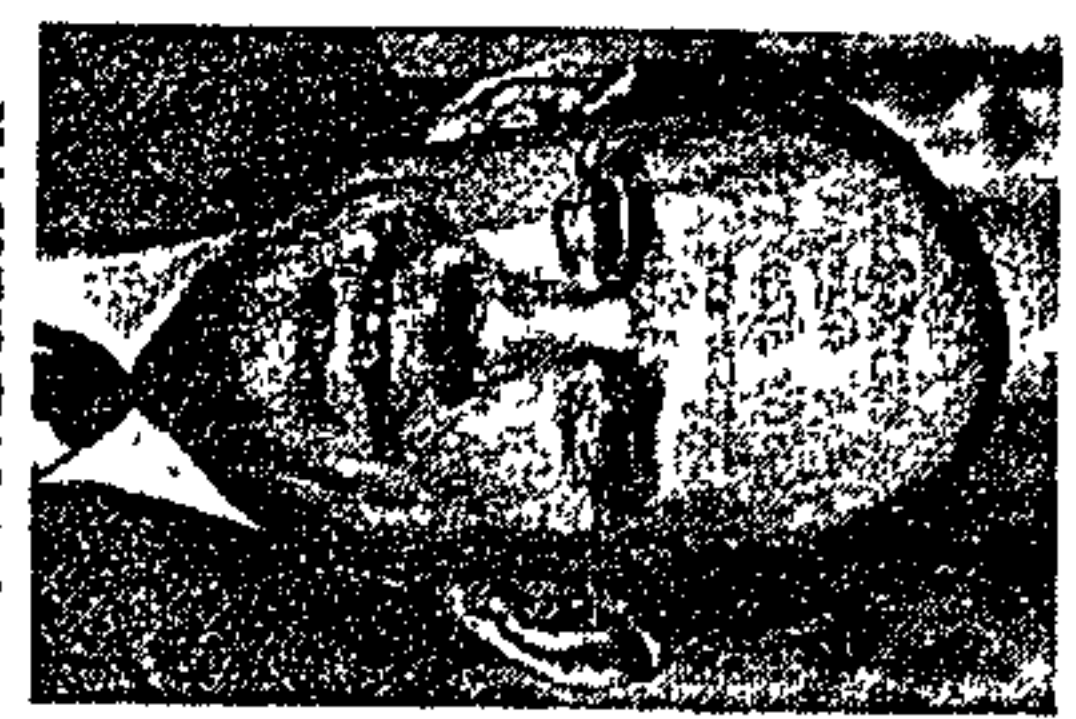
As a result, it is possible for arrogant senators and unknown congressmen to throw public policy entirely off course by tagging idiotic "riders" on to the end of huge Bills which nobody has time to read — as Senator Edward Kennedy did when he attacked the television interests of Australian publisher Rupert Murdoch, and as a black congressman did when he

## Ken Owen: Johannesburg

added a clause repealing the South African double-taxation agreement.

A nasty common thread runs through the Watergate, CIA, Iran-Contra and the Nicaraguan scandals: the American administration that wishes to be effective in foreign policy must either outwit the legislature or break the law. Breaking the law, in the end, breaks the administration.

As far as SA goes, not even the Reagan administration thinks this part of the world is worth the risk. The general view among American intellectuals (if that is the word for them) was summed up for me by one foreign policy specialist in New York: "South Africa reminds me of Rock Hudson before we learned he had AIDS — it just gets thinner and thinner."



**MAGNUS MALAN**

Sanctions are an appropriately destructive expression of this view. Any attempt by a white South African to argue that sanctions may not contribute to a solution is met by the blunt and accusing rejoinder: "Bishop (sic) Tutu wants sanctions, and he's black."

When foreign policy is thus conducted, like the presidential elections, in a platitudinous one-liners, there is no obvious reply. I left America reduced, for once, to silence; there seemed nothing left to say.

Europe was breath-takingly different Britain, under Thatcher, is joyously playing catch-up with the much, much richer French and Germans; even Holland has falling prices and rising prosperity. The Italians claim, with some justice, to have surpassed the British in per capita income. Europe has never been so prosperous, nor so confident.

Spain, after a generation of lonely isolation, has been drawn back into the European family; Moorish Portugal, freed from Africa at last, is being reclaimed. Greece and Yugoslavia, Turkey and Rumania, Hungary and Poland are all on the fringes, sliding closer. Even East Germany is, beyond the dreams of Willie Brandt, being drawn Westwards.

This historic process is clearly visible to any outsider who watches the comings and goings in every direction, the trans-national debates, the earnest inwardness. For many Europeans, it may be obscured by mighty squabbles over trivial differences — like agricultural policy, or tax rates — between the partners of the emerging superstate.

The interesting question is whether the Western Soviet Union, too, is now circling the warm glow of an immense and successful European economy. Is this the true meaning of glasnost? A revival of barbarous Russia's session with French civilisation?

Melvin Lasky, the formidable editor of *Encounter*, thinks Europe is suffering another bout of foolish infatuation with the Russians — "our gallant allies" of the Second World War — but he overlooks the size of the prize: we are talking here of a potential European market of 450-million people. It is a prospect to cause infatuation.

If this assessment is correct, or even partially so, then Europe's current crop of capable (and, in Thatcher's case, uniquely gifted) leaders are ideally positioned to explore the possibilities of terminating the conflict between SA and the Soviet Union, or their surrogates.

But two constituencies can be expected to oppose a European-sponsored peace: the Soviet hardliners, who think glasnost is tantamount to capitulation, and the South African military caste that gets its status, its mission, its influence, its resources and its political satisfaction from the war.

That is why it is necessary, as a first step, to know whether Malan speaks for SA when he ventures to engage the Soviets in public debate, or whether, as in the case of Renamo and Louis Nel, he is running a military foreign policy behind Pik Botha's back.



Chit 7/10/80 15/5/80 3/4

## AWB bid for campuses

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB youth members intend applying for recognition as student organizations on the Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch campuses, the organization's press secretary, Mr P W Bingle, said yesterday.

He said youth leaders of the organization had, for some time, "made arrangements" on various campuses, but he could confirm only that there would be formal applications on these two campuses.

"We are going ahead on campuses whether we are allowed there or not — whether we are legal or not," Mr Bingle said.

If these applications were turned down, AWB youth members would continue to hold meetings in rooms of campus residences, he said.

This follows the recent decision by the student council at Pretoria University to disallow the AWB from becoming a formal organization on the campus.

# CP takeover? *me thinks 15/3/88* NO way' *3044*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT P W Botha believes there is "no way" the Conservative Party could wrest power from the government in the next general election.

Indeed, he is not even prepared to concede that the CP could win 40 seats at the next poll.

In an interview published yesterday, Mr Botha told the editor of the Washington Times, Mr A de Borchgrafe, that he did not think the NP's defeat in the recent Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-

elections were "proof that the radical right opposition is making headway".

Asked if it was inconceivable that the CP could become the ruling party in the next election, Mr Botha responded: "No way. Our media, at best, has given them 40 seats — still a far cry from the 86 they would need to govern."

"I am not even prepared to admit that 40 seats is in the realm of the possible," he said. Asked about polls which indicated that the NP stood to lose control of every town council in the Transvaal except Johannesburg in next October's municipal elections, Mr Botha said: "I don't know where

they get those facts... personally, I don't buy it."

Asked whether the government regarded the AWB setting up of paramilitary organizations as "subversive", Mr Botha said: "Yes, indeed. We don't like it and we've warned them."

"AWB members have been brought before court in the past few years and sentenced to jail sentences. But it is outside interference in our affairs that breeds rightist radicalism."

"Americans are constantly poking their nose into our internal affairs and will have to bear responsibility for this polarization."



President P W Botha



# REFORM STALLED

## Not a snowballs chance in hell that it will take off says chief

THERE was not a "snowball's chance in hell" of reform getting off the grounds under the current state of emergency, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Opening the sixth session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi, the Chief Minister said he had never in his life felt as "alienated" from the State President, Mr P W Botha, as he did then.

Mr Botha was represented by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at the function.

Chief Buthelezi said he was pleased to welcome "a man of integrity" such as Dr Viljoen, even though the National Party had stopped the reform process dead in its tracks because of its fear of the "lunatic right-wing fringe".

In a hard-hitting address which made several oblique references to Chief Buthelezi's political party, Inkatha, reconsidering its strategies of compromise within the system, he said there seemed scant hope that Mr Botha would rise above adversity to get a "meaningful reform programme" off the ground.

However, he said, he would dread the day if he had to do "the bidding of the masses" and abandon a willingness to compromise and lead his people in "practical non-violent action".

Dr Viljoen told the Assembly that all South Africans shared a common destiny and a lack of development in one section would be to the detriment of all others.

### Share in development

Dr Viljoen also repeated assurances that self-governing territories "will remain part of South Africa and share

in the constitutional development of the Republic."

In South Africa, like elsewhere in Africa, he said, underdevelopment manifested itself regionally.

"The visible development problems in South Africa are poverty, ignorance, disease, unemployment, malnutrition, low life expectancies, high infant mortality rates, population growth rates that outstrip the creation of new jobs and illiteracy."

He pointed out that the problems were multi-dimensional affecting the economic, political and social position.

GERRIT Viljoen



CHIEF Buthelezi



'CP is powerless to check right wing'

# Nats compare AWB, Nazi programmes

Political Staff

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Adolf Hitler's Nazis have an almost identical programme of principles, says the National Party publication, *The Nationalist*.

Under the headline "AWB hijacks the CP", the March edition compares the "Programme of Principles" of the German Nazi Party, paragraph for paragraph, with the "Programme of Principles" of the AWB.

## WHAT THE TWO PARTIES SAID

It quotes Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche on the following points:

● The Nazis: Aim: The unification of all Germans in one great Germany on the basis of the self-determination of peoples.

The AWB: Aim: The unification of all white Christians in one great Afrikanerdom on the basis of the self-determination of peoples.

● Nazis: Only members of the German race may be

citizens of the Peoples' State.

AWB: Only members of the white race who pledge undivided loyalty to the Peoples' State may be citizens of the State.

● Nazis: Non-Germans may remain in Germany but will be subject to legislation applicable to aliens.

AWB: Non-citizens may enjoy rights as guests of the State, subject to legislation applicable to aliens.

## DEMORALISING SYSTEM

● Nazis: Parliamentary government is rejected as a demoralising parliamentary system.

AWB: Parliamentary government is rejected as an obsolete parliamentary system based on the liberal British/Jewish political system.

*The Nationalist* then quotes Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly:

"The similarity between the Nazis and the AWB is obvious: the same racist superiority, the blood and soil theory, the anti-parliamentary constitutional stance, the socialist and militaristic bias, the leader-

ship cult, the red and black emblem and the warped religious admixture."

"What does Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, say about this?" it asks.

"He glowingly defends the intimate liaison of his party and the AWB to five million TV viewers.

## PARALYSING

"He is beholden to the paralysing presence of five members of the AWB who are pledged to the principles of the AWB.

"He refuses to confront the AWB members in his caucus with the choice: either the AWB or the CP — but not both.

"He is powerless to halt the AWB members of his caucus in their efforts to steer his party on to a right-wing radical course."

304A  
SM  
16/3/88



2017 5796 16/3/88

## PRP set to join the PFP

B. Esmaré van der  
Merwe

The Progressive Reform Party would convert all its regional offices into Progressive Federal Party offices after its intended amalgamation with the PFP, PRP leader Mr Pat Poovalingam said yesterday.

The splinter PRP in the House of Delegates is expected to disband at a special meeting in Durban this Saturday.

Its three MPs — Mr Poovalingam (Reservoir Hills), Mr Mahmoud Rajab (Springfield) and Mr John Iyman (Camperdown) — will become the first PFP MPs in the House of Delegates.

This follows the PFP's decision to become involved in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives in its fight against apartheid.

The three MPs would be full members of the PFP caucus, Mr Poovalingam said.

"All functions will be amalgamated with those of the PFP and we shall take joint decisions on all policy matters."

# Vagueness costs votes

304A B/day 17/3/88

ELSABÉ WESSELS

GOVERNMENT's inability to provide a blueprint for its proposed constitutional reform was boosting CP hopes in the Randfontein by-election on March 29, competing CP and NP candidates agreed yesterday.

With two weeks to go before the by-election, caused by the death of CP MP Connie Mulder, the "lack of proof" of policy is costing the NP much-needed votes.

The CP was using "swart gevaar" tactics to capitalise on white fear, said NP candidate Boy Geldenhuys.

"The people are paranoid over blacks. The fact that we cannot provide a policy blueprint for black participation provides the CP with a chance to capitalise on the voters' insecurity," Geldenhuys added.

With the advantage of a May 6 general election majority of 1 732, CP hopes are once again pinned on the Mulder family. On March 29, Mulder's youngest son Corné, 29, will face Geldenhuys, who held the seat for eight years before last year's defeat.

In comparison to the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections, cam-

paing in Randfontein is low-key.

"The Afrikaans media, which was in the forefront of the March 2 by-elections, are treating March 29 as a non-event," says Mulder.

But the issues are critical. Having lost two rural Transvaal seats the NP is hoping Randfontein will show that the massive swing to the right experienced by increased election majorities on March 2, is confined to the platteland.

But Mulder believes Randfontein, with its large blue-collar urban electorate, will prove that the conservative swing is not a rural phenomenon.

"The results in Randfontein hold major implications for urban seats in the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and the Free State," said Mulder.

Geldenhuys is not phased by the CP onslaught. He firmly endorses the NP's "counter-revolutionary strategy" of tough security, good government — which includes the upgrading of black townships, and the development of a system allowing all to participate in decision-making processes.

Report by Elsabé Wessels, TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg



take place — and the possible re- conciliation.

The tone of voice and the sentiments were so familiar one could imagine one had gone back 28 years to hear the Rev Nkomo at the late Edgar Whitehead. "We have arrived at a time when the government does not deserve loyalty or respect and it must not get it."

Or it could have been the Rev Michael Scott inveighing against the evils of Sir Roy Welensky's rule in what is now Malawi.

And as we left the Rev Allan Boesak's press conference in Harare, a question, "Don't you get the feeling you saw everything that's happened in South Africa today reporting your decades of crisis?"

The exile was not curious double sense of my answer, for I get a deja vu.

Not only do the National and Conservative Parties in South Africa seem to be re-treading the road taken by the United Federal Front between 1960 and 1980, but Zanu/PF some times seems to be repeating the mistakes of Afrikaner nationalism since the Anglo-Boer War.

There are many interesting points of comparison, for instance, between Field Marshal Jan Smuts and President Robert Mugabe.

Both came to cut a world stage as leaders of a guerrilla struggle, symbol of resistance to the establishment.

Both, once in office, made great play with policy of reconciliation, with the former enemy which aroused the resentment of some of their own nationalist movements.

Both sought an international role as philosopher-statesmen. Jan one was reminded of the idealism, championed against Italy over the Abyssinian dispute, according to Sir Winston Churchill, because of destroyed hopes of keeping Spanish and Turkish with neo-colonialism.

# Katangan heard in Angola



MICHAEL HARTNACK  
Harare

Leading the white electorate towards the white electoral majority rule by force, earlier than it actually came about, after the loss of 30,000 to 50,000 lives in the bloody bush war.

What today makes the Rhodesia South Africa comparison less boring, for a recent by-election results, the outside world is taking the Afrikaner far right seriously.

People who considered Rhodesia dismissed the racist joke until they witnessed, in practice, the difference between a regime of Tories and one of Tories and one of Tories.

There are more unhappy points of similarity when one considers how the UFP, the traditional party of government, was brought down by — initially — the narrowest of margins.

All the UFP's concessions to Africans were scornfully rejected by "progressive" intellectuals and opinion.

On the UFP was out of office those African nationalists not in jail had a human, approachable face. Men like the late Mr Pat Boshoff, black "radicals."

(3064)

London

service, never very forthright under the UFP — viewers indoctrinated with propaganda of the crude reality, and then they that — under dangerous legislation — came to accept their hands for over a decade.

By then it was too late to wonder whether black leaders of the calibre of Mugabe had missed a chance for negotiating a gradual peaceful transition to majority rule.

Once the UFP was out of office those African nationalists not in jail had a human, approachable face. Men like the late Mr Pat Boshoff, black "radicals."

Will South Africa have to wait for a CP Government before National Party leaders and some of its black opponents discover their common ground?

Perhaps, ultimately, the only lesson to be learned is that Nationalism is Nationalism, whether it has hold of the minds of Germans, Chinese, Afrikaners, black Zimbabweans or white Rhodesians.

All nationalist movements seem to go through a long phase of self-righteousness when they will compound folly with a brutal use of force.

the seminar will come out wiser"

Failed punn

Some of the people who denounced Welensky and Whitehead so violently — like M. Sithole — today, set foot



# Worrall elected leader of new party amid fanfare

Political Staff

**Affi:** The new Independent Party had an enthusiastic start last night when more than 1 000 people crammed into the Somerset town hall for its founding meeting.

**Peric** Dr Denis Worrall was elected leader, and a cheering crowd approved a "Deed of Foundation" committing the party to a non-racial democracy and a free-market economy.

Hundreds of people turned up at the hall two hours before the meeting was due to start to sign a petition of registered voters required for the formal registration

of the new party.

Dr Worrall and other leading figures in the movement including the co-chairmen of the founding committee, Mr David Gant and Mr Jannie Momberg, were warmly applauded as they entered the hall to the strains of the theme music from "Chariots of Fire".

There was a roar of approval from the crowd when the party's name and logo, an open door with light streaming through it on a black and blue background, were unveiled on the stage.

Messages of goodwill from Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party, were read out.

A national congress will be held in Durban later in the year and meetings are planned for cities throughout the country.

Dr Worrall said the vision of the new party, which was shared by millions of South Africans of all population groups and in many parties including the National Party, was one of a new South Africa which was non-racial, democratic and free-market.

This vision would be pursued in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics. The party strongly supported the Indaba.

It would go for power in parliamentary elections and municipal elections and would become involved in local community projects.

Projections based on last year's general election results showed that the party could at this stage win about 22 seats.

Sapa reports that Mr Sutton said in his message he wished the new party every success and that it deserved the "very close scrutiny" of NRP members.

Dr Worrall told the meeting he hoped the NRP would recommend at its congress later this month that its members join the new party.



2019 6/20/28 18/3/28

## Worrall launches new party

CAPE TOWN — Denis Worrall launched his new Independent Party (IP) in Somerset West last night with a promise to pursue "the vision" of a non-racial, democratic, free-market SA in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Speaking at the founding meeting of the IP, Worrall said: "We will go for power in parliamentary and municipal elections, and we will work in the extra-parliamentary sphere in promoting regional initiatives like the (KwaNatal) Indaba."

Earlier, Worrall supporters gathered

### Political Staff

at the town hall to register the 500 signatures required by law for the formation of a new political party.

Worrall said the IP was "not an end in itself" but would seek to build bridges, reduce black distrust and allay white fears "on a basis of co-operation with all creative politicians and organisations".

The former ambassador thanked Bill Sutton, leader of the soon to be disbanded NRP, for his support and called on NRP members to "join us" because the tradition of "an overriding South Africanism" would continue within the IP.

304A

The Argus, Friday March 18 1988 5

## 800 signatures for Independents

### Political Correspondent

ABOUT 800 signatures for the registration of the new Independent Party were collected at an enthusiastic meeting in Somerset West last night.

The capacity crowd at the founding meeting in the town hall gave the leader of the new party, Dr Denis Worrall, several standing ovations.

People started turning up at the hall two hours before the meeting was due to start.

Mr Keith Gurney, a Cape Town businessman who is the party's chief secretary, said today the signatures would be checked against the voters'

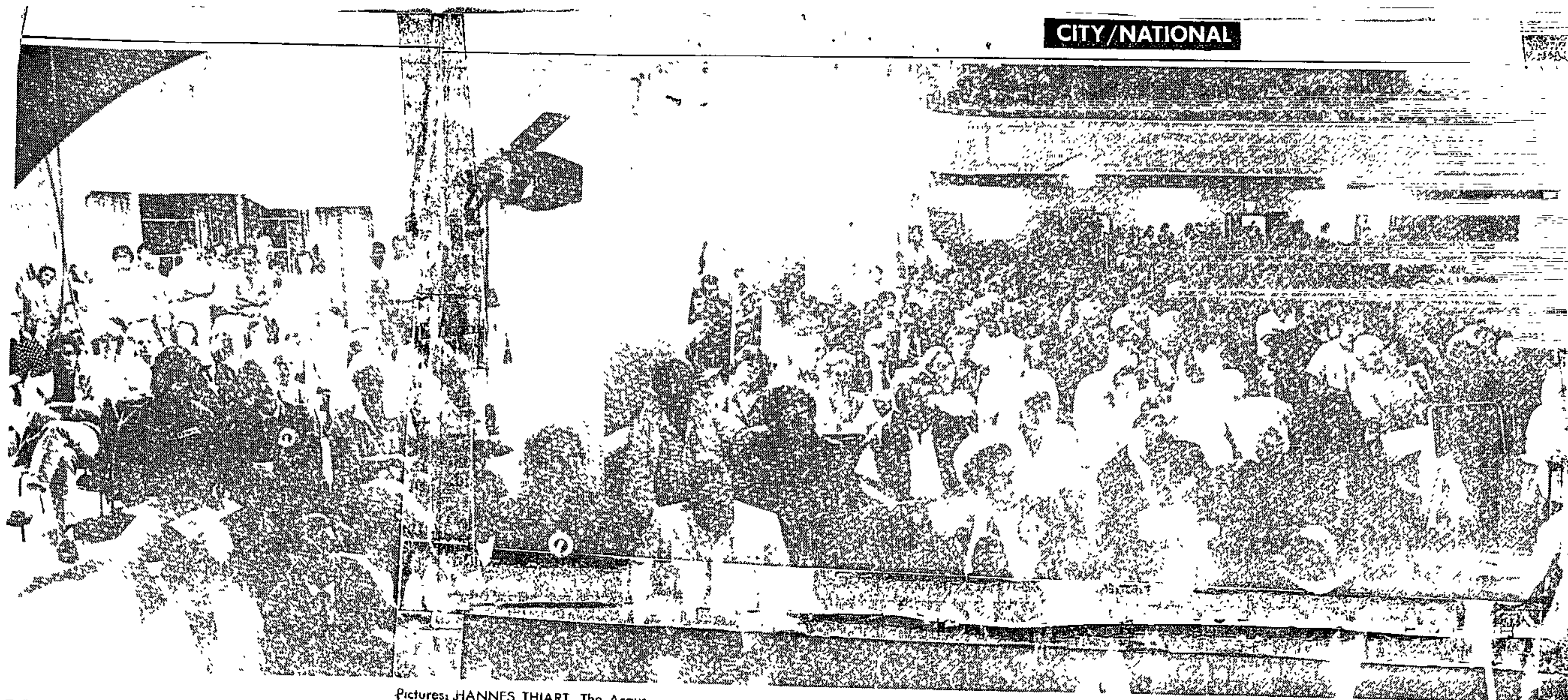
roll to get the necessary 500 needed for registration.

An application would then be lodged with the Cape Town electoral officer.

Messages of support had been received from individuals all over the country and there were also messages of goodwill from Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party.

The party would hold public meetings in big centres, starting next Thursday in Durban, which will also be the venue for a national congress later this year. A meeting would be held in Cape Town by May.

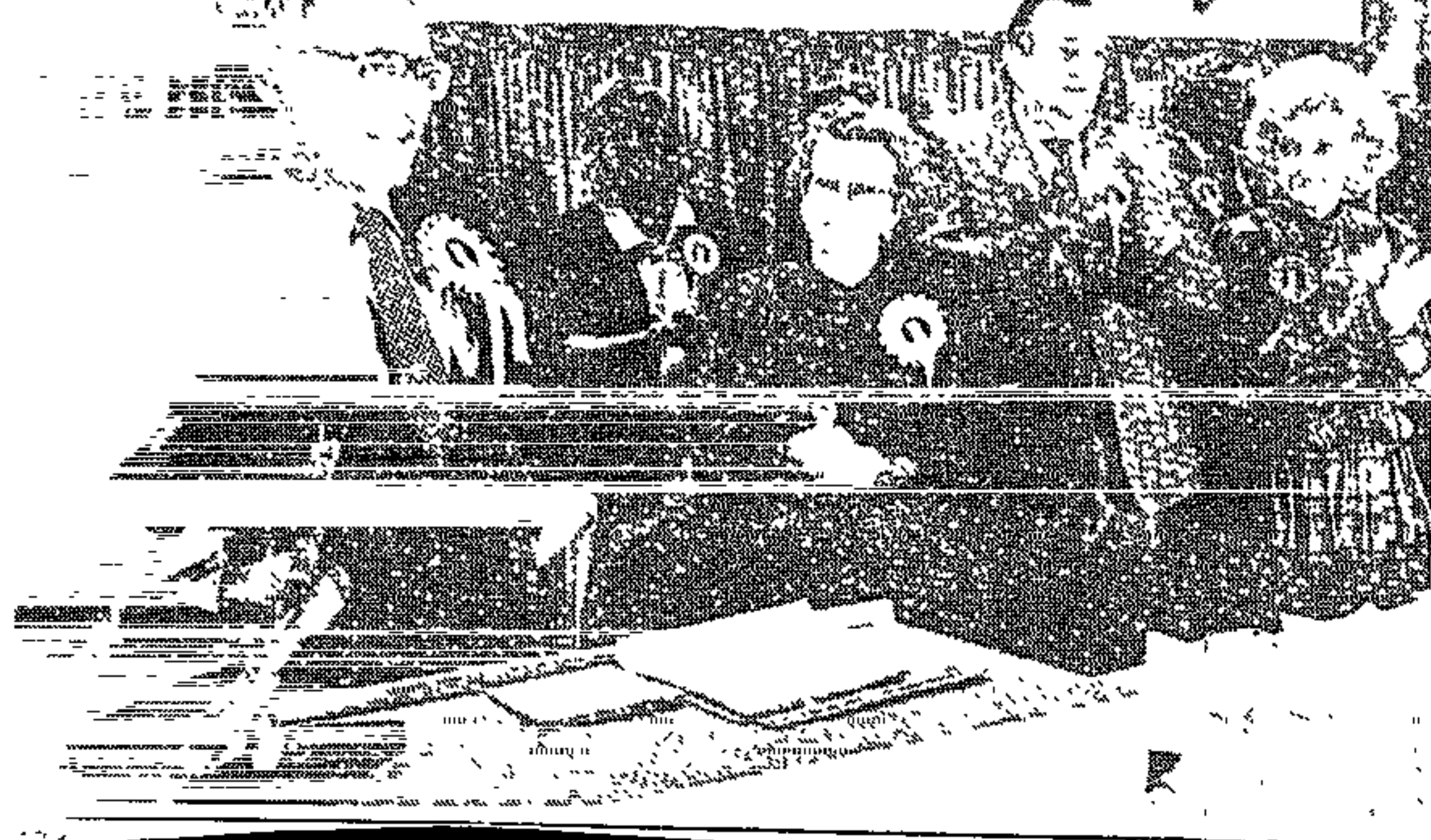




Pictures: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

**PARTY LAUNCH:** A capacity crowd of more than 1 000 in the Somerset West town hall at the founding meeting of the new Independent Party last night. And below, Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the new Independent Party, acknowledges applause from an enthusiastic audience.

## The Independent Party



# 1 000 cheer start of Worrall's new party

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE new Independent Party got off to an enthusiastic start last night when more than 1 000 people crammed into the Somerset West town hall for its founding meeting.

A cheering crowd approved a "deed of foundation" committing the party to a non-racial democracy and a free market economy. Dr Denis Worrall was elected leader.

Hundreds of people turned up at the hall two hours before the meeting began to sign a petition of registered voters required for the formal registration of the new party.

There was a roar of approval from the crowd when the party's name and logo, an open door with

light streaming through it on a black and blue background, were unveiled on stage.

Messages of goodwill from Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party were read out.

Mr Keith Gurney of Cape Town was chosen as the party's chief secretary.

A national congress will be held in Durban later this year and meetings are planned for cities throughout the country.

Dr Worrall said the vision of the new party, which was shared by millions of South Africans of all population groups and in many parties including the National Party, was one of a new South Africa which was non-racial, democratic and a free market.

This vision would be pursued in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics. The party supported the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba.

It would go for power in parliamentary and municipal elections and would become involved in community projects, something which had already begun in Somerset West.

Dr Worrall said his quarrel was not with the National Party, but with its leadership, which had turned its back on reform.

He warned against Nationalist tactics to get voters to support their party in an effort to keep out the Conservative Party.

Dr Worrall said the political future of the country had to be a negotiated one, one of give and take, and the new party would start spelling out the options.



DID 18/3/88

## Worrall makes fresh bid for non-racial SA

304A Daily Dispatch Correspondent 304B

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall launched his new Independent Party (IP) in Somerset West last night with a promise to pursue "the vision" for a non-racial, democratic free market South Africa in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

At the founding meeting of the IP, Dr Worrall said: "We will go for power in parliamentary and municipal elections, and we will work in the extra-parliamentary sphere in promoting regional initiatives like the KwaNatal Indaba."

Earlier, Dr Worrall supporters gathered at the Town Hall to register the 500 signatures required by law for the formation of a new political party.

Dr Worrall emphasised that the IP was "not an end in itself" but would seek to build bridges, reduce black distrust and allay white

end Allan Hendrickse, and Mr Mahmoud Rajab of the Progressive Independent Party for their "best wishes and offer of co-operation".

Political co-operation across the colour line was now essential, he said.

The IP had also had talks with the PFP, he said, adding: "While we appeal to different sections of the electorate, we are committed to the same fundamental values."

"And we look forward to exploring ways in which we can co-operate in establishing a non-racial, democratic, and free-market South Africa."

Dr Worrall said there was an understandable but dangerous fatalism developing among blacks and whites under the National Party's approach to the country's problems.

"Many of our fellow black South Africans, most of whom don't



# Creeping coup and struggle for power

304A

**Q:** How do you read the government's recent decision to slap new style banners and restrictions on its political opponents, coupled with the threat to cut off foreign funding to a variety of organisations?

**A:** Firstly, the State is not going to allow itself to be challenged directly or on a central level — it has made that quite clear. Any central-focus challenge will be ruthlessly dealt with, and that is why I say we have come to an end of an era as far as resistance or opposition politics is concerned — the end of protest or mass mobilisation politics where there is a direct challenge to the authorities.

In the end these restrictions mean that they have crushed those popular based organisations that symbolically challenge the role of the State or that can be used to mobilise people to do that. They have also made it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for similar kinds of organisations to get funding from overseas.

So in a sense what the State is trying to do is to criminalise all dissent that does not fall within the structures it condones or is prepared to create, and then try to deal with people inside those structures.

It would be short-sighted to see it as the same as the action taken against organisations in 1960 or 1977. The main difference is that some of the major supporting institutions performing a liberal resistance to the State are no longer there.

**Q:** What examples would you cite?

**A:** The courts have been fundamentally affected over the last 27 years. You no longer have the same access; all the amending legislation on security removes much of the jurisdiction from the courts. Parliament is not half as accountable as it was then because by creating a mass enabling legislation they have removed areas of control from Parliament where you just cannot question: on funds, on activities, on matters that are not in the national interest.

The media situation has also changed fundamentally, with State-controlled television coming to centre stage to be the prime moulder of public opinion. Newspapers have suffered, not only as a result of censorship, but from having to compete with television and consequently Parliament cannot make things public in the way it could in the past.

Other support based movements like universities and churches also battle to play the role they did before. So the whole milieu in which this clampdown has taken place is fundamentally different to what we had before.

**Q:** How would you say these changed circumstances have necessitated a different type of response from extra-parliamentary or resistance groupings?

**A:** It means that those who believe in a non-racial South Africa inevitably have to do a deep rethink on strategy. To continue to impose an implicit liberal paradigm on the situation — If we march, people will understand our plight and difficulties — is inappropriate.

Although I understand the need to express revision and opposition, the State's opponents do so under unequal circumstances and without the supporting institutions of a typical liberal focus. The expression of opposition through mass mobilisation has been tried, successfully, after 1983. One of the reasons for this is that the State had to create "the space" to get the tricameral Parliament off the ground — you could not very well ban people that were trying to oppose the 1984 elections so you

**Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert talks to Political Correspondent ANTHONY JOHNSON about the future of opposition politics in South Africa in the wake of the State's latest crackdown against extra-parliamentary organisations.**

allowed them that kind of space to use for mass mobilisation.

But the conditions of mass mobilisation and protest politics have changed fundamentally. I can see why people still try this approach but the State has made it abundantly clear that they will clobber and arrest these people. We can howl and scream, but it is not going to change them.

So if you cannot challenge centrally, if you have not got supporting institutions, before you have to look at new means of keeping the ideal of a non-racial South Africa alive.

I think that what is going to happen is that resistance, or protest, or opposition is going to be driven back into communities and into "functional areas" like labour, education and so on.

Communities and townships will have to explore how they will survive under these new circumstances. Do they make use of educational structures that are being created by the State for their OWN purposes, as they have done in the field of labour? In the area of civic administration, do they participate or not, do they grab hold of structures and control them? If so, how?

So it isn't planning of strategy on a broad central level in an attempt to mobilise the whole population to march on Pretoria or whatever. That is going to be driven back to the communities.

In areas like labour and education people are going to have to say: How do we create an alternative dispensation? There was a time in black education where structures were simply abandoned but now schools as seen as a structure within which to meet, organise and move in another direction.

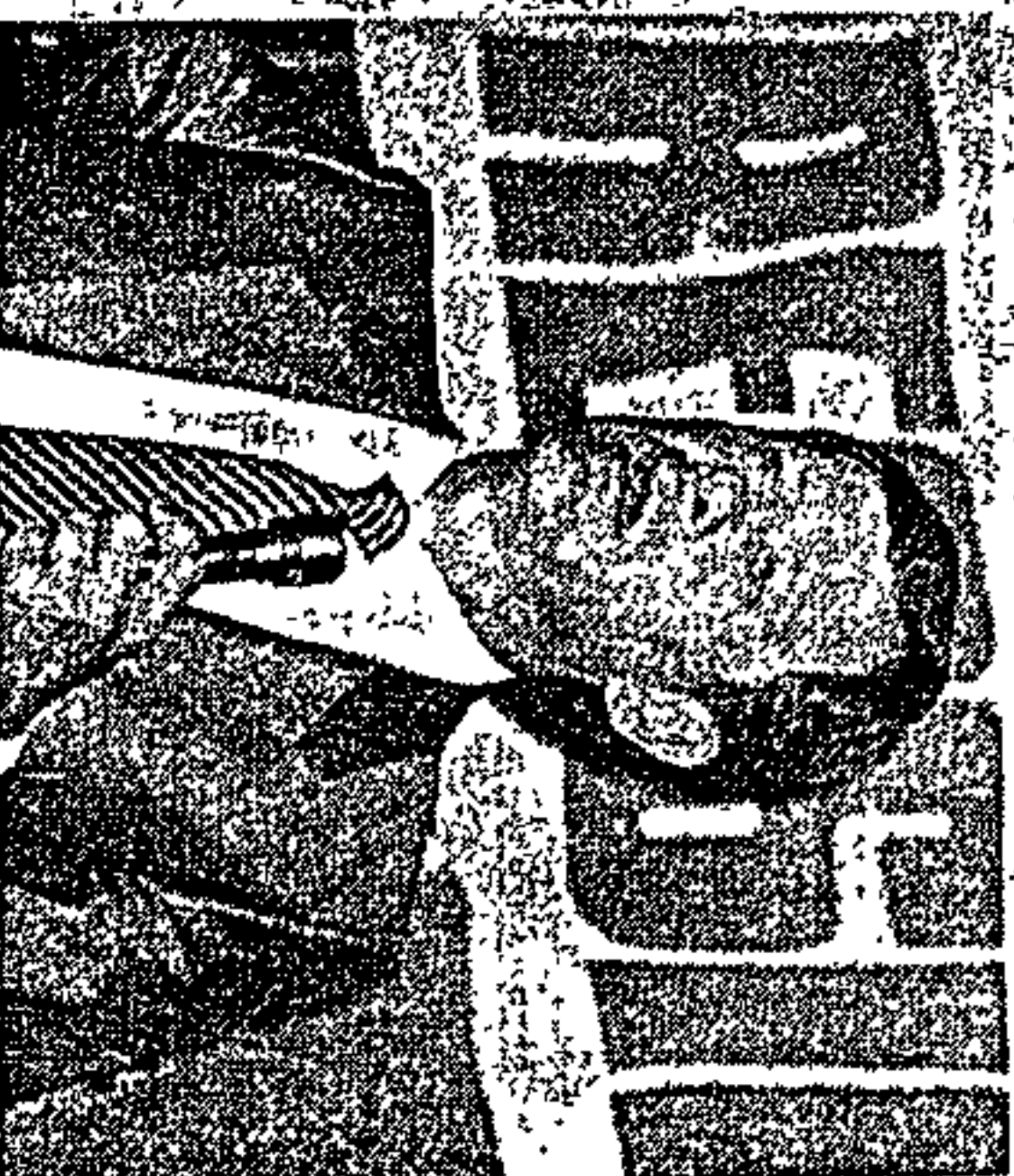
The same applies to universities. The State sees this and accordingly tells them to put their houses in order because that becomes an area of challenge over which it does not really have any control, except to forcibly take over the university like the University of the North. Our institutions are being shaped and mauled by this struggle and we cannot respond to this by simply howling out our anger.

**Q:** So one of the crucial areas that will have to be reassessed is the strategic dilemma of participation versus non-participation.

**A:** It must. But that does not mean that you have to take a blanket decision. The question of participation and non-participation cannot be argued in principle, but in every case with reference to whether it increases the ability of the community to control its own future.

Inevitably, as we move down the track, the State is going to have to lose control in certain areas. But the last area it will lose control is at the centre. That is why it is ridiculous to challenge at the central area because that is where it is strongest.

**Q:** You foresee, then, more of series of ad hoc, decentralised challenges targeted at points of greater State vulnerability rather than some highly visible, centrally planned opposition that can be crushed



VAN ZYL SLABBERT... "We have come to the end of an era."

relatively easily, with its leaders placed in jail or restricted?

**A:** Exactly, because with any centrally planned, mass mobilisation drive the easiest thing is to infiltrate and pick up the leadership. But if you do an analysis of the dynamics of the changes and look at the weak spots or where there inevitably has to be a relinquishing of control, that is where people can become more autonomous.

It's not as dramatic or as sensational as challenging directly but the State has all the resources at its disposal to stop a direct challenge dead. If we go back to what we have seen with the clampdown on the 17 organisations, we can try and revive what they stood for but I think it would be self-delusional to think you can simply create new organisations and carry on as before. You cannot.

Equally, if this foreign funding bill goes through and they cut off funding, there are a whole range of organisations that simply cannot go on surviving.

So I can see a kind of strategic realism being forced on extra parliamentary opposition due to the changed circumstances where they will have to take some pretty tough decisions.

But ironically Parliament itself is going to be increasingly unable to mediate this conflict because the very process that took away the powers from the extra-parliamentary organisations eroded the constitutional significance of Parliament. This is because as the State took away those powers, accountability in Parliament was taken away and put into another spot which I call an extra parliamentary executive.

**Q:** Do you believe that the security establishment and the executive, by increasingly circumventing Parliament, have staged a quiet coup on their own?

**A:** Well, I think we have a creeping coup for the last five years. Areas that are traditionally associated with civilian government just are not there any more.

Accompanying the creeping coup, there has also been a loss of ideological purpose. Apartheid was essentially a pro-active ideology — they were going to go for something and those who hated it could engage it. But now they have a reactive ideology — the total onslaught and total strategy — and the issue is control.

So when looking down the track to the future it is not when apartheid is going to collapse or separate

development is not going to work. It now becomes a logistical exercise: When are you (the security establishment) not going to be able to control — that's all.

**Q:** Now that the State has taken to arguing that a variety of legal activities help fuel the revolutionary climate, what sort of space do ordinary citizens have left to fight for, say, a non-racial democracy?

**A:** If we are looking for the conventional kind of liberal space in a democratic society, it is not there. The opportunities for protesting, marching or voicing your displeasure are so proscribed.

The worst thing you can do is to treat South Africa like a civil rights struggle. It is not a civil rights struggle but a struggle about power — and in that struggle for power or control the space that will be left will be space that people will have to start creating for themselves.

That is why the model I always work with is Eastern Europe — we are more like Poland than anything else. We are moving more towards the East — other Europe totalitarian model where you simply have an alternative society beginning to develop outside of the official structures.

I think we are going to find that as the State deregulates — or privatises (if you want to use it in the social, economic and political sphere where it inevitably has to because if it depends on the policy of co-optation it will get people on board) — as it does that, people are going to start organising their own lives and just getting on with things.

**Q:** But given the government's new strategy, it seems that the role of liberal individual or party in trying to build bridges and hold the line on polarisation is more circumscribed than ever.

**A:** Well, I would always admire and encourage people involved in that sort of struggle, but I think it would be unrealistic not to take notice of what has happened in the meantime.

What I am actually pleading for is that the liberal debate must be carried into this other area as well. I am not saying abandon the liberal struggle — I just think you don't put all your eggs in one basket. If you really believe in your liberal values — and I do — you have to carry on that argument out there too.

**Q:** Are you pessimistic about the future?

**A:** I suppose it sounds Pollyannish, but I am not depressed about the future — I am bullish about the present. In the long run I am bullish about the future. I don't think the kind of anachronistic viewpoint of the right wing and sections of government can survive. It can do a great deal of damage in the present but it cannot survive.

Factors such as South Africa's changing demography, the rate of urbanisation, the striving of the majority of people for a place in the sun make it impossible.

But this slow process of change, this flat-earth view that we have been burdened with for four decades now, must eventually disappear. So I may not be there to enjoy it, but I certainly don't despair for the future of my children.

What I hope for is that those who are really committed to a non-racial South Africa will in the next couple of years manage to rid themselves of infighting, grandstanding, personalising the struggle, and of moral one upmanship, so that they can get the measure of unity that can stiffen resistance right across communities and areas, and that the struggle for a non-racial South Africa can get into a far more hard-nosed, realistic phase where fewer people will be sacrificed to the excesses of the State. But that is just a wish.



# An Afrikaner sideshow

(304A) / M 18/3/88



Christopher Saunders lectures in the History Department at the University of Cape Town.

For most English-speaking South Africans, the Great Trek is the Great Bore. If endless repetition of its details at school have not alienated them, appropriation of the Trek for Afrikaner nationalist ends has made the subject a disagreeable one. Tony Grogan admirably summed up the sentiments of many in a cartoon in the *Cape Times* late last year which showed the two commemorative treks planned for 1988 colliding somewhere in the veld.

Fifty years ago, the anniversary of the Trek served as the occasion for what Dunbar Moodie called a "cultural orgy," to the great advantage of the National Party. Alan Paton was one who grew a beard and attended the celebrations that year, but he was totally alienated by what he heard and saw. In 1988, it is likely to be the Conservative Party, claiming to be the true party of Afrikaner nationalism, which will benefit most from the celebrations. This despite the widespread recognition today among historians that much of what has been written about the Trek is myth. It was no journey of a united people with a sense of mission and common identity; many disparate groups left the colony; they gained no sense of common identity or purpose in the interior; and they were deeply divided from their kinsfolk who remained behind.

Today, the National Party, like the South African Party and United Party in the era of Botha-Smuts "conciliation," is willing to play down the nationalist element in Voortrekker celebrations, hoping to secure English support. Such support would be nothing new, for, in fact, English-speakers have not all viewed the Trek in the same light. This may be demonstrated by consideration of the way in which leading English-speaking historians have interpreted the Trek.

Late 19th century historian George McCall Theal and early 20th century historian George Cory both hoped that their books would help bring English-speaking

whites and Afrikaners together. For them, the Voortrekkers were pioneers who had carried "white civilisation" into the interior. Though the "emigration", as it was known at the time, was undoubtedly an act of resistance against the British government, Theal and Cory accepted that the government was an interfering one and pointed out that relations between those who went on trek and the British settlers in the eastern Cape were good.

In a mostly sympathetic book on the Trek written in the early Thirties, Eric Walker of UCT told of the Trekkers heroically defeating the obstacles that faced them. For Walker, the Trek was both a stirring human drama and "the central event in the history of European man in southern Africa."

But in other writings, Walker stressed rather what he saw as a negative aspect of the Trek — that the Trekkers bore a "frontier tradition" of white racism into the interior. They rejected the liberal ideas of non-racism brought from England in the early 19th century. In the Trekker republics the tradition of "no equality in church and state" was entrenched and in the 20th century it was to triumph in all SA.

An even more negative view was advanced by William Macmillan, professor of history at Wits, the first professional historian to mount a full challenge to the Theal-Cory view of South African history. Macmillan wrote sympathetically of those to whom Theal and Cory had been hostile, most notably the missionaries and the blacks. Not surprisingly, then, he called the Trek "a disaster" because it split SA into separate white-ruled states, some opposed to giving blacks any measure of equality.

In the Sixties, writing in *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Leonard Thompson for the first time tried to set the Trek in the context of black migrations of the early 19th century. While Walker had pointed out that the Voortrekkers did not travel as far as, say, the Mormons had in North America, Thompson stressed that many blacks had travelled much further than the Trekkers in the years of disruption (the Mfecane) before the Trek and some had founded new states in the interior.

Among earlier trekkers were also people of mixed descent who were to some extent Europeanised — those who became known as the Griqua and the Oorlams. But the signifi-

cance of the Trek rests not on comparisons with other such journeys but upon its consequences. Thompson saw "interaction" as the central theme in South African history and, from that perspective, should have given the Trek greater prominence, for it greatly increased interaction between white and black over much of what is now SA.

The *Oxford History* pointed out that interaction involved both co-operation and conflict. For one reformist Afrikaner historian of the early Seventies, the Trek became the precursor of the Outward Policy which Vorster was then pursuing: the Trekkers were said to have sought only peace and friendship from the African peoples of the interior. Today, English-speaking historians not only reject any idea that the interior was "empty", as Theal had claimed to help justify the white intrusion. They emphasise, more than Macmillan did, that the Trek was a massive act of dispossession, in which much land occupied by the people of the interior, or to which people there had claim, was taken from them.

These historians stress the great violence the Trek caused; dispossession was achieved largely by bloody battles. The Great Trek was, for the people of the interior, the Great Conquest. The Trekkers are seen not as people of the Book, but people of the gun. Inkatha may like to stress the heroic resistance the Zulu put up to the invaders, but that is largely myth too, for resistance was all too unsuccessful.

The Trek was, then, a key event in the history of the subjugation of the majority to white rule. Celebrations of the Trek must necessarily be divisive. If they do not emphasise Afrikaner hegemony, they must inevitably celebrate white supremacy and, therefore, are bound to provoke opposition.

As the celebrations move towards their finale in December this year, it is worth remembering that, though important in our pre-industrial past, the Trek is no longer given central place in the saga of how we came to be what we are. English and Afrikaners historians alike now see the changes that flowed from the discovery of diamonds and gold as more important.

The Great Trek did greatly extend the area of white control, but the mineral revolution and the industrialisation it brought, fundamentally transformed the nature of that control.



304A  
e  
19/3/88  
SAS

Scores of church leaders have been handed the protest baton and their Ghandi-style opposition is likely to grow. The battle is on between the union movement, or 16 other legal organisations, and the police. But you can guess that they are miffed, and probably many members are beginning to look to illegal methods.

Scores of church leaders have been handed the protest baton and their Ghandi-style opposition is likely to grow. The battle is on between those trying to "conscientise the people" and a government which is determined to curb expectations and crush "revolutionary

Extra-parliamentary movements, such as Van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative, may find themselves pushed out of bounds by new wide-sweeping powers. If they

Even parliamentarians with differing approaches, such as Helen Suzman, Jan van Eck and Willem de Meillon will find their connections

**HARVEY  
TYSON**



The Government is afraid to act in case Afrikaner blood is spilled, and martyrdom creates greater support for neo-Nazism. Yet the AWB's extremism is also a blessing in disguise for a "law and order" government. And the AWB can be used by the NP to drive some voters away from the Conservatives.

The CP boasts that it will soon take over government also helps the ruling party garner votes from its Left.

What of the parliamentary groups to the Left of the Franco-style government?

Their disarray is a reflection of their confusion and frustration. But they continue to fight. "We have seen the end of freedom in

• The CP boasts that it will soon take over government also helps the ruling party garner votes from its Left.

**What of the parliamentary groups to the Left of the Franco-style government?**

Their disarray is a reflection of their confusion and frustration. But they continue to fight. "We have seen the end of freedom in

"The basic rights of people have been removed and all of us now operate by concession of this Government. Yet we must go on opposing.

"We must use the tricameral system to solve the tricameral system. We can use it, just as the once-scorned 'bush' university of the Western Cape has been used, and now has Bishop Tutu as its chancellor.

"The PFP is committed to trying to bring about co-operation between the various political parties that share a commitment to a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

ical parties that share a commitment to a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

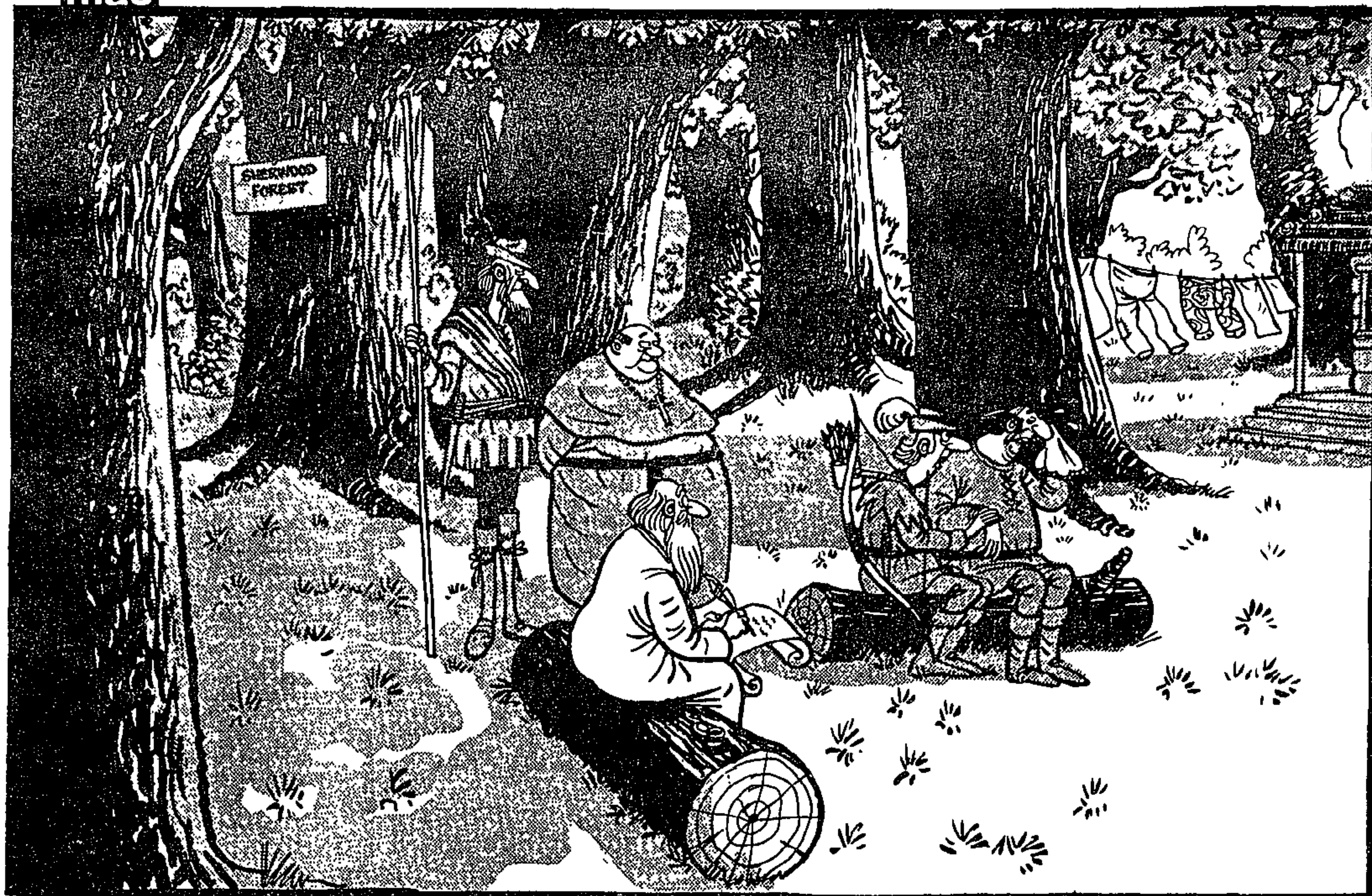
The question is not who will gain or lose in any forthcoming election, but whether any forces for genuine democracy are committed enough to band together and strong enough to withstand, not merely the militant Left and to withstand, but also a Government planning to hold power come hell or high water.

Instead of democratic gain, it seems fairly plain the reign will be mainly reminiscent of post-war Spain.

100



mac



"Aw, don't sulk sweetie, the scribe feels that it would look better in the history books if you changed your name to Maid Marian."

## Less hammer and more humour, please

**P**RESIDENT Botha, after rescuing President Mangope of Bophuthatswana from "his own" people the other day, made a small speech in which he announced that "we" are back in charge, after which he said touchingly, "Now you can all go to bed", or words to that effect.

It came out as a command, but I got the impression the President was trying to break the tension with a bit of humour and light-heartedness. The remark was interpreted as such because it provoked a chuckle from the people around him.

And how we need such small talk! It might convince us mere mortals that those who rule over us are also human.

South African politics is all threat, bluster and coercion. Politicians make no attempt to prove they are part of the crowd. I've yet, for instance, to see the State President kissing babies or

ALL THINGS  
CONSIDERED  
BARNEY  
MTHOMBOTHI



enjoying a hearty laugh with an ordinary member of the public.

We see him getting in and out of planes, cutting ribbons and making speeches in a kind of mechanical and imperial way.

An occasional grandfatherly discourse or fireside chat in a relaxed atmosphere — open-necked shirt, velskoen etc — will help banish notions of thunderbirds and all such nicknames.

We have had too many threats and they will soon lose their effectiveness. People will stop taking them too seriously.

Mr Botha's Ministers also seem to have their territories (or portfolios)

and they are careful not to tread on each other's paddock.

If Pik Botha is not writing an indignant letter to the petulant UN or Chester Crocker, he's taking a swipe at Zimbabwe or any meddlesome blighter.

Magnus Malan has become a specialist on the Frontline states. But he's quite economical with his threats. He rarely uses them, unless he's about to attack or his men are already back from a mission accomplished.

He has won the strongman image and strongmen do well in the National Party. Already he's touted as the front-runner for the presidency.

Adriaan Vlok has a sledgehammer and he's swinging it with relish. After the recent clampdowns, he's now turning his guns on unarmed priests. This week for instance, he promised a merciless assault on enemies of the State, which could mean practically anybody.

Stoffel Botha is the media expert.

He knows all the books to be read by those wishing to produce good and patriotic newspapers.

Our indefatigable Minister has just taken on another awesome responsibility — to rid our society of moral decadence.

But I hope the Minister won't take offence if I were to pose the question: Is there anything as immoral as racism?

Mr F W de Klerk is in trouble. His turf is barren of weapons that can advance his career prospects.

The Conservatives have got him on the run, and the courts are making nonsense of his only ladder to strongmanship — clamps on the universities.

But we will be wrong to conclude that the Government's problem is the personal character of its members.

Personality alone, no matter how engaging, will be of no help if you do not have policies that engender unity and fairness.



# Blood River: a new look at an old VOW

by Norman H. C. Smith

(3049)

South Africa is not alone among nations in tinkering with the past in order to fortify its illusions about itself. Indeed, it is inevitable that any self-conscious nationalism will set up a distorting mirror of historical falsification before which it can preen and admire itself.

For almost 200 years the British maintained a largely faked account of the events at the so-called Black Hole of Calcutta to serve their imperialist purposes. The moral assumptions of Americans were, through several generations, ratified by the dubious tale of George Washington and his father's cherry tree. Both myths have now been discarded. The British raj has passed away, consequently the British have no further patriotic use for convictions of their innate nobility in relation to Indians. To Americans the ideal of sanctimonious uprightness seems no longer appropriate to the role they must now play in the world.

Many of the episodes in South Africa's history have been restructured into political myths and these, like the myths of other peoples about themselves, have been, or are in the process of being, re-fashioned by the political and scientific context in which they exist.

The affair at Slagtersnek in 1815 and 1816, for instance, and the concocted reputation of the Bezuidenhout brothers, Freek and Hans, as righteous and visionary frontier Boers was a specifically anti-British imperialist saga which, now that Britain is no longer a threat and English-speaking voters are important in sustaining Afrikaner hegemony, is being quietly discarded.

A more potent political myth in the Afrikaner canon is that connected with what has been known progressively as Dingaan's Day, the Day of the Conventant and, from 1980, the Day of the Vow.

It recalls the occasions in December 1838 when 468 Afrikaners with their 'coloured' and African servants, and 60 or so African allies, repulsed a Zulu army of 10 000 warriors with no loss of life to themselves.

So sacred has the myth surrounding this incident been in Afrikaner national sentiment

that only recently has a rigorous examination of the factual basis of the Covenant and the growth of its official tradition been possible.

Indeed, as recently as 1979, when it became known that Professor Floris van Jaarsveld proposed delivering a lecture on the Covenant conceived in a secular spirit, some men, led by Eugene Terre'Blanche, seized him as he approached the podium, and tarred and feathered him in the presence of 40 astounded scholars.

Briefly, Andries Pretorius led a powerful commando against the Zulu kingdom of Dingaan to avenge the murder of Piet Retief's party in the preceding February; and to expriate, by force, lands then under Zulu domination.

A crucial religious event seems to have taken place on December 9, the Sunday before

the battle, although the date is not beyond dispute.

According to Jan Bantjes, Pretorius' amanuensis (a man employed to take dictation), the "Commandant suggested... a vow to the Almighty... that, should the Lord give us victory, we would raise a House to His Great Name...."

The upshot was a decisive massacre of Dingaan's impiis, whose blood stained red the waters of the little river Ncome — thenceforth to be known as Blood River.

Less certain than the outcome of the battles is Bantjes' account of proceedings within the Wenkommando before the encounter took place, for these were compiled by Bantjes under the direction of Pretorius, and are the only records we have. Pretorius would not be the first commander

seeking to justify himself to his superiors and to the judgments of history, who had amended the facts to make them more palatable.

This is not to say that no vow was made; but it is impossible to establish with certainty the circumstances. Bantjes has it taking place during divine worship, in the commandant's tent, which could have accommodated only a fraction of the commando.

Sarel Cilliers, a church elder with the colony, affirmed in a death-bed statement that he had conducted the vow-taking standing on a gun-carriage, with the men gathered around him. And the memoirs of members of the Wenkommando, written in later life, either make no reference to a vow, or say it took place on a different day, or somewhere else — that is not at the encampment near to a stream they had named Wasbank.

S. J. du Toit, the historian, writing in 1877, mentioned Blood River but said nothing about a vow; nor did J. C. Smuts in his passionate tract *A Century Of Wrong*.

It seems, in fact, that although a vow was made, it was not regarded by those present as anything exceptional; in times of stress oath-taking was freely resorted to in the pious Afrikaner communities.

Recent research, in fact, fails to support this central myth of the Afrikaner national canon in two respects. The first concerns the actual making of the vow, the circumstances of which are obscure and contradictory. The second is the evidence confirming that, once they had defeated the Zulus and sacked their headquaters, most members of the commando forgot all about any such vow or covenant.

It is clear the concerns of the Afrikaners were primarily those of colonists, the appropriation and settlement of the land, and the personal and regional matters relating to that task. But as Afrikaner national self-consciousness grew so, too, did the heroic and miraculous appeal of Blood River. And so it might have continued to develop, an all but innocuous stiffener in the national self-esteem, were it not for two threatening influences.

The first of these was the increasing incursions being made by British imperialism. In 1843, when Natal was annexed to the crown, the emigrant Boers had again returned to the Transvaal and the Free State, and as their resentment grew, so the myth of the Conventant began to take shape.

In 1865 the Transvaal Republic proclaimed December 16 a public holiday to "commemorate that by God's grace the immigrants were freed from the yoke of Dingaan".

As the result of the so-called Boer Wars of 1880 and 1899, the myth of Blood River and the Conventant became fundamental to Afrikaner patriotism in its conflict with British imperialism, and for six decades underwent constant and impassioned reiteration.

By the end of the World War II British imperialism had virtually disappeared, and Afrikaner nationalism was taking its place. In the Afrikaner phantasmagoria new spectres were forming, the Whitehall agenda was superseded by swart gevaar, and the political myth of the vow was given a new lease.

During the present century it has become the practice for Afrikaner nationalists to organize ceremonies on December 16 and to invite prominent politicians along to remind them, with due rhetoric, of the miracle of 1838. But the ambit of menace grows larger.

In 1983 Andries Treurnicht proclaimed "a surrounded and threatened people... (once) placed its dependence in belief in God and He saved them... today our people are again a surrounded people."

On the banks of Blood River a handful of Boers faced a horde. One hundred and fifty years later that small tributary of the Tugela has broadened to compass the world's oceans, and the horde is now the whole of mankind beyond our borders.

(304A)  
87 20/3/88  
**Worrall  
sets cat  
among  
the PFP  
pigeons**

By **LESTER VENTER**  
Political Correspondent

THE formation of Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party has set the stage for the first major test of a new deal in opposition politics.

At the founding of the IP in Somerset West this week, Dr Worrall said: "We are going for power" — and announced the party would start by fighting the local authority elections in October.

This could pitch the IP and the Progressive Federal Party into a battle for opposition dominance.

Both parties are anxious to avoid what both call "a potential bloodletting".

Dr Worrall said on Thursday night the IP would seek co-operation with "all members of the creative opposition".

And the PFP has a committee investigating the possibility of creating greater unity in opposition to the left of the Government.

But neither party is willing to submerge its identity under the flag of the other.

### **Slick**

The PFP is wary of election alliances, claiming it gained nothing from an alliance with the New Republic Party in last year's general election.

The IP is moving gingerly to net NRP supporters after the party goes through with its expected dissolution at a congress on Saturday.

The IP was founded in an extraordinary display of slick organising in the Somerset West town hall this week.

The lights went down, and on again to a curtain that revealed the party's name and logo.

Dr Worrall and party officials made a timed entrance to the music of Chariots of Fire, which has become the IP's unofficial theme.

Dr Worrall said the IP stood for the creation of a non-racial democracy founded on a free market economy.

"It is a fact that white South Africans have the power to determine whether change is to be violent or non-violent."



A JURIST REEXAMINES SA'S CONSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

A RESPECTED Afrikaner jurist this week called for free elections on a common voters role, based on proportional representation.

Mr Justice Victor Hienstra said all blacks, including supporters of the ANC and UDF, should participate in countrywide elections to choose representatives.

These would then negotiate with delegates from Parliament on how the present constitution should be scrapped.

Addressing a conference of the Reformation League of SA (Reformistiese Bond van SA), Mr Hienstra, who chaired the important Namibian Constitutional Council, said he had no doubt that "apartheid has failed as a policy and should be scrapped".

304H

# 'Blacks must be allowed to elect own legislators'

The free-market system will eventually destroy apartheid. "A system which interferes with the free movement of labour will certainly collapse under the pressure of the free enterprise system."

Mr Hienstra said he had through the years toyed with various constitutional models, always attempting to retain the final say for the whites.

However, he never found a system which also possessed the indispensable quality of being fair and just.

very people it was devised for "and stands helpless and desperate in the face of the greatest question of all, namely what are our black citizens going to get?"

ed by people who have the same conception of the manner in which the country should be governed."

cluding education

party would be determined by the number of the popular votes received.

On the other hand, it was certain that whites would be elected because of their expertise and their influence in the economy.

Mr Hienstra cautioned that changes should be made gradually. This would prevent men "long under repression, from being intoxicated by new-found power which they might abuse."

"At present, we have a system which broadens democracy but is so manipulated that the final say is with the whites."

Describing as "a fallacy" the notion that individuals only wanted to be represented by their own people, he said it was more accurate to say that "each one of us wants to be represented by people who have the same conception of the manner in which the country should be governed."

While fears of a one-man-one-vote system stemmed from their thinking in terms of the Westminster system of winner takes all. Such a system would indeed be disastrous for whites, therefore a plan should be devised which would be fair and just to all.

There would be 200 Members of Parliament elected on a common voters' roll. The total number of voters would be divided by 180 - the number of representatives directly elected.

Mr Hienstra said although apartheid would be abolished and freedom of association instituted, he believed political parties would initially be strongly ethnic in nature.

While fears of a one-man-one-vote system stemmed from their thinking in terms of the Westminster system of winner takes all. Such a system would indeed be disastrous for whites, therefore a plan should be devised which would be fair and just to all.

Member States of the federation would resemble the old provincial system with wide-ranging powers, including education.

21D 29/3/88

# AWB leader to expected to clear up misconceptions

304A

Daily Dispatch Reporter  
EAST LONDON — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre' Blanche, would try to clear up misconceptions about the organisation when he spoke here tonight, the AWB's deputy chairman in East London, Mr John du Toit, said yesterday.

Mr Du Toit added that because Mr Terre' Blanche had such a tight programme of meetings across the country it was not possible to predict what he would be talking about.

He said Mr Terre' Blanche would meet local office bearers during the day to discuss local issues such as the opening of the beaches to all races.

"It is important that the people of East London should hear the

truth about the AWB as there have been so many misconceptions caused by inaccurate reporting in the media," Mr Du Toit said.

He listed the comparison of the AWB "three sevens" emblem to the nazi swastika, the belief that the AWB hated all other races and that their members all wore uniforms as examples of misconceptions promoted by the government through television and radio channels, as well as through the press.

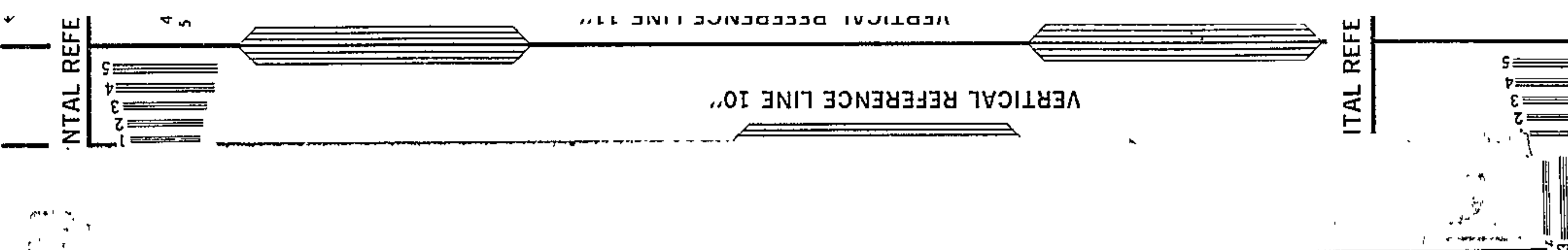
21D 29/3/88

## Council acts on IMC

213

EAST LONDON — The city council decided here last night to note the boycott of action committee meetings by the Indian Management





March 21 1988

'Govt stability not threatened'

# Power, not rights, is issue in SA, says Kane-Berman

Star (304A) 21/3/88

FRANKFURT — It was misleading to see the issue in South Africa simply in terms of human rights when the fundamental question facing the country was one of practical power, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said in Frankfurt yesterday.

Mr Kane-Berman told the annual meeting of the International Society for Human Rights that black political organisations, irrespective of their particular political standpoint, did not see themselves as human rights movements or civil rights organisations.

"Black opposition in South Africa is not campaigning to remedy human rights abuses but for the parliamentary franchise," he said.

He added that one of the major problems facing South Africa was the political divisions in the black community.

"In practice, the political struggle against apartheid has taken second place to a power struggle between various black political organisations and this is unlikely to be resolved in the short term. This power struggle is partly a reflection of what I would call 'monopolism' which is the claim of some organisations that only they are the genuine representatives of black people

with the result that the very legitimacy of their rivals and even their right to exist is questioned or denied," he said.

Among the most-needed improvements in human rights in South Africa for 1988 were several apartheid laws that needed to be repealed, Mr Kane-Berman said. He singled out as urgently necessary the need to bring the police under more effective control.

"Police excesses in dealing with political protest are a cause of extremely grave concern, as are repeated allegations of abuse of political detainees. One suspects that there is a pervasive attitude in the police force that policemen are a law unto themselves and that they will not be called to account."

## FUTILE TO CONTEMPLATE

Most people would see pressure on the Government to step down as the obvious solution, but it was futile even to contemplate this.

"The Government is simply too strongly entrenched. Its racial policies are disintegrating but its stability is not threatened."

Mr Kane-Berman pointed out that the apartheid laws were being eroded as blacks took matters into their own hands and simply ignored the laws.

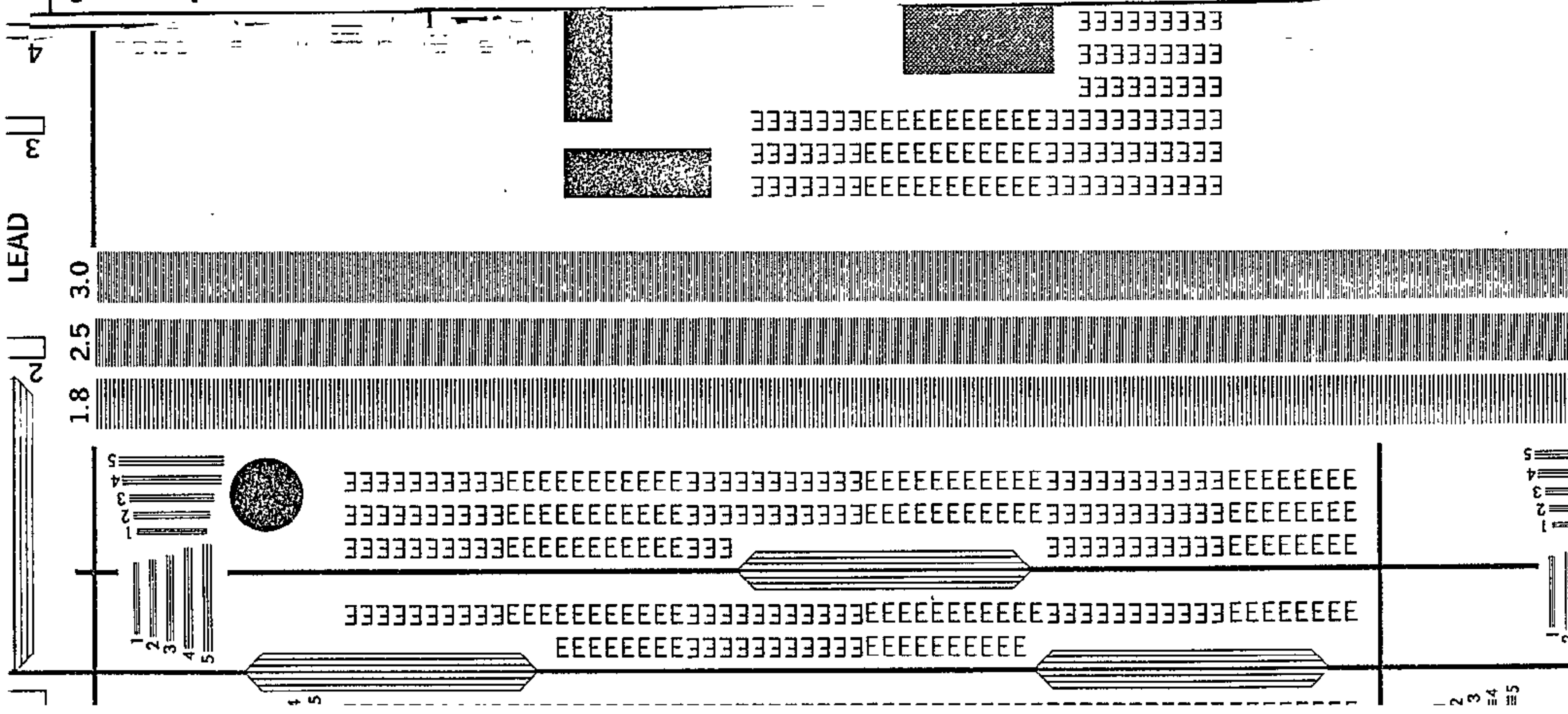
He said that the outside world could not

end apartheid and it did no service to blacks by pretending that it could. Any measure taken by the outside world that would help blacks to end apartheid should be taken on the basis of cool strategic thinking and cost-benefit analysis, not on emotion and outrage.

He warned that a political solution would not come about until a compromise could be reached between the two great forces that had always shaped South Africa and would continue to shape it — the black demand for majority rule and white anxiety about that.

He added that there was no political solution for South Africa other than compromise. It followed that, if the outside world wanted to play a helpful role, it should promote political compromise.

"The reason why this compromise will not come in the short term is that the balance of economic power, not to mention a virtual monopoly of military power, is still in the hands of the whites. The Government is fundamentally stable. South Africa is not on the brink of revolution and it never has been. Politically, the country is in a stalemate — the Government is not able finally to suppress black resistance, but black resistance is not able to overthrow the Government." — Sapa.



Former world leaders talk about SA

# Mogoba proposes a big mediating group

FAR-REACHING proposals involving the establishment of a collective mediating group to bring about negotiated change in SA were outlined to the Interaction Council on Southern Africa and Apartheid in Harare yesterday.

Rev Stanley Mogoba, a leader in three major organisations — the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, SA Institute of Race Relations and the Board of Africa Enterprise — implored the council to facilitate such a group.

The Interaction Council is chaired by Helmut Schmidt, former chancellor of West Germany, and has about 30 former heads of state among its members.

Mogoba said mediating the group should consist of, among others, the presidents of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, leaders from Western and Eastern countries and others who "also have a stake in the future of SA" through trade, political contacts and historical ties.

He emphasised: "The outside world has a unique opportunity to influence

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

the future of SA."

To do so, however, it would have to move away from "glib political rhetoric" and towards "specific and concrete suggestions".

"I do not want anyone to think I see SA problems being resolved only by outsiders. No single organisation or interest group is going to solve the SA situation. It is going to be a collective effort which will be done mainly by South Africans," he said.

## Myth

His proposals included:

- ☐ Negotiations should not decide the personnel of the future government of the country. This should be determined by "the people of SA".
- ☐ Negotiations should have the formulation of a constitution as an objective.
- ☐ The SA government and other political actors in SA must be closely involved in resolving the problem.

Mogoba suggested such a group "would at least have a chance of being acceptable to both the SA govern-

ment, as well as the PAC, the ANC and other white and black opposition organisations within SA".

"These organisations could all take part in negotiations without fear of losing face," he added.

Those who advocated sanctions as the panacea for all SA's problems had had the myth exploded because research had shown blacks were not in favour of sanctions or disinvestment.

"World bodies would have been far more creative in their strategies if they had come up with detailed policy recommendations which offer some way out for both government and its opponents of the present impasse."

Negotiation was the only viable option, however uncomfortable.

However, there could be no preconditions to negotiations except that there be a ceasefire, political leaders be released and exiled leaders allowed to return knowing they would participate in negotiations and the lifting of the ban on all banned political parties.

"If we do not negotiate now, more people will die and more people will say that because people have died there can be no negotiations."



No	SURNAME	NAME	ADDRESS	HOME WORK
----	---------	------	---------	-----------

[illegible]

# New Afrikaans newspaper

By Esmaré van der Merwe

A new Afrikaans weekly newspaper is being planned by a group of leading South Africans associated with the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The newspaper would be aimed at people striving for a democratic and just South Africa, particularly Afrikaners "aching for information" which neither the Government-supporting media nor the "alternative English press" provided, a member of the committee investigating the viability of such a paper told The Star today.

It would be aimed at "thinking Afrikaners on the platteland and in the Pretoria establishment", he said.

Johannesburg export/import dealer Mr Gus Fichardt, one of the committee members, today said the other committee members were: Professor Braam Viljoen, Idasa's northern Transvaal director, Professor Jaap Durand, vice-rector of

the University of the Western Cape (chairman), Professor Gerhard Erasmus, constitutional law lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Jacques Kriel of the University of the Witwatersrand's medical school, Johannesburg business consultant Mr Christo Nel, poetess Antjie Krog, freelance journalists Mr Hennie Serfontein and Mr Max du Preez, and PFP MP Mr Tiaan van der Merwe.

Idasa co-director Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert was also nominated, but Mr Fichardt was "not sure" whether he had accepted.

Funding would be sought from "sympathetic sources".

The Star was told that the paper would be started as soon as possible because of the fear that the Government would clamp down on foreign funding, one of the financial sources being investigated.

A circulation of 20 000 was projected.

22/13/88 Star

304A





# NRP likely to fold at new party's birth

DURBAN — The birth of a new political party in Durban on Thursday will probably see the demise of another.

Denis Worrall is all set to launch the first regional branch of his newly-formed Independent Party in a show of strength in the Durban City Hall.

The announcement is likely to be followed by the news that the New Republic Party, in tatters after its humiliating showing in last year's election, will be laid to rest.

Own Correspondent

Worrall says he has identified between 22 and 32 NP seats which are within reach of the new party.

Its first opportunity to test itself against the NP will come in the municipal elections in October.

BART MARINOVICH reports that a bitter political battle can be expected with Worrall's party and

the NP fighting for control of members of the fast-fading NRP.

Natal NRP chairman Duncan McGregor has strongly urged all Natalians "worried about the state of affairs in SA" to pledge their support for Worrall.

However, NP Natal information director Renier Schoeman has countered by saying that he doubted "whether Natalians would buy Worrall's hash".

He said Worrall's expectations in the province were "unrealistic".

(304A) B/day 22/3/88

olivetti

DID 22/3/88

# Ministers turn down invitations to talks

~~242~~ 3047

HARARE — Several "conservative South African ministers and politicians" turned down invitations to attend the three-day Interaction Council being held here to discuss problems of apartheid, Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reports.

The former Nigerian military head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo, invited the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Bo-

tha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

General Obasanjo also invited opposition leader, Mr Andries Treurnicht and the leader of the Inkatha movement, Mr Gatsha Buthelezi", Ziana said.

The African National Congress was also invited, represented by the Information and

Publicity director, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

In his replying letter, Mr Botha said: "I profess to be somewhat surprised that, against the background of the public statements on South Africa made during the annual sessions over the past three years of the Interaction Council, you should think that the South African Government could associate itself in any way with your organisation". — Sapa



## Worrall and Natal Nats in the ring

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — The launch of the regional branch of the Independent Party in Durban on Thursday is likely to herald a bitter political battle with Dr Denis Worrall's newly-formed party and the National Party fighting for control of members of the fast-fading New Republic Party.

The Natal chairman of the NRP, Mr Duncan McGregor, has "strongly urged" all Natalians "worried about the current state of affairs in South Africa" to attend the meeting in the Durban City Hall and pledge their support for Dr Worrall's new movement.

However, the NP director of information for Natal, Mr Renier Schoeman, said he doubted "whether Natalians would buy Worrall's hash".

Dr Worrall said he wanted to provide South Africans with a vision for the future and he hoped Natalians would provide the rest of the country with "a sense of direction".

Mr McGregor said: "Dr Worrall's message is loud and clear. We have a chance for all South Africans to formulate a political structure that will put our country on the high road to inter-racial harmony and economic prosperity."

Mr Schoeman said membership of the NP's head committee had been ratified on four former members of the NRP in Natal this weekend.

### 304A New fight over NRP

He said the four former MPCs, Mr Lew Phillips, Mr Bob Oliver and Mr Bill Wood, and a Durban city councillor, Mr Harry Oldfield, had called on all former supporters of the NRP to "throw their weight behind the State President and join the NP".

They had said in a statement that the "selling of the soul" of the NRP to Dr Worrall and his "confused Cape-based liberal academics" by the NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton was "blatant political opportunism".



D/D 22/3/88

The provincial secretary of the NRP, Mr Hennie Brink, said his party had cut all connections with the four "defectors".

"I am very upset with them. I want nothing to do with them. I wouldn't greet them in the street if I saw them."

"They have used the party (the NRP) to further their own needs and then dumped us when it suited them."

Mr McGregor said he was encouraged by the enthusiasm for Dr Worrall's vision of a new South Africa.

In an interview in Cape Town, Sapa reports, Dr Worrall said he saw Natal politics as "the crucible of politics in South Africa".

"Many people who would have voted NRP in the last few elections were, for historical reasons, unable to vote for the PFP and voted for the NP — and they are not comfortable in that position."

He emphasised that the objective in forming the Independent Party was not an end in itself.

"We are seeking an accommodation with other creative politicians and organisations."

"If the NRP chooses to dissolve at its congress this coming weekend, I hope it will recommend to individual members to join to us."

Dr Worrall said he was also working closely with the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party and believed he had established a basis for co-operation with Chief Buthelezi.

"The Indaba is in my view the most practical on-the-ground initiative in South Africa."

"I put that view strongly when I was ambassador in London."

from ANTHONY JOHNSON

CAPE TOWN

Whites would have to include blacks in Parliament now if they wished to be part of the decision-making process in 20 years' time, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, said yesterday.

In his final statement before the dissolution of the NRP later this week, Mr Sutton said:

"This testament is the last service we can render our country."

He said "real, meaningful" reform — which would include

# Include blacks now — Sutton

blacks in Parliament — was not on the agenda of the National Party because this would entail the losing of power for the NRP.

The current Panthament with no black members was a "three-wheel wagon" lacking in relevance for "the New Republic", because in 20 years' time there would be 50 million blacks in South Africa and only seven million whites.

"It is a truism, obvious to any serious

observer of the political scene, that if whites wish to be part of the decision-making process in the future, they must include blacks now.

"In any hard-headed appreciation of South Africa, it is a black country with white overtones.

"The system of government and the economic system are the heritage of the West, not of Africa.

"If the white influence is to survive, it must be extended to a broader base than the

outnumbered white population."

Mr Sutton said the black majority had to be included to give Parliament, as the "guarantor of right of the subject", the broadest possible base.

"The future of whites will be decided in black politics.

"If the decisions taken in black politics are vital to whites in the determining of their future, the place where black political rights should be exercised is in Parliament together with groups

at present represented there.

"As the power of the black majority increases, as it must, the experience of living through this transfer of power will be shared and not a matter of controversy and conflict."

Mr Sutton said the "best whites can hope for in terms of a political future" in South Africa was to regard part of process. Parliament in which the black majority was represented.



MR SUTTON

He proposed that whites MPs be cut from 178 to 100, and coloured MPs from 90 to 50.

He said that black representatives "without undue cost to the taxpayers".



D10 223188 (304A)

## Left wing needs to be mobilised, conference told

PIETERMARITZBURG — More than 600 000 white voters were committed to the ideal of a non-racial democracy for South Africa, delegates at the "toward democracy" conference in Pietermaritzburg at the weekend were told.

Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, from the department of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, presented a statistical analysis of white voting trends over the past three general elections which showed that opposition to the government from the left had never fallen below 22 per cent.

"This opposition is now fragmented, which means that an electoral change of government is not an option.

"Nevertheless, 22 per cent translates into 600 000 voters. This is a powerful constituency.

"What we have not yet discovered is how to mobilise it.

"My belief is that protest politics is not the way to go. We need more creative ideas."

Dr David Webster from the Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg suggested that bold organisation of the white opposition was required.

The country had reached a stalemate, he said.

The government held power by a system of co-option and unrelenting repression, amid mounting international pressure, the threat of escalating military force from the African National Congress and the reality that internal resistance could not be contained indefinitely.

"In this stalemate of deteriorating conditions I believe whites have a real and crucial role to play. We need bold organisation. We need to remind ourselves that extra-parliamentary politics are normal, natural and necessary in the political life of a country." — Sapa

# Botha turns down Harare invitation

*Soweto 23/3/88*

*304A*

HARARE — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha turned down an invitation to attend the Harare meeting of the Inter-Action Council of former Prime Ministers and presidents because Pretoria could not associate itself in any way with the organisation.

This was revealed this week in correspondence released to Zimbabwe's domestic news agency, Ziana, by Inter-action which is holding a three day conference in closed session here to discuss regional conflicts in Africa, especially southern Africa and the Sudan.

Mr Botha's letter declining the invitation said: "The Inter-Action Council professes to be concerned about building bridges and promoting dialogue, yet it consistently attacks South Africa in the strongest terms and arrogates the right to prescribe how this country should be governed."

Mr Botha said he did not believe the Harare conference would make any meaningful contribution towards solving South Africa's problems.

## Stimulate

Council member, General Obasanjo, former head of Nigeria's military government and a member of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' group which tried to involve Pretoria in dialogue with apartheid opponents, said in reply that the conference might have been an opportunity to break the impasse and to stimulate a non-confrontational positive dialogue.

Another South African minister, Mr Chris Heunis, found the invitation "strange," saying Inter-Action had apparently claimed the right to charge, judge and convict his country. It was naive to suggest he would attend the meeting in the company of some of the participants.

Right-wing leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his policy was not to share a platform with representatives of the ANC which he described as a "communist-infiltrated and dictated organisation."

Other South Africans invited but not present were Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (though Inkatha had a delegation here), Anglo American chief Mr Gavin Relly and Mr Sam Motsuenyane of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce.

*Handwritten notes and stamps at the bottom of the page, including a date stamp '23/3/88' and some illegible text.*



D/D 23/3/88

# Govt threatens to act against AWB

CAPE TOWN — The government yesterday threatened to take action against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Blanke Bevrydigingsbeweging (BBB).

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said that if they continued to tread the path of confrontation and violence the government would have no choice but to act.

At the same time, Mr Vlok said no church was

being curtailed or restricted in preaching or bringing the gospel to the people of South Africa.

This followed a warning earlier yesterday by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that the government would "come a cropper" if it persisted in trying to isolate individuals and divide the church.

In the House of Delegates during a motion criticising the government's clampdown on

extra-parliamentary groups, Mr Vlok said the AWB and BBB "blatantly and recklessly beat the drums of racial hatred" and had declared that the country's future would be decided by radicals.

"These organisations and individuals are hell-bent of inflaming the emotions of people in a most calculated and reckless manner for ego-tistical purposes and devious aims," he said.

"In making an appeal



MR VLOK

for restraint and for those involved to come to their senses, I at the same time, however, wish to issue a stern warning: Stop this dangerous incitement of emotions and intimidatory actions — before it is too late!" — DDC

PID 2313/88

## CP: govt dodging AWB, ANC issues

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has accused the government of "dodging the issues" by asking that certain questions connected with the AWB and an alleged meeting between the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, stand over until next week. (304A)

The deputy-minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer, asked that two questions, relating to action against AWB police reservists, stand over.

The third question concerned an alleged meeting between Mr Coetsee and Mr Mandela, where and when the meeting took place and its purpose.

Accusing the government of dodging the issue, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP Nominated) said the voters should not have to wait until the Randfontein by-election on March 29 to get answers to their questions. — Sapa



# NRP stalwarts to join party wake

DURBAN — There seems little doubt that at Scottburgh on Saturday the New Republic Party will voluntarily go into a "RIP" situation.

But if the Federal Council does opt that way, the once great party of General Smuts, Jannie Hofmeyr, Colonel Denys Reitz and all the rest of them, will "die only after a final bang".

Two former leaders of the United Party — Sir de Villiers Graaff and Mr Vause Raw — will be among the nearly 300 "bloed Sappe" whom the Natal Provincial Secretary of the ailing NRP, Mr Hennie Brink, expects at the final cocktail party that will follow Saturday's meeting.

There too will be the NRP's solitary present MP, Mr Ralph Hardingham.

And array of former MPs is likely to be headed by one-time UP whip, Mr Gray Hughes (Transkeian Territories), Captain Jack Basson (Sea Point), Dr

Frans Cronje (Jeppe), Mr Brian Page (Durban North), Mr Geoff Oldfield, and Mr Derrick Watterson (Umbilo), Mr Lionel Murray (Simons-town) and Dr E. L. Fisher (Rossettenville).

But the man who led the party in Natal with such guts and grit for so many years, Mr Douglas Mitchell, will be an absentee. Now into his 90s, he has divorced himself from his political past.

Then there is a squad of ex-senators — among them Mr M. J. Badenhorst, Charles Henderson, Mr Horace Rall, Mr Monty Crooke and Mr Jannie Moll — who will be paying their last respects.

Throw in quite a list of one-time Natal MPCs including Mr Dennis Wiggins, Dr Fred Clarke and Mr Ray Haslam, and the NRP's last national leader, Mr Bill Sutton, won't be short of familiar faces when the proverbial last post sounds.

Hennie Brink, as dedicated a "bloed Sap" as any of them, expects

about four hours of debate in Scottburgh Town Hall on Saturday afternoon — and that even then the resolution to "fold" the party will have been adopted in an earlier closed session.

The belief that the NRP has accepted its demise is backed by the fact that Number 81 Musgrave Road, Durban, a double-storey building which has been the party headquarters here for a number of years, has already been sold.

Tomorrow, in the Durban City Hall, many of the NRPs stalwarts will probably make their political futures known.

On that night Independent Party leader, Dr Dennis Worrall, is holding a meeting to officially launch the IP in Natal.

The NRP survivors from this province, men and women who have avoided or so far dodged finding alternative political homes, are expected to join the former South African ambassador in London. — Sapa



# Mountain of debt is

## Botha monument

01p 23/3188

2044

set the tone of our national life.

If you don't like the Japanese analogy — if you think those Orientals are a superior species — look at a nation which we South Africans regarded with pity and condescension in 1979 as an inferior species. Their inflation rate was 25 per cent; they were riven with strikes and unrest; terrorists were exploding bombs under members of the Cabinet; their unemployment rate was so high that young people faced a generation without work.

Look, that is, at Britain.

Today the rand is so weak, and sterling so strong, that dinner in London for six can cost R1 000; inflation is one-fourth of ours. Taxes are lower than in SA, even though Britain has a bigger army, a national health system and a social security net for the poor.

Britain's Chancellor Nigel Lawson last week delivered to Parliament a balanced budget and slashed taxes; the following day, Finance Minister Barend du

### Ken Owen: Johannesburg

President Botha's monument to himself. Let's be fair: President Botha is not the only profligate head of state of his time. President Reagan has similarly squandered the future of the American nation, and his countrymen have been calculating gloomily that they will be paying off his debts until the year 2020. If President Botha can treat the US as if it were a banana republic, it is because Americans are so saddled with debt that they don't wield as much clout as they used to do. Power goes with money.

At least, however, individual Americans have been getting wealthier. In President Botha's republic, it is different. We are poorer now than when he took office. I cite official figures from the Budget: from 1977 to 1987, the average income of every South African (known technically as the gross national product per capita) fell from R3 689 to R3 064.

One day when we put up a fond memorial to President Botha, we should engrave it with a new national slogan: Ons boer agteruit.

In 1960, the Japanese were poorer, on average, than we; today their per capita income is about US\$19 000, or R38 000 — man, woman and child. It shows what can happen when people work when their government follows appropriate policies and when frugality and honesty are part of the national ethos — as we used to be in the days when Smuts and Hertzog and Malan

careful, it will soon be borrowing simply to pay the interest on its debt.

Sooner or later, of course, the Botha Debt will have to be repaid, and it will be repaid out of future taxes. In the nature of things, most of those taxes will rightly fall on the wealthier white section of the population.

White South Africans may not yet grasp what the Botha Spree has done to them, but the debt works out at about R11 500 for every white person in the country, man, woman or child, or R46 000 for a family of four.

Young men like Rossouw start out life knowing that, to meet this debt, they will pay taxes on top of the taxes needed to run the country. They will get nothing in return. Their fathers

Honest folk like Rossouw will spend many years paying off the roughly R57 billion of debt accumulated during the 10-year period unkindly known as the Botha Spree. Not many people realise just how deeply President Botha has put us in debt.

At the end of 1977, just before he took office as head of government, the State debt — accumulated by the State in its various manifestations since Van Riebeeck landed in 1652 — was hardly more than R12 billion.

By the end of next year, if Barend du Plessis' calculations prove correct, the total State debt will be more than R57 billion. That is an impressive patrimony for any man to pass on to his descendants.

Already, the biggest item in our national Budget is the cost of servicing that debt; it will swallow more than one fifth of the taxes we pay this year. Already, government must borrow to meet its current expenditure; unless we are

In the heavily guarded fastnesses of his Winter Palace, President Botha must be worrying about the future of his young son Rossouw, who must be going into the army any day now.

It's not military service that's worrisome; it's what comes afterwards. The first 20 years of the boy's working life will be blighted by the need to pay off the mountain of debt accumulated by the State when President Botha embarked on the mad spending spree that, for the past decade, has been his chief contribution to the art of government.

The President has become so awesome a figure, so wrapped in power and pomp that people tend to forget he is also a father, not so very different from us ordinary mortals. His son, too, must make his way in the world, and we all know how worrying that can be for a parent.

Whatever President Botha's deficiencies as a king's head of the nation, he surely worries as we all do about his children's future. That future, unless the Botha children emigrate or re-

Plessis announced plans to borrow in the coming year another R12,6 billion. Lawson freed women from bondage to a male-orientated tax system; Du Plessis said he couldn't afford to do so.

There is only one reasonable explanation for the difference: the British elected Margaret Thatcher to run their affairs, and we elected President Pieter Willem Botha to run ours.

For Rossouw Botha and his generation, there is only one ray of light: the proposal to sell off State assets like Iscor and Foscok, as a profligate might sell off the family silver to pay his bookmaker. Du Plessis hinted in his Budget speech that the proceeds of the grand sale might be used to retire some of the Botha Debt.

But keep an eye on the public servants. There is nothing so hard in life as to come down in the world, and the public servants — elected and appointed — have been living mighty high off the hog. They'll fight tooth and claw for that cash. For a loving father like President Botha, it must be very worrying.





The regional organiser of the PFP, Mr Sandy Stretton, left, and a PFP member of the President's Council, Mr Robin Carlisle, at a meeting in East London yesterday.

## Desire for a united opposition — Carlisle

D/D 23/3/88  
Daily Dispatch Reporter  
EAST LONDON — The Progressive Federal Party is "alive and well".

This was the message from a senior PFP member of the President's Council, Mr Robin Carlisle, here yesterday.

Mr Carlisle was in East London to attend three meetings with the "party faithful" in the various constituencies.

He leaves today for Port Elizabeth, before returning to Cape Town.

In an interview, Mr Carlisle said that the PFP had "a very active infrastructure" in the Eastern Cape and was, he said, the "only region where the party had fought every seat".

The four seats are East London City, East London North, Albany and King William's Town.

Discussing the weight of the PFP political machinery in these areas, Mr Carlisle said the party "had created the machinery" here to fight as a strong opposition party. The four seats were in a "crucial area" in terms of any reconstruction of "the opposition".

In joining forces with Independent opposition

candidates, Mr Carlisle said that it was "silly to create competing infrastructures when the PFP already has the necessary infrastructure here".

"There is a strong desire for greater opposition unity."

He said there was an opening for "some kind



MR BENTLEY

of joint Independent and PFP party opposition" and that the experience of another opposition party setting up here anew would take many years to build.

On the question of the future of the East London PFP office in the wake of the recent resignation of the local organiser, Mr Ian Bentley, Mr Carlisle said that while it was true that "funds were tight", the open position would be filled as soon as economically possible.

He said that all political parties experienced staff cut backs after elections.

This was a normal cyclic procedure where there were funding cut-backs.

Talking about party-political-fought general municipal elections, Mr Carlisle said that it was not the PFP's policy to actively campaign for party candidates to stand.

He said, however, that the PFP would have an interest in assisting to ensure that "the right people" stood for municipal elections.

"The Nationalist Party has taken the course to fight on a party-political basis and has been followed by the Conservative Party.

"My own reading now and when I was secretary general, is that there is a strong desire to keep party-politics out of municipal elections," Mr Carlisle said.

The regional organiser of the PFP, Mr Sandy Stretton, said that the PFP Border region had already made the decision that they would not fight the municipal elections on a party-political basis, but said that the proviso had been made that the final decision would rest with each local constituency.

Mr Bentley is to take up a new position in Johannesburg as the PFP's organiser for the Southern Transvaal region.

"Ian's expertise and experience will be missed by the region," Mr Stretton said.

Mr Bentley has worked as a full-time organiser for the PFP since February 1981.

"I am sad to leave East London", he said. "But I am excited about moving to a more exciting political scene".

Mr Bentley's unrest monitoring activities in the Border region would be continued "on a voluntary basis where possible", Mr Stretton said.



AME Truis 23/3/88

# Sternier warning for AWB

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday threatened to take action against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) unless they stopped their "dangerous incitement of emotions and intimidatory actions".

In his sternest warning against the militant right-wing organizations to date, the Minister

of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said that, if they continued "treading the dangerous and senseless path of confrontation and violence" the government would have no choice but to act.

Speaking in the House of Delegates during a motion criticizing the government's clamp-down on extra-parliamentary groups, Mr Vlok said the AWB and BBB "blatantly and recklessly beat the drums of racial hatred" and had declared that the country's future would be decided by radicals.

"These organizations and individuals are of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said that, if they continued "treading the dangerous and senseless path of confrontation and violence" the government would have no choice but to act.

"In making an urgent appeal for restraint and for those involved to come to their senses, I at the same time, however, wish to issue a stern warning: Stop this dangerous incitement of emotions and intimidatory actions — before it is too late."

Mr Vlok then added: "Should no heed be taken of this urgent appeal, the government cannot be blamed should it take action against such organizations and individuals. "They leave us with no choice. We have a duty and a responsibility towards all South Africans which we will pursue at all cost."

Mr Vlok also said no church was being curtailed or restricted in preaching or bringing the gospel to the people of South Africa. This followed a warning earlier yesterday by Archbishop Desmond Tutu that the government would "come a cropper" if it persisted in trying to isolate individuals and divide the church.



# A last fling for stalwarts of NRP

DURBAN — There seems little doubt that at Scottburgh on Saturday the New Republic Party will voluntarily go into a "RIP" situation.

But if the federal council of the party does opt that way, the once great party of General Smuts, Jannie Hofmeyr, Colonel Denys Reitz and all the rest of them, will "die" only after a final bang.

Two former leaders of the United Party — Sir de Villiers Graaff and Mr Vause Raw — will be among the nearly 300 "bloedsappe" whom the Natal provincial secretary of the ailing NRP, Mr Hennie Brink, expects at the final cocktail party that will follow Saturday's meeting.

There too will be the NRP's solitary MP, Mr Ralph Hardingham.

An array of former MPs is likely to be headed by one-time UP whip, Mr Gray Hughes (Transkeian Territories), Captain Jack Basson (Sea Point), Dr Frans Cronje (Jeppe), Mr Brian Page (Durban North), Mr Geoff Oldfield and Mr Derrick Watterson (Umbilo), Mr Lionel Murray (Simons-town) and Dr E L Fisher (Rossettenville).

## GUTS AND GRIT

But the man who led the party in Natal with such guts and grit for so many years, Mr Douglas Mitchell, will be an absentee. Now into his 90s, he has divorced himself from his political past.

Mr Hennie Brink, as dedicated a "blood sap" as any of them, expects about four hours of debate in Scottburgh Town Hall on Saturday afternoon — and that even then the resolution to "fold" the party will have been adopted in an earlier closed session.

The belief that the NRP has accepted its demise is backed by the fact that Number 81 Musgrave Road, a double-storey building which has been the party headquarters for many years, has already been sold.

On Thursday in the Durban City Hall many of the NRPs stalwarts will probably make their political futures known.

On that night Independent Party leader, Dr Dennis Worrall, is holding a meeting to officially launch the IP in Natal.

The NRP survivors from this province who have so far dodged finding alternative political homes, are expected to join the former SA ambassador. — Sapa.

# Raid for alleged bomber: PFP calls for action

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Ray Swart, yesterday called for "strong action" against the police who allegedly continued searching the West German Consul-General's home in Johannesburg — even after learning it had diplomatic status.

The special unit hunting for the alleged Krugersdorp bomber, Mr Hein Grosskopf, entered the home of Mr Erhard Loeser after a tip-off, which sparked an international row and resulted in a full apology by the South African Government.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the police

knew it was a diplomatic residence — but the police who did the search, did not.

Action had been taken against them, he said.

A spokesman for the West German embassy did not rule out the possibility that Mr Loeser would be recalled to Bonn.

Mrs Charlotte Loeser said the police searched the house after going through at her husband's documents.

Mr Swart commented: "A bona fide mistake by a section of the police which did not know that this was a diplomatic residence is one thing and can be understood.

"But, when the police learn in the course of

their visit that it is a diplomatic residence and they continue their search, it is a total misuse of police power and a breach of diplomatic convention."

Mrs Loeser denied that the raid has shocked her into returning to Germany.

A report that appeared in a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper yesterday saying she was returning "to recover from the shock" was incorrect.

She was returning to help her daughter study for her university entrance exams, she said.

"I had already bought an Apex ticket to Germany before the police came." — DDC-Sapa



# NP, Worrall compete for NRP members

(306A)

Political Correspondent

1/10 24/3/88

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is making a concerted effort to win over the "Ou Sappe" of the New Republic Party before Dr Denis Worrall and his newly formed Independent Party get them.

The NRP, successor to the United Party, is due to sign its own death warrant this week — and the National Party wants the spoils.

Five former NRP public representatives, who now hold senior positions in the NP, issued a joint statement yesterday calling on their erstwhile NRP colleagues to join them.

The five said they had found that, as members of the NP, they had been able to play a "constructive and positive role in government".

They appealed to NRP members to "seriously consider" the political options open to them.



DR WORRALL

The five are: the Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and vice chairman of the NP in Natal, Mr George Bartlett; the South Coast MP and Natal Whip, Mr Aubrey Thompson; the Pietermaritzburg MP and Natal NP treasurer, Mr Brian Edwards; the Point MP and member of the Natal NP head committee, Mr Cliff Matthee; and an MEC and member of the NP head committee, Mr Peter Miller.

The newly founded IP had nothing to offer but "platitudes and generalities" while frustrating the State President Mr P. W. Botha's efforts to unite the country, they said.

They added that Dr Worrall would try to harness the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba to his own political gain as the PFP-NRP alliance had before the general elections in May 1987.

# Pensions: anger and confusion is growing

By Janine Simon

There is growing anger and confusion over social pensions, as welfare representatives hit at the Budget's failure to give a general pension increase and the chaos caused by eight departments setting pension payments.

In the Budget, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis said South Afri-

ca's 990 000 social pensioners would receive a once-off R60 bonus in October, costing R110 million.

Criticism of this was sharp but offset by hopes that the three relevant Own Affairs departments and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, which oversees the four

provincial administrations in charge of black welfare services, would announce an additional increment.

But the House of Representatives has been the only one to act, with Minister Chris April announcing a R12-a-month increase from July, coupled with a R5 monthly payment of the bonus.

It is not clear whether this House has the funds to back its promise, but the statement has apparently thrown other welfare administrations into a flurry.

White pensioners under the House of Assembly are not expected to get an increase, but a statement from the House of Delegates is expected tomorrow, and at least one provincial official has said his department would take note of steps taken by others.

Private welfare sources have indicated that, given the Government's stated intention to iron out pension disparities, various departments will not be seen to be acting out of line.

They have slated the once-off R60 payment as inadequate.

## AWB leader will react sharply to Vlok warning

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche will "react sharply" to the latest threats from Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, a spokesman for the movement said yesterday.

Mr TerreBlanche will reply publicly on Friday night when he addresses an AWB rally in Randfontein.

The National Party and the Conservative Party are locked in a by-election struggle in Randfontein.

Mr Vlok warned on Tuesday that action would be taken against the AWB and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging unless they stopped actions of incitement and intimidation.

Mr Vlok told the House of Delegates that the two movements blatantly and recklessly beat the drums of racial hatred and, among other things, had declared that South Africa was no place for moderates.

Appealing for restraint, Mr Vlok said: "Stop your dangerous incitement of emotions and intimidatory actions before it is too late."

The AWB is hoping to draw 4 000 people to the H F Verwoerd Stadium.

(Report by R M Challenor, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

t it  
ital



FORMER UDF members who set up a PFP Youth Branch in Mamelodi township, outside Pretoria, said yesterday they would contest seats on the Mamelodi City Council during the October municipal elections on a PFP ticket.

Mamelodi Young Progs chairman Zacharia Rantseli, who joined the PFP in 1985, said yesterday the party had substantially increased its membership in the township in the past 18 months.

He said all five members of the branch committee had left the UDF to join the PFP for the "protection" they believed the party offered by having representation in Parliament.

## PFP set to fight black elections

ELSABÉ WESSELS

Mamelodi's is the second black branch in the northern Transvaal region to indicate it would take part in the third-tier elections. Neighbouring Eersterus has one of the strongest PFP branches in the region and members have also said they

● To Page 2 ➡

## Young Progs set to fight black elections

wish to contest elections under the PFP banner.

PFP Transvaal chairman Douglas Gibson said last night he welcomed the move. He said Young Progs were full members of the party. Any person wishing to stand as a PFP candidate would be subjected to the party's normal

democratic nomination procedures.

PFP leader Colin Eglin said there was no federal policy as regards PFP participation in black areas. He said it was a regional issue.

⬅ ● From Page 1

D/D 24/3/88  
204A

# Marais will keep on coming back

Daily Dispatch  
correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Veteran HNP leader Jaap Marais said the HNP would continue, regardless of recent by-election setbacks in which his party lost its deposit.

Mr Marais, who was defeated in his 9th attempt to become elected to parliament in Schweizer-Reneke by-election on March 2, told the Johannesburg Press Club his party would "keep on coming back."

He was less optimistic about the future of the National Party and Conservative Party. Mr Marais said the NP was suffering from a split personality and would "disappear as we know it today. The CP is set to become more moderate as it gains more support and would rid itself of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging."

Mr Marais also predicted an early retire-

ment for President Botha. He said although Transvaal and Cape NP leaders Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Chris Heunis were in the presidential run, President Botha had by putting four "verligtes" in key positions in a recent cabinet shuffle prepared the way for Foreign Minister Pik Botha to take over from him.

Dawie de Villiers, Stoffel van der Merwe, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels were all on the left of the NP, he said.

Pik Botha had the support from the left and right in the party and without him the NP would lose support, Mr Marais said.



JAAP MARAIS



AN Afrikaner freedom foundation was established this week "to promote the freedom of the Afrikaner nation in statehood, and the areas of education and economics.

A statement for the new organisation issued yesterday in Johannesburg says that the founders of the foundation are Mr A J de Beer, Dr W L Grant, Prof J J Henning, Dr C J Jooste, Prof A D Pont, Dr C A Verwoerd and Prof C W H Boshoff.

Prof Boshoff was elected chairman and full-time executive officer of the foundation and will relinquish his

post at the University of Pretoria.

The statement said the foundation would work for the establishment of a sovereign state separate from the Republic, and its activities would include books, writings and meetings throughout the country.

## Emergency

"The emergency situation in which the Afrikaner nation finds itself today as a result of the 1983 Constitution

# New body to promote

# Afrikaner interests

*Sowetan 24/3/88*

*304A*

and the present Government policy, directly brought about the establishment of the foundation. Government policy is undeniably aiming at black domination of the entire RSA.

"Minority domination as practised in the RSA today is morally unjust and untenable. Citizenship on an equal basis for one mixed population leads to free association and one-man-one-vote despite all claims to the contrary and despite all

complicated systems and guarantees which are being bandied about.

"The loss of freedom and the destruction of the Afrikaner nation under such a dispensation goes without saying," the statement said. — Sapa.



**Leader**  
*Sowetan*  
**wants**  
*24/3/88*  
**to**

D/D 24/3/88 (30CA)

## CP accused of ANC tactics

CAPE TOWN — The CP was accused yesterday of "stooping" to ANC and radical tactics by organising consumer boycotts against NP members.

Transvaal leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk, conceded in the "own affairs" budget debate yesterday that there was a degree of reluctance among NP members in certain areas to contest the coming municipal elections.

Then, amid loud interjections from the CP benches, he said it was because they feared boycotts of their businesses by the CP.

Mr De Klerk accused the CP of or-

ganising consumer boycotts "just like Cosatu, the ANC and the UDF".

"How low will you stoop? How low will you stoop to divide the Afrikaner people by using the tactics of these radicals?" he asked.

Mr De Klerk's charges come amid reports from different parts of the country of concerted anti-Nationalist consumer resistance by CP members, particularly on the platteland.

One CP farmer is reported to have squashed a R40 000 cattle deal by tearing up the cheque — because he learned he had sold to a member of the NP. — DDC



# Salary disparities to be eliminated

CAPE TOWN — The government planned to eliminate all disparities in salaries and personnel measures in the public service based on race by this month, according to the annual report of the Commission for Administration.

"So far, the rate at which this has taken place has depended on the funds the Exchequer could provide," it said.

"Disparities remained in only 75 occupational classes." — DDC

The report, tabled in parliament yesterday, said the elimination of disparities based on race had been "a high priority" for a number of years.

All disparities in the service dispensations of large occupational groups such as educators, nursing and paramedical personnel were eliminated in 1986.

CP 'boycotting' Nats

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was accused yesterday of "stooping" to radical tactics by organizing consumer boycotts against members of the National Party.

Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk conceded yesterday that some NP members were reluctant to contest the municipal elections because they feared their businesses would be boycotted.

The CP used intimidation tactics and boycotts 'like Cosatu and the UDF' in Schweizer-Reneke.

"How low will you stoop? How low will you stoop to divide the Afrikaner people by using the tactics of these radicals?" he asked.

One CP farmer is reported to have quashed a R40 000 cattle deal by tearing up the cheque because he learnt he had sold to a member of the NP.



*Mc Times 24/3/88*  
**New group  
to 'free' 2014  
Afrikaners**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Freedom Foundation was established this week "to promote the freedom of the Afrikaner nation in statesmanship, and the areas of education and economics".

A statement for the new organization says the founders of the foundation are Mr A J de Beer, Dr W L Grant, Professor J J Henning, Dr C J Jooste, Professor A D Pont, Dr C A Verwoerd and Professor C W H Boshoff, who was elected full-time executive officer.

"The emergency situation in which the Afrikaner nation finds itself today, as a result of the 1983 constitution and the present government policy, directly brought about the establishment of the foundation. Government policy is undeniably aiming at black domination of the entire RSA," said the statement. — Sapa

# Black advancement stressed for white security

Government spokesmen continued to stress the importance of black socio-economic upgrading for white security, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in its social and economic update for the fourth quarter of 1987.

The update, released today, focused on black business, education, energy, health, housing, infrastructure, transport and water.

In an overview, the report noted that Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, had said whites could not enjoy security while 50 to 70 black children had to face an ill-trained teacher, or while two to three families had to sleep in a two-roomed house.

Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer had identified housing, education and health as areas which

needed upgrading if the "revolutionary onslaught" was to be countered.

This commitment, the update said, led to efforts to eliminate backlogs in some areas, particularly education and housing. "Substantial spending on infrastructure in black areas also continues and may increase if regional services councils (RSCs) raise loans to fund township development."

## UNEVEN TRENDS

These trends were uneven though. Electricity and water enjoyed lower priority and black access to adequate health facilities appeared to be declining.

Spending on infrastructure was also uneven. While substantial sums were allocated to townships which experienced

unrest, far less was allocated to others, and less still to rural areas. "And even in the areas accorded priority — education and health — there are still major constraints in eliminating backlogs."

The institute said the size of the backlogs was itself an obvious constraint. "But so too is the Government's continued insistence on racial separation."

There were no signs in the period under review that unused white health and education facilities were being allocated to blacks.

The consequences of segregation most beset Government plans for passenger transport. "The conflicts do not bode well for the Government's attempt to establish an adequate black transport system, which does not put undue pressure on its resources, as long as it pursues

policies which force the black poor to travel long distances to work."

Finance was also a constraint on upgrading. The Government could not directly allocate money needed to substantially reduce backlogs without reducing spending on white social services or cutting back on other priorities, such as security.

## LIMITED IMPACT

Although fairly substantial, spending on black needs so far has had a limited impact, the institute said, and seemingly the Government had found it burdensome.

RSCs were likely to raise loans to fund development, as was the SA Housing Trust to fund low-cost housing. This reduced the major constraint on black housing delivery, the in-

ability of most black people to afford home ownership.

Highlights of the quarter were:

● The first African freehold properties were registered.

● Land allocated for African housing in the PWV area doubled.

● A Bill was published partly deregulating passenger transport and allowing for the transfer of transport subsidies to RSCs.

● The Government published a Bill removing some restrictions on African businessmen in Trust Areas and promised further de-restriction of black business.

● The Government announced it would spend R10 million to relieve overcrowding at Baragwanath Hospital.

● A Bill was published which would bar farmers from using African children as labourers during school hours.

## DELAYS

Changes delayed: deferrals.

● Eskom has not begun implementing its plan to supply electricity to non-electrified black areas.

● Unused white health and educational facilities were not allocated for black use.

● Severe overcrowding was reported in black hospitals. What to watch for.

● Government progress in using money raised through privatisation to fund infrastructure in black areas.

● The announcement of a new housing subsidy formula for low-income earners.

● The release of legislation to remove restriction on black business and the deregulation of industrial areas to promote small black-owned business.



# De Klerk heckled by CP supporters

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk addressed more Conservative Party than NP supporters at a rowdy by-election meeting attended by about 300 people last night in Randfontein.

Nearly 22 000 voters go to the polls in a parliamentary by-election on Tuesday.

About 100 people left the packed town hall an hour after the NP's final campaign meeting had begun, shouting "let's leave, AWB".

Two men were arrested outside the hall and taken to the local police station in vans, but were released after the meeting, the *The Star* was told.

Mr de Klerk and NP candidate Dr Boy Geldenhuys were frequently interrupted by rowdy CP hecklers.

The CP candidate is Dr Corné Mulder, youngest son of MP Dr Connie Mulder who died last year.

After the walk-out — several CP supporters remained in the hall — Mr de Klerk spelt out the Government's reform plans, saying the NP was the only party in South Africa with a workable political solution.

He said the NP would protect the established rights of the white population while extending just and Christian rights to all other groups through negotiation.

The NP had to create a balance of power which ensured that no group was dominated by another.

A political solution was to be found in both the division and the sharing of power. The Government had succeeded in granting powers on own affairs to many blacks through its homeland policy, while coloureds and Indians could exercise power on own affairs through the tricameral parliamentary system.

Mr de Klerk said the constitution would not be changed to accommodate blacks "on the highest political level" without white permission by means of a referendum.

Referring to the Government's policy on the Group Areas Act, he said separate areas were "not always practical".

Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

# AWB's Star. meeting banned

304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe

An outdoor Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) meeting scheduled to be held in Randfontein tonight has been prohibited under the Internal Security Act.

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said last night that plans for an indoor meeting were going ahead.

Randfontein chief magistrate Mr P S McLeod said he had declined permission under Article 46 (3) of the Internal Security Law No 74 of 1982 for an AWB meeting to be held at the H F Verwoerd Stadium tonight.

Rowdy AWB and Conservative Party supporters last night staged a walkout at a National Party meeting addressed by Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Two men were arrested outside the Randfontein town hall but were later released. Voters go to the polls in Randfontein on Tuesday in a parliamentary by-election.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).



# Activist detained at protest meeting

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Dr Nthato Motlana and Dr Nico Smith.

About 300 people attended a "defend our freedoms" meeting in Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church yesterday when Mr Gavin Evans, a former executive member of the End Conscription Campaign and now an executive member of the Five Freedoms Forum, was detained by police outside the hall.

Colleagues said he was released after a few hours.

Thirty organisations, including the Progressive Federal Party, the Black Sash, and various church denominations, shared the Five Freedoms Forum platform with speakers Dr Zac de Beer,

A motion calling on the Government to lift the restrictions on democratic extra-parliamentary organisations and the three-month suspension of *New Nation* was unanimously accepted.

Mamelodi resident Dr Smith, a minister of the Ned Geref Church (Africa), said South Africa had become a country of tragedies in which its people were alienated from each other.

He criticised the churches for allowing apartheid to divide them.

Anglo American executive director and prominent PFP member Dr de Beer called for the total abolition of apartheid in the interest of the business community and the economy.

Dr Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, said it was ironic that the same Government fighting off international sanctions imposed sanctions against "its very own people".

Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Representation slashed from 24 to 19

# Leaderless PFP faces up to harsh reality in Johannesburg city council

By Shirley Woodgate,  
Municipal Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg city council heads for the October municipal elections leaderless, divided and with its representation slashed from a peak of 24 councillors in May last year to the present 19.

This is the reality facing the party after yesterday's resignation of its leader in the council, Mr Sam Moss, and Professor Harold Rudolph — both claiming publicly that they were opposed to party politics dominating the local government scene.

It is being said that while all PFP councillors support the principles of the party, the root cause of the deep division is differences in political "style".

This is highlighted by the contrast between the "negotiation politics" of the Old Guard and the "confrontational politics" of the Young Turks.

The latter — headed by Mr Tony Leon, who rose quickly to prominence in PFP ranks and in the debating chamber after his election only two years ago — have ruthlessly attacked the ruling National Party/Independent Ratepayers' Association in the council chamber and in the courts.

## Won three court cases

The PFP has won three court cases involving by-elections.

The aggressive, new-style debating on mainly political issues has been described by Mr Moss as "going for the jugular".

Mr Leon is one of the few PFP councillors who has the undivided attention of the ruling coalition — but in a veiled reference to Mr Leon's ruthless approach, Professor Rudolph yesterday mentioned "sterile" party political debate at local government level.

It is not the PFP policies that are at stake, but leadership style, and all eyes will now be on the race to determine who takes over the hot seat — and then on whether or not the new leader will be capable of papering over the cracks that divide the groups within the party caucus.

With Mr Moss now on the independent benches

after leading the party for 10 years, the front runners in the leadership stakes in Johannesburg are believed to be Mr Leon, backed by at least eight Young Turks, Mr Max Nepe and Mr Les Disher — acting on a caretaker basis until the October elections when Transvaal regional chairman Mr Douglas Gibson could emerge as the strong man acceptable to both groups.

Top PFP sources say the party may win only 12 or 15 seats in October.

## 'Excess of politics' triggered resignations

Municipal Reporter

Mr Sam Moss and Professor Harold Rudolph, who between them have 45 years' service as Johannesburg city councillors, said at a press conference yesterday that their resignations had been motivated by an excess of politics in the council which was detrimental to good local government.

Professor Rudolph said: "The real issues such as roads, houses and planning for the population influx which will see 65 percent of the people of South Africa living in the urban areas by the turn of the century, are ignored while political points are being scored in debate."

Mr Tony Leon, deputy Progressive Federal Party (PFP) caucus chairman, denied there was a rift in the party. He said he would continue to fight to return democracy to Johannesburg and for his political beliefs — "the same beliefs that Mr Moss stood for when he was elected to council."

Mr Douglas Gibson, PFP Transvaal chairman, said the two men would not be asked to resign because the October elections were close, "when the voters will have an opportunity of having their say."

He said the reality was that the Government had decided there would be more, not less politics in local government and he was convinced they were "swimming against the tide."

The National Party (NP) in the Johannesburg City Council has claimed that the resignation of the two prominent PFP councillors "was no surprise" and that it was the direct result of the "radicals" in the PFP caucus.

YOUNG TURKS	OLD GUARD	UNCOMMITTED
LES DISHER	TONY LEON	PAUL ASHERSON
ELLIOT KRETZMER	DOON WALTON	DAVID NEPE
GEORGE SIMPSON	CLAIRE QUAIL	IAN DAVIDSON
ISSY SCHLAPROBENSKY	RAY GRAHAM	CECIL BASS
BEWTON THOMPSON		
LACOU STANTON		
ALLAN GADD		

MAY 1987: ROGERS WINS AUSTRALIA

JUNE 1987: STARK DEFECTS TO THE INDEPENDENTS

AUGUST 1987: SCHOEMAN DEFECTS TO NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

MARCH 1988: MOSS AND RUDOLF DEFECT TO THE INDEPENDENTS

The tale of the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg City Council is spelt out since its high last May when Mr Pat Rogers won "The Parks". With the defection of Mr Sam Moss, the leadership stakes will be thrashed out between the "Old Guard", the "Young Turks" and the vital "uncommitted" group numbering at least five councillors.

Commenting on yesterday's resignations, NP leader Mr Danie van Zyl said: "Mr Moss's caucus has made life difficult for him for the past two or three years."

"He displayed courage in tolerating the radical element but finally gave up trying to convince the radicals that they were killing off the PFP in Johannesburg through their left-wing activities."

"It has been a political holiday for the NP watching the PFP being torn apart by its internal wrangling," he said.

Mr Fred Randle, Conservative Party (CP) chairman in Johannesburg, said the resignations showed there was no future in white politics for the PFP. He said the party was being guided

by its radicals who were aligning the party with black politics.

"The PFP's shift to the left, which was proved by the resignations, will enhance the CP's chances in the October elections as more and more voters realise that their only hope is to return to the grassroots policies of the CP."

Johannesburg NP chairman Mr Pk Botha said: "I think the two gentlemen have acted very responsibly over a long period of time in the interests of Johannesburg."

"They have put our premier city's and South Africa's interests above narrow party political interests."



# Battle for Jo'burg PFP leadership

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE PFP leadership struggle between "Young Turks" and the Old Guard in the Johannesburg city council has been blown into the open, after the resignation yesterday of two senior PFP councillors.

There is division among PFP councillors on whether the party should have a long-term younger leader now, or opt for a "caretaker" leader until after the October elections.

Those in the running for leadership are: Transvaal leader Douglas Gibson, who is a likely election candidate for the Upper Houghton ward; councillors Tony Leon and Ian Davidson; PFP caucus chairman Les Dishy; and 71-year-old Max Neppe.

Most declined to comment. Gibson said he was not yet a councillor and would not pre-empt the issue, Leon said he was "thinking about it" and Dishy said he would be available to fill the role of acting leader, if he was asked to do so.

PFP leader in council Sam Moss and Harold Rudolph yesterday announced their shock resignations at a Press conference — well attended by NP councillors — and said they would stand as independents in the October municipal election, even if it meant opposing PFP candidates.

Gibson indicated the two would be opposed by PFP candidates.

At least two other councillors are expected to consider resigning from the PFP. Alan Gadd is understood not to be available for re-election. Others may take the same decision, should they lose nomination contests beginning at the weekend.

Moss voiced dissatisfaction at the in-

● To Page 2 ➡

## PFP leadership struggle in Jo'burg council

creasingly restrictive role of party politics in local government. But he also pointed to discontent with the political style of the Young Turks in the council and with central party leadership interference.

He did not, however, renounce PFP policy.

PFP leader Colin Eglin yesterday acknowledged "the question of jostling for position within the council" had been a factor in Moss's decision and that there was a Young Turk faction among PFP councillors.

Eglin had tried to intervene late on Wednesday night in a telephone call to Moss, who told him he regretted having to resign, but it was irrevocable.

Eglin said he was not aware of any interference in council affairs by Cape Town. Moss, as leader in the council, had

"never felt it sufficiently important to raise this with me", Eglin said.

PFP members said the jostling for party leadership in the council had started before last May, when Moss entered into a nomination contest with Marius Barnard for parliamentary candidature.

Moss is believed to have been at loggerheads with the ratepayers' association in his area ever since. PFP regional chairman Gary Cooney said Moss had come to be regarded as a weak and "unacceptable leader" to most PFP councillors.

A mini-caucus meeting was held last night to discuss the issue of leadership, but because there was not a full caucus, decisions are likely to be made only at a Monday meeting of the full caucus.

◀ ● From Page 1

25/3/88

# Clergy embrace violence — PW

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha yesterday accused the Rev Frank Chikane, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other unnamed churchmen of "embracing and participating" in calls by the ANC and SACP for violence, insurrection and revolution.

Botha's attack — in a letter to the SA Council of Churches general secretary Chikane — also submits the churchmen love and praise the ANC/SACP with its Marxist and atheistic ideology, landmines, bombs and necklaces, perpetuat-

25/3/88  
Political Staff  
ing the most horrendous atrocities imaginable.

Botha noted that despite "a frenzy of rumour and expectation" regarding possible government action against certain clergy members, he saw no reason for this "unless they take part in subversive and revolutionary activities."

Botha's letter was in response to an earlier letter from Chikane.



D/D 25/3/88

# Worrall launches party (30413) in Natal

DURBAN — The leader of the newly-formed Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said here last night at the Natal launch of the IP that he had "a vision — a vision of a new South Africa".

He said the "vision of the IP was a vision shared by millions of South Africans of all population groups, and in many parties — including the NP".

"The vision of a new South Africa will be non-racial, democratic and free-market," he said.

"That is what the Independent Party stands for and we will pursue its realisation in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics."

He said the IP was not an end in itself. It was part of a process.

He called on all past and present members of the New Republic Party — which is expected to be given the last rites this weekend — to join the Independent Party.  
— Sapa

AI  
ROVED  
EL  
99

1728/3/88

# PFP councillors bow out of leadership struggle (304A)

JOHANNESBURG —

The PFP leadership struggle between "Young Turks" and the Old Guard in the Johannesburg city council has been blown into the open after the resignation yesterday of two senior PFP councillors.

PFP leaders in the council, Mr Sam Moss and Mr Harold Rudolph, announced their shock resignations at a press conference yesterday and said they would stand as independents in the October municipal election even if it meant opposing PFP candidates.

The PFP Transvaal leader, Mr Douglas Gibson, indicated the two would be opposed.

At least two other councillors are ex-

pected to consider resigning from the PFP.

Mr Alan Gadd, for one, is understood not to be available for re-election. Others may take the same decision should they lose nomination contests beginning at the weekend.

Mr Moss voiced dissatisfaction at the increasingly restrictive role of party politics in local government. But he also pointed to discontent with the political style of the Young Turks in the council and with central party leadership interference.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday acknowledged "the question of jostling for position within the council" had been a factor in Mr

Moss's decision and that there was a Young Turk faction among PFP councillors.

Mr Eglin had tried to intervene late on Wednesday night in a telephone call to Mr Moss, who told him he regretted having to resign but it was irrevocable.

Mr Eglin said he was not aware of any interference in council affairs by Cape Town.

Mr Moss, as leader in the council, had "never felt it sufficiently important to raise this with me", Mr Eglin said.

The PFP regional chairman, Mr Gary Cooney, said Mr Moss had come to be regarded as a weak and "unacceptable leader" to most PFP councillors. — DDC



3044

WEEKLY MAIL, March 25 to March 30, 1988

5

OVER 600 000 white voters show consistent support for the ideal of a non-racial democracy, delegates to a Five Freedoms Forum initiative conference in Pietermaritzburg were told at the weekend.

Dr Janine Hofmeyer of the National Democratic Movement presented a detailed statistical breakdown of opinion polls and voting patterns in the last three white elections, showing that opposition from the left of the government had remained consistent at above 22 percent. On some issues, he said, such as the repeal of the Group Areas Act, this figure had risen to over 40 percent.

Hofmeyer, who until last week was a member of the PFP Federal Council, said the main problem was the fragmentation of this opposition.

"This 22 percent translates into over 600 000 voters — which is a powerful constituency," he said.

"What we have not yet discovered is how to mobilise it. My belief is that protest politics is not the way to go. We need more creative ideas."

How to translate that 22 percent into effective and unified opposition to apartheid was an ongoing theme of the two-day gathering.

Entitled "Towards democracy — Pietermaritzburg in a changing society", the conference was attended by about 200 delegates and 200 observers. Its aim, according to its convener, Dr Johan Krynauw, was to concentrate nationally and locally on finding answers to "a peaceful, secure and just future for our children — from whom we are so artificially separated".

A sombre tone was set on the opening night by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who said negotiations for a non-racial future were not around the corner and the level of repression would continue to increase.

"The extreme right holds that it is impossible for South Africa to become one nation. The government adheres to the principle of multi-racialism, while the majority view is of a non-racial society."

"In the long run, the last view will win. The reality is that it will be impossible for a white minority to retain power indefinitely," he said.

A more optimistic view of the prospect of negotiations in the short term was expressed by PFP Natal leader Roger Burroughs: "Developments within the cabinet show a number of people favour negotiations at a na-

## 600 000 votes for true democracy The problem is how to harness them

Weekly Mail Reporter

tional level, though at the moment the hawks are still winning the day."

Five Freedoms Forum representative Dr David Webster said a stalemate situation prevailed where the government held the monopoly of power, primarily through force and coercion, but had failed to win more than minority support.

Although genuine negotiations were unlikely in the next five years, he said, increased international pressure, escalating African National Congress action and new forms of internal resistance would eventually push the government to the negotiating table.

"In this current stalemate whites have a crucial role to play. We need bold organisation, and we need to

build bridges between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition."

Slabbert said whites needed to find new, constituency-based ways of working for change.

"The key question is this: When the white minority goes, what sort of non-racial South Africa do we want? What kind of government, what kind of press, what kind of universities and courts?"

"These questions can only be resolved by getting involved now."

Stressing the need for ongoing, participatory politics, NDM MP Pierre Cronje of Greytown said the

process of transformation needed to start immediately.

"We don't need to wait until we get into power, and we don't want to sit back and polish our liberal values and put them on the mantelpiece."

"In the past the parliamentary opposition tended to sit on the sidelines and either cheer or boo. We can't afford this approach any longer — we need to address people in terms of their needs and desires," he said.

But he warned against trying to force the "22 percent" into joining the democratic movement. "The effect of this would be to remove them from any access to the other 78 percent."

Johannesburg business consultant Christo Nel said the vision for the po-

tential of working in the white community needed to be broadened. He cited examples of how, after a series of meetings with township youth in Pretoria, a group of Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging youth had embraced the need for a non-racial future.

Cautioning against "preaching at" whites, he said more use needed to be made of existing structures such as Rotary clubs.

Representatives of the Natal Indaba, due to address the conference on "The regional option", withdrew at the last moment, charging the conference was "one-sided" because no Inkatha speakers were represented.

Responding to this allegation, Krynauw said because the conference was not seen as a "mediation exercise" it had been decided not to invite members of Inkatha or the UDF in their official capacities, though supporters of both groups participated as individuals.

# Why is Graca considered to be a wine of



FM 25/3/88

The announcement said that until De Swardt takes over, Wepener will devote his time to other editorial matters. Inside sources say he could be asked to keep an eye on the group's struggling Sunday paper *Rapport* (which is partly owned by Perskor). Wepener is certainly a candidate for the position of chairman of either *Rapport* or *Naspers*. ■

## THE FUTURE

### Scenario game

304A

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA's Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert emerged in Johannesburg last week to make his contribution to the local growth industry (his words) of scenario building. The scenario sketched by the former official Opposition leader involves three competing processes of nation building:

- ☐ The view of the Right that there cannot be a nation state;
- ☐ Government's view which assumes the possibility of a nation state, but only on the basis of a multi-racial accommodation; and
- ☐ That of the non-racial state which doesn't deny racial and cultural differences, but denies that they can be used as a basis for constitutional definition.

The State is currently in the middle where movement one or other way angers the other



Van Zyl Slabbert ...  
three cornerstones

pole, says Slabbert. He believes that the major casualty of the current squabble on the Right of the white political spectrum has been accountable government — even more so than the “mauling” taken by the press and the courts. “Increasingly one becomes more and more dependent on less information.” — He notes the inevitability of a non-racial future in SA. This is a function of three factors:

- ☐ Demographic considerations whereby increasingly more blacks are being born who believe in a non-racial society;

- FM 25/3/88
- ☐ Increasing urbanisation which is a force for a non-racial society; and
  - ☐ The loss of control by the State over certain functions like education, housing and civic administration.

The government is now caught in a cleft stick. Increased co-option will inevitably involve co-opting more of its opponents, while the alternative is a loosening of the reins which implies more space for people to play a positive role.

The cornerstones which Slabbert thinks should be put in place for a future democratic SA are:

- ☐ The value of democratically accountable government;
- ☐ The value of freedom of individual enterprise in the economy; and
- ☐ The value of freedom of association in the social sphere.

While the debate on the Right plays itself out, those wishing to promote these values are involved in “damage control,” says Slabbert.

He emphasises the need to keep the democratic ideal alive, particularly in extra-parliamentary circles, where the machinations of the tricameral system have done so much to discredit it. The ascendancy of the National Security Management System and the “securocrats” have also diminished the area of accountability.

Likewise there is a need to show, to a sceptical work force, that reliance on individ-



PIETER AND CORNÉ MULDER

# That haunting feeling



Pieter and Corné Mulder ... from family to political hydra

When the Randfontein constituency goes to the polls on Tuesday, Connie Mulder's youngest son Corné is likely to fill his father's seat in parliament as Conservative Party (CP) MP (See *Currents*).

The prospect of Corné sitting alongside brother Pieter, newly elected Schweizer-Reneke CP MP, conjures up an image of the Mulder family as the hydra of rightwing South African politics.

It is an image reinforced by all the little Connies waiting in the wings — the sons of all three of Mulder's sons. To avoid confusion in the family, they are actually enumerated: Primus, Secundus, Tertius, Quartus and Quintus.

The family is certainly dynastic. There is eldest brother Pieter (37) and Corné (29), "our rich brother" De Wet who is assiduously carving a niche in the business world and a sister who lives and teaches in Pretoria.

Both Pieter and Corné have academic leanings and doctorates to prove it: Pieter in communications and Corné in constitutional law. Pieter resigned his post as professor of communications at Potchefstroom University to stand for parliament. Corné completed his B Juris, LLB and LLD degrees in seven years, was admitted as an attorney in 1987 and has recently been working as a company legal adviser.

But academia notwithstanding, politics remains a tradition. Great-grandfather was in the Volksraad of Paul Kruger; grandfather was a member of the provincial council.

Both Pieter and Corné cut their political teeth as CP candidates in the last general election. Pieter debuted in Potchestroom, where he reduced Louis Le Grange's margin from 4 000 to 500. Corné ran in Gezina, "a safe Nat seat."

Now they're back, riding the crest of the right-wing wave and as closeknit as ever. That is also a family tradition. Following the Information saga in the Seventies, their "disgraced" father was shunned by former colleagues. "When something like that happens," says Corné "you realise that you only have your family."

There is an uncanny similarity between the two brothers. Both are heirs to their father's conservative views. Both, though shorter than their father, are already marked with the beginnings of the rubbery Mulder features. Both, like their father, can't speak without constantly punctuating the air with their hands.

Even when interviewed separately, they echo each other on political and family matters. And to complete the twinship, both have studied abroad and both married teachers.

The sons certainly seem obsessed with their father. Connie was in the prime of his career when Corné was an adolescent — Pieter was already away from home when his father became a Cabinet minister in 1968.

Says Corné about those years: "I didn't really have a father. This was the time of detente, with my father travelling in Africa. I was at boarding school and sometimes the first I would know of his travels would be on the radio."

Clearly they both admire him and the events that shattered his life have infused theirs — as evidenced by their chosen doctoral topics.

Pieter's was "Functions of the South African Information Service" and he has retained his interest in selling the image of SA (and the CP) by chairing the CP's communications committee in the Transvaal.

Corné tackled "A Constitutional Analysis

of the South African State President's Office" or, as he says, "Connie Mulder's son on P W Botha's job."

Corné believes that if his father had become PM, the CP would not exist today. Connie was to the right of Vorster, he says, and, although "a split in the NP was inevitable, it would have been to the left."

Tapes owned by Pieter provide a fascinating insight into the internal political machinations of the NP that ousted Connie and brought P W Botha to power — what the family calls "P W's coup d'etat."

Says Corné: "Although he did not literally kill my father, it meant his political and social death." Says Pieter: "He was more clever than we were."

Discussion on CP policy centres round academic research by the brothers of places where power sharing has failed. Both believe that power sharing is the way to a bloodbath, which they hope will be prevented by the CP.

Both are adamant that they do not want to be labelled the CP crown princelings. "Look what happened to our father," they say. "He was Crown Prince for 10 years. He was six votes away from achieving the highest political office in the country. Then, within two months, he was forced to resign from the Cabinet and was expelled from the party."

Neither will they be drawn on any long-term political ambitions. Nor on what would happen if, in a few years, they found themselves competing for the same title.

Could they ever imagine a time of *broedertwis*? "I doubt it," says Pieter. "I hope not," he quickly adds. But in his own words: "Politics is unpredictable."

And never more so than when the children of Connie Mulder prowl the corridors of power like the twin ghosts of Banquo. ■

# Top PFP councillors quit party

*CAPE TOWN 25/3/88*  
*306A*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two senior PFP city councillors resigned from the party last night.

Mr Sam Moss, who was the PFP leader in the council, and Mr Harold Rudolph announced their resignations at a press conference well attended by National Party councillors.

Their surprise move has blown open the struggle between the PFP Young Turks and the Old Guard in Johannesburg City Council.

Mr Moss and Mr Rudolph announced that they would stand as independents in the October municipal election even if it meant opposing PFP candidates.

At least two other councillors are expected to consider resigning from the PFP. Mr Alan Gadd is understood not to be available for re-election and others may take the same decision should they lose nomination contests beginning this weekend.

Mr Moss voiced dissatisfaction at the increasingly restrictive role of party politics in local government. But he also pointed to discontent with the political style of the Young Turks in the council and with central party leadership interference.

He did not, however, renounce PFP policy.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin yesterday acknowledged that "the question of jostling for position within the council" had been a factor in Mr Moss's decision and that there was a Young Turk faction among PFP councillors.

Mr Eglin had tried to intervene late on Wednesday night in a telephone call to Mr Moss, who told him he regretted having to resign but it was irrevocable.

Mr Eglin said he was not aware of any interference in council affairs by Cape Town. Mr Moss as leader in the council had "never felt it sufficiently important to raise this with me", Mr Eglin said.

PFP members said the jostling for party leadership in the council had started before last May's elections.



Govt will go says AWB chief

JOHANNESBURG — The people no longer wanted the government and would get rid of it, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, said at a meeting in the Krugersdorp town hall last night.

2 000 people packed the hall following a ban

on an open air AWB meeting under the Terrorism Act.

Mr Terre-Blanche vociferously attacked the government, particularly the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. He said the police force was already understaffed while AWB members were being

forced to resign.

The government was not strong enough to rout the ANC and because of this had turned the AWB into the enemy.

He condemned plans to ban the AWB's Nazi-like insignia, worn by many in his audience. — DDC



# THE PARTY

JOHN PATTEN looks at the future of centrist politics after

*Tr's fall apart; the centre cannot hold;  
The anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere  
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
The best lack all conviction, while the worst  
Are full of passionate intensity.*

The Second Coming, W B Yeats

**T**he direct descendant of the great party formed by General Louis Botha and General Jan Smuts at Union is on its death bed this weekend.

The NRP, the last remnants of the South African Party and its successor the United Party — with between them held power in the country for 28 years (from 1910 to 1924 and again from 1934 to 1948) — is going into dissolution at a special congress at Scottburgh today.

Members must find another way of exercising the political rights. The newly founded Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall is hoping to pick up some of the pieces and to rise Phoenix-like from the ashes, but talk of NRP membership has shown it has already joined the National Party, although a smaller splinter the support behind the PFP.

Revive the SAP-UP-NRP cause under a new guise is an almost impossible task. The South Africa the NRP is leaving is vastly different from the country its antecedents ruled in their heyday.

Demise is partly due to ruthless political tactics used by the National Party leadership in the mid-1970s, but also to the changing relevance of white politics in the overall South African scene, and because the centre of the white political spectrum did not hold, but gave way to a polarisation in white opinion.

As polarisation was subsequently followed by an increasing polarisation of majority white and black opinion as the values of moderation were beginning to be appreciated by some leaders in the National Party, who shamelessly usurped policy from the UP.

**N**ow the question is much more whether the Nationalists can hold the centre in the country's politics in the new crisis caused by the widening gulf between white and black, than whether a new moderate (white terms) party can rebuild a future for itself in the fractured political ground to the left of the Government. There must even be doubt whether the centre ground in white politics is desirable ground to hold.

Already the PFP has launched into seeking another bit of middle ground — a middle ground spanning the racial groups — but there can be little doubt that is no going to be hard ground to plough.

The SAP and United Party had some great men in their ranks, of whom General Jan Smuts was the greatest intellect and the most far-sighted statesman, and of whom General Louis Botha was the leader whose style was closest to the people.

Both instilled the spirit of Afrikaner-English goodwill into the party to build a greater South Africanism. Out of the bitterness of the South African War they promoted reconciliation and nurtured partnership.

The policy had a brief flowering after Fusion in the 1930s, but controversial ties with Britain again destroyed their goal when the party broke over the issue of participation or neutrality in the Second World War.

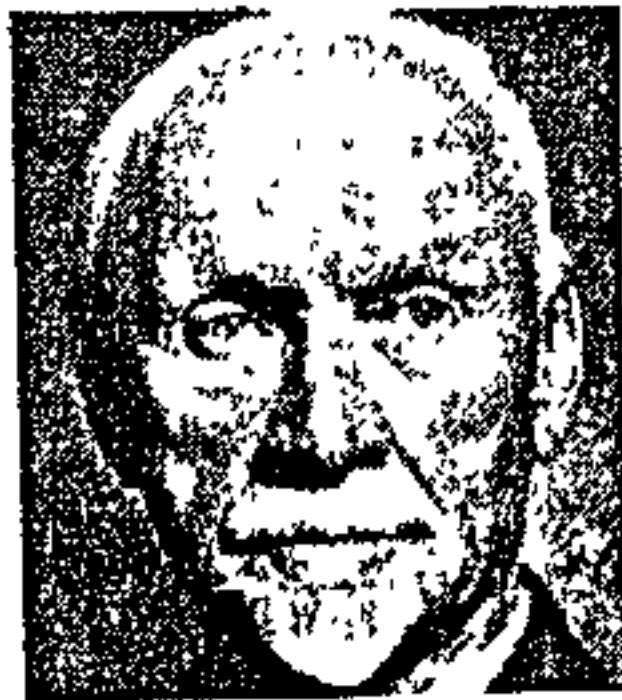
In any case that period of harmony was bound to suffer under the stresses of the new politics of South Africa in which it was no longer possible to ignore black demands and activities in the political sphere.

**A** split on conservative-liberal lines was inevitable, and because of their backgrounds, the bulk of English-speakers and Afrikaners again found themselves on opposing sides.

Another United Party great, Jan Hofmeyr, was the standard-bearer of liberalism. His opposition to the removal of Cape blacks from the common voters' roll in 1936 was a warning of things to come.

Many believe Hofmeyr's liberalism was the cause of

## THE FOUNDERS



GENERAL SMUTS: great intellect and statesman.



GENERAL BOTHA: style was close to the people.

## GEN. SMUTS CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS

### IMPORTANT STATEMENT THIS AFTERNOON

NO REASON FOR DISCOURAGEMENT IN WHAT HAS HAPPENED

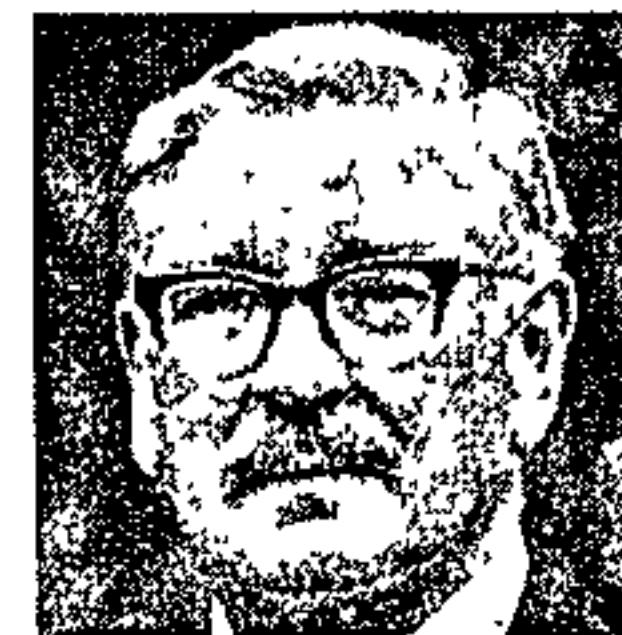
MAY PROVE A BLESSING IN DISGUISE

"I BELIEVE A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS VERY NEAR"

HEADLINES: from January 14 1933.

*I am naturally disappointed to learn that the centre party has failed. But my mind is not on the matter, and I shall wait for the formation of a government on broad lines. I want to have order, the kind of order that is the basis of the new South Africa.*

## THE LEADERS



SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF: man of high integrity.



THEO GERDENER: joined UP to form NRP.



DOUGLAS MITCHELL: held Natal for UP.



JAN HOFMEYR: the essence of liberalism.



UP as

## THE DESTROYERS



JOEL MERVIN: led assault on the Old Guard.



HARRY SCHWARZ: helped split the UP.

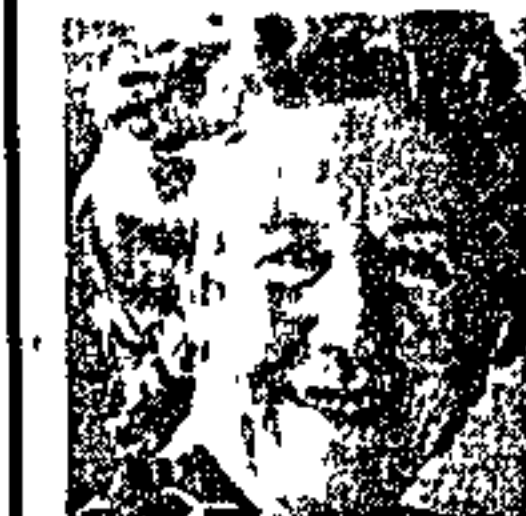


DANIEL MALAN: used 'swart gevaar'.



HANS STRIJDOM: loved Malan's

## THE BREAKAWAYS



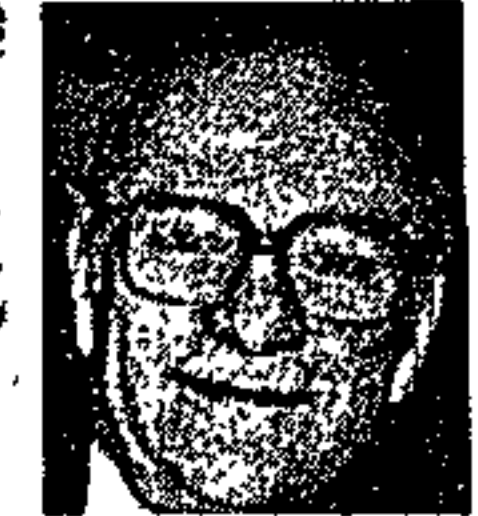
HELEN SUZMAN: split in 1959.



COLIN EGLIN: one of UP's ablest.



DR ZAC DE BEER: left in despair.



MARAI STEYN: NP MP.



JOHN NP

?

Smuts's downfall in 1948, but it was the influx of black workseekers into the urban areas in the post-war industrial explosion that aroused Afrikaner fears of being swamped — fears expertly exploited by Nationalist leaders Daniel Malan and Hans Strijdom.

Apartheid was a creed that promised white survival by keeping blacks out of the laager, while UP gradualist integration policies were perceived as the road to doom. The UP's strong commitment to the British Commonwealth also became a liability as the outside world stepped up its criticism of white South Africa and the Commonwealth itself took on a darker complexion.

Gradualism was also the cause of despair on the



UP's left wing, and the break of the Progressives from the party in 1959 was a bitter blow that lost the official Opposition some of its ablest spokesmen, including Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Harry Lawrence and Dr Zac de Beer.

The big men of the party after that were Sir de Vil-



# STY'S OVER

of centrist politics after the demise of the NRP today.

## SMUTS CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS

### IMPORTANT STATEMENT THIS AFTERNOON

NO REASON FOR DISCOURAGEMENT IN THAT HAS HAPPENED

MAY PROVE A BLESSING IN DISGUISE

TO HAVE A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS VERY NEAR

HEADLINES: from January 14 1933.

I am naturally disappointed that for the moment the coalition negotiations have failed. But my standpoint remains unaltered, and I shall continue to work for the formation of a national government on broad lines. I don't want to blame anyone, but the fact is that the present negotiations may have no fair chance and the result might have been almost anticipated. It was only after the public meeting of Mr Roos that...

EXCERPT: from General Smut's statement to author Benjamin Bennett. It reads: I am naturally disappointed that for the moment the coalition negotiations have failed. But my standpoint remains unaltered, and I shall continue to work for the formation of a national government on broad lines. I don't want to blame anyone, but the fact is that the present negotiations may have no fair chance and the result might have been almost anticipated. It was only after the public meeting of Mr Roos that...

## DEBATES



DOUGLAS MITCHELL: held Natal for UP.

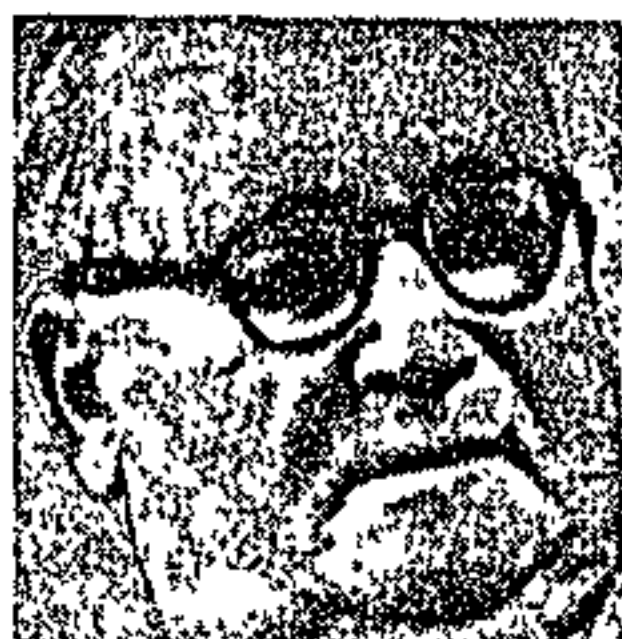


JAN HOFMEYR: the essence of liberalism.



UP DESTROYED: Sir de Villiers Graaff was regarded as too gentlemanly for the cut and thrust of politics.

## THE EXPLOITERS



DANIEL MALAN: used 'swart gevaar'.



HANS STRIJDOM: followed Malan's tactic.



JOHN VORSTER: dealt the death blow.

## THE DESERTERS



MARAIS STEYN: NP MP.



JOHN WILEY: NP MP.



MYBURGH STREICHER: new SAP.



BILL HORAK: saw the end.

?

PFP



Independents

NP

UP's left wing, and the break of the Progressives from the party in 1959 was a bitter blow that lost the official opposition some of its ablest spokesmen, including Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Harry Lawrence Dr Zac de Beer.

The big men of the party after that were Sir de Vil-

liers Graaff, Mr Marais Steyn and party stalwart Mr Douglas Mitchell — all men in the moderate English-Afrikaner tradition, but pragmatic and rather conservative on racial issues.

Graaff was a man of high integrity, often regarded as too gentlemanly for the ruthless cut and thrust of politics. He saw the party destroyed under his leadership.

Steyn was the silver-tongued orator, the election whizz who defeated Dr Verwoerd at Alberton in 1948 and recaptured the Vereeniging seat from Blaas Coetzee in 1953. Mitchell, that great political fighter, kept control of Natal in UP hands to the end.

Though the party lost ground steadily from 1948 to

1970, it suddenly gained new life when it won back nine seats in the 1970 elections. It was a gain that produced its own loss.

The party began to self-destruct as rival factions argued the merits of gradualism in reform (to take white opinion with them) against the need to speed up reform to cut off black extremism.

The assault on the Old Guard, led by *Sunday Times* editor Mr Joel Mervin and Transvaal provincial council leader Mr Harry Schwarz, had the party split irretrievably. But it was Nationalist Prime Minister Mr John Vorster who delivered the final death blows.

He used the Schlebusch Report findings on certain organisations (which had also been signed by UP members) as justification for repressive action which shocked UP supporters' civil rights sensibilities. This had the effect of so compromising certain UP MPs that they lost their seats to a revived Progressive Party.

The break had come.

Marais Steyn joined the Nationalists. John Wiley and Myburgh Streicher started a new SAP and later joined the Nationalists, Mr Harry Schwarz and the Young Turks formed the Reform Party and later merged with the PFP after Mr Vorster played his next master stroke.

As the UP dissolved to form the NRP with the Democratic Party splinter group led by Mr Theo Gerdener, and the Progressives and Reformists merged to form the PFP, Mr Vorster caught them unprepared by calling the snap 1977 general election, and trounced them both.

At the NRP's inaugural congress, held at the Carlton Centre ice rink in Johannesburg, Mr Gerdener lifted his gaze from the path across the ice to the podium as he acknowledged cheers from the crowd, missed his footing and fell on his back on the ice.

It was a slip that symbolised the NRP's tactical misreading of the situation, in which the change of name was the last straw. After that the party suffered one humiliation after another at the polls.

Its death has come as a merciful release. For a time its continued control of the Natal power base acted as a life support system, but when that control was wrested from it at the elections last year, the last plug had been pulled.

Its best policies have been stolen by the Nationalists, it has only one MP in Parliament, its viability has evaporated, and last year's elections showed that most of its supporters had already deserted to the Nationalists, leaving an empty shell.

At its death, the NRP will hardly be missed. Political attention is already heavily concentrated in two other areas — the Government's confrontation with radical black forces seeking to take power from it (if necessary by force or by forcing capitulation), and the Nationalists' struggle to keep power out of reactionary hands by turning back the Conservative Party tide.

The centre of white politics did not hold, and therefore the UP could not survive.

Graaff's lieutenant, Senator Bill Horak, privately confessed long before the party's demise that the UP could not be saved. He later joined the Nationalists and, sadly, eventually committed suicide.

But the day of the centre will not always be dead. The extremes of politics eventually prove so unacceptable that the electorate is pulled back from the edges.

What will have to be accepted is that the centre has moved into multi-racial politics. When the centre eventually revives, it will gain its strength across the colour lines, just as Botha and Smuts built their strength across the Afrikaner-English divide.

Perhaps, nostalgically, but not in any belief that the clock should be turned back, South Africans could pay a final tribute to the SAP/UP colossus as it comes to the end of the line. Perhaps we could recall Shakespeare's words in the mouth of Mark Antony on the death of Julius Caesar:

O mighty Caesar, dost thou lie so low?  
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,  
Shrunk to this little measure? Fare thee well.

CAPE TOWN 26/3/88  
2 000 attend

(30 KA)  
**AWB meeting**

JOHANNESBURG. —

The people no longer wanted the government and would get rid of it, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, told an audience of 2 000 at a meeting in the Krugersdorp town hall last night.

The town hall and adjacent function rooms were packed following a ban under a section of the Terrorism Act on an outdoor meeting due to be held in Randfontein last night. The new venue was acquired at short notice. — Sapa



# Eglin on way out?

(304A) 27/3/88 5/17

## Deep rifts could see activists shatter the PFP

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE DEEP rifts tearing the PFP apart may lead to the toppling of leader Colin Eglin later this year, top party members say.

They say deepening divisions in the PFP and dissatisfaction with its leadership clique could lead to Mr Eglin opting out of the leadership stakes when the party meets for its two-yearly federal congress in August.

Mr Eglin may choose this course of action to avoid the possible second loss of the leadership in his controversy-ridden career.

Such a move could split the PFP as Mr Eglin has a strong element of support within it. Party stalwarts such as Mrs Helen Suzman and others would be forced to choose sides. Two manifestations of the tensions racking the party appeared this week.

Mr Sam Moss, a former Johannesburg mayor and PFP leader in the city council, and another former mayor, Professor Harold Rudolph, were forced out of the party by young PFP activists.

After an acrimonious meeting in Cape Town, the western Cape wing of the PFP decided not to fight October's municipal elections under the party banner.

### Denied

Mr Eglin denied this week he was considering stepping down and defended the apparent variance in party tactics for the October elections.

He said, "We recognise the elections as important and want to use them positively to get as many liberal-minded, nonracial people into local councils as possible."

"How best to achieve this will be decided by the regions in the light of circumstances in each area."

The storm in Johannesburg council PFP ranks and the party's inability to define a unified strategy on the elections reflect a



FORCED OUT BY ACTIVISTS ... Professor Harold Rudolf and Mr Sam Moss



COLIN EGLIN  
The pressure is on

struggle between the party's purists and its pragmatists — the struggle reaches to the top echelons of the PFP in Parliament.

The pragmatists believe the PFP's goal should be to create a united opposition which could position itself to be an effective challenge to the NP government.

They accept that unifying opposition to the left of the Government may entail

abandoning the PFP identity in blending with other, like-minded forces — and going for power entails adapting the party's liberal principles to suit white voting realities.

This group says the party old guard, headed by Mr Eglin and Mrs Helen Suzman, "lack the necessary enthusiasm" for their strategy.

The pragmatist group, consisting largely of second-tier leaders, is strong in the southern Transvaal region — led by Mr Douglas Gibson, the eastern Cape, where former MPs Mike Savage and Mike Tarr are active, and in pockets in the western Cape where President's Council member Mr Robin Carlisle is an exponent of power-politics strategies.

The purist group, which sides loosely with Mr Eglin and Mrs Suzman, believe the party's task is to maintain a beacon of Western liberal democratic values — with only secondary emphasis on the vote-catching

appeal of such a stance.

Between the two poles are several caucus members who see value in both views — but are not openly committed to either.

The party's confusion is worsened by the fact that the battle lines between the two groups are not distinctly drawn.

Mr Eglin has had a series of talks with Dr Denis Worral, of the Independent Party, and Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse to broaden the base of opposition.

Mr Eglin is also credited with getting two members of the Indian House of Delegates to join the PFP a week ago.

### Image

But these moves have failed to mollify the pragmatist group, which says Mr Eglin remains wedded to an outmoded liberal flag-bearing role in politics.

The pragmatist group favours Dr Zac de Beer, a director of Anglo American and the party's chairman of finance, for the leadership. Dr de Beer has refused to be drawn.

A senior parliamentary caucus member said last week Dr de Beer's election as leader would be self-defeating. Dr de Beer's Anglo American image would not be an asset to the pragmatists' power-politics goal.

● A Randburg town councillor, Mrs Megan Leathwhite, resigned from the PFP this week. She said she was dissatisfied with the PFP and felt she would be better able to serve the community outside party constraints.

# NRP takes the final count with a laugh

THE NRP yesterday dissolved itself after 11 years of declining political fortunes.

And, although nobody actually wept into their lasagne, there were several people close to tears when the successor to the old UP was laid to rest.

When national leader Bill Sutton addressed the 200-odd crowd at the closing congress at Scottburgh on the Natal South Coast, he urged members to look to Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP) for a new political "home" and not the NP, which he labelled "the greatest political failure in history".

## Proud

He said the NRP had a lot to be proud of during its years in Parliament.

He jokingly said he had the rare distinction of taking over a wobbling party and driving into the ground — in spite of his efforts to keep it alive.

Mr Sutton said: "If I were Japanese I would be doing my thing here on the stage,

By TERRY  
VAN DER WALT

but we're unfortunately too pragmatic for that." The audience gasped and then laughed.

The congress resolved at a closed session earlier to dissolve the party and to appoint trustees to deal with the mechanics of dissolution.

And, now begins the drive for the membership of the old party.

## Efforts

The NP and the IP are making all-out efforts to net the defunct party's former supporters.

It was an open question today who would eventually land the biggest catch.

The NP this week paraded prominent former NRP members who had already joined it — and called on their former compatriots to do likewise.

Earlier in the week, the NP said three former NRP provincial council members, Mr Lew Philips, Mr Bob Oli-

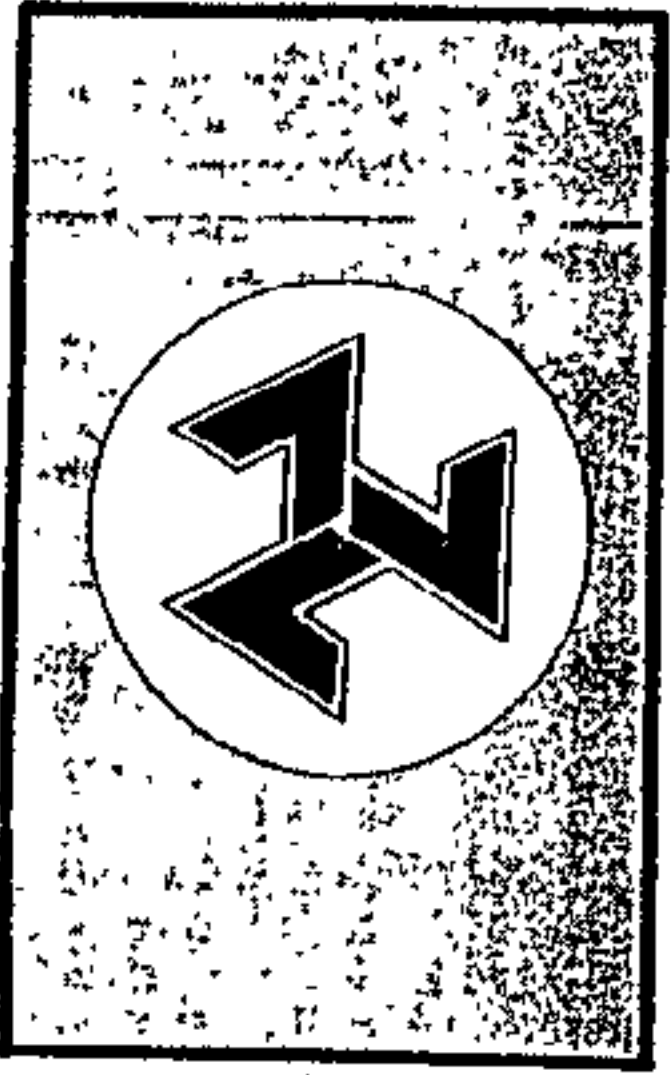
ver, Mr Bill Wood, and a Durban city councillor, Mr Harry Oldfield, had joined the NP.

But influential NRP members — including Mr Sutton — favoured, until the end, the wholesale inclusion of the NRP membership in the IP.



511 0119 3045

# JANI ALLAN EXCLUSIVE



# HELIX



LOYAL TROOPER ... A firm grip to the shoulder and an encouraging word



LOYAL TROOPER ... Terre-Blanche grips the arm of one of his Aquila

**I** SAW the uniformed men of Aquila — personal bodyguard to AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche — this week, training in the deadly arts of unarmed combat.

In an isolated Western Transvaal farmhouse they honed their fearsome skills, some with weapons at their side, others wearing leather gloves, most of them wearing swastika-like AWB insignia on their armbands.

The invitation said: "The public have the wrong idea about Aquila. Thus we have decided to invite you to witness a training session with its members and to give you an official Press release about its aims and objectives."

I wonder what I'm doing (other than 140km/h) on a desolate highway on a dark and stormy Saturday night, armed only with a tape-recorder, cameras — and my acute curiosity.

I'm not even sure whether khaki is really my colour. Fochville on a Saturday night is dismal.

A BMW materialises alongside my car. Its driver, a blond, bespectacled Aryan-looking man, introduces himself as Dave Barnett, the chief security officer of Aquila.

He requests, exceedingly politely, that I follow him. He is the type described as "Inscrutable" and "lean but wiry".

Things are becoming more and more like a B-grade movie.

At a sign announcing "Jagstontein" the Rambomobile hurtles off the main road into the blackness. Like cardboard cutouts in front

## Report & pictures



by JANI ALLAN

of a starkly-lit hangar stand the silhouetted figures of some 50 men — the stormtroopers.

Most wear military-style khaki drill. (Those who don't are new recruits).

They stare as I scramble out of my car. I feel out of place. One stormtrooper leaps forward and offers to carry my bags.

**T**he sitting room of the farm homestead into which I am shown is the size of a church hall. It's dominated by an imposing portrait of Eugene Terre-Blanche.

The imposing original sits on a couch. Both versions feature blowtorch blue eyes.

Terre-Blanche is known for his messianic rhetoric. Tonight, however, the intimidating firebrand is glacial-cool.

The Press officer of Aquila is an attorney. He prefers not to be named. It's like that with any professional person.

I switch on the tape-recorder. He starts to solemnly read the Press release they've prepared. It's in English.

"Die AWB is besig om pap te word. Ons begin nou om Engels te praat met die Engelse," they tell me.

I giggle nervously.

"Lean-But-Wiry remains inscrutable. Terre-Blanche is apparently lost in his private thoughts."

**T**he Press officer is emotional.

"If I have to speak to you from the BOTTOM of my heart it is because of the SINCERE BONA FIDE objectives of Aquila that we granted this interview." He speaks in capital letters.

"The AWB was FORCED to form its own registered security unit — Aquila — because the MEMBERS of the AWB are NOT ALLOWED to be members of the police force or the police reservists. We can't afford to pay for security services for the 150 leaders of the movement."

Last year, while driving to a public meeting in Barberton, Mr Terre-Blanche was stopped in a police roadblock and warned that an attempt was to be made on his life that night. The police captain offered to escort him to and from the meeting.

"So the SAP themselves recognise that Mr Terre-Blanche's life is in danger. Why, he has in his possession a letter from a politician threatening to 'send someone down to the Transvaal to get rid of this lunatic'."

"The objects of Aquila are of a DEFENSIVE nature. There is nothing sinister about Aquila. We are PATRIOTS who are CONCERNED about the protection of the leaders of the movement! His fervour is religious."

People who make out that the AWB are a lot of RADICALS to be equated with the ANC should take

Continued opposite



**DRIES VAN HERDEN DISCOVERS THAT NAT PROPAGANDA IS UP THE POLL — FOR A VERY GOOD REASON**

# Election? What election?

SHERLOCK Holmes would have dubbed it: The Case of the Missing Election. On Tuesday the 21 000 voters of Randfontein are going to the polls, but very few people outside of this West Rand mining town know about it. The National Party and its supporting newspapers, battling to wrest the

constituency from CP control, are waging the lowest of low-key campaigns.

Compared with the huge publicity heaped on Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton earlier this month, Randfontein is a whimper, not a bang. No AWB-bashing to scare the voters back into the National fold. No last-minute revelations of prominent CP supporters who saw the light of day and detected to the ruling party.

For the NP, Randfontein is almost a throwaway campaign — a necessary evil tucked away somewhere between the defeats in Standerton and Schweizer, and the imminent municipal contests.

## Ready

They may well have reason to lower the level of the pre-election hoopla. For Randfontein is CP country. To be more accurate — CP Mulder country. And there to take up where his father, Dr C P (Connie) Mulder, has left off is Dr C P (Corné) Mulder.

Sitting in the Mulder family home in Randfontein this week, the younger Mulder said he was quickly confident of repeating his late father's 2 700-vote victory in last year's election. "I have, however, learnt



BOY GELDENHUYS

## It's an uphill battle in CP land

early in my life never to underestimate a political opponent," he said. "We have run a competent campaign and we intend following through until the booths close on Tuesday night."

His NP opponent is a man with equally deep roots in the Randfontein community. Dr Boy Geldenhuys was the local NGK minister when he was called to become MP after the elder Mulder resigned in disgrace over the Info scandal.

"It's an uphill battle," he candidly admits. "But we refuse to admit defeat. Many fights are won in the last round — and we could still get in a surprise blow." Both candidates agree that

there is very little to influence the voters' minds before Tuesday. They have already chosen sides and decided behind whose names they are going to make their crosses.

"A feature of the campaign," says Geldenhuys, "is the very low number of floating voters."

The NP is running on its record of "40 years of competent government". Geldenhuys says: "We are telling the voters that the NP can be entrusted with the future of the country because of our excellent track record. "It's a national campaign. The NP does not have a bumper-sticker policy — we just trust that reason will triumph over emotion."

## Propaganda

For the CP the battle for Randfontein is to a large degree being fought on the beaches of Durban. As in the earlier by-elections, CP propaganda leans heavily on accusations against the Government concerning Group Areas and blacks allegedly swamping white suburbs.

Randfontein is a semi-urban constituency with a large smallholding component. The voters vary from white-collar professional people to a significant proportion of miners and blue-collar workers. Roughly 30 percent is English-speaking.

The NP obviously has the most to lose. For if the best scenario would be a reduction in the CP's 2 700 majority — the worst if the younger Mulder doubles the majority. News by A J van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

THE Mulder Mystique is about to weave its spell again on the voters of Randfontein. This time around, it is the Son of the Favourite Son who is asking the people of this mining town to do what they have done eight times before since 1988 — make a cross behind the name of Dr C P Mulder.

Soft-spoken Corné, 29, has stepped into the shoes vacated by his outspoken father, Connie. The name is the same. The younger Mulder is the image of his late father. But the message is somewhat different.

For two decades, Dr Connie won Randfontein with ever-increasing majorities for the ruling National Party.

His charismatic personality, his oratorical abilities and his organisational skills made him untouchable in Randfontein — the same attributes that catapulted him to become the her-apparent of the NP in the Vorster era.

## Rejected

Then came the Info Scandal. And the Crown Prince became the man who would never be king.

Disgraced and rejected, Dr Mulder switched sides to team up with Dr Andries Treurnicht, ironically the man who had to perform the final hatchet job to relieve him of his NP leadership position.

Dr Mulder went back to his political roots in Randfontein. He was elected to the local town council — where he started his political career back in 1952... the town with

## Is this Mulder a pop Corné?



Corné Mulder ... into the fray

the Connie Mulder Street, the Connie Mulder Centre and the Connie Mulder School for Handicapped Children.

Last year, he returned triumphantly to Parliament as CP MP for Randfontein. His death, after a long illness, paved the way for his two sons to enter politics under their own steam.

The elder brother, Pieter, a professor of communications at Potchefstroom University, was elected MP for Schweizer Reneke earlier this month.

On Tuesday, it is Corné's turn. A lawyer by profession, with a doctorate in constitutional law, he is carrying the CP flag in the town where his family experienced their biggest triumphs and defeats.

He scoffs at the idea that the Mulder brothers are going to Parliament like a latter-day Jesse James and family, helibent on revenge

for what was done to their father. "We are not waging a vendetta," he says.

"It is an almost logical development that my brother and I would be knee-deep into politics. We grew up in a home where politics were the main subject of discussion at breakfast, lunch and dinner."

The political bloodline goes back four generations. Great-grandfather Mulder was an MP in the old ZAR. Grandfather was a Transvaal provincial councillor.

## Represented

If Mulder is elected on Tuesday he will join his brother on the green benches of Parliament — not such an uncommon occurrence.

In the 60s and 70s the brothers Potgieter — Koos (Brits) and Fanie (Port Elizabeth) represented the NP and

in the 20s there were the Wilkens brothers. Will that old Mulder magic again attract the faithful to flock to the polling booths on Tuesday?

"Obviously my father had a strong personal following in this town," says the younger Mulder. "I would be stupid not to capitalise on this."

The final word belongs to Mulder's opponent — NP candidate, Dr Boy Geldenhuys.

"Dr Connie's name is still held in very high regard in Randfontein," he admits. "In last year's election, people literally got up from sickbeds to vote for him."

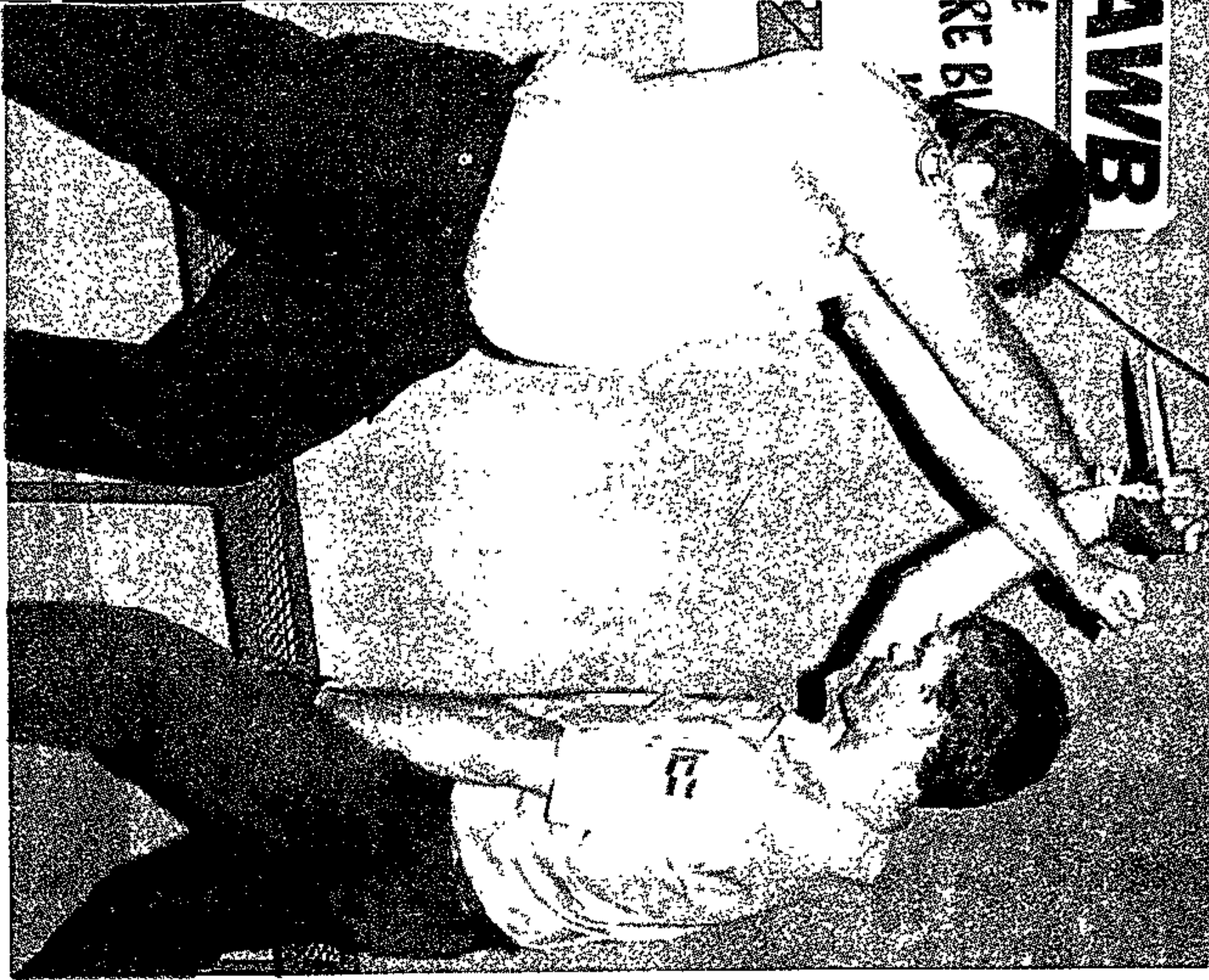
Whether Dr C P Mulder junior will be able to emulate this will only be known on Tuesday. News by A J van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg





# ANGELS

I see Eugene Terre Blanche's vigilantes train for the day when they'll knock the stuffing out of somebody



**From opposite page**

Should an attempt be made on Mr Terre Blanche's life, however, the would-be assassin would be "uitgeskakel".

To be awarded the silver falcon badge of an Aquila is an honour comparable to a sixth dan black belt in boere karate.

Rigorous physical tests have to be passed. Commitment and loyalty to the movement are scrutinised with ruthless severity.

...my community but I need my spiritual backbone...

er up. They laugh a lot. The camaraderie is extraordinary. You could be fooled into thinking that these are just an ordinary bunch of the boys having a drink together.

Impeccably mannered and highly personable boys at that.

I am presented with a tiny frog — "because it might turn out to be a prince".

One of the Aquilas starts...

**TRAINING:** An Aquila member (top left) lunges with a knife. But he's thwarted (above), his knife hand twisted away. Then (right), the victim turns the tables and with his attacker off-balance and unprotected he winds himself up for a karate-style killer chop.



"To liken us to the ANC!!!! NEVER in its SIXTEEN YEARS of EXISTENCE did the AWB commit a single act of a revolutionary or terrorist nature. NEVER EVER. Up to this very day!"

**M**embers of Aquila are schooled in the legal aspects of neighbourhood watch schemes. They are taught first aid and fire-fighting.

They are coached by crack professionals in the deadly techniques of unarmed combat and combat shooting.

Yes, the task force is aware that the public think of it as "moordadig" and "geweldadig". Hell's Angels, even.

"But we won't hurt anyone as long as they don't stand on our toes," one Aquila tells me.

concern for his safety. But the man himself knows no fear.

As they are the "natural enemy of the ANC" — not the Government — it's logical that sooner or later the ANC will challenge the AWB at some stage or other. "We have to be prepared."

What is the exact size of Aquila's membership?

"Not too many. Just 20 or 30 in each town."

**T**he members, who volunteer their services, range in age from "eighteen to eighty".

We walk outside into the navy night.

A sheep baaaaas in a nearby pen. It's a lonely sound.

The stormtroopers had been here since 9 that morning.

An exhausting day of training was interrupted

doctors, private investigators, ex-parabats from Rhodesia: The calling of Aquila knows no selection.

At the sergeant-major's bark they lock in combat, like human threshing machines.

Deadlier than a pair of karatekas in kimite.

I witness the fact that the Aquila's dedication is absolute: He will die defending his cause.

My shudders match those of the earth's quivering beneath their pounding boots. Enough reason to excuse the fact that my photographs might be out of focus I think to myself wryly as I frantically flashpop away.

Afterwards I am cordially invited to join some of the Aquilas for a drink at the fire.

At ease, they tell jokes — did you hear about when Van der Merwe joined the army — and send each oth-

and by yon bonnie braes where the sun shines bright on Loch Lomond"

One by one their voices mass around his. Like a bodyguard.

Irish songs, English and Australian folk tunes — they sing lustily.

**A**s they come to the part in "Exodus" about "God gave this land to me", their beloved *hoofleier* joins in. His *basso profundo* rich, earth-brown voice thickens.

As though blood had been stirred into it.

Before they leave, each and every Aquila embraces the *hoofleier*. Could it be the firelight, or were those tears glinting in more than a couple of the stormtroopers' eyes?

Hell's Angels? More like Helse Aquilas.

# The Littlest Rightist



Blonde, angelic, beautiful ... and bearing a sinister emblem on her arm. This little girl was not interested in the angry goings-on around her at Friday's AWB meeting — she was probably thinking about the Easter Bunny, while the menacing significance of the familiar insignia on her sleeve escaped her

By DE WET POTGIETER

AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche has warned the Government not to dare lay a finger on his organisation.

At a meeting in the Krugersdorp City Hall on Friday night, he also promised a rowdy crowd of more than 1 000 that the AWB would oust the Government.

"The AWB will take over the Government and establish its own Volkstaat," Mr Terre Blanche said in an emotive speech.

During the meeting, several of the AWB's khaki-clad Aquila guards assaulted a Sunday Times photographer outside the city hall.

Mr Robb Edgecombe was taking pictures when a bearded Aquila official guarding Mr Terre Blanche's private car told him to leave.

## As Vlok gets a warning: Don't lay a finger on us

Said Mr Edgecombe: "When I asked the guard why, he grabbed me and threw me aside"

Several other Aquila guards then surrounded him, threatening to break his cameras and confiscate his film.

### Threats

"They told me that they had had enough of the Press."

In the hall, Mr Terre Blanche said the Government had not wanted him to deliver his speech — a refer-

ence to the ban earlier on Friday on an open-air meeting scheduled in Randfontein.

AWB Press secretary Mr P W Bingle said that the organisers had been unaware that official permission had to be given for open-air meetings in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Terre Blanche also slated the Government's threats to ban the AWB emblem.

"Such a ban can't stop an ideal," he said.

"If such an ideal is locked

away in a jail it only becomes stronger and stronger."

According to Mr Terre Blanche, the AWB had "instructions from God to see that the Government doesn't give away the land we prayed for."

### Insults

He said the Government had "taken their God and brought it down to the level of Mecca in the tricameral Parliament".

Mr Terre Blanche brusquely dismissed suggestions that the Government would ban the AWB.

"How can you ban a nation? How do you ban the dynamite inside the Afrikaner," he said.

"You can't ban power. The nation is the power."



**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

- (1) 21 September 1987.
- (2) No.
- (3) Yes, in accordance with applicable legislation.
- (4) No. (a) and (b) fall away.

**Pensionable service: new conditions on buying back**

656. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the imposition of new conditions on the buying back of pensionable service in the latter half of 1987, he is required to consult with any staff associations prior to altering the conditions of service of their members; if not, why not; if so, in terms of what statutory provisions;
- (2) whether he has received any indication as to whether any staff associations intend to take legal action against him or his Department in connection with the alteration of buy-back conditions; if so, which staff associations are involved;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

- (1) No. Only those office-holders specified in;
- (i) section 17(3) of the Government Service Pension Act, 1973 (Act 57 of 1973),
- (ii) section 8(6) of the Temporary Employees Pension Fund Act, 1979, (Act 75 of 1979), and
- (iii) section 2 of the Associated Institutions Pension Fund Act, 1963 (Act 41 of 1963),

are required to be consulted prior to alteration of the relevant pension fund provisions.

- (2) Yes, in a personal letter addressed to me. I have no authority to divulge the contents thereof.

- (3) No.

**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

Yes, in applying for a temporary authority to collect contributions, the KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization furnished the Department with an application form and a constitution as required by the Fund-raising Act. According to the constitution, the objects (activities) of the organization are to handle and supervise fund-raising for the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

**East Rand hospitals: abortions**

683. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 537 on 7 October 1987, on what date did the Transvaal Director of Hospital Services become aware of a possible excessive number of abortions at certain East Rand hospitals;
- (2) whether the investigation into this matter has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so, when;
- (3) whether any action has been taken in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

- (1) June 1987.
- (2) Yes;
- (a) falls away,
- (b) November 1987.
- (3) No, all legal requirements have been adhered to.
- (a) and (b) fall away.

**SABC: control over programmes**

735. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether the Publications Control Board has any authority in respect of programmes televised by the SABC; if not, why not; if so, to what extent?

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

The hon member's attention is drawn to the fact that no such body as a "Publications Control Board" exists in terms of the Publications Act, 1974 (Act 42 of 1974).

However, if with his question the hon member has meant whether programmes televised by the SABC are subject to the control provided for in the aforementioned act, the answer is in the affirmative. All feature films televised have been examined by committees of publications and approved for screening. The normal conditions applicable to screening in theatres plus any other that the Directorate of Publications may deem necessary for televising, must be strictly observed. Because of logistical and other reasons, however, most of the other programmes of the corporation are handled on an exemption basis.

**Flood relief: applications**

746. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) (a) How many applications for flood relief have been received from (i) individuals and (ii) companies by the committee responsible for administering the Natal Flood Relief Fund, (b) how many claims have been settled and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) whether the application forms originally used in submitting claims have been altered; if so, (a) why and (b) when;
- (3) whether any claims submitted on the original application forms have been returned to applicants for re-completion on the altered application forms; if so, (a) how many and (b) why;
- (4) what amount had been contributed to the Natal Flood Relief Fund by the (a) public and (b) State as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

**THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

- (1) (a) A total of approximately 82 000. Not possible to furnish particulars of individuals and companies separately.
- (i) Falls away.

## *R'fontein by-election a mere formality says CP*

JOHANNESBURG

The by-election battle between the National Party and Conservative Party in the West Rand constituency of Randfontein will be decided tomorrow.

This is the third time in less than a month that the two parties come face to face in by-election contests in the Transvaal.

Only the NP and CP are contesting the snap poll, called after the death of former Minister of Information and CP MP, Mr Connie Mulder, last year.

The National Party candidate, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, will make his second attempt to retain the seat he held from 1979 until his defeat last year. Although a party spokesman said they "expected favourable result" a NP organiser this week said the NP "didn't stand a chance".

A CP spokesman at the weekend said they regarded the poll as a "mere formality".

They were confident that 29-year-old Mr Corné Mulder would retain the seat his father claimed from the NP with a 1 732 majority in a three-way contest between the NP, CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party during last year's May 6 general election.

—DDC



Bloedsappe era over

D/D 28/3/88

304A

## Join Worrall urge NRP leaders

SCOTTBURGH — The New Republic Party officially disbanded in Scottburgh at the weekend — amid definite signs that some of its leadership would align itself with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP).

There were influential calls for members, including the last NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, and Mr Pat Rogers, to join Dr Worrall.

The former NRP

leader, Mr Vause Raw was not that committed.

However, he did say the IP "seems to embrace the political philosophy of the old United Party and the NRP".

The speeches of Mr Sutton, as well as the one time UP leader, Sir De Villiers Graaff, gained standing ovations from about 300 delegates from around the country, who were in Scottburgh to take part in the NRP's last rites.

Yet it was not a despondent audience that heard Mr Sutton, Sir De Villiers and Mr Raw, two party veterans, Mr Gary Hughes and Mr Willem Barnard, as well as the NRP's solitary current MP, Mr Ralph Hardingham, pay their own individual tributes to the party.

These ranged from the 1902 days of Het Volk of Generals Botha and Smuts through to the South African party, the

UP and ultimately the NRP days.

An implacable mistrust and dislike of the "old enemy", the National Party, showed throughout the meeting.

The NRP faithful were still talking at a cocktail party afterwards of how South Africa had missed "good government" by not retaining the UP in 1948 or voting it back afterwards.

● Mr Hardingham, is not likely to join Dr Worrall, who does not have Parliamentary representation.

He could have achieved this if Mr Hardingham decided to join the IP launched in Somerset West two weeks ago.

It is understood that Mr Hardingham will sit as an independent.

He stressed that he would not be "hurried" into seeking a new political home.

Should he stand as an independent there will be three independents in the Assembly.

The MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, broke away from the PFP last year while the MP for Hillbrow, Mr Leon de Beer, was expelled by the National Party. — Sapa



MR ROGERS

There was no way South Africa could continue collision with other race groups, but there should be real negotiation with real leaders, not the Nationalists' interpretation of negotiation.

"If we carry on as we are, there is no future", he said. — DDR

## Rogers to join IP, Whitaker uncertain

EAST LONDON — The chairman of the New Republic Party's (NRP) federal council, Mr Pat Rogers, former MP for King William's Town, announced at the NRP's final Congress that he would be joining up with Dr Dennis Worrall's Independent party — and called on "bloedsappe" to follow him.

The future lay with Dr Worrall, he said.

The East London divisional chairman of the NRP for the last seven years, Mr Eric Whitaker, said he was proud to have been a part of the positive contribution that the NRP had made to politics in South

Africa.

"I am certain that all voters who find themselves, as I do, with no home will look closely at all alternatives and reject the National Party, which can only lead South Africa to disaster.

"The Conservative Party, is beyond description for its lack of foresight," he said.

He said the PFP would come to a quicker death than the NRP.

The only remaining alternative was to follow Dr Worrall, but "I personally will be studying what he has to offer before joining".

D/D 28/3/88

304A



(304X) 6/14/88 128/3 155

**S**OUTH AFRICA's political situation is neatly summed up by the old story of a sultan who offered to reprieve any condemned prisoner who would teach his horse to speak. Most prisoners despaired, but one man promised that the horse would speak within a year.

As he left the death cell for the royal stables, he explained: "In a year the sultan may die, or the horse may die. And, who knows, the horse may even learn to speak."

Settling SA's tribal conflicts is the political equivalent of teaching the horse to speak — it may happen, but it will take time. The popular vision of a negotiated settlement, or a non-racial democracy, or a multi-racial democracy, lies beyond a distant horizon.

Meanwhile, we play for time. The sultan may die, the horse may die, or the horse may learn to speak.

# Play for time — the horse may learn to speak

**KEN OWEN**

**T**he curse of South African politics has always been the search for thousand-year solutions. Verwoerd's mad vision of a checkerboard state in perpetual equilibrium is in this respect no crazier, and no more naive, than the ANC's vision of a socialist paradise — a people's democracy — in which all differences of class and race will be magically erased.

And neither of these visions is less credible than the idea that we shall all sit around a table in the next year, or five years, to thrash out a thousand-year peace.

In fact, it is easier to say what will NOT happen in the next decade, say by the end of the century, than to say what WILL happen.

□ Barring invasion by the great powers, the revolution will not occur by the year 2000. The resources of the State to suppress revolt are virtually limitless, and very few of them have so far been brought into play. We are still a long way from

internal passports, food rationing, travel permits, closure of newspapers, rationing of newsprint and all the other paraphernalia of modern totalitarianism.

To overthrow government by force would require, first of all, the reduction of the economy, which is the work of half a century. Neither sanctions nor insurrection have so far begun to reduce the economy; they have merely slowed its growth. Meanwhile, whites have quickly learned how to deflect the worst consequences of sanctions on to black people.

That poor man, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, continues to proclaim a touching and childlike faith in sanctions; if he were more acute he would perceive that, in a shrinking economy, the army would have first claim on resources, and everybody else would be progressively weakened by its claims. Indeed, the closer revolution

comes, the more the ruling party must resort to fascism. Liberation comes only at the end of a very nasty process which, as Alan Paton has so often warned, may well leave the country devastated.

□ Nor, barring divine intervention, will democracy arrive by the year 2000. President Botha and his party are plainly unwilling to contemplate negotiations on an equal footing with the genuine leaders of the black majority, and they certainly do not contemplate a transfer of power.

**A**nway, the National Party is not threatened from its left but from its right. An election held today would, one estimates, give the Conservative Party about 50 seats in the Transvaal and the Free State. A later election, even following a new delimitation, would surely give them more. The PFP, having waited hopefully

for a decade to seize "the balance of power" between two warring right-wing parties, has managed to evade opportunity. The brief glimmer of "extra-parliamentary politics" drew not only its former leaders but many of their followers to political destruction, as a flame draws a moth.

Anti-apartheid forces are divided now between the UDF, the left-wing PFP, the right-wing PFP, the NRP, the Worrall Independents, the unorganised independents, the Malanite charismatic independents and the timidly verligte Nationalists. English SA, all its institutions in a state of collapse, has finally lost its grip on its own future, and the Afrikaner dissidents are too few to matter.

This analysis places the hope of democracy beyond the end of the century, and successful revolution beyond the civil war that ends, one supposes, in about the year 2040. The opponents of apartheid have no alternative but to play for limited gains.

If, by the end of the century, the possibility of a democratic solution has been preserved — if the horse is still alive — they shall have done well. But the outlook is not promising.

For one thing, SA's Westminster system — a democracy flawed only by its limited franchise — has been replaced by a neo-fascist form of government that revolves around, and is increasingly dominated by, the State President. The system brings together in one person the head of state, the chief executive, the leader of the dominant political party and the principal manipulator of the legislative process.

He has at his command the armed forces, the police, the bureaucracy, the powers of taxation, the broadcasting services, the communications network and almost any other national resource which he may choose to employ.

**T**he law itself is in decline. The Minister of Law and Order blithely pronounces an untried man a "terrorist"; the State President intervenes to prevent a trial of men accused of murder; the Chief Justice is permitted to serve beyond retirement age; the Minister of Home Affairs shuts down newspapers for actions which are defined by no law, and which are subject to no protection of the courts.

Only two points of light can be discerned. Firstly, the emergency powers under which fascist government is burgeoning are temporary; they may yet be withdrawn. Secondly, government remains wedded to a free, capitalist economy, which remains the most potent engine of change — perhaps the only engine of change — available to South Africa between now and the end of the century.

So play for time. Even if the sultan does not die, and the horse does not die, the horse may learn to speak.



D/D 28/3/88 309A 281

## Indian policeman at centre of political row

DURBAN — An Indian police officer's position as second in command at a police station in a white Natal seaside resort has upset a Conservative Party member.

This has landed Lieutenant Venketras Gurriah Naidoo, 31, at the centre of a political row between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and a Scottburgh housewife, Mrs Anna Clark, the Tribune Herald newspaper reported on its front page yesterday.

Lieut Naidoo, who has been stationed at Scottburgh on the Natal South Coast, for about 10 years, is to be moved to an "Indian" town.

He was recently promoted to his present rank.

Mrs Clark, who confirmed that she was a member of the CP, questioned his position as second in command at the Scottburgh police station in a letter to Mr Vlok on January 14.

She said there was no

reason for the appointment as Scottburgh had no Indian residents, Indian-owned businesses, or black townships.



MR VLOK

"Promote the man by all means — but why to one of the few all-white towns in this country," she said in her letter.

The Press secretary for the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said that policemen were placed wherever they were needed and race was not a criterion in appointments.

He said he doubted whether there was a link between Lieut Naidoo's transfer and Mrs Clark's letter.

However, the CPs Natal vice chairman, Mr Pat Mohr, said the minister had created a situation that had caused the reaction to Lieut Naidoo's position at the Scottburgh police station.

"How would Indians react if an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member was appointed to Chatsworth (Durban's Indian township)?" he asked.

In a letter to Mrs Clark, dated February 29, Mr Vlok said that since December 1, Lieut Naidoo's posting at Scottburgh had been temporary, as he had served there as a Warrant Officer.

"In the meantime, a posting has been identified for him as station commander at Umzinto, where he will be transferred in due course." — Sapa

# NRP is buried, but 'the struggle continues'

AKUS  
28/3/88

304A

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The New Republic Party was finally cremated at the weekend — although its leaders believe its ashes will one day arise in a new South Africa.

And this will be done, some say, by Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party.

NRP national chairman Pat Rogers said he would urge all NRP supporters to fight the government tooth and nail through the IP.

In a poignant requiem which saw many moist eyes among the battle-scarred "Nerp" stalwarts who arrived for the last rites on Saturday, NRP leader Bill Sutton said there would be "no heirs" for the longest serving political institution in the country's history.

## Defiance

It was a day of dignity. Few would dispute that the NRP who took on the mantle of the United Party and formerly the "Sappe" (South African Party), were the gentlemen of South African politics, ill-equipped to handle the brutal rabbit-punches of the National Party.

A final feisty show of defiance came from Mr Sutton who said although the NRP had failed to capture the public imagination, moderates knew deep-down that the NRP message of "saamheid" (togetherness) rather than apartheid was the only way this country could survive.

"This Government is the greatest propaganda machine for the ANC. If we had a decent government there would be no need for terrorism ...

"Let there be no mistake. The greatest threat to the white man is the present Government. They have so destroyed morale with their bogeyman and scare antics during the last election that the future looks bleak.

"History will show every true reform move the govern-

ment has made, they have copied from us, but for totally the wrong reasons and far too late.

"We die today — but much of what we stood for will one day resurface."

Despite the funereal occasion, many Nerp stalwarts vowed "the struggle continued".

Former leader Vause Raw said he had retired from politics, but had "no problems" with the IP.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, once the grand old man of South African politics, said he would not officially sanction any party.

"I really do not know who has got the answer now," he said.



APR 28 1978

## Move to Worrall's party as NRP folds

SCOTTBURGH. — The New Republic Party officially folded in Scottburgh yesterday — amid signs that some of its leadership would align itself with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party.

NRP Federal Council Chairman, Mr Pat Rogers, announced he would be joining Dr Worrall — and he called on "Bloedsappe" to follow him.

Former NRP leader Mr Vause Raw said the IP "seems to embrace the political philosophy of the old United Party and the NRP".

The last NRP national leader, Mr Bill Sutton, as well as the former UP leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, were given standing ovations from about 300 delegates from throughout the country who were in Scottburgh to participate in the NRP's last rites.

Several speakers said the UP and NRP "saamheid" policy offered more to South Africa than the NP's apartheid.

Mr Bill Sutton said members of the party should support any party with a reform programme that included bringing blacks to Parliament, he told the SABC in a television interview.

He said any party which stood as the NRP had for negotiations across the colour line to bring about reform would get the support of NRP members.

"Reform today is stalled and not getting us anywhere," Mr Sutton said. — Sapa.

# Pat Rogers urges NRP to back Worrall's IP

P/D 29/3/88  
(304A)

**Daily Dispatch  
Reporter**

**EAST LONDON** — The former New Republic Party (NRP) MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, has called on "the traditional opposition and disenchanted National Party voters" to join Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP).

In an interview yesterday, he said he was "quite convinced" that a large percentage of former NRP members would follow his example and back Dr Worrall after the NRP final congress at the weekend.

"I sincerely hope that the call of talented South Africans of all language and cultural groups within the IP will be heard. The Border region has a particular opportunity to make this a reality.

"The only non-positive attitude I picked up at the congress was one of caution, rather than rejection," he said.

Mr Rogers added that



**DR WORRALL**

the NRP federal council had decided to make contact with the independent movement after the last election, to find out where they stood politically.

"Our contact group recommended that NRP members would feel most at home within the IP, as their aims, principles and goals are so much like our own. I see the IP as the only possible alternative for a former NRP supporter."

He said he had "great regard for some of the input of the Progressive Federal Party", although he did not sup-

port the concept of a national convention, as put forward by the PFP.

"There is absolutely nothing wrong with the federal system, but in my view, the PFP have failed to sell the idea of a geographical federation as they have not been pragmatic in their approach and have allowed themselves to be labelled as weak on security. This has left people with serious doubts about the party," he said.

Commenting on a statement by the former divisional chairman of the NRP here, Mr Eric Whitaker, who said the PFP would suffer a similar fate as the NRP, Mr Rogers said he agreed that the party would have a "rough ride" in the future.

"There is a strong feeling that the differences between the traditional opposition parties will only be resolved around the negotiating table, so it is likely that the PFP will continue to lose members," he added.



# Election on the way, says PFP MP

THE Government's current major advertising campaign probably foreshadows a general election, Mr Harry Schwarz MP (PFP Yeoville) predicted yesterday. **(304A)**

Mr Schwarz was reacting to the latest full-page advertisements, in the name of President P W Botha, published at the weekend.

Mr Schwarz said if the advertisements were a prelude to an election it was very wrong to be using taxpayers' money on an advertising campaign.



**HARRY Schwarz**...  
taxpayers money.

"It is difficult to understand why an advertisement is needed on the Budget if there is not going to be an election."

"If the Budget was good it would speak for itself. If it was bad it was wrong to use advertisements to sell it."

Mr Schwarz said if there was no election in the offing the Government should be looking at different actions to make the Budget acceptable to the public.

He backed the general economic package but the package needed some real action from the Government.

Real action was required on privatisation, consumer protection, legislation was required and negotiations with all affected groups was required to ensure that everyone followed the same goals and did not look to selfish interests.

Sowetan 29/3/88



Senior State Prosecutor for a decision

- (a) and (b) Fall away.  
(3) No. The Senior State Prosecutor declined to institute prosecution.  
(a) and (b) Fall away.

South African Government: discussions with Angola

\*15. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether the South African Government has held or is to hold any discussions with the Government of Angola; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) where, (c) who was or is to be involved in the discussions and (d) what was or is to be the purport of the discussions;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) The hon member will appreciate that in matters of this nature, particularly as regards the possibility of discussions with Angola, I am simply not in a position to give definitive replies to the categorical questions put by the hon member.  
(2) No, not at this stage.

Members of AWB who are: members of Police Force/reserve police force

\*16. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether it is the policy of the South African Police (a) not to engage persons as, and (b) to require the resignation of, (i) members of the Police Force and (ii) members of the reserve police force who are current members of (aa) a certain organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, and (bb) any other organizations; if so,  
(2) (a) in terms of what statutory provisions or regulations, (b) why and (c) what are the names of the organizations concerned?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) and (2)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

When a person applies for enlistment in the South African Police and during selection it becomes evident that he is a member of an unregistered political party or a movement, organisation, body or association with political aims, this fact will adversely affect his application.

In the case of members of the Force, there are clear instructions that prohibit membership of and participation in the activities of an unregistered political party or a movement, organisation, body or association with political aims. These instructions are explicitly brought to the attention of new members when they are taken into service. Thereafter they are regularly reminded of this fact during staff lectures. (In terms of section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958) a member of the Reserve Police Force is also a member of the Force while serving in the Force.)

When it is brought to the attention of the South African Police that a permanent member of the Force contravenes instructions with regard to membership of an unregistered political party or a movement, organisation, body or association with political aims, departmental steps in terms of the Police Regulations are taken against that member. Such a member cannot be summarily dismissed. However, should he persist in his membership or activities, the instructions make provision that a Board of Enquiry can be held to determine whether the member concerned is fit to remain in the Force. The merits of each instance are considered individually.

When it is brought to the attention of the South African Police that members of the Reserve Police Force are contravening the instructions with regard to membership of an unregistered political party or a movement, organisation, body or association with political aims, their services are terminated in accordance with the provisions of the Regulations for the Reserve Police Force by giving them notice of such termination of services.

I wish to point out to the hon member that since the establishment of the South African Police in 1913, they have followed a policy of disciplined impartiality in the execution of their statutory duties. This policy of impartiality is proved by the loyalty they have maintained through the years towards the government of the day. It is a policy of which they are very

proud because it best serves the interests of a multi-racial South Africa with its diverse social, cultural and religious customs.

To strictly abide by this policy is in itself a very difficult task. Therefore the South African Police cannot allow members of the Force to also be members of unregistered political parties or movements, organisations, bodies or associations which pursue radical and extremist political goals and demand undivided loyalty from their members.

Even if such an organization should register or start functioning as a political party, and the activities and goals of such party are so radical and extremist that membership thereof is incompatible with membership of the South African Police, the necessary steps will be taken to prevent this clash of loyalties.

The Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging is an organization which from its statements of policy at my disposal, clearly indicates that it pursues radical and extremist political goals and demands undivided loyalty from its members.

These radical and extremist political goals cannot be reconciled with the policy of impartiality of the South African Police. A person who is loyal to the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging or any other radical organization cannot serve the interests of South Africa's multi-racial society impartially.

Alleged abduction/assault of person on 9 February 1988: persons charged

\*17. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any persons have been charged in connection with the alleged abduction and assault on or about 9 February 1988 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so (a) on what date, (b) in terms of what statutory provisions, (c) with what alleged offences, (d) at what police station were they so charged, (e) (i) what are the names of the persons charged and (ii) by whom are they employed, (f) what were the circumstances surrounding this incident and (g) what is the name of the person who was allegedly abducted and assaulted;  
(2) whether the persons charged are being held in custody; if not, why not;

- (3) whether the Police have submitted a docket on the case to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that this will be done; if so, (i) when and (ii) with what result;  
(4) whether any other steps have been taken in respect of these persons; if so, what steps?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) No  
(a) to (g) Fall away.  
(2) Falls away.  
(3) No, but to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal in Pretoria.  
(a) and (b) Fall away.

(i) 11 March 1988.

(ii) On 22 March 1988 the Attorney-General declined to prosecute.

- (4) Not by the South African Police.

National Flood Disaster Relief Fund

\*18. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether he or his Department has issued an instruction or advice to the effect that the National Flood Disaster Relief Fund was to be the only fund-raising body for flood disaster relief in the Orange Free State and Northern Cape area; if so, (a) when, (b) in what form and (c) why;

- (2) whether bodies other than the official fund collected moneys for flood disaster relief in Natal; if so, (a) which bodies and (b) with effect from what dates;

- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes.  
(a) 7 March 1988.  
(b) A press statement by the Chairman of the Board of the Disaster Relief Fund.  
(c) Because the possible contravention of the provisions of the Fund-raising

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# Deputy leader: NP will not oppose defectors from PFP

CAPE TOWN — The National Party will not oppose the Progressive Federal Party defectors, Mr Sam Moss and Mr Harold Rudolph, in the October 26 elections.

The deputy leader of the NP in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Johan Fick, said yesterday there was no reason to oppose Mr Moss and Mr Rudolph due to their defections from the PFP.

Mr Moss, the former PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council and fellow former mayor, Mr Rudolph, resigned from the PFP last week.

They will contest the municipal election as non-aligned independent candidates.

Mr Fick said the NP,

which in May announced that they would contest each of the city's 51 wards, still intended contesting every PFP and CP nomination.

"There is no such thing as a safe PFP seat anymore," he said.

He said the defections had aided the NP's chances, "especially in the northern suburbs".

The NP hopes to increase its seats from 16 to 35 to attain a right majority in council.

The resignations of Mr Moss and Mr Rudolph have left the PFP with 19 seats in council. Until October they will join Mr Geoff Stark and Mr Pieter Schoeman who left the party last year.

DURBAN — The KwaZulu Government is to debate whether or not to withdraw its support for the Indaba's constitutional proposals as well as pulling out of the KwaZulu-Natal Joint Executive Authority.

The debate initiated by the Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, comes in formal reaction to the November 27 press statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the South African Government.

Chief Buthezi urged the Legislative Assembly to exercise caution in deciding the matters.

A spokesman for the Indaba said: "This sort of thing is routine. It's a

# D/D 29/3/88 KwaZulu to consider pulling out of Indaba

matter of course.

"From time to time they (the KwaZulu Government) like to review the situation."

Market research had indicated "very substantial support" for the Indaba by National Party members.

Chief Buthezi said he would have withdrawn from involvement in the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba immediately after Mr Heunis's statement had he not known that the minister (although with cabinet support) was speaking against the wishes of large numbers of Nat-

ionalists.

The chief minister said that the black people of the region had shown that they were prepared to make compromises by participating in the Indaba and it was now up to whites to get their political leaders to do likewise.

"I see it as terribly dangerous for Inkatha and this House to be hung up at some kind of crossroads while we wait for whites to arrive there and decide which direction they are going to take.

"Our support in principle for the KwaZulu-

Natal constitutional proposals must not be allowed to become a millstone around our necks and limit our political options," Chief Buthezi said.

The issue was so fundamental that he would not dare to act unilaterally as the president of Inkatha or as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Inkatha's final response to the matter would have to come at this year's annual general conference.

The Indaba was initiated in pursuit of the kind of political and constitutional break-

throughs which would enable the people of this region of South Africa to escape the tyranny of apartheid.

If it did not work, there had to be freedom to experiment again until something emerged which did work.

In reviewing support for the Indaba "we must necessarily also have to reconsider our involvement in the Joint Executive Authority".

"We have never become involved in this authority as an end in itself.

"We have always seen it as a first step towards establishing a joint legislative authority," Chief Buthezi said.

"If the second step is not possible, the first step will be isolated in political history as nonsensical." — DDC



rum

# Death of a great SA experiment

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

**T**HE death of the New Republic Party brings to an end a great political experiment of half a century ago.

That was when, after a coalition in 1933, the National Party and the South African Party came together to form the United Party in 1934. As the last remnant of that once great party, the NRP was dissolved at the weekend.

The UP became known as the moderate party which believed in South Africanism and which offered a home to both the Afrikaans- and English-speaking. For years it served as a successful example of this.

In 1939 it split on the issue of the war, but the bigger section of the party continued to rule under the leadership of General J C Smuts until the National Party and its election partner, the Afrikaner Party, beat it in 1948.

The UP went steadily downhill, splitting several times, most notably in 1959 when its more liberal members went off to form the Progressive Party. It lost support at every general election except in 1970 when its fortunes flared up briefly and it won eight seats from the Nationalists.

It was further undermined, not only by the constant Nationalist onslaught but by the curious way in which the National Party gradually took over policies and many causes the UP had propagated. The opening up of restaurants, entertainment, hotel facilities, sport and trade union rights were among them.

It was in 1976 that the party, troubled by internecine squabbles and defections to a new Reform Party, which later joined the Progressive Party, appeared to be coming to the end of the road.

In an effort to revive its fortunes, Sir de Villiers Graaff announced what he called a "Save South Africa" campaign at that year's Cape congress in East London.

He said he was willing to merge the party with other political groups willing to form a new, broadly based party.

A former judge, Mr Kowie Marais, was



Sir de Villiers Graaff

approached to act as a go-between negotiator. The political farce, which the attempts to form a new party was becoming, was illustrated when Mr Marais went over to the Progressive side, later becoming a PFP MP.

Eventually only Mr Theo Gerdener and his Democratic Party, a movement which for all practical purposes did not exist, agreed to join in a new party. At congresses in Johannesburg in June, 1977, the two parties disbanded and the New Republic Party was formed.

Its main principles were:

- A thrust away from discrimination;
- Consultation and negotiation among groups;
- A multiracial central structure in which all groups could be represented; and
- Maximum practical self-rule for all.

The NRP was born on an ice rink in Johannesburg — some would say on very thin ice — and the audience sat around the rink and the platform was on the ice.

Slowly freezing political journalists and party leaders were positioned on platforms on the ice for the all-day congress.

The party was doomed to failure from the start.

The Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, dealt it the first severe blow when he called an election for November 30, 1977. By then, through defections to the PFP and to a new South African Party (SAP), the NRP had only 24 seats.

But its new leader, Mr Radcliffe Cadman, became leader of the Opposition. He never performed any of his duties in this role in Parliament as the party had a severe setback in that election when it won only nine seats and the PFP became the Opposition.

In the 1981 election the party won eight seats but a few years later three of its MPs defected to the National Party. In last year's election its number of MPs came down from five to only one.

The main reason for the NRP's death is that many of the supporters of the old UP did not identify with it. It became clear that, when the NRP was formed, it lost the major asset of the UP — its name.

Many supporters of the old UP felt themselves free to join other parties. In last year's election it became clear that most of them had gone over to the National Party.

One thing that hastened this process was the NRP's stand in the 1983 referendum on the new constitutional system when it fought for a "yes" vote on the side of the National Party.

After the party had identified itself so closely with the NP it became easier for many of its members to become Nationalists.

Now that the party is officially dead, other political parties from all sides are wooing its supporters.

Mr Bill Sutton, the last NRP leader, has suggested that members of the party should consider Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party as an alternative political home.

The National Party is claiming that most of the NRP's supporters are coming to it and the Progressive Federal Party is also hoping to draw some of them.

17698 27/3/88

3047

## PFP will write its own rules, says Eglin

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Progressive Federal Party refused to be restricted by the "apartheid rules" prescribed by the Government and would operate in areas the National Party did not control, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said in Durban last night.

Addressing about 200 people at the first PFP meeting with "non-white" members of its new parliamentary caucus, Mr Eglin said that in the important informal areas which concerned most people, the PFP was "going to write their own rules". It was only in the formal areas of the tricameral Parliament that they were bound by racist provisions.

Sharing the platform with Mr Eglin were former Progressive Reform Party members in the Indian House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab, who joined the PFP this week giving the party a foothold in the tricameral system, and author Dr Alan Paton.

### WHOLEHEARTED

Dr Paton said he was breaking a 20-year-old "tradition" by speaking at a partisan political gathering. He had not done so since his Liberal Party was disbanded in the '60s.

"I am here because I wholeheartedly support this move. There is no room left for whites-only opposition parties to the left of the Government."

A minor uproar occurred when the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farouk Meer, asked Mr Eglin how the PFP could align themselves with politicians from the "totally discredited" House of Democrats.

Mr Eglin replied that he knew both Mr Poovalingam and Mr Rajab as "true South Africans".





572  
30/3/88

## Former AWP secretary on BB executive

A Pretoria city councillor, and former general secretary of the Afrikaner Weestandsbeweging, Mr Piet Rudolph, was elected to the executive committee of the right-wing Boerestaatsbeweging (BB) at a meeting held recently.

The leadership of Mr Robert van Tonder was also confirmed at the BB meeting. Recent reports said Mr van Tonder was no longer the leader. However, a statement issued by the BB said Mr van Tonder's leadership was undisputed.

Mr van Tonder was a founder member of the Blanke Volkstaat Party.



# Von Schirnding cautions SA on America-bashing



Mr von Schirnding

(304A) Star By Frank Jeans 30/3/88  
Telling the world to "do its damndest" as far South Africa is concerned is a dangerous and short-sighted policy, says Mr Kurt von Schirnding, formerly South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr von Schirnding referred to the recent address by Mr Les Manley, his successor at the United Nations, when he addressed a lunch meeting of the South African-German Chamber of Trade and Industry in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The present America-bashing is not being very clever and we should not try to play off the US against Russia."

Mr von Schirnding told German business leaders that South Africa could not expect to hide behind American and British vetoes forever and said the warning signals were already evident about international sentiment towards this country.

"Italy has changed its stance and voted for sanctions against us and while Germany and Japan have abstained, our planners should take a serious view of recent events," he said.

Welcoming the advances being made in the reform process and the State President's initiative in unshackling the economy, Mr von Schirnding, in his role as Director-General of the South Africa Foundation, said: "Give credit where credit is due in the field of social and political reform."

Referring to the recent clamp on 18 organisations, Mr von Schirnding said this had caused world attitudes to change again.

"Our Achilles heel is the lack of perception of what marketing is all about," he said.

"Certainly, we haven't got many more feet through which to shoot ourselves.

"While the restrictions might have been necessary from a security point of view, foreign relations have been put in jeopardy.

"The decision for the restrictions, too, should have been explained to the foreign press and there might well have been greater understanding abroad."

110 36/3/88

## Man removed from AWB meeting

304A

EAST LONDON — A man was removed from the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbewing meeting at the Orient Theatre last night after he had shouted that everybody who had come to "see a circus" could leave.

The man, later identified as Mr Gus Goble, was jeered by the crowd of about 600.

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, asked Mr Goble to "get out" and he was taken outside by seven men in khaki uniforms and armed with revolvers.

Mr Goble said later he had gone to the meeting to try to break it up. "Creeping nazism should not be allowed to continue in South Africa," he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche arrived 90 minutes late for the meeting. An organiser, Mr Nic Slabber, said he had been deliberately delayed at Jan Smuts airport to prevent him from speaking in East London.

Mr Terre'blanche had eventually flown to East London in a four-seater plane. — DDR



AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche addresses last night's meeting. Speech page 3.



# Meeting told politicians giving SA away

30/3/88

304A

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — South Africa had the best army and police force in the world, but the politicians were giving the country away bit by bit, the leader of the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said at a meeting here last night.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, was giving away power.

"It has taken the white man's intellect and hard work to build up industries like Iscor and Sasol, and now Botha just gives them away."

Mr Terre'Blanche said the whites of South Africa paid "the majority of the taxes, yet only got 34 cents a rand for themselves".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had said that members of the AWB could not be policemen.

"If this is so, then there will be a time when he won't have any policemen."

Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB would support the Conservative Party's

attempt to get into power in the next general election — and that there was no place for moderates in South Africa.

The main aim of the AWB was to bring all white people in South Africa together, regardless of their background.

He said the AWB was above and outside the political realm and he was willing to "put a profitable career on the line, that the Nationalist Government would capitulate".

Only about 17 per cent of coloureds and Indians had voted in the elections, while the rest "were all shouting for the UDF".

The AWB wanted nothing to do with the ANC.

Mr Terre'Blanche was asked by a member of the audience, what the AWB would do to "get rid" of the present East London city councillors.

He replied that every election, from school committees to city councils, should be used to "snuif hierdie smurfies".

Mr Terre'Blanche likened the whites of South Africa's "volk" to a ship.

"No matter how good the captain is, if the ship is overloaded then it will sink when the storm comes.

"When I look for the captain of the ship in South Africa, I don't see one, but three captains."

Mr Terre'Blanche said said there were 28 million blacks sitting "doing nothing for the ship and the whites had to try to save it".

"If you think the blacks could steer the ship so well, then just take a look at the parts of Africa where there are no boere," he said.

The AWB regional secretary, Mr Nic Slabber, told the meeting that the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, would be invited to attend a meeting in East London on April 11 to discuss the closing of beaches to blacks.

He said a decision was needed on the issue.

"Either the beaches must be opened or they must be closed."

Mr Slabber said that he would also invite the mayors of East London, Gonubie, and Beacon Bay to attend the meeting.

Wednesday, March 30,

# CP stretches majority in Randfontein

JOHANNESBURG — Dr Corne Mulder of the Conservative Party last night won the Randfontein parliamentary by-election with an increased majority of 3 711.

He received 8 437 votes against the 4 726 of his National Party opponent, Dr Boy Geldenhuys. The polling percentage was 61,34 per cent.

It was the party's third victory in a month.

On March 2, the CP won the Schweizer-Reeneke and Standerton by-elections. All three seats were won by the CP in last year's May general election.

The CP majority yesterday was less than both the NP and CP had predicted shortly after the closing of the poll at 9 pm.

The NP had predicted a 4 000 CP majority and the CP a majority in excess of 5 000. The CP won the seat with a majority of 1 732 in the general election.

In his victory speech before hundreds of jubilant CP supporters, Dr Mulder said the result

## RESULT

Dr B. Geldenhuys (NP) ... 4726  
Dr C. Mulder (CP) ..... 8437  
Majority ..... 3711  
Percentage poll: 61,34

was an "absolute rejection of the NP and its policy".

On stage with Dr Mulder, son of the late Dr Connie Mulder, was his mother Mrs. Susan Mulder and his brother Piet who won the March poll in Schweizer-Reeneke for the CP.

"If my father had been here tonight, he would have been very proud," an emotional Dr Mulder said. "Randfontein proved that the CP has entrenched its stronghold in urban constituencies."

A disappointed Dr Geldenhuys — who was defeated by Dr Connie Mulder in last year's general election after he had represented the constituency in Parliament for eight years — said he interpreted yesterday's low percentage poll as a protest vote against the NP.

He added that the result was an example for other predominantly working class constituencies.

Dr Geldenhuys said although the poll reaffirmed a swing to the right "the NP had only one strategy to follow and that was to publicise and promote its reform policy."

Randfontein CP supporters who predicted a "landslide" victory started celebrating early with a boere orkes and braaivleis. Hundreds of supporters gathered at the main polling booth in anticipation of a favourable result.

## Hepatitis kills 600 in China

PEKING — More than 600 people have died in a hepatitis epidemic in north-west China.

The virus, which spread because of poor sanitation, had infected 122 000 people since it broke out 18 months ago in Xinjiang province. Chinese health authorities reported that 119 000 of the people infected had recovered. — Sapa-RNS



**T**HE MOST striking development in South Africa is how ordinary black people are taking matters into their own hands, and the very Parliament from which they are excluded is having to catch up behind them.

Just as they forced policy changes on trade unions and the pass laws, they are beginning to force policy changes with regard to the Group Areas Act.

Liberalisation of racial laws comes about as a result of change that has already taken place on the ground, not the other way round.

The key process at work is one of black empowerment. The crucial ingredients in this are:

- Rising wages, enabling people to move out of overcrowded townships into the usually more expensive accommodation in white suburbs.
- Increasing levels of education and skills already shown to have forced a policy change with regard to black unions.
- The availability of more jobs and better incomes in urban as compared with rural areas; and
- Action and organisation.

**T**he question that must be asked about revolutionary strategies and measures such as disinvestment or trade embargoes is whether they would help or hamper the process of black empowerment.

Blacks now account for one-third of high-level manpower, and the proportion is increasing.

By the year 2000, nearly 80% of matriculants will be black. By the same year, blacks will account for 44% of private consumption expenditure, against 20% in 1970.

Nothing should be done to retard this steady accumulation of economic power.

**A**n Institute of Race Relations analysis of change in the past 15 years not only shows that apartheid is vulnerable to pressure arising from this process of empowerment, it also demonstrates that business can assist the process of black empowerment and apartheid erosion.

Companies which started training black people for skilled jobs or signing agreements with black unions, or which employed black people disqualified by the pass laws, or which are leasing apartments to black tenants despite the Group Areas Act, have helped to create on the ground

# Apartheid laws eroded by change on the ground

**Apartheid laws change when they no longer work. Institute of Race Relations executive director JOHN KANE-BERMAN spells out how business can help the further erosion of apartheid. This is an extract from his argument against sanctions before a US Congressional committee**

the kind of situation that has already stimulated government to introduce policy changes, or will in due course induce the law to be amended to take account of reality.

**T**he key condition of such action by business is its active participation on the ground. Many people argue that the private sector was slow to take up the challenge and that it still has not done enough.

The real issue, however, is what it can do in the future. Our research shows that unprecedented opportunities now exist. Gaps have opened up that American and other companies, in conjunction with blacks, can move into.

In the US, educational desegregation was ordered by law. In SA the constitution imposes segregation, but actual desegregation on the ground has been necessitating subsequent changes in the law.

Government has recently committed itself to reducing the huge backlogs in black teachers and school facilities, but does not have enough money to do it.

This presents an opening for the private sector and other agencies with the necessary financial resources further to erode apartheid — for example, by building additional multi-racial private schools and



□ KANE-BERMAN... apartheid is vulnerable to pressure

teacher training colleges and offering to take over half-empty white State facilities on condition that they, too, can be multi-racial.

There is no area where desegregation is more important than in education. Black and white children are nearly all going to work together in adult life, so it is logical that they should grow up together and be educated together.

This will help to undermine the racial stereotypes on which apartheid rests.

Government has finally come to recognise that the enormous shortage of black housing — according to some estimates it is in the region of a million units — is a threat to stability. Once again, it does not have the money to do much more than make a dent in the backlog, which causes untold suffering.

Business can make use of this opportunity by involving themselves in housing development on a major scale, subject to acceptance by government that all new housing and infrastructural development programmes that they carry out are exempted from the Group Areas Act.

**I**f funds could be made available to black farmers to buy farms in depopulated white rural areas, it could set in motion the kind of pressures that would erode the Land Acts, which are a key element in apartheid.

The process of erosion of physical apartheid could indeed spill over into the political field.

The erosion of the Group Areas Act could thus prove to be the backdoor through which blacks get on to the voters' roll. As residential areas become increasingly desegregated, apartheid in local government will become more and more unworkable.

One appropriate strategy to start tackling the most strongly defended aspect of apartheid — which is political apartheid — is to tackle it first at local level.

Once local government has been effectively desegregated, the maintenance of apartheid in Parliament itself will become less and less sustainable.

Blacks who are richer, better educated, more strategically situated in the economy, and living in open areas, will be in a stronger position to organise themselves to press political demands at national level.

Apartheid is vulnerable to the effective application of pressure. Although the current climate seems hostile to further changes in policy, the steady erosion of apartheid on the ground is likely to compel such changes, whether government contemplates them or not.

**F**aced with the unworkability of its discriminatory policies, government is retreating gradually and reluctantly — but nevertheless steadily — from ideology into pragmatism. Whereas ideologies are impervious to the influence of others, pragmatists are not.

The pressures which are likely to be influential are those which are strategically targeted and offer practicable solutions backed by thorough research. Protest on its own is never enough.

The risk inherent in effective imposition of sanctions against SA is that they will slow down the pace at which the balance of economic power is shifting in favour of black people.

**T**he experience of the past 15 years has shown that black people can act to change their situation: there is substantial evidence to demonstrate that a growing economy generates forces which blacks can harness to empower themselves to do the job of dismantling apartheid. Foreign influence can help them in this task — but only if it does nothing to undermine the empowering forces.

For the outside world to perpetuate the myth that it can end apartheid is actually to prolong the agony by offering people in SA false hopes and empty promises.

As long as this illusion persists it strengthens one of the greatest obstacles to effective black action for change — the belief that black people are powerless and that they must therefore rely on others to bring about change on their behalf.

## Broeder talks foul of law 306A

CAPE TOWN — The secret Broederbond and the National Party have been allowed to hold meetings in government schools without the proper regulations being met.

The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, conceded yesterday that the meetings had not always been handled strictly in accordance with the law.

However, he told Mr Andrew Gerber, Conservative Partry MP for Brits, that no action was being taken against the principals of the schools involved. — DDC

DID 30/3/88



P/P 30/3/88  
**Police stop  
Eglin tour**

PIETERMARITZBURG

— The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, was stopped by police in Ashdown while on a fact-finding tour through the townships yesterday.

When the party was stopped, a senior officer who was called to the scene told Mr Eglin that he would not be able to continue the visit except under police escort.

Mr Eglin declined and was told to take the shortest route out of Edendale Valley and report to the police station.

The officer received a radio call and the party was allowed to continue the tour provided it did not stop anywhere.

The police liaison officer later said the reason Mr Eglin was not allowed to continue the visit was because a photographer and reporter were among the party.

Mr Eglin said last night he regarded the incident as "a sign of the times."

He said effective police action was called for but half-trained "kitskonstabels" were not the answer. — Sapa

# Routed! Nats lose election by a landslide

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE National Party has suffered its biggest defeat so far at the hands of the Conservative Party by losing the Randfontein parliamentary by-election by 3 711 votes.

The CP more than doubled its majority from last year when the late Dr Connie Mulder won the seat. The victor this year was his son, Dr Corné Mulder.

This follows two other by-election defeats at the beginning of the month.

While CP leader Dr A P Treurnicht maintained the result showed a rejection of Nationalist reform policies by white voters, Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk said reform would continue and the party would not be put off by temporary setbacks.

The National Party had been resigned to losing, but the CP majority was bigger than had been expected.

There was a swing of 7 per cent away from the National Party. This was larger than the swing in the recent Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke by-elections.

The percentage vote was fairly high for a by-election — 61,34 compared to 65,7 in last year's general election.

Dr Treurnicht said the result was a serious rejection of the National Party's reform aims. It confirmed the swing from the NP to the CP, and was a signal that whites wanted their own country and government.

The Transvaal Nationalist leader, Mr F W de Klerk, conceded that the result was a disappointment but said the party would not be put off by it.

It was clear there was a great deal of uncertainty among white voters and this was being abused by the CP.

## TEMPORARY

The National Party would give immediate attention to the factors which led to this, and would spell out policy more clearly. The CP was using emotion and slogans which could not be implemented.

"Temporary setbacks will not let us flinch from our task," Mr de Klerk said.

● Election analyst Dr Dirk Laurie said today the results indicated the Conservative Party would take at least 62 parliamentary seats if a general election were to be held now.

This would make it the largest opposition party in the House of Assembly since 1953, he said.

Dr Laurie said the Randfontein result indicated the National Party had lost 17 per cent of the votes it polled in the 1987 general election.



JUBILATION: Conservative Party supporters carry a triumphant Dr Corné Mulder.

## ONLY 18 MORE

If this was representative, the CP would win 62 seats and possibly five or six more in a new general election, he said.

If it did win 62 seats, it would require only 18 more to win control of the government.

Among the seats Dr Laurie believes could now be lost to the National Party are those of Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk (Vereeniging: tipped as the likely successor to Mr Botha), and Cabinet Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark: also tipped as a possible successor).

Dr Laurie did temper his analysis by saying the three recent by-elections might not give the complete picture as they had taken place in CP territory.

## FULL RESULT

Dr Corné Mulder (CP): 8 437  
Dr B L Geldenhuys (NP): 4 726  
CP majority: 3 711  
Percentage vote: 61,34.

## 1987 RESULT

Dr C P Mulder (CP): 7 999  
Dr B L Geldenhuys (NP): 6 267  
CP majority: 1 732  
Percentage vote: 65,7

see page 2



D/D 31/3/88

## MP: loans linked to racism

CAPE TOWN — The fact that almost all loans advanced by the Land Bank went to whites was a comment on the "inherent racism" in South African society, the PFP MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, said yesterday.

He was commenting on a written reply given by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, that R446 059 520 had been lent to whites according to the latest figures — and only R217 400 for coloureds, and R527 400 for Indians.

No money had been lent to blacks, the minister said.

Mr Malcomess said that in view of the latest amendments to the Land Bank Act passed by the House of Assembly on Tuesday — to lend money to blacks in homelands considered to be no longer part of South Africa — the figures were "beyond belief".

He said the amount lent was directly in proportion to the amount of power each race group had.

Mr Malcomess said what was even more amazing was that the Land Bank had recently disclosed that it had lent one official 50 per cent of the total it had given to coloured farmers. —DDC

304 n.

58

# NP branch undecided over <sup>(304A)</sup> election <sup>9/23/38</sup>

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**  
QUEENSTOWN.— The National Party branch here has not yet decided if it will become involved in the October municipal elections.

This was revealed at a council meeting this week when Mr. M. H. "Johnny" Johnson put the question to the chairman of the local NP branch, Mr. H. A. "Tokkie" Deysel, during debate on the vacancy on the council following Mr. Maurice Shadiack's sudden resignation.

Responding to a press statement by Mr. Deysel denying allegations that the NP was involved, or had assisted Mr. Shadiack, in the recent municipal by-election, Mr. Johnson asked if the party would involve itself in the October election.

Mr. Deysel replied that the matter had not been raised at the executive meeting of the party's district council.

Dr. Teunis Schlebusch objected as he said Mr. Johnson was questioning Mr. Deysel on the use of NP placards for Mr. Shadiack's posters during the by-election campaign.

Dr. Schlebusch said the matter was not on the agenda and could therefore not be discussed.

"Dr. Schlebusch is a National Party supporter now but he changes his mind every two weeks so one never knows what he is", Mr. Johnson said.

Dr. Schlebusch replied that he supported rules of order.

The deputy mayor, Mr. Stan Pohlman, who chaired the meeting, ruled Mr. Johnson out of order and the meeting continued.

DF5



10 31/3/88  
Call to halt  
AWB in EL 3den

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The man who defied the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) here, Mr Gus Goble, says he wants to muster moderate support and stop the AWB from ever holding another meeting in East London.

"This is a form of creeping Nazism which must be stamped out."

"I estimate that 5 000 moderates would support me in a passive resistance campaign to abort another meeting."

"We would simply line up outside the venue and prevent party members from entering. Tuesday's meeting should never have been allowed to take place."

"Of the 600 people in the audience, half were obviously there as observers, and a steady stream of about 100 people walked out."

"I was disturbed to see others being stimulated to adopt his views. The AWB is dangerous — it could take over the Conservative Party and exert considerable influence in years to come if it goes unchecked."

"The public's reaction to Mr Terre'Blanche's observations about low pay for policeman was particularly disturbing."



MR GOBLE

Mr Terre' Blanche's macho image might appeal to younger policemen, but 99 per cent of South Africans appreciate the work they do."

Mr Goble said about 20 people had telephoned him after reading yesterday's newspaper report on his removal from the meeting at the Orient Theatre.

"Many people congratulated me on my stand, and none of the callers were abusive."

Mr Goble was escorted out of the meeting by seven men in khaki uniforms and armed with revolvers after he invited everyone "who had come to see a circus" to leave the meeting with him.

SA designed aero engine — Jane's

# China 'invites' Armscor to show

LONDON — Armscor has accepted an invitation to exhibit its military hardware in China, Jane's Defence Weekly (JDW) reports in its latest edition.

Officials have revealed that Armscor has developed an embryo of an engine design for the development of high-speed aircraft. They have also hinted strongly that reports that engineers from Israel's ill-fated Lavie project are working in SA are true.

JDW says an Armscor official confirmed it had received an invitation to exhibit in Beijing.

The official said SA had accepted, but was told later SA and Israel could exhibit only after the show ended — and then only to the People's Republic Army.

An Armscor spokesman in Pretoria said he had no comment on the report. Armscor is SA's largest exporter of manufactured goods. Despite political constraints it has sold military equipment to 23 countries with a total value approaching \$1bn.

Armscor CEO Johan van Vuuren told JDW Armscor was trying to identify future defence requirements 15-20 years in advance.

The philosophy was to develop sys-

Own Correspondent

tems with high mobility, rapid effective fire-power and stand-off capability.

"It's clear to me that conventional warfare is going to be the main thing for the future — not the fancy stuff. People are just too scared to use it. What we need is medium-range rockets, long-distance artillery.

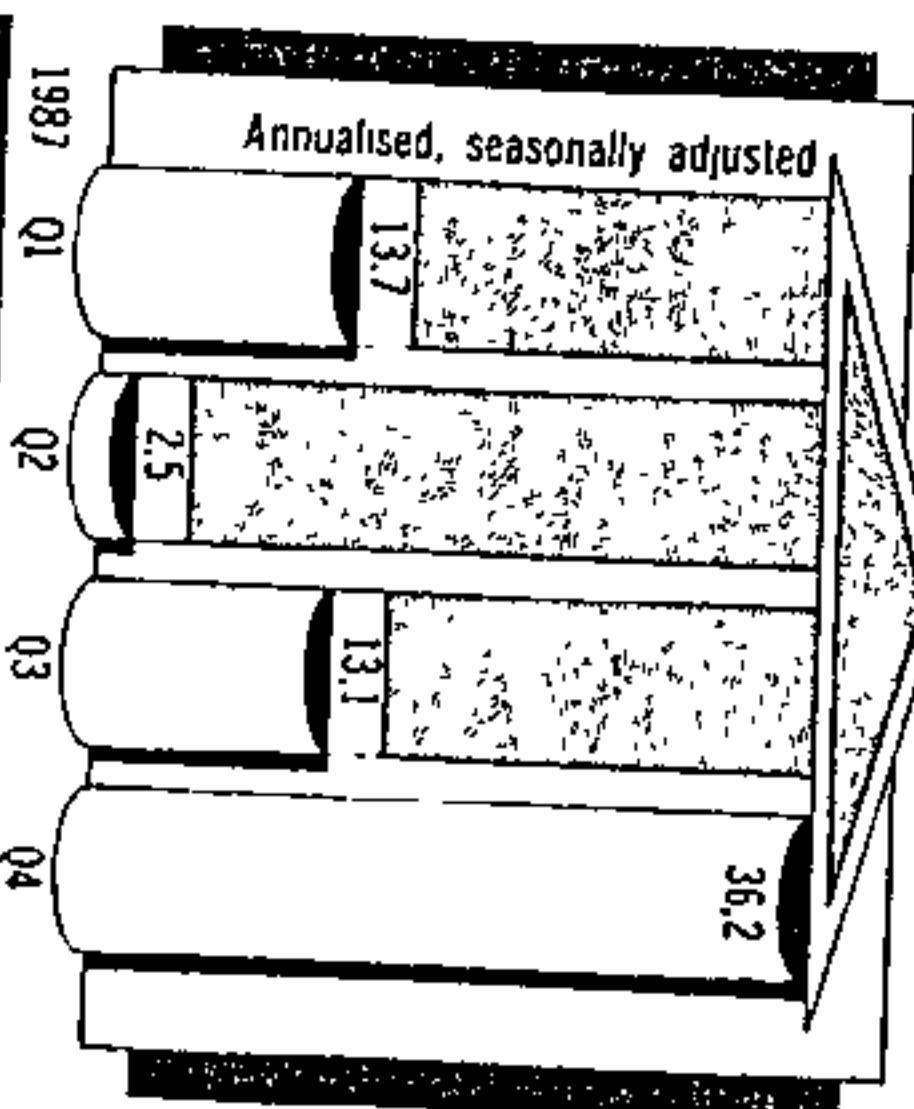
"You need to strike across the border before the international political situation comes down on you too hard," he told JDW.

Van Vuuren predicted SA would display "two or three very exciting new products in the area of high mobility warfare" at the Fida exhibition in Chile in 1990.

SA, he said, aimed to be self-sufficient in weapons manufacture. While it could not compete with the US and USSR on high-speed aircraft, "we will have to do something about it".

While the Fida exhibition is the only place where SA can exhibit its military products without political constraints, Van Vuuren said Armscor took hotel rooms at other shows to talk to potential customers privately.

BANK CREDIT TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR % Increase



Source: SA RESERVE BANK GRAPH: JOHN MCCANN

## Home-loan

HOME loan rates, which slashed in the bond war bet banks and building societies, made a sharp about-turn and are rising across the board.

The Allied yesterday announced an increase in its building society for new loans from 13% to 13.5% from April 1. The Trust Bank's increase, from 12.5% to 13.5%, comes into effect tomorrow.

First National and the Building Society were the first to

## AWB's 'false' expectations

CAPE TOWN — Eugene Terre-Blanche was creating a set of false expectations for his followers and was building up emotion around nebulous dreams which had little relation to the practical circumstances and demands of SA, President P W Botha said in a letter sent recently to the AWB leader.

The letter was written as a reply to the AWB petition handed in at the Union Buildings last month.

The petition called for the establishment of an Afrikaner Christian Republic "Boerestaat", and said government was engaged in acts of betrayal towards Afrikaners.

Botha said Terre-Blanche would help the Afrikaner and SA much more if he tried to approach the questions of the country in a more responsible manner instead of con-

ducting his politics in a way that could bring about division and suspicion.

"There is enough undeserved hate worldwide towards the Afrikaner to make us in this country unable to afford that Afrikaners become, through their own conduct, an object of hate and ridicule," Botha said. □ Terre-Blanche told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday that his policies were not based on Hitler's national socialism.

He told a capacity audience that he had based his ideology on that of Paul Kruger, the Boer War president of the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek. — Sapa.



# AWB creates false expectations — PW

CAPE TOWN — Mr Eugene Terre Blanche was creating a set of false expectations for his followers, and building up emotion around nebulous dreams which had little relation to the practical circumstances of South Africa, the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said in a letter to the AWB leader.

The letter was written as a reply to the AWB petition handed in at the Union Buildings last month, and was released to the media here yesterday "in the interest of a complete record".

The petition called for the establishment of an Afrikaner Christian Republican "Boerestaat", and said the government was engaged in acts of betrayal towards Afrikaners.

Mr Botha said Mr Terre Blanche would help the Afrikaner and South Africa much more if he tried to approach the questions of the country in a more responsible manner instead of conducting his politics in a way that could bring about division.

He said there was enough undeserved hate worldwide towards the Afrikaners who could not afford to become objects of hate and ridicule through their own conduct.

The NP had been re-elected to power last year with a convincing majority and had received a mandate to carry out its programme of principles.

There were thus real problems with Mr Terre Blanche's demand that the government carry out the policy of the AWB.

The organisation had its own political party, the Blanke Volkstaartparty, through which it could seek a mandate for the execution of its policy.

According to Mr Terre Blanche, five members of the AWB were in Parliament under the colours of the Conservative Party.

The AWB, in one of its policy statements, said white land had to be bought. The CP wanted a state for whites.

The Afrikaner Volkswag found itself between a white state and an Afrikaner one, and the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers wanted a land for the white Afrikaner nation.

The Boerestaatheweging wanted a Boerestaat and the Transvaalse Separatiste wanted restoration of the Transvaal republic. The AWB wanted the three Boer republics restored.

"Against this background, my question to you is: Who speaks for whom, and what is it that must be brought about?"

Before he again approached the government, Mr Terre Blanche should look at this basis of his demands, Mr Botha said. — Sapa



MR BOTHA

MR TERRE' BLANCHE

## Plot to delay leader — claim

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) claims that Mr Eugene Terre Blanche was deliberately delayed at Jans Smuts airport in Johannesburg, and because of this had to charter a flight that cost about R300 to speak at a meeting here on Tuesday night.

The regional secretary of the AWB, Mr Nic Slabber, said yesterday that when Mr Terre Blanche and his party arrived at Jan Smuts, they were stopped and their luggage was searched by airport officials.

"One of the people in the group, Mr A. Smith, had a card with the AWB's emblem on it.

"One of the airport officials saw it and that's when they decided to search our luggage."

Mr Slabber said that when the group went to board their plane, they found their seats had been taken.



MR SLABBER

"They then tried to board a later plane, but this one was delayed for an hour-and-a-half, so Mr Terre Blanche had to get a four-seater plane and fly down to East London in that," Mr Slabber said.

The vice-president of the local branch of the AWB, Mr Johann du Toit, said that this was the third meeting to be addressed by Mr Terre Blanche, that the "government had attempted to restrain him from attending".

Mr Du Toit said that Mr Terre Blanche wanted to arrange another meeting in East London.

"He felt that he didn't have time to get accustomed to problems facing East Londoners."

"He really wanted to speak about the beach problem here, but did not have the time."

The meeting on Tuesday night was attended by over 600 people, who gave Mr Terre Blanche a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — National Party MP Mr Peet de Pontes confirmed yesterday that he would resign from the legal firm I C Clark.

Mr I C Clark said Mr De Pontes was "no longer a member of the firm".

The East London MP said his decision was "not directly connected" to his past association with Vito Roberto Palazzolo, who is in jail in Switzerland after being convicted on drug-smuggling charges.

"I am finding the pressure of work, especially the chairmanship of the standing committee on trade and industry and membership of the commission for co-operation and development, is such that it makes practice relating to day-to-day matters on behalf of clients very difficult," he said.

31/3/88  
Nat MP  
De Pontes  
to quit  
law firm



# Standerton was a shock to the NP. Randfontein is a disaster

IN the macho world of white South African politics, the Conservative Party proved once more this week that no one succeeds better than a winner.

While the Nationalist press agonised over the divided soul of the Afrikaner and the Progressive Federal Party continued its rapid disintegration, the CP scored a landslide by-election victory in Randfontein.

Dr Corne Mulder increased the majority of his father, Dr Connie Mulder, over the National Party candidate in both contests, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, from 1 732 to 3 711.

The extent of the swing — 9,06 percent to the CP and 7,22 percent away from the National Party — was even larger than the swings in the predominantly rural seats of Schweizer-Reneke and Standerton earlier in the month.

All three results have occurred within a year of the CP's gains in the general election when it achieved official opposition status — and showed it could not only equal but improve on its by-election showings in a general election.

"It is an ill-omen for the National Party," commented political scientist Willem Kleynhans, who pointed out that not only had the NP lost its share of the votes, but that 1 541 fewer voters had supported it than last time.

Randfontein is an urban seat, and the NP's showing there is a danger signal to a number of Nat MPs in once safe blue-collar and lower middle class constituencies on the East and West Rand, in Pretoria and in the Vaal Triangle.

Not least of these is Vereeniging, the seat of FW de Klerk, Transvaal party leader and the reputed heir apparent to President PW Botha. To lose his seat he only needs a six percent swing away from the NP — three percent less than in Randfontein, a neighbourhood with a very similar socio-economic profile.

The number of ministers and deputy ministers who stand to lose their seats if an election were held now must be a cause of great consternation for the ruling party.

It would require a swing of less than one percent to dislodge Leon Wessels, the deputy minister of law and order, in Krugersdorp. Less than three percent is all the CP needs to get rid of Pietie du Plessis, the minister of manpower, in Lydenburg, and Danie Steyn, the minister of economic affairs and technology, in Wonderboom.

Apart from De Klerk, a six percent swing would displace Sam de Beer, the deputy minister of education, in Geduld.

After the Randfontein by-election, many a minister must be thinking long and hard about his own prospects in the next election. Including party king-pin FW de Klerk (right). PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports



Vereeniging's neighbouring blue-collar constituency of Vanderbijlpark is now also extremely marginal. It would take a 10 percent swing — one percent more than CP achieved in Randfontein — to oust Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the minister of education and development aid.

The minimal coverage given to the by-election in the NP press (compared to coverage of the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke campaigns) and the difficulty in recruiting party helpers is a sign that the NP is starting to write off some seats as unwinnable.

This was further emphasised this week by the reprieve granted to the

Brits Oukase which was due for removal largely to appease the local white community.

Brits is now irrevocably a CP seat, and the NP must at last have realised that their chances of recapturing it by pandering to white sentiment were not very high.

But if the NP has written off the areas it has already lost, how does it break the momentum and stop the CP accumulating more and more support from whites and appearing increasingly as a credible alternative government?

Some NP officials are talking about the "African model" — a dictatorship of the National Party, ensuring its rule into perpetuity rather than permitting what they see as the ruin which would follow a CP takeover.

They speculate that while the South African Police largely supports the CP, the military leadership is loyal to the NP, and thus the balance of forces on the ground still favours the Botha faction.

This talk would have appeared far-fetched not so long ago, but after a result such as Randfontein, for some politicians it must suddenly start to make a whole lot more sense.

## Double reshuffle in the white House

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

TWO parties in the white house of assembly changed their face this week — the New Republic Party formally approved its own dissolution and its new character has not yet been finalised, while the Progressive Federal Party was joined by two MP's from the Indian house of delegates.

The two Indian MP's were formally welcomed into the PFP this week at a meeting in Durban, described by speakers as "historic".

Introducing Pat Poovalingam and Mahmoud Rajab, PFP leader Colin Eglin said the meeting was "a breakthrough which could lead to a new era in South Africa politics."

"This is the first time that whites and so-called non-whites have shared a platform as members of the same parliamentary caucus."

Poovalingam and Rajab had represented the Progressive Reform Party which dissolved itself earlier this month, paving the way for party members to throw in their lot with the PFP.

However, their third MP colleague, John Iyman, has not joined them in crossing to the PFP and is considering quitting parliament altogether as he says the tricameral system has achieved nothing.

An unexpected guest at the meeting was veteran member of the Liberal Party and author, Alan Paton, who said it was the first time in 20 years he had addressed a political gathering — and probably the last time.

Paton said he was prompted to

break his 20-year-old rule, because he wanted to show how wholeheartedly he approved the move by the former PRP members of parliament in disbanding and joining the PFP and making that party "truly non-racial".

Commenting on their move, Rajab said his former party had similar objectives to the PFP. They had decided to disband as it was thought the "progressive input" would be better served through united opposition in all three chambers.

His colleague from the PRP, Poovalingam, said the PFP would now be seen to practise within its own parliamentary ranks, its policy of non-racialism.

The other dissolution — that of the NRP last week-end marked the end of a long period of decline in party fortunes, and clears the way for its members to move to a new political home.

Both the National Party and the Independent Party have been publicly lobbying for the support of NRP voters and their sole MP, Ralph Hardingham.

At the last NRP congress in Scottburgh last Saturday, the former leader of the party, Bill Sutton, urged that members join the Independent Party, and not move to the NP, whom, he said, were responsible for the problems of the country.

African Labour Bulletin  
ident journal committed to the  
the trade union movement.  
ALB has two vacancies

Cape Times 31/3/88  
304A

# PW turns sights on Terre'Blanche

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha, having challenged the churches to take him to court, turned his sights on the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday and said its leader would do more good for South Africa by being more responsible.

Mr Botha was replying to the militant organization's petition to the government on Majuba Day demanding the return of Boer land and rejecting the government's policy as little else but treason.

In a letter to the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Mr Botha said the government had received petitions from a variety of people. It was however the National Party that had been elected last year with an overwhelming majority to carry out its policies.

Mr Terre'Blanche's problem was that he wanted the government to carry out AWB policy.

The AWB had its own political

party, the Volkstaatparty, through which it could seek a mandate from the electorate.

There were also five members of the AWB sitting in Parliament under the Conservative Party banner.

"You are creating a set of false expectations among your supporters and are building up emotions around misty dreams which have little connection with the practical situations and demands of South Africa," Mr Botha told Mr Terre'Blanche.

Mr Botha said there was enough undeserved hate against the Afrikaner worldwide without Afrikaners, through their own doing, turning themselves into an object of hate and ridicule.

● Mr Terre'Blanche told 700 to 800 people in a packed Paarl town hall last night that the government was moderate and cowardly.

● AWB 'not nazis' — Page 3

ate of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment a



# AWB not racists, nazi — leader

CAE *Travis* 31/3/88 306A  
Political Correspondent

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday denied he was a nazi or that the AWB favoured racial discrimination.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club during a rare visit to Cape Town, Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB enjoyed "exceptionally good support" in the Western Cape. Their largest support-base was the Swartland area, he said.

There had been a "marked increase" in the number of English-speakers who had joined the AWB, particularly in the past few months.

Mr Terre'Blanche, flanked by armed guards during his fiery speech, had to contend with some heckling and a few critical questions, but most of the audience listened attentively to his booming rhetoric and laughed at his jokes.

Questioned about the AWB's "neo-nazi" insignia, Mr Terre'Blanche responded: "I am not a nazi and I don't allow them to prescribe to me."

He said that if people believed the AWB's three-7 insignia looked like a swastika "then they are allowing their imaginations to run away from them". The symbol was derived from the Bible, he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB demand for a "piece of land" for its Afrikaner volkstaat "has nothing to do with national socialism".

He added: "I am not inspired by Adolf Hitler. If I am inspired by anyone, then it is Paul Kruger — definitely not Hitler."

He also denied that the AWB favoured racial discrimination, and accused the government of being committed to "total, absolute racism".

Mr Terre'Blanche said Afrikaner "volk" — as well as other "nations" like coloured people, Zulus and Ndebeles — had a right to their own land in which their own leaders could be "boss".