S. AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

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Paying to be 'free of the mob'

Cape Times 1/7/85



By Hilary Venables

THE City Council has decided to implement its controversial beach "controls" this summer, come hell or high water.

Our City Fathers voted overwhelmingly at last week's council meeting against a motion calling for the measures to be put to the public vote by means of an opinion survey

Proposing the motion, which was defeated by 14 votes to seven in a depleted council chamber, Mr Jan van Eck urged the council to give the City's voteless majority an opportunity to express their views on the issue.

He also argued that controls which had the support of the people whose lives they would influence would be far more effective than the unpopular measures approved by council.

Arguments against the survey varied from the dubious "we are not bound by the opinion of the majority" to "let's give the new system a chance and have a survey after the summer season".

Some councillors, namely Mr Joe Rabinowitz and Mr Emil Riese, avoided debating the merits or otherwise of canvassing public opinion and resorted instead to defending the new measures.

"It is vital that we support the middle class which is the most essential element in a stable society. If they wish to purchase some exclusivity during their leisure time and to be free from the attentions of the mob, then we must give them that opportunity," Mr Rabinowitz said.

It has been pointed out time and time again that the equation of wealth with good behaviour is a false one, but some councillors still seem to believe that one can keep out "undesirables" by making facilities inaccessible to the poor.

The absurdity of the situation was further illustrated at last week's meeting when the council agreed to grant pensioners and their spouses free access to pay beaches and pools.

Although this demonstrates a laudable sympathy for the problems of the economically underprivileged, it creates a false distinction between an "acceptable poor" and an "unacceptable poor".

Surely the unemployed, and those earning a minimum wage should also be granted a concession.

But this of course would negate completely the aim of creating pay beaches in the first place.

The rationale behind charging an entrance fee to beaches can only be to create an elite section of sand and sea for those who are prepared and able to pay for the privilege of exclusivity.

The council has consistently argued that the pay beaches occupy an insignificant section of the coastline and that people who cannot afford the entrance can choose from any number of free beaches

Surely this also applies to pensioners. There seems to be no logic in enabling pensioners to enter these exclusive enclaves while denying access to the rest of the poor.

IN contrast to what many consider to be its undemocratic stand on beaches, the City Council remains committed to full representation of all citizens on the council.

Residents of Mitchells Plain and Retreat, who are being threatened with the establishment of management committees in their areas, will be relieved to hear that the City Council has refused to play any part in the creation of these bodies.

The chairman of Exco, Mr John Muir, confirmed at the council's meeting last week that his committee had been approached by the Director of Local Government, Mr Jan Walters, and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning regarding the establishment of mancoms in these two areas.

"In both cases the Executive Committee resolved that the Director of Local Government and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning be informed that it has always been the council's view that there is no satisfactory alternative for Cape Town to a right to direct representation for all ratepayers on the City Council in order that those who contribute to the prosperity and progress of the City may participate in its local government without discrimination," Mr Muir said.

He said neither of the departments had pursued the matter to date.

Police probe new ultra-right group

From COLIN HOWELL

JOHANNESBURG. — Security police are investigating the activities of a secret right-wing organization, the Blanke Bevrydigingsbeweging (BBB), after the distribution of scores of pamphlets in Johannesburg.

The BBB (White Liberation Movement) appears to have been formed after the Westdene Dam bus disaster in March in which 42 schoolchildren died.

The pamphlet, headlined "Westdene bus disaster and the murder attacks on the white man on the roads of South Africa", calls for all "anti-white forces" to be "wiped out".

The BBB claims responsibility for placing posters which said "Bus Disaster — an act of terror against the white man" at Westdene Dam in April and sympathizes with parents who "had to witness a non-white transporting their children".

Among those to receive the BBB pamphlet was Mr Johan Botha, the headmaster of Vorentoe Hoërskool.

Yesterday, parents who lost children in the bus disaster said they had no knowledge of the new organization and wanted nothing to do with it.

In the pamphlet, the BBB also attacks the SABC and "other leftist media" for their coverage of accidents invoving "non-whites".

Johannesburg security police are investigating the pamphlet and a copy has been sent to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau.

Indian, coloured MPs had 'profound effect'

Mercury Reporter

THE presence of Indians and coloureds in Parliament had had a profound effect on most of the legislation dealt with by the Government this year, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council, said at the weekend.

At a report-back meeting in Ladysmith, the leader of the ruling National People's Party in the House of Delegates said 77 amendments had been made to the Regional Services Council Bill by the standing committee before it was finally approved by the white, coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

Earlier, at a symposium to discuss the Bill, Mr Rajbansi explained why the NPP had supported it.

Amendments

Addressing members of various Natal Local Affairs Committees, ratepayer organisations and community leaders in the Midlands area, he said he supported the Bill for several reasons.

'We supported it only after far-reaching amendments were accepted by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis,' he said, adding that the Bill provided for joint exercise for all race groups, including blacks.

For the first time blacks would be included in a local government structure, he said.

'Furthermore the Bill provides for development of undeveloped areas and it also compels councils to allocate funds where the need is greatest,' he said.

However, he said the NPP had rejected the Local Government Amendment Bill because of its segregated structures which would lead to autonomy.

Inkatha in merger?

CLOSER ties — even a possible alliance — between Inkatha and the Progressive Federal Party are on the cards following Inkatha's congress in Ulundi at the weekend.

The congress was attended by 10 of the PFP's 27 members of Parliament and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was warm in his praise of the party.

"The PFP's presence here today indicates that discussion and negotiations can bridge the gulf which apartheid has established between black and white," Chief Buthelezi told several thousand supporters at the congress.

"I have a growing sense of confidence that we will sit side-by-side around a future negotiating table," he said to applause.

Chief Buthelezi complimented the PFP for its courage in opening its membership to all races, but said Inkatha would postpone its decision on whether to do the same.

"The history of the struggle for liberation has shown the difficulty with which black organisations open their doors to all races."

In a three-hour speech which criticised tactics and stressed the importance of negotiations, Chief Buthelezi said that only a national endeavour could avert tragedy in South Africa.

His rapproachement with the PFP is significant at a time when the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act is causing a re-alignment of Political movements.

However, a possible stumbling block in the Inkatha-PFP relationship could come over the nature of the co-operation between the parties, while Inkatha members favour an alliance, PFP sources would prefer Inkatha members to join their party.

This would mean a flouting of the principle that a person may not belong to two parties, but the PFP might avoid this by describing Inkatha as a "cultural liberation movement".

An Inkatha source said he did not think members would want to join the PFP but believed they would be willing to co-operate.

The congress, which celebrated Inkatha's 10th anniversary, was attended by diplomats from Britain and the United States and a delegation from the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

SACC conference

Council calls for a 'Day of Confession'

THE South African Council of Churches is to organise a day of confession of guilt by white christians towards the black people of South Africa.

This is one of the resolutions adopted at the SACC's conference in Bosmont, Johannesburg, with delegates agreeing there was a need for confession of guilt by white christians "for the unjust structures they have imposed on blacks.

"On this occasion the opportunity of expressing guilt, receiving forgiveness, and renewing mutual reconciliation and identification will be sought," according to the resolution.

The event would be arranged by organising a service of white delegates of the SACC and the black community of Langa, Uitenhage. Meetings will also be held in other parts of the country.

The conference also resolved to refer the "theological rationale" dealing with a call for prayer for the end of "unjust rule" to the member churches for their consideration.

Churches outside South Africa with which the SACC has relationships had expressed interest in participating in such a discussion, said the resolution.

The conference also decided to convey "our grave reservations"–to New Zealand and Australian organisers of the planned tours of South Africa by the All Blacks rugby team and a group of Australian cricketers.

"We as church leaders believe the project tours should not take place. We believe that in the light of the longer crisis in our land at this time, both these tours would be ill-advised and would be perceived by most of our people as acts of insensitivity to the crisis."

Other resolutions adopted at the conference were:

— That the SACC call on the government to stop the present treason trials "and rather enter into dialogue with authentic leadership of the organisations resisting the apartheid system-"

— That it endorses the UN decision calling on South Africa to pay full compensation to Botswana following the recent raid into that country — and

— That it call on the State President to lift the banning and banishment order on Mrs Winnie Mandela. Mrs Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence, is restricted to the free state town of Brandfort. — SAPA / IS / RK

Challenge to reform's 'race basis'

Mercury Reporter

THE RIGIDLY racial basis of the Government's reform initiatives is expected to be seriously challenged by a massive Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report on a four-year inquiry into inter-group relations in South Africa, which is to be released this week.

The over-emphasis of group interests and rights at the expense of individuals are expected to come under fire as a formula making conflict inevitable.

The report will contain a series of 'fundamental prerequisites for constructive intergroup relations' which the HSRC hopes could guide the negotiation of a generally acceptable political solution in South Africa.

The chairman of the committee which co-ordinated the research, Dr H C Marais, said in a telephone interview yesterday that the report could be 'useful for various groups to consider as a basis for real, ongoing dialogue'.

The report was deliberately being released with no strings attached', to allow free debate.

'It was not commissioned by anyone and it is being released to all interested parties at the same time,' he said.

304A NM 1/7/85

'Red rag'

'In the light of the fluidity of the situation, we felt it would be more useful to identify general principles rather than make specific practical recommendations.

'We tried to provide a fair, scientific view and we hope it will be treated fairly and not used as a red rag.'

The report is expected to argue for the restoration of individual freedoms and rights which have suffered because of an over-emphasis in South Africa on groups as units of planning and political analysis.

'Regional, national and international realities are such that the individual can no longer be ignored,' said Dr Marais.

'A balance should be struck between group and individual interests.'

About 200 HSRC and university researchers around the country, representing more than 20 academic disciplines, worked on the inquiry for four years.

'We have something based on consensus here,' said Dr Marais.

'The fact that so many people of diverse ideological persuasions could agree on definite conclusions is itself significant.

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Reform challenge

◆ FROM PAGE 1

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'It shows that consensus is not just a pipe-dream.

'And it was not just a matter of horse-trading either. The final test was always whether conclusions could be scientifically substantiated.'

However, the very far Right and Left, which did not participate in the institutional political system, had not been represented on the main committee.

But Dr Marais invited groups whose views had not been represented to discuss the report with him.

'I would like to enter into dialogue with people on the extremes to see in what respects we really disagree so radically — on the basis of scientific argument and not just political expediency.'

Apartheid sows the seeds of violence, report warns

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

APARTHEID is creating a high conflict potential in South Africa and estranging the race groups, according to a major Human Sciences Research Council report.

The report calls for drastic changes in the political, social and economic order of the country.

The report, entitled The South African Society: Realities and Future Prospects, was released today.

It warns that the possibility of conflict can no longer be reduced within a system based on statutory-determined group identity and separation.

It states that South Africa is a divided and polarised society and that transition from apartheid to broader democracy will not occur without a hitch.

The report also finds it is an illusion to think that the whites have such control over their own destinies that they can dictate the rate, direction and nature of change according to their own needs.

On the other hand there is also no consolation for those who simply assume that uncontrolled violence will lead to the ideal society.

Despite the bleak picture the report paints it also touches on certain factors in South African society which give reason for hope.

These are reforms, the recognition of the residential rights of blacks, the increasing willingness of the different groups to engage in dialogue and the greater "upward mobility" of all the people.

The investigation, which took four years to complete, was conducted by a main committee and 13 work committees with more than 100 researchers and research groups.

The main committee was under the chairmanship of Dr H C Marais, vice-president of the HSRC.

The report makes a number of recommendations to improve relations.

Among them are that:

● Education policy should be geared towards greater understanding and reconciliation between races.

● Freedom of association must replace the rigid apartheid principles which exclude contacts between the races.

● White political dominance must be replaced by a system which permits the achievement of political aims and aspirations of all races.

Unemployment is given as one of the main factors with an effect on inter-group relations.

A large percentage of the population feels that South Africa will change considerably within the next 20 years. Many see violence as a means of change.

On the question of whether violence was an acceptable means of achieving means of achieving political aims 63 percent of blacks, 40 percent of Indians, 37 percent of coloured and 30 percent of whites reacted positively.

Whites are the group most satisfied with their quality of life.

● **Conflict potential 'high' — Page 11.**

No place for apartheid, says report

Natal Mercury 304A 2/7/85

Political Reporter

SOUTH Africa's system of apartheid and racial segregation has failed to enable the different races to co-exist peacefully and should be completely scrapped.

This is the message of a Human Sciences Research Council report on a four-year study of inter-group relations in South Africa.

The report calls for the restoration of individual freedoms and rights which have suffered as a result of an overemphasis on groups as units of political and social ordering.

'Few social systems have a greater conflict potential,' it says.

Specifically, the institutionalisation of ethnicity, compelling the individual to order his life within prescribed group boundaries, the resultant isolation and insulation of people, and the inequalities involved in the group-based allocation of resources, were at the root of the conflict.

Academics

'If this condition is allowed to develop further it will become increasingly difficult to transform conflict constructively,' it warns.

The report is the result of four years' work by more than 100 academics around the country, co-ordinated by a main committee of 30 academics from across the political spectrum.

It suggests the abolition of South Africa's system of population registration — which would inevitably lead to a completely integrated, non-racially based society.

Legislated groupings did not necessarily correspond with the way people naturally grouped themselves, the inquiry found.

'From a juridical point of view, ethnicity is an almost unmanageable concept for the determining of group boundaries.'

In spite of bona fide intentions, the goal of separate but equal 'simply cannot be achieved' the report says.

Autonomy

It calls for political participation to be opened to all in a single political set-up — 'the establishment of a system which by means of participation, representation, and joint authority offers all citizens the right to realise their political claims and aspirations'.

It also recommends the greatest possible devolution of authority to regional and local levels 'to ensure community autonomy and give political content to the principle of group accommodation on the basis of consensus and protection of identity'.

Individual rights and interests will have to be fairly balanced against group rights and interests before peaceful co-existence will be possible.

'It is essential that individuals should have freedom of movement between groups and be able to change their membership and affiliations.

'By the same token, the recognition of indiyidual interests does not mean the denial of group interests.'

Another condition for stability and progress is that all groups share increasingly in the country's economic prosperity.

'Conflict'

But the report held out no illusions of easy solutions.

'When considering the complex nature of inter-group relations in South Africa, one almost inevitably reaches the conclusion that these relations are deteriorating into conflict that cannot be resolved through the normal channels.

'There is every reason to believe that reform in South Africa will not be painless and without conflict.'

Change will 'give rise to instability and make extraordinary demands on the evolving conflict-accommodating institutions'.

'Optimal confidence in the reform process should therefore be encouraged.'

However, the inquiry included a series of social surveys showing that attitudes among the country's inhabitants had changed.

'There are signs of a greater willingness among people of different groups to join forces and face the challenges together, and that the future will belong to those who genuinely want to make a contribution that will serve everyone's best interests.'

Most accept violent means

Dispatch Correspondent

PRETORIA — The majority of South Africans regard violence as an acceptable means of achieving political aims, the HSRC has found.

A series of surveys revealed that 63 per cent of blacks, 40 per cent of Indians, 37 per cent of coloureds and 30 per cent of whites reacted positively to the question on whether it was acceptable to use violence to attain political ends.

One of the surveys showed "convincingly" that militancy among blacks was almost due entirely to their feelings of economic deprivation.

The report said despite recent progress in moving away from white supremacy in Parliament, South Africa could at present still only be described as partially democratic.

The present government, from 1948, distinguished itself from previous governments in that it increasingly legally formalised measures and customs of segregation that were largely already in existence.

SABC not representative

Dispatch Correspondent

PRETORIA — Because SABC coverage of relations between races reflected sectional government interests, there could be "no question" of the public corporation giving a full and fair representation of the South African situation, the HSRC has found.

"The SABC's self-proclaimed intention is to promote good relations between different population categories, but in practice this means intergroup relations as defined by the government," says the HSRC study on conflict and intergroup relations.

The report notes that newspapers also promote sectional interests "in that each newspaper propagates specific ideologically based views on intergroup relations."

Criticism is levelled at the fact that the press is totally owned by whites while the top management of the SABC rests exclusively with whites.

"This state of affairs must be regarded as potentially conflict-generating."

Arguing for a more equitable representation of different groups in media management, it addes: "There can be little doubt that the need to create open communication channels should be a top priority at government and leadership level."

Conflict not reduced by security laws

PRETORIA — The use of security legislation to suppress non-violent political opposition in South Africa has not reduced conflict in the country, the report has found.

The legal system in South Africa was found "suspect" by certain race groups.

It said this was mainly because the legal process was controlled by whites, and because penal and litigation procedures had become inaccessible and incomprehensible to many people.

"This legitimacy crisis in the legal system will have to be resolved systematically through training, legal aid, guidance and reform, since mistrust of a legal system is one of the strongest incentives for revolution."

According to research by the HSRC sub-committee handling the juridical section of the report, it was found that whites had easier access to the legal processes than blacks.

According to the report, whites have more knowledge of the legal system, better means to obtain its benefits, and greater trust of the process.

It was to counter these imbalances that a just legal order should be clearly formulated, easily accessible and comprehended by those to whom it applied.

The report said further that security legislation, although necessary, should be applied "with the greatest degree of caution, control and responsibility".

Although security legislation now on the statute books made no reference to race, "in practice it has been largely employed to deal with persons and organisations engaged in extra-parliamentary opposition to the government's racial policies." — Sapa

Jobless numbers to soar to 10m

Dispatch Correspondent

PRETORIA — More than half the South African labour force — almost 10 million people — will be unemployed by the year 2000 if current low economic growth rate persists, the HSRC has warned.

An analysis of various projections for the next 15 years showed that growth rate in excess of five per cent was "unrealistic", and that an average rate of between three and five per cent is expected, "although even this may prove to be optimistic."

If the present influx control arrangements continue to remain in force, it followed that the greatest proportion of the unemployed would be concentrated in the homelands.

It warns that the conflict-generating results of unemployment for race relations were "numerous and very serious," and included:

- Increased disruption of family life, aggravated by influx control, as a result of the need to search for work.
- The increased subjective feeling of helplessness and that nothing could be improved, whatever happened. This phenomenon had already become manifest in the Eastern Cape where the unemployment figure was as high as 25 per cent.
- An increase in crime with resultant clashes with the law. "This strengthens black perceptions of a cruel white system and negative white perceptions of blacks — a vicious circle develops."
- A greater measure of acceptance of violence as the only solution to "intergroup relations problems", and an increased possibility that young men will undergo military training abroad.

HSRC declares apartheid bankrupt

Cape Times 3/7/85

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

APARTHEID is bankrupt — and urgently needs to be ditched before it robs all South Africans of the prospect of a peaceful future, a major scientific study by the authoritative Human Sciences Research Council has found.

The ground-breaking HSRC report published yesterday makes it clear that the policy which has dominated South Africa's political, economic and social life for decades is nothing short of a recipe for escalating race and class conflict.

The report, which presents a detailed review of the policy of apartheid and its effect on race relations in this country, is the product of more than four years of research by more than 100 academics from South African universities.

Significantly, senior government officials from the departments of Constitutional Development and Co-operation and Development were members of the main committee which assisted the vice-president of the HSRC, Dr H C Marais, in compiling the final report.

Mr P W Botha

It it still unclear whether, as had been the case in previous major HSRC studies, the government will incorporate recommendations of the controversial report in its policies.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night he had taken note of the HSRC study. The government was studying the con-

Mr Botha noted that the report had been initiated by the council itself, and not by the government.

However, the president of the HSRC, Dr J G Gabers, announced yesterday that the "valid" findings of the report could not "simply be swept under the carpet" and would be discussed at an international conference to be held at the CSIR in September this year.

Violence

Among the major findings of the report are that:

● Apartheid was creating a high conflict potential in South Africa and estranging race groups — and the majority of South Africans now regard violence as an acceptable means of achieving political aims.

● A "grave credibility crisis" had developed around the socio-political order based on apartheid that led increasingly to the use of force as the only basis for maintaining social order.

● The policy of separate development pursued by the government for the past 38 years "alienated" groups from one another in that it reduced opportunities for spontaneous and closer contact — and thus

● Despite government intentions the goal of "separate but equal" simply could not be achieved. It was not practically possible to guarantee everyone's rights, privileges and security at both individual and group level.

● The "political ordering of intergroup relations according to the original model has reached an impasse and constructive relations cannot be developed further along these lines".

The report does not make any specific recommendations as such but instead proposes guidelines or "basic requirements" that need to be followed in reshaping a more peaceful participatory democracy for the country.

Major preconditions for such a new order would entail:

● Replacing forced separation of the races in favour of an open society marked by freedom of association at all levels. The cornerstone of apartheid — the Population Registration Act — as well as the whole system of "own" and "general" affairs would have to be reconsidered.

● The participation by all South Africans in political decision-making at local, regional and national level.

● A review of the Group Areas Act and in-

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● A "grave credibility crisis" had developed around the socio-political order based on apartheid that led increasingly to the use of force as the only basis for maintaining social order.

● The policy of separate development pursued by the government for the past 38 years "alienated" groups from one another in that it reduced opportunities for spontaneous and closer contact — and thus paved the way for mistrust and suspicion between groups.

● Despite government intentions the goal of "separate but equal" simply could not be achieved. It was not practically possible to guarantee everyone's rights, privileges and security at both individual and group level.

● The "political ordering of intergroup relations according to the original model has reached an impasse and constructive relations cannot be developed further along these lines".

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● The participation by all South Africans in political decision-making at local, regional and national level.

● A review of the Group Areas Act and influx-control laws so as to allow individuals, groups and institutions the greatest possible freedom of choice, while not infringing on the freedom of choice of others.

● A thoroughly reformed legal system embodying greater access to legal help and greater protection for the individual from executive authority.

The report concludes by emphasizing that it is vital that any plan for the reordering of "constructive inter-group relations" should include a time frame.

"The relations between groups in South Africa is a crucial matter that demands most urgent attention. Delays in addressing the issue could have catastrophic consequences."

● More reports, page 9



Political violence 'acceptable'

Political Correspondent

THE majority of South Africans regard violence as an acceptable means of achieving political aims, the HSRC has found.

A series of surveys conducted by the HSRC showed that 63 percent of Africans, 40 percent of Indians, 37 percent of coloured people and 30 percent of whites reacted positively to the question on whether it was acceptable to use violence to attain political ends.

One of the surveys showed "convincingly" that militancy among Africans was due almost entirely to their feelings of economic deprivation.

The HSRC report blamed much of the high conflict potential characteristic of South African society on the separation and division of people as a result of the government's apartheid policies.

A credibility crisis had developed around the whole socio-political system that had led increasingly to the use of force as the only basis for maintaining social order.

The HSRC investigation said it was an "indisputable fact" that there would not be much consolation for those who were under the "illusion" that the transition from an apartheid society to a broader democratically oriented social order would occur overnight and without a hitch.

In addition, it was misleading to believe that whites had such control over their own destiny that they could dictate the rate, direction and nature of change according to their own needs.

There was also no consolation for those who believed that uncontrolled violence would lead to the ideal society.

On a more positive side, the report identified various forces which could help improve intergroup relations:

- The government's growing willingness to enter into dialogue with black leaders on the accommodation of Africans' political aspirations.
- Recognition of the rights of Africans to be involved at the highest level of government in decision-making regarding their own interests.
- Current reform initiatives to repeal or relieve offensive discriminatory measures.
- The irreversible accommodation of Africans, coloured people and Indians in the South African economy.
- The growing willingness among whites to accept Africans as fully fledged South African citizens.
- The increase in interests and associations that cut across the "colour line" and thus promote common interests and values.

Ethnic groups 'not valid legal entities'

Political Correspondent

RACE can never be a legally relevant ground for justified differentiation, the HSRC report published yesterday found.

The report notes that whites, especially since 1948 when the National Party came to power, have used ethnicity in an attempt to justify their political dominance of other races.

However, insofar as ethnicity had become an important factor in the model for apartheid, "it can no longer be used to legitimise political policies".

The judicial work committee which contributed to the final report reached the conclusion that "this social entity (ethnicity) is too indefinite, loose, unorganized, fluid, to be considered a (legal) community.

"Ethnic groups are therefore not valid legal entities ... then it follows that no distinction can be legally drawn between people on the basis of ethnicity."

In a related finding, another specialized committee found that race could never be a legally relevant ground for justified differentiation.

"After all, a person's physical appearance, skin colour, descent or even social affiliations cannot be said to determine the particular nature of his need for legal protection.

"Just as little should these details determine one's legal rights and duties or influence one's legal status."

The report identified the government's handling of the issue of ethnicity as being at the root of much of the conflict facing the country.

In particular, it drew attention to "the elevation and institutionalization of ethnicity and related characteristics to the extreme that the individual is compelled to order his life within prescribed group contexts, while there are obvious inequalities involved in such group allocation and people eventually become isolated and insulated from one another".

The report goes on to warn that "if this situation is allowed to develop further, it will become increasingly difficult to transform conflict constructively".

Apartheid report 'vindicates PFP'

Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT reaction to the Human Sciences Research Council report, which condemns the effects of apartheid, has been cautious, but Progressive Federal Party spokesmen welcomed it as a vindication of the party's stand through the years.

The major report, based on four years of surveys and research, was released yesterday. It found that apartheid created a high "conflict potential".

President P W Botha's initial reaction was that he had taken note of the report.

The Government was studying its contents and would react at a suitable time. He pointed out that the council had undertaken the investigation on its own.

The report is to be discussed at an international congress in September.

The leader of the PFP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today that the report was the most devastating evidence that the Government had, sometimes with the best intentions, been preparing South Africa for tragedy.

The PFP attacks on compulsory segregation and racial discrimination had been completely vindicated.

There was an urgent need for a broadly-based government to heal the wounds of the past and to work towards a negotiated constitution on the basis of common citizenship.

Mr Colin Eglin, chairman of the PFP, said the report was a complete vindication of the party's policy by an impeccable, non-partisan soource.

The report contained the clear and blunt message that, if South Africa wished to live in peace, the system of apartheid had to go.

Announcing the proposed international congress on the report, to be held in Pretoria, the chairman of the council, Dr J G Garbers, said he hoped the main recommendations would be implemented in order to improve race relations.

United Nations said to have prompted surveillance order

FBI is spying on SA diplomats

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Washington

South African diplomats in the United States are under surveillance by the FBI, according to a report today in a Washington newspaper.

But FBI headquarters and the US State Department have declined to say anything. Spokesmen for both agencies said they never commented on intelligence matters.

The South African Embassy in Washington and the SA mission in New York also had no comment, but it is understood that they are seeking to establish the accuracy of the report.

Licence numbers

The *Washington Times* report said South Africa had been added to the list of "criteria" countries. This enables FBI agents to spot the cars of South African diplomats from the numbers of their licence plates.

A source familiar with US intelligence methods said the Americans could have decided to include South African diplomats — and defence and commercial attaches — among those who needed watching because of the unmasking of Dieter Gerhard as a Russian spy while he was serving as a senior naval officer at Simonstown.

There is also speculation that the surveillance could be connected to the recent tensions between Pretoria and Washington, but informed sources believe this is unlikely.

The *Washington Times* report said: "The FBI's counter-intelligence division maintains a list of criteria countries — the Soviet Union, East European satellites, and Cuba. The division's agents can recognise the diplomatic vehicles of any citeria nation by letters and digits on their licence plates.

"This means that South African diplomats and defence and commercial attaches will henceforth be treated no differently than suspected spies from East bloc nations.

Dubious

"This was done at the request of the United Nations. The State Department responded favourably. CIA sources were not aware of the change."

Informed sources said they were inclined to believe the thrust of the report because of the newspaper's reputation for having excellent intelligence contacts — but said they were dubious that the surveillance was ordered in response to a UN request.

HSRC report seen as 'voice of reason'

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The Human Sciences Research Council report which called apartheid a failure was welcomed as "a voice of reason" by the British press yesterday.

The 185-page document was well-reported in the major Fleet Street papers who saw in it the voice of the verligte Afrikaner.

The report was published after a four-year investigation by more than 30 academics, 200 researchers and 12 committees.

It recommended talks with leaders of all race groups for the establishment of an open democracy in South Africa and described the government's "separate but equal" goal as unworkable.

The Daily Telegraph said that the fact that influential Afrikaners who produced the report could so unequivocally warn about the dangers of implementing apartheid must be a sign of hope.

In an editorial yesterday it said that it was "very interesting" that a government-backed think-tank could so publicly criticize the government's fundamental principles.

"A few years ago such people would not have criticized their government's fundamental principles even in private.

"Now they do it publicly and with the benefit of the government's financial support.

"The conclusion must be that they are playing a tune which the South African Government half wants to hear," the Telegraph said.

The liberal Guardian newspaper called the report "the most far-reaching study of its kind" which represented a rational argument against the South African system.

The report advocated the abolition of apartheid and "only those impervious to logic would be opposed to its early demolition", the Guardian said.

The paper also commended the HSRC report's criticism of South Africa's apartheid and security laws.

The laws undermined the legitimacy of the state and the security laws were used mostly to silence extra-parliamentary opponents and themselves constituted a threat to the security of the state, the report found.

The report was "an unprecedented blunt and bold critique of the elaborate apparatus of legalized repression", the Guardian said.

'Ponderous'

Both newspapers said the report could bode well for South Africa's future.

"If liberal Afrikaners can advance an argument so openly, however ponderous and obvious it may seem to us, there is perhaps cause for hope," the Telegraph said.

The Guardian concluded that the report suggested that white South Africa does have the resources to save a rapidly deteriorating situation.

Strong hints given of the PFP and Solidarity joining forces soon

Star 4/7/85

By Hannes de Wet

3048

The Progressive Federal Party will no doubt differ with the United Democratic Front on the question of broad-based political parties across colour lines, Mr Dave Dalling, PFP MP for Sandton, said last night.

Addressing a report-back meeting in Sandton, Mr Dalling strengthened suggestions that the PFP and Solidarity, senior opposition party in the House of Delegates, will amalgamate soon.

The leader of Solidarity, Mr J N Reddy, was a special guest speaker at the meeting.

Mr Dalling said on the eve of the implementation of the new Constitution many felt that the PFP was finished — its place in the political market place diminished.

"Not only has that view been disproved but, on the contrary, vast new opportunities are rapidly opening up.

"Only parties which are broad-based, which are non-racial and which appeal philosophically to a like-minded, broad spectrum, stand a hope of achieving long-term success.

"Only in this manner can a liberal and enlightened opposition strive for power in all the elements of Parliament and our electoral structures.

"It is on this very point that we will no doubt differ with the UDF and other similar organisations," Mr Dalling said.

UDF spokesmen have warned the PFP in the past few weeks not to recruit new members in Indian or coloured areas after the scrapping of the Improper Political Interference Act. This would be regarded as treachery, the UDF said.

In his speech Mr Reddy also referred to "new alliances forming between white and Indian opposition parties in Parliament".

When specifically asked by a member of the audience when a "marriage" between the PFP and Solidarity would become a reality, Mr Reddy said: "We have been working very closely together, but I don't want to pre-empt my congress. The matter will be closely examined when we meet in August or September."



Mr Dave Dalling, PFP MP, sharing the stage with Mr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, in Sandton last night.

U K Press cheered by HSRC apartheid finding

304A NM 5/7/85

London Bureau

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The report was published after a four-year investigation by more than 30 academics, 200 researchers and 12 committees.

It recommended talks with leaders of all race groups for the establishment of an open democracy in South Africa and described the Government's 'separate but equal' goal as unworkable.

The Human Sciences Research Council is a Government funded think-tank which is dominated by Afrikaner academics, both liberal and conservative.

That influential Afrikaners who produced the report can so unequivocally warn about the dangers of implementing apartheid must be a sign of hope, the conservative Daily Telegraph said.

In an editorial yesterday the Daily Telegraph said that it was 'very interesting' that a Government-backed think-tank could so publicly criticise the Government's fundamental priciples.

'A few years ago such people would not have criticised their Government's fundamental principles even in private. Now they do it publicly and with the benefit of the Government's financial support.

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Both newspapers said the report could bode well for South Africa's future.

'If liberal Afrikaners can advance an argument so openly, however ponderous and obvious it may seem to us, there is perhaps cause for hope', the Telegraph said.

Mixed reaction from opposition groups

Political Reporter

THE HSRC's report into intergroup relations — which shows apartheid to have greatly heightened racial conflict in South Africa — has met with mixed reaction from opposition organisations.

The general secretary of the S A Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, welcomed it as 'a sign of hope' which in many respects echoed the concerns and criticisms the SACC had been voicing for a long time.

But he said the question of whether the solution to the political future of blacks would be found around the principle of 'intergroup relations' or power sharing in a unitary state still had to be resolved.

'The SACC is convinced that the vast majority of blacks, coloureds and Indians would not accept any solution outside of the latter framework.'

He said that in the crisis the country found itself in, any delay in implementing the recommendations of the report would largely invalidate them.

The United Democratic Front said in a preliminary statement that the report was based on the notion that the present constitution was legitimate and needed to be given a chance. This contradicted what the UDF believed.

Mr Paddy Kearney, director of the Durban ecumenical organisation Diakonia, said it was astonishing that it has taken 40 years of Nationalist rule for a Government research body to discover that apartheid led to racial friction.

'One-sided report makes apartheid scapegoat'

Academics from several universities have accused the Human Sciences Research Council of misusing public funds to research its report on group relations, and have dubbed the report unscientific, one-sided and pre-prejudiced.

A statement was released last night by Professor S C Jacobs, professor of law at Potchefstroom University, on behalf of about 30 academics, including professors from the Universities of Pretoria and the Orange Free State, the Theological School at Potchefstroom and the University of SA.

The statement said the report made separate development the scapegoat of racial conflict, and that its rejection of the existing structures of separate development could lead to racial friction.

"By this report, the most important State and public-funded research institution has placed itself in the whirlpool of political debate," the statement said.

The institution had also prejudiced the findings of its research by preselecting the academics involved. This was not worthy of a research institute.

Public funds were misused by the institution which had served a politically predetermined point of departure This conflicted with the independant stance of the academic.

"The report bears the stamp of liberalism which has been the notable enemy of separate developement over past decades and which sees integration as a Utopia.

"The reality in Africa and elsewhere does not exclude the possiblility that, by rejecting the existing structures of separate development, the report could lead to racial conflict."

Academics involved in the report included: Professor P S Dreyer of the University of Pretoria, Professor J C Lombard of the University of the Orange Free State, Professor Alkmaar Swart of Unisa and Professor J C Coetzee of the Theological School, Potchefstroom.

White voters will reject HSRC's idea of reconciliation — Treurnicht

Political Reporter

The white voters of South Africa would reject the recommendations of the Human Sciences Research Council on inter-group relations, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, predicted yesterday.

"The reconciliation proposed by the report can only be brought about at the expense of the freedom of the white in the political, social and even educational fields," Dr Treurnicht said.

He said history had shown that no nation with self respect and a desire for freedom would submit itself to being stripped of its power.

"The report exudes a spirit of holism which renders all differentiation subordinate to an economic and political oneness."

The Conservative Party leader said the HSRC report confirmed that any movement away from separate development would mean a loss of power for the whites in South Africa.

"This report confirms one important fact and that is that in the event of the rejection of separate development for whites, blacks, coloureds and Asians, a unitary state would be created and whites would surrender their political power."

He expressed the opinion that the report forsaw confrontation in South Africa resulting from the introduction of such a unitary state.

"But the HSRC is apparently of the opinion that conflict could be avoided if whites surrender their political self-determination in favour of an imaginary democracy for all, with political power-sharing and joint decision-making," Dr Treurnicht said.

He added the report acknowledged the existence of ethnicity but wanted this to be stripped of all those structures which enabled a nation to protect the interests and rights of its members.



Dr Andries Treurnicht ... report forsees confrontation.

MP said to have paid staff poorly

304A Mercury 6/7/85

Labour Reporter

HOUSE of Delegates MP for Stanger, Mr Yunus Moolla, allegedly paid some of his workers wages which are well below the ruling minimum wage rates.

Mr Moolla, who has a land and estate agency business in the North Coast town, said that they were temporary workers engaged by his manager while he was on parliamentary business in Cape Town.

The Solidarity MP was reacting to a report which stated that he was paying some of his staff 'peanuts' while he had vociferously condemned exploitation of black labour in many of his speeches.

According to the report, a woman employee in his office was paid R60 a month and part of her chores included cleaning the office, making tea and running errands in a five-and-a-half day week. She had been employed for almost two years and started off on a salary of R45 a month.

Another employee, who has been working as a clerk for almost five years, earns R175 a month, said the report. A young woman, who has just left school and was employed recently earns R150. She operates the switchboard.

Mr Moolla told the Mercury that none of his permanent staff was paid a salary of R60 a month.

'The R60 paid to a young student is, in fact, pocket money for running errands for us. The clerk who was paid R150 a month was temporary and a niece of my secretary. She was employed by my secretary to relieve her while she was on eight weeks' maternity leave.

'The R175 a month that was paid to another member of the staff is only her basic salary and she shares in the profits of the business. I run my business in a different way. I share the profits with my staff,' he said.

Moderate forces 'can't link to fight for reform'

Mercury 6/7/85

304A

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

MODERATE forces still represented the bulk of South Africans but were too fragmented in their methods and objectives to work together for peaceful reform, Mr Harry Schwarz, the PFP spokesman on finance, said at Creighton yesterday.

Opening the Creighton Agricultural Show, Mr Schwarz said the road to mobilising moderates and to negotiation was 'littered with non-negotiables and pre-conditions'.

Commenting on the HSRC report on group relations, Mr Schwarz said it had showed that 'when people of differing views get together they make a remarkable but obvious discovery that they had more in common than they thought'.

'The report also makes it clear that apartheid has failed and I believe the actions of the authorities are in the main reactive to situations involving violence and insufficient public credit is given for the fruits of negotiations.'

Turning to the economic problems facing the farming community, Mr Schwarz said agriculture was 'on the skids at a time when we can least afford it, when our population is increasing and the pressure is beginning to mount from abroad'.

He said the answer to economic problems did not lie in reducing input costs but in restricting inflation and increasing markets for products needed by agriculture.

Mr Scharwz said flowing from the findings of the De Kock Commission farmers could expect higher interest rates for loans received from the Land Bank.

Fortunately, he said, interests rates would probably continue to drop provided there were no 'unforeseen circumstances such as policy error and over-expenditure by the Government'.



The Pattern of Politics

By Hermann Giliomee

This report has a better chance of survival

CAPE TIMES 6/7/85

IT IS easy to dismiss the Human Sciences Research Council's inquiry into intergroup relations as just another report doomed to be consigned to the political dustheap.

After all we have had a decade of reports emanating from the political establishment — Theron, Cillié and De Lange to name a few — which have spelled out equally eloquently the ravages of apartheid.

All these reports have been employed by government, to use Anthony Johnson's vivid phrase, both "to strengthen and soften apartheid". The government has thus made apartheid much more resilient and paradoxically more obnoxious to the politicized masses.

However, there is a chance that the HSRC report could turn out to be different. It may even signal a political turning point. It represents the kind of thinking which lies behind the labour reforms, which after all is the one structural reform introduced by the Botha government.

Political rights

The question is: Can the HSRC report do for our political system and communal life what Nic Wiehahn, and some of his fellow commissioners together with Fanie Botha, have done for reform in the field of industrial relations?

The entire debate of whether apartheid is dying needs to be related to a simple, generally acceptable definition of apartheid. To suggest one: Apartheid is a system in which the government imposes its definition upon people and on the basis of this decides where they shall live and how they shall exercise their political rights.

Two principles

This is the principle of prescribed group membership. In South Africa the government has defined four "racial" groups and this forced categorization determines our entire political system, communal life and the life chances of individuals. Hence there cannot be any question of apartheid not being alive and kicking in the year 1985.

In opposition stands the principle of voluntary association which now receives considerable backing through the HSRC report. According to this, people can freely choose with whatever group they wish to identify, with whom and where they want to live and how they would like to vote within a common political system.



Prof Nic Wiehahn . . . reformer on the labour front.



Dr Nthato Motlana . . . now rejects structures based on race.

A debate raged within the Wiehahn Commission over these two principles. A minority wanted to prescribe qualifications for trade union membership which may have entailed the exclusion of migrants and commuters. The majority, and later also the government, accepted that all workers have to enjoy the same rights and have to be permitted to join whatever labour union they may wish. It was the acceptance of this principle which has made the labour reforms the relative success they are.

In the mould of Wiehahn, the HSRC report now states that our political structures cannot enjoy legitimacy while based on apartheid which compels people to accept their government-defined "race". This calls into question the entire constitution with its government-defined racial blocs and the general affairs/own affairs distinction, and also the new regional service councils which are built upon separate white, black, coloured and Indian local authorities.

There is no sign yet that the government is prepared to back down on its constitutional initiatives based on apartheid. It has pressed ahead with the regional service councils in spite of the opposition of a leader like Chief Buthelezi, whom it can least afford to alienate. It still tries to bolster the black and brown local authorities in spite of their mass rejection.

Business

Significantly a major leader like Dr Motlana, who in 1977 was prepared to participate in a local authority for Soweto provided it was financially viable, now flatly rejects any structures based on race. A remarkable consensus is building up between the likes of a Motlana, Buthelezi and the HSRC's academic establishment.

To succeed it must get the full support of the business establishment. Many fear that business has been truly sucked into the "step in the right direction" vortex. Business made no public protest when black local authorities were introduced in 1983 without any viable financial base.

These authorities were after all somewhat better than the old community councils. And while complaining vociferously about the new taxes, organized business is either silent about the regional service councils or actively promotes them because they may improve black and brown local government and social services.

Yet the vital flaw remains: these political structures are based on prescribed membership — apartheid in short — which the HSRC report says must be ditched.

Rejection

In the light of this report it has become urgently necessary for organized business and in particular an influential spokesman like Mr Jan Steyn to say whether the regional service councils and black local authorities, based as they are on imposed racial definitions, are in principle acceptable and whether business is prepared to support them willingly.

A firm rejection will help to open the way for regional initiatives along the Buthelezi Commission lines. This could see representatives of organized business along with civic, ratepayers' and workers' organizations and white local authorities in Johannesburg and Cape Town negotiate new regional dispensations based on the fundamental principle of freedom of association.

The HSRC report states the political ordering of intergroup relations according to apartheid has reached an impasse and constructive human relations cannot be developed further along these lines. The message to government and organized big business cannot be clearer.

Boshoff retains leadership

July 1985

STELLENBOSCH. — Professor Carel Boshoff fought off a verligte challenge to narrowly retain his position as chief leader of the Voortrekker movement at its four-yearly congress here at the weekend.

He beat the chief secretary of the organization, Mr Jan Oelofse, by 283 votes to 260.

Professor Boshoff said afterwards he would continue to "wholeheartedly identify" with the movement's aims.

He came under fire last year and at this congress for saying the far right Afrikaner Volkswag, which he also heads, should be a co-ordinating body for cultural organizations such as the Voortrekkers.

At a press conference after his re-election, the professor denied he had said this. — Sapa

Suzman tells BBC panel of S A reforms

3049

Mercury 8/7/85

London Bureau

UNLESS the South African Government reformed those aspects of apartheid which affected the lives of the majority of blacks, there would be a period of growing endemic unrest in the country, the veteran Progressive Federal Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

But if they announced an intention to scrap measures like influx control, forced removals and detention without trial, there would be a good chance of moving towards a peaceful solution in South Africa.

Mrs Suzman, talking in Britain's Channel Four television programme *Face the Press*, said the reforms of President Botha's Government were 'more than minimal'.

The reforms so far had been prompted by pragmatic considerations. They had been brought about mainly by internal pressures and economic forces.

'I have never believed that President Botha is a frustrated liberal who at last is able to make the changes he always wanted to.'

Mrs Suzman was questioned by a panel which included the editor of the Observer, Mr Donald Trelford, and a senior Daily Telegraph journalist, Peregrine Worsthorne, who recently visited South Africa.

She was doubtful about the effectiveness of economic sanctions and said: 'In many ways they are counter-productive. I respect people who want to keep their hands clean, but they must remember that once they're gone, their influence is gone too'.

The economic growth factor was really what would lead to change in South Africa, Mrs Suzman said.

She said it was facile to believe the South African Government would 'just capitulate' if they were faced with economic sanctions.

lief in the necessity of universal adult sufferage.

It was very important to unban the African National Congress and to negotiate with leaders like Nelson Mandela.

The condition that Mandela had to renounce violence before he would be released was 'ridiculous', Mrs Suzman said, adding that he and his comrades should be released unconditionally.

Canada vows to fight harder against apartheid

Sowetan 8/7/85

THE CANADIAN government yesterday announced several measures it would take in response to the "continued repression in SA," including the termination of all toll-processing of Namibian uranium, imported from South africa.

This would not affect existing processing — carried out under contract by Eldorado Nuclear, a crown corporation and third countries — a police statement issued by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr Joe Clark, and released by the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria, said.

There was a widespread desire in Canada for the country to take a strong stand against apartheid and to play a constructive part in change, even if it involved some costs, the statement said.

In this light, new Canadian measures had been announced, Mr Clark's statement said.

'No-team' threat

8/7/85

(304 A E Post 08:07

THE group of Port Elizabeth city councillors who have set their minds against changes they regard as a threat to white privilege have aptly been dubbed the "No-team", and their wards would do well to reflect on the poor image they are creating for the city.

The Mayor, Mr Ivan Krige, has warned that PE is fast becoming known as "the geriatric city with a Mother Grundy attitude". It would be a sad day if such a reputation threatened the traditional and well-deserved "friendly city" tag.

There has certainly been a pattern of negative voting recently, and it can be expected to continue when the free trade motion comes up. This is certain to be opposed by the "No-team", which regards an established business district as a white preserve.

Councillors and ratepayers' associations which have the real interests of their city and country at heart need to assert their influence to ensure that such an outmoded view does not prevail.

Provision of police guard for MPs criticised

NM 9/7/85

Mercury Reporter

THE provision of police guards at the homes of certain Indian MPs in Durban came under heavy fire yesterday by the Solidarity MP for Isipingo, Mr Nizam Khan.

Two Solidarity MPs in the House of Delegates, Mr A K Pillay, and Mr Mohanlall Bandulalla have all-night police protection at their homes following a petrol-bomb attack at Mr Pillay's Merebank home last week and an attempted attack at Mr Bandulalla's Mobeni Heights home, also last week.

Mr Khan said it was a 'sheer waste' of public money to have full-time police protection for ordinary MPs.

'Surely these people knew the risks involved when they availed themselves for parliamentary work. The policemen should be withdrawn and put on more useful crime prevention duty.'

Mr Khan said he had been offered a police guard at his Isipingo Beach home, but had declined it because he had nothing to fear.

'As public representatives, especially in the opposition party, what have we to fear?'

He said having a policeman guard their home was embarasssing.

Mr Pillay yesterday confirmed that an armed uniformed member of the S A P had been placed on guard duty at his home following a petrol-bomb attack. He said he had not requested the protection, but thought it was part of the 'routine' police probe into the bomb attack.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates and leader of the ruling National People's Party, said it was up to individual MPs to decide whether they wanted police protection or not. He said Mr Khan was entitled to express his views on the provision of police protection for some MPs.

PFP called on not to break unity of coloureds and Indians

3044 NM 9/7/85

Mercury Reporter

THE acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farouk Meer, yesterday called on the PFP not to break Indian and coloured unity by making inroads into their politics.

He was commenting on reports by Solidarity, the Opposition in the House of Delegates, that it was examining ways and means of forging a formal alliance with the PFP, following the scrapping of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act.

Dr Meer said the NIC was not surprised that Solidarity was thinking of joining hands with the PFP.

'The House of Delegates MPs are not principled politicians.' Notwithstanding their massive rejection by more than 80 percent of the community, they are continuing to join in the unholy alliances and by giving credibility to apartheid they are going to harm the process of fundamental change,' he said.

The PFP should instead prepare the white electorate for eventual majority rule and not make inroads into the coloured and Indian sector to break their unity, he said.

Solidarity's secretary and MP for Springfield, Mr M Rajab, said at the weekend that there was no question of a merger with the PFP or any other party, quashing persistent merger speculation.

Mr Rajab said that the final decision on whether to merge with the PFP, official Opposition in the House of Assembly, or to have a formal alliance, was likely to be taken by Solidarity's national congress later this year.

The current thinking of the party's executive was to prefer the alliance option, he said.

Asked to comment on the Solidarity announcement, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the majority National People's Party in the House of Delegates, said it had been his party's stand for a long time to work with any organisation with similar goals as the NPP.

'But we are not prepared to be led by others,' he added.

Racism again

AN isolated incident of racism can undo much of the good being achieved by general reform, and so it has been with the insulting treatment meted out to award-winning playwright Maishe Maponya at the Johannesburg terminal of South African Airways last week.

All SAA facilities are non-racial — something to which the many black passengers using them daily can testify — yet Mr Maponya was humiliated by a woman serving behind a counter, who decided he was entitled to a cup of coffee but not to sit and eat a sandwich.

It is not important that Mr Maponya was on his way to be honoured by an award at the Grahamstown Arts Festival, or that he is a playwright of such stature that his works are being performed in London and Edinburgh. The humiliating treatment he suffered would have been equally deplorable no matter who was involved.

Such incidents will continue to crop up from time to time so long as there are individuals who cannot adjust themselves to a non-racial environment. The offender in this case certainly has no place behind a service counter.

It may be said that newspapers should not give publicity to isolated incidents, because their reports only stir up resentment. We cannot agree with that argument. If racism is to be eradicated, it must be exposed.

S Africa in a state of 'turmoil'

London Bureau

SOUTH Africa was in a state of 'turmoil and unrest' but the situation was neither desperate nor hopeless, the South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, said here yesterday.

Dr Worrall was addressing a luncheon of the prestigious Commonwealth and Diplomatic Writers' Association attended by a small gathering of British political writers and foreign diplomats.

The luncheon was briefly disrupted by a rowdy group of anti-apartheid demonstrators who chanted slogans and accused Dr Worrall of being 'the ambassador for apartheid'. The small group of demonstrators was later removed from the lobby of the hotel dining suite.

Dr Worrall said that the current turmoil in South Africa reflected a 'sense of expectation' rather than that of 'despair and hopelessness'.

The pattern of politics by Hermann Giliomee

Entire constitution called into question

304A 11/7/85 MM

IT IS EASY to dismiss the Human Sciences Research Council's inquiry into inter-group relations as just another report doomed to be consigned to the political dust-heap.

After all, we have had a decade of reports emanating from the political establishment — Theron, Cillié and De Lange to name a few — which have spelled out equally eloquently the ravages of apartheid.

All these reports have been employed by government, to use Anthony Johnson's vivid phrase, both 'to strengthen and soften apartheid'. The Government has thus made apartheid much more resilient and, paradoxically, more obnoxious to the politicised masses.

Turning point

However, there is a chance that the HSRC report could turn out to be different. It may even signal a political turning point. It represents the kind of thinking that lies behind the labour reforms, which, after all, is the one structural reform introduced by the Botha government.

The question is: Can the HSRC report do for our political system and communal life what Nic Wiehahn and some of his fellow commissioners, together with Fanie Botha, have done for reform in the field of industrial relations?

The entire debate of whether apartheid is dying needs to be related to a simple, generally acceptable definition of apartheid. To suggest one: Apartheid is a system in which the Government imposes its definition upon people and on the basis of this decides where they shall live and how they shall exercise their political rights.

This is the principle of prescribed group membership. In South Africa the Government has defined four 'racial' groups and this forced categorisation determines our entire political system, communal life and the life chances of individuals. Hence there cannot be any question of apartheid not being alive and kicking in the year 1985.

In opposition stands the principle of voluntary association which now receives considerable backing through the HSRC report. According to this, people can freely choose with whatever group they wish to identify, with whom and where they want to live and how they would like to vote within a common political system.

A debate raged within the Wiehahn Commission over these two principles.

Success

A minority wanted to prescribe qualifications for trade-union membership which may have entailed the exclusion of migrants and commuters. The majority, and later also the Government, accepted that all workers have to enjoy the same rights and have to be permitted to join whatever labour union they may wish. It was the acceptance of this principle that has made the labour reforms the relative success they are.

In the mould of Wiehahn, the HSRC report now states that our political structures cannot enjoy legitimacy while based on apartheid which compels people to accept their government-defined 'race'. This calls into question the entire constitution with its government-defined racial blocs and the general affairs/own affairs distinction, and also the new regional service councils which are built upon separate white, black, coloured and Indian local authorities.

There is no sign yet that the Government is prepared to back down on its constitutional initiatives based on apartheid. It has pressed ahead with the regional service councils in spite of the opposition of a leader like Chief Buthelezi, whom it can least afford to alienate. It still tries to bolster the black and brown local authorities in spite of their mass rejection.

Rejected

Significantly, a major leader like Dr Motlana, who in 1977 was prepared to participate in a local authority for Soweto provided it was financially viable, now flatly rejects any structures based on race. A remarkable consensus is building up between the likes of a Motlana, Buthelezi and the HSRC's academic establishment.

To succeed it must get the full support of the business establishment. Many fear that business has been truly sucked into the 'step in the right direction' vortex. Business made no public protest when black local authorities were introduced in 1983 without any viable financial base.

These authorities were, after all, somewhat better than the old community councils. And while complaining vociferously about the new taxes, organised business is either silent about the regional service councils or actively promotes them because they may improve black and brown local government and social services.

Yet the vital flaw remains: these political structures are based on prescribed membership — apartheid, in short — which the HSRC report says must be ditched.

In the light of this report it has become urgently necessary for organised business and, in particular, an influential spokesman like Mr Jan Steyn to say whether the regional service councils and black local authorities, based as they are on imposed racial definitions, are in principle acceptable and whether business is prepared to support them willingly.

Initiatives

A firm rejection will help to open the way for regional initiatives along the Buthelezi Commission lines. This could see representatives of organised business along with civic, ratepayers' and workers' organisations and white local authorities in Johannesburg and Cape Town negotiate new regional dispensations based on the fundamental principle of freedom of association.

The HSRC report states the political ordering of inter-group relations according to apartheid has reached an impasse and constructive human relations cannot be developed further along these lines. The message to government and organised big business cannot be clearer.

* *Hermann Giliomee is Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.*

DATED

'Govt is selling whites' birthright'

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

The National Party Government no longer had the courage to implement the Group Areas Act and was selling out the birthright of white South Africans, Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party MP for Jeppe, said last night.

He was addressing about 350 people who attended a meeting in Newlands called to protest over the construction of 500 flats in what the Johannesburg City Council considers to be the coloured township of Westbury.

The CP claims the step is the first in the eventual takeover of Newlands — which borders the township — by coloureds.

Also at the meeting was the National Party MP for Maraisburg, Mr Piet Pretorius, who braved a hostile reception from the mainly conservative crowd to put his party's point of view.

Last night's meeting marked the first time that a Nationalist MP and a Conservative Party MP had shared a platform in public debate on a local issue.

Mr Pretorius was continually heckled with cries of "jy lieg" (you lie) as he battled to make the point that residential areas would remain racially segregated.

Mr van der Merwe made the following points during his speech. (Both Mr van der Merwe and Mr Pretorius were restricted to 30 minutes.)

● "The CP recognises the right of coloureds to adequate housing — but in their own areas.

● "Where is the expansion of coloured areas going to end? The process of moving coloureds and Indians out of areas such as Sophiatown and turning these places into white suburbs such as Triomf has been stopped, but the process of integrating white suburbs like Newlands has only just begun.

BLACKMAIL

● "We want to know why Newlands is going to become the dumping ground for illegal residents at present living in Hillbrow and other white areas.

● "We protest that lawbreakers (the coloured and Indian residents of Hillbrow) are being allowed to blackmail the Government.

● "Where are the thousands of coloured children, who will be born in these new flats, going to be accommodated?"

During his turn at the microphone, Mr Pretorious put his party's case:

● "At least the National Party has policies which are attainable, not some dream about a coloured homeland in the Cape.

● "The coloureds will be living in a coloured group area which was proclaimed in 1968. They will not be living in Newlands.

● "There is a buffer zone between the flats and the white suburb."

The meeting passed a motion of confidence in the Conservative Party.

SA: 'Turmoil but no despair'

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — South Africa was in a state of "turmoil and unrest" but the situation was neither desperate nor hopeless, the South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, said here yesterday.

Dr Worrall was addressing a lunch of the Commonwealth and Diplomatic Writers' Association attended by a gathering of British political writers and foreign diplomats.

The lunch was briefly disrupted by a rowdy group of anti-apartheid demonstrators who chanted slogans and accused Dr Worrall of being "the ambassador for apartheid".

Dr Worrall said the current turmoil in South Africa reflected a "sense of expectation" rather than that of "despair and hopelessness".

A society was at its most vulnerable when it was reforming, he said. The debate in South Africa was not about objectives but rather about how to achieve them.

"All those concerned want to establish a democratic South Africa.

"The differences that exist turn around the means, method and form of that democracy.

"The challenge which South Africa faces is to find a form of democracy which meets the aspirations of the very disparate community."

South Africa had now reached the stage where "we all realize that we must share political power. The question is how do you do it in a society as diverse as South Africa".

Fielding questions about the recent SADF commando raid into Botswana, Dr Worrall said South Africa would continue to act in its own interests.

Asked whether he would approve a raid by British troops to attack IRA targets in Dublin, Dr Worrall said it was right for the target state to take appropriate action to protect itself.

Dealing with the elections in Zimbabwe and the post-election violence, he said this would tend to emphasize the importance of ethnicity and would probably confirm white South African perception that majority rule did not provide the answer.

Reacting to questions about the South African view on disinvestment, Dr Worrall said disinvestment itself did not present the major problem as there were "very liquid" South African companies ready to buy up American interests at favourable prices.

However, a ban on international loans was a cause of long-term concern as it could exacerbate the unemployment problem in South Africa.

CAPE TIMES 12/7/85

30(4



London Dateline
By STANLEY UYS

Liberalism must be kept alive in SA

WATCHING Mrs Helen Suzman being interviewed on British television last Sunday, I was struck by what a thankless task it is being a white liberal in South Africa.

Caught between the two power blocs of Afrikanerdom and black nationalism, one is made to appear almost irrelevant — what the British would call a "wet".

Compared with Afrikanerdom and black nationalism, both of which have macho positions, liberalism lacks political glamour. Because it is essentially a reconciler, it has little thrust or force. It seems forever to be standing on the sidelines, urging two mighty adversaries to shake and be friends, and the thought seems pious.

Contrast is blurring

Yet if liberalism does not succeed, at least in some degree, the settlement of the conflict in South Africa ultimately can only be destructive. It is the only doctrine which can produce reconciliation.

I am using the term liberalism in a wide sense here. The stark contrast which once existed between the old Liberal Party and the government, and later between the PFP and the government, is blurring. A consensus of a kind is developing between the verligtes, operating from their position within the Afrikaner power base, and the PFP, who are the modern-day liberals.

Visibly unscarred

The consensus is over immediate aims: the de-racializing of South Africa. The differences between the verligtes and the PFP are no longer differences of principle, but of degree. Most verligtes know, if they are prepared to think that far ahead, where apartheid reform will lead them. The advantage the verligtes enjoy, though, is that because they operate from within the Afrikaner power base (unlike the *oorbeligtes* who are outside this power base), they are seen to be engaged in the *real politik* of South Africa, whereas the liberals' public image is of being outside it.

Mrs Suzman handled herself extremely well in the interview. It is remarkable how her 32 years in parliamentary politics have left her unscarred, or not visibly scarred. She was calm, composed and reasonable. Most South African politicians, after 32 years at the game, end up with mad eyes, but there is a serenity in Mrs Suzman's eyes that is very appealing.

A possible explanation for this inner serenity is that Mrs Suzman has kept herself out of the wheeler-dealing of parliamentary politics and has made civil liberties the overriding crusade in her life. This has given her a kind of political purity which has remained intact throughout the decades of tangling with some very unpleasant opponents.



Mrs Helen Suzman . . . still serene after 32 years in Parliament

Also, Mrs Suzman is no longer the solitary white liberal she was between 1961 and 1974: now there are 27 elected Progs, supported by 20 percent of the white electorate.

Among the unpleasant opponents Mrs Suzman has tangled with has been President Botha himself. One recalls his uncontrolled (verbal) attack on her in the chamber when Dr Verwoerd was assassinated. Yet Mrs Suzman was able in the television interview to sit back and, almost with detachment, accept that President Botha's apartheid reforms cannot be dismissed as minimal.

Mrs Suzman hastened to add that she did not think President Botha was a frustrated liberal seizing his chance now to make changes he had always wanted to make; but to be able to accept, as she did, without rancour or bitterness, that Mr Botha's changes cannot be dismissed as cosmetic, says something for the spirit of liberalism.

Although liberalism has become a swear-word in South Africa — at both ends of the political spectrum — its essence will be essential to bring about a lasting reconciliation.

The basic question put to Mrs Suzman was — how do you end apartheid without plunging South Africa into black majority rule? Her reply was that PFP policy offered the way out: universal suffrage within a federal system (of non-racial group representation), protection of minorities, a Bill of Rights — but all arrived at by agreement at a national convention.

Mandela should be released without attaching the "ridiculous" condition that he should promise to refrain from violence (if he broke the law he would simply find himself behind bars again) and the ANC should be legalized. After all, said Mrs Suzman, the ANC had turned to violence only after 12 years of fruitless peaceful campaigning.

While on the subject of the ANC, perhaps some clarification is needed about what it decided at its conference in Kabwe, Zambia, last month on the question of "soft" (civilian) targets. Its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was instructed apparently to continue attacking "soft" targets like policemen and soldiers, but to extend the target area to include both white and black bureaucrats.

No attacks yet on civilians

Umkhonto's mandate now, as far as I can ascertain, is that direct attacks on innocent civilians — bombs in supermarkets, and so on — are still not permitted, but that Umkhonto need not concern itself unduly if innocent civilians are caught in the crossfire when it attacks policemen, soldiers, bureaucrats or installations.

But to return to Mrs Suzman's role in South African politics: if she has largely escaped the process of wheeler-dealing in Parliament, others are not so lucky. This is what white opposition politics have always been about, and are particularly so today.

If you are a leader of a party with 27 MPs, as Dr Van Zyl Slabbert is, you have no independent macho position like P W Botha or Oliver Tambo. Whereas they are at the polarities, you are in the middle, in more senses than one. At best you become a kind of midwife of change, and the contortions you have to go through are not particularly ennobling. But somebody has to do it, because it is the most essential political service that is being performed in South Africa today.

Siege will be disastrous

I cannot think of anyone who can perform this service better than Dr Slabbert, but it is not going to be easy. The cry now is for consensus politics, and indeed, as I have noted, a consensus is developing over some major immediate aims.

But if this consensus is to lead to a Rhodesian-type situation in which whites are seen by blacks to be going into siege against them, the outcome will be utterly disastrous for the country.

It is absolutely essential, therefore, for white liberalism, as represented by the PFP, to retain its identity and credibility. This is what Mrs Suzman has retained, and it is of incalculable importance both to white-black relations in South Africa and to the credibility of white liberalism in the international community.



TALK TO BLACK LEADERS: Mr Peter Soal of the PFP.

July 1985

304-A

P W Botha urged to negotiate with blacks

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE sooner the State President Mr P W Botha negotiates with the real black leaders to reach a system of genuine power sharing and joint decision making, the sooner the future of South Africans will be secured.

This was said by Mr Peter Soal, Member of Parliament for Johannesburg North, at a report-back meeting to his constituency last night. He said it is important that Mr Botha consults with as many black leaders as possible and "this is why it is necessary they review their offer to Nelson Mandela."

Mr Soal said: "It is no good Mr Botha saying that the black leaders should telephone and make an appointment. Any head of the South African state worth his salt at this critical juncture must take the initiative himself, if calm and order is to be restored.

"I believe the sooner Nelson Mandela is released, the sooner peace will be restored in the townships. The Government is meant to be in control of the situation, but unless they do something about it, and pretty quickly at that, apartheid is going to destroy us all."

He mentioned a number of commissions of inquiry, headed by prominent people, saying he wondered how history will judge the Nationalists who have consistently ignored all those "learned gentlemen."

He mentioned the most recent report by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) as having singled out entrenched separation, population registration, a racially bound legal system, unequal education and economic and job restrictions as contributing to mistrust and resentment.

"It describes apartheid as a failure and advocates a new approach to group relations. This has surely been the most devastating condemnation of apartheid ever published. And what has been the reaction of the Nats? The State President says he is tired of the Afrikaners being blamed for everything.

"Is that not typical of the Nats to look back instead of facing the future. I don't blame Van Zyl Slabbert or Marius Barnard or Nic Olivier or Beyers Naude or Breyten Breytenbach for pass laws, influx control, group areas, forced removals and all the other racially discriminatory laws.

"I blame the Nats. One hopes P W Botha will use the State of Emergency to defuse the situation rather than to clamp down as the security forces are apparently busy doing," he said.

He said the Nats got the country into this mess. Two ambassadors have already been withdrawn, "and one is here by the skin of his teeth." The security council has taken a decision which goes further than any taken by that body. "How long can we rely on the veto of the United States and the United Kingdom when even the Americans are urging us to end the State of Emergency."

Mr Soal paid tribute to Bishop Desmond Tutu for the courageous stand he has taken and for the lead he is giving in promoting peaceful dialogue.

PFP group visits East Rand

MPs call for inquiry into township unrest

12/7/85 Star

3044

2-18

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Two members of the PFP Parliamentary Law and Order study group visited the East Rand flashpoint townships of Duduza and kwaThema yesterday as part of a nationwide probe into unrest.

The two PFP MPs — Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) and Mr Tian van der Merwe (Greenpoint) — made an extensive tour of the riot-torn townships and spoke to community leaders and residents.

They said today residents in Duduza and kwaThema expressed anger and amazement over the blunt denial from the Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee, that any misconduct on the part of the police took place in the townships.

"They felt insulted that their observations of this misconduct were rejected as blatant lies," Mr Soal and Mr van der Merwe said in a joint statement.

"We are convinced black resentment at the activities of the police and mistrust in their motives is so strong that they are no longer interested in enquiries or investigations initiated by the South African Police," their statement said.

Mr Soal and Mr van der Merwe said it was clear to them the presence of police in the townships caused more tension and problems than it solved.

"We found evidence of at least one instance where a young black man was shot dead by police for no apparent reason and where self-defence or even defence of property was not at issue at all," they added.

They said a heightened public awareness of the disastrous effects of township conflicts on race relations was vitally necessary.

"We are concerned about the increasing violence and the conflicting versions of events leading up to the shooting of a number of people, the deaths of individuals by hand grenades and the throwing of petrol bombs," the MPs' statement read.

The two MPs called for an independent inquiry into the violence and deaths in the townships.

"We heard numerous allegations of wild and brutal police behaviour in these two townships," they said.

"After the Uitenhage debacle, official explanations and denials carry very little weight.

IMPARTIAL PROBE

"Clearly a bold and objective investigation of these allegations by some independent expert body would be ideal, but such a possibility is remote," Mr Soal and Mr van der Merwe said.

The MPs added they were convinced a 'more open investigation and debate of politically motivated conflicts was needed.

"The riot police must withdraw from the townships, policemen resident in potential riot areas should be accommodated elsewhere and further interference at funerals or meetings should cease forthwith," Mr Soal and Mr van der Merwe said.

Liberalism must endure to avert disaster

3044A 12/7/85 NM

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Stanley Uys LONDON

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Mrs Beverley Runciman, left, and Mrs Cornelia Bullen-Smith, who appeared in court today charged with contravening the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act.

Chaining to Parliament railings: Women in court

Staff Reporter

TWO housewives who allegedly chained themselves to the railings outside Parliament as a protest against the death in detention of a 12-year-old boy, appeared in Cape Town Magistrate's Court today.

Mrs Beverly Anne Runciman, 34, of Russ Street, Zeekoevlei, and Mrs Cornelia Bullen-Smith, 31, of Dartmoor Street, Muizenberg, pleaded not guilty to a charge of contravening the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act of 1978.

The State alleged that on Wednesday, at Gate 4 of the Parliament buildings, the women "wrongfully and unlawfully demonstrated in a defined area in which demonstrations are prohibited".

The maximum penalty for the offence is a fine of R300 or six months' imprisonment.

The women declined to disclose the basis of their defence.

The hearing was postponed to August 23 so they could obtain legal aid.

Mr E E Smith was on the Bench and Mr L S Moffitt appeared for the State.



NORIEN MALLICK (right), with the PFP's Eastern Cape regional director, Mr BOBBY STEVENSON, at the party's regional headquarters in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Coloured PFP branch to open in PE

E. Post 304A HAR

13/7/85

By DIRK VAN ZYL

THE Progressive Federal Party's first big "coloured" branch in the Eastern Cape is set to start operating under the leadership of a semi-retired taxi fleet owner, Mr Norien Mallick, of Springdale, Gelvandale.

Mr Mallick, 55, recently joined the PFP following the opening of its membership to all races and said in an interview with Weekend Post yesterday that he had already recruited 100 other people of colour to follow his path.

He will put himself forward as the first chairman of the new branch in Springdale.

Mr Mallick, a devout Muslim, said he had never belonged to a political party before but decided to join the PFP of his own volition because he believed its policies would "bring stability to all people in South Africa, not only coloureds and Indians, but blacks as well."

He had already recruited most of his friends and family and would make himself available as the first PFP branch chairman in Springdale.

Mr Mallick said he intended being a delegate to the PFP's first non-racial congress in almost 20 years in Durban at the end of next month.

He was not concerned about any possible opposition to his step from groups within the community "because I follow my own conscience".

Mr Mallick added: "I'm a Muslim and my Bible says there should be no discrimination whatsoever."

He said he had no confidence in the Labour Party which was "the only party we could join before" because it was "still in the system of Group Areas and this doesn't make sense".

He pointed to the low percentage polls in last August's elections for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates as an illustration, as he saw it, of a lack of confidence in the LP.

Mr Mallick felt it was not fair that the LP had tried to apportion to itself the major share of the credit for the scrapping this year of the Mixed Marriages' Act, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, "when Mrs Suzman (PFP MP for Houghton) has been asking for it for years — and she never got credit".

● PFP regional director Mr Bobby Stevenson said yesterday any further potential new PFP members could telephone the party at PE ☎ 521770.

PFP to meet on unrest issue

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — A number of Progressive Federal Party (PFP) representatives are to meet in Port Elizabeth this week to give "urgent consideration to the unrest situation".

Mr Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, said on Friday that the meeting had been called because of the "escalating violence, the continuing deaths and the constant danger to life and property in townships".

The meeting is to be held under the guidance of the party's Law and Order study group.

"We are convinced of the need for more open investigation and debate into the unrest to heighten public awareness of the disastrous effects of these conflicts," Mr Soal said.

He said he was also convinced that black resentment of police and mistrust of their activities was so strong that they were no longer interested in inquiries or investigations initiated by the SA Police.

"We believe in any event it's unjustifiable to expect the police to investigate the alleged misconduct of their own colleagues."

Mr Soal was speaking after he and Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, had visited the riot-torn townships of Duduza and Kwa-Thema on the East Rand.

He said they had interviewed prominent people in the two townships and others who had witnessed acts of violence recently.

"It was clear to us that the police presence in the townships causes more tensions and problems than it solves."

Mr Soal said the government should realize that it had forced the police to become a party to the conflict in the townships and that only the strongest government action to restrain unauthorized police behaviour could prevent further escalation of the violence.

Buthelezi, Botha 'more estranged'

CNE Times 15/7/85

3047

Political Reporter

KWAZULU leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday attacked President P W Botha for consistently refusing to negotiate South Africa's constitutional future with blacks.

In a letter in yesterday's Sunday Times, Chief Buthelezi said: "I am now probably more estranged from the State President than I have been at any other time during his term of office."

Dissatisfaction with Mr Botha stemmed mainly from his failure to constructively negotiate the future of a "united South Africa" and "accept in principle the need to discuss a Declaration of Intent", the letter said.

Mr Botha had "emphatically" ruled out a united South Africa in terms of a unitary state, Chief Buthelezi said. Similarly, he had "poured cold water" on the Buthelezi Commission which proposed a merger between KwaZulu and Natal.

"The government has never once hinted at the need for whites to relinquish final political control in 87 percent of the country."

Chief Buthelezi dismissed plans for first- and second-tier government for blacks as being tantamount to consultations "between a sovereign tricameral parliament and the fragmented black body politic.

"I have done more than any other black leader to make the politics of negotiation possible. As a black leader I have recognized the reforms that have been introduced as reforms, but the State President and the government simply will not say to South Africa that they accept in principle the need to discuss a Declaration of Intent of the kind I have drafted."

Botha comment on report likely

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha is expected to spell out the government's long-awaited response to the HSRC report on inter-group relations at the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) in Stellenbosch tonight.

Mr Botha's initial response to the groundbreaking report — which identified apartheid as the root cause of the escalating race and class conflict bedevilling South Africa — was brief and cautious.

When the 173-page report was released, Mr Botha merely acknowledged its publication and indicated the government was studying its contents.

And in a possible bid to distance his government from the findings, he noted that the report had been initiated by the council itself, and not by the government.

Since then no government spokesman has been prepared to be drawn on whether, as has been the case in previous major HSRC studies, the government was prepared to incorporate the recommendations of the study in its policies.

Also billed to address the four-day congress at the University of Stellenbosch is KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who has had a hot-cold relationship with Mr Botha in recent months. After a relatively cordial meeting between the two leaders earlier this year that raised hopes for an expanding black-white dialogue, remarks made by Mr Botha during his end-of-session address to Parliament on June 19 caused relations to sour once again.

Mr Botha's determination to rule out the possibility of one constitution and one parliamentary system for South Africa angered Chief Buthelezi, who withdrew an earlier invitation to the State President to visit KwaZulu later this year.

Chief Buthelezi is expected to spell out the conditions for a negotiated solution to South Africa's problems and the advantages of a federal system during his address on Wednesday.

Also invited to speak at the congress are Mr Botha's former arch-rival and current Conservative Party member of the President's Council, Dr Connie Mulder, and the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Delegates from all South Africa's Afrikaans universities will attend the congress. The H B Thom Hall at the university will be the main venue for the congress.

The Argus, 16/7/85

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

NP, Afrikaner blame 'not to segregation'

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha has firmly rejected criticism in the recent Human Sciences Research Council report that the Afrikaner and the National Party were the "guilty" creators of segregation in South Africa.

In the first official Government response to the HSRC report, which was highly critical of apartheid, Mr Botha made it clear he would continue to recognise the differences between groups and again stated firmly that he rejected "a unitary state built on one-man, one-vote".

Any political solution had to take into account that South Africa was a country of minorities, not only of white, Indian and coloured minorities but also black minorities.

"The road to a peaceful and prosperous South Africa is through co-operative co-existence." he said.

And with this was the importance of sound group relations "and the broadening of our democratic system".

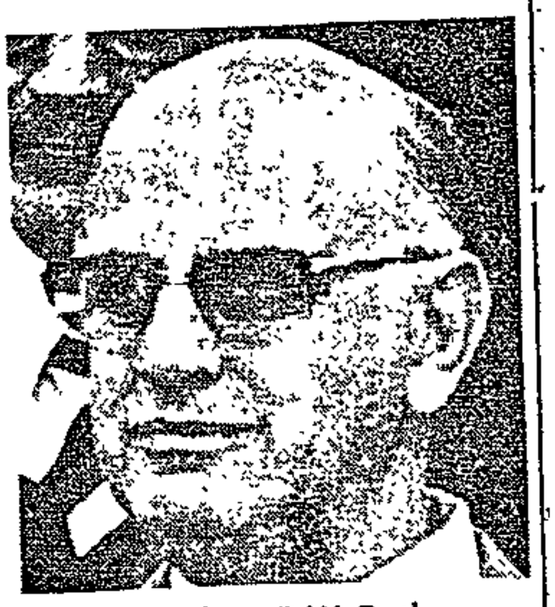
"It's a myth"

Speaking at the annual conference of the Afrikaner Studentebond in Stellenbosch, Mr Botha singled out the claim in the HSRC report that the Afrikaner and the National Party were responsible for the policy of segregation.

"I'm tired of constantly hearing how guilty the Afrikaner and the National Party are," he said. "The time has come that this myth be crushed once and for all."

He quoted a number of sources which showed the basis of segregation and discrimination against blacks was laid down in 1903 in the report of a predominantly English-speaking commission appointed by Lord Milner to investigate "native affairs".

Mr Botha quoted Mr Edgar Brookes, former principal of the University of Natal, as saying apartheid "springs from the life and experience of South Africa and goes back almost to 1652".



President P W Botha

Segregation, Mr Botha said, emerged from the diversity of nations and not from political structures.

Attempts to force separate groups together in Africa had led to greater conflict and tragedy.

The same form of black-against-black violence which existed in South Africa was also happening in the townships of Zimbabwe.

Mr Botha said the Government would give the same attention to the HSRC report as it had to inquiries such as the Theron, Wiehahn and Riekert commissions.

Each of those commissions had produced positive results and many of their recommendations were included in policy and legislation.

The HSRC proposals, however, were more in the form of "principle directives than practical proposals.

"The lack of a more concrete viewpoint about alternatives is a shortcoming, because the right structures, besides the right attitudes, form the keystone of a peaceful future for all of us."

● ASB shelves call on "gays and thieves" — Page 5

ARGUS 16/7/85

Boesak challenges PW to test at polls

Political Staff

THE president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, has challenged President P W Botha to meet the South African Council of Churches at the polls to test who is more representative.

Dr Boesak was reacting to a statement by Mr Botha that the SACC was not representative of the majority of South Africans.

He issued the challenge at a memorial service in Cape Town for four murdered Cradock community leaders, Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

"I hear that Mr Botha says that we (the SACC) are not representative of the majority. I want to say to the State President Let's go to the polls, where you can explain your apartheid policies to our people . . . and we shall see whether Mr Botha's government represents the majority of people in South Africa.

"We shall continue to say to him: Your government will remain an unjust, illegitimate and unrepresentative government."

Stance defended

Defending the stance of the SACC, which has recently been criticised in some quarters of the church, Dr Boesak said if there was no "true unity of the church built on justice, peace and liberation", he would rather have no unity at all.

Dr Boesak began his sermon by referring to the "doubt and the uncertainty that had always been a part of the life of the faithful".

Referring to John the Baptist's wrestling with faith when he was incarcerated, Dr Boesak said that when he had heard of the death of the four Cradock men "I wondered what the meaning and sense of it all was".

Addressing the service earlier, Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF regional secretary, outlined the basis of the widespread suspicion that the police were connected with the death of the four men.

● Mr Louis Nel, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, has previously ridiculed suggestions that the authorities were involved in the deaths.

Economic muscle gives blacks a new chance

In an address to the European Democratic Group in Luxembourg last week, veteran Progressive Federal Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, made it clear that she was not in favour of disinvestment as a means of achieving change in South Africa. She outlined instead a three-point plan with which she believes the European Economic Community could achieve far more positive results.

What can be done by the West to speed up the dismantling of apartheid? Many options are presently under consideration, with disinvestment and sanctions much to the fore: campaigns for such actions have indeed reached tidal wave proportions in the US. Let me say at once that if I thought these would work, they would have my unconditional support.

Not only do I *not* believe these campaigns would be effective — I believe they would be counter-productive.

I understand, respect and do not argue against the moral motivation for disinvestment and sanctions. But, once gone from the scene, any influence that may have been exercised has gone too: any good that may have resulted from quiet diplomacy, or Codes of Employment Conduct for Companies with Interests in South Africa (as adopted by the European Community) will go by the board.

The Sullivan and European Community Codes have certainly made businessmen more conscious of their social responsibilities, and have led not only to improvements in employment practices, but also to assistance in education and housing for employees and their families.

And more recently — perhaps because of the threat of disinvestment — organised business as represented by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, have expressed their objections to the detention of trade unionists and are pressing for the repeal of influx control.

The vacuum left by the withdrawal of US and European firms will be filled — if it is filled at all — by companies with less interest in the welfare of their black employees. Moreover, if it is fondly imagined that the South African Government will buckle under such pressure and abandon apartheid faster than it intends to do, this illusion should be immediately dispelled. Far more likely, far more in keeping with the temperament of the Government and of the majority of the white inhabitants, would be the development of a siege mentality.

Nor should the idea that economic hardship would lead to a successful black revolution, followed by a black majority socialist government to replace the white capitalist regime, be seriously entertained — it just is not on, as anyone acquainted with the ferocity and determination of the South African Army and police will agree. Nor incidentally, is there any guarantee that the replacements would be any better or more democratic than the present regime, should a revolution succeed.

That disinvestment, lack of foreign capital and imposition of sanctions would be effective as a punitive measure is, of course, undeniable. But it would not be selective of its victims.

Indeed, although white South Africans would be affected, the major sufferers would be black — South African blacks and also blacks from neighbouring states in southern Africa which are heavily dependent on South Africa for financial aid, grants, markets and jobs, some of which countries, like BSL countries, are also part of a customs union with South Africa, and are linked to the rand monetary system.

Blacks don't care if there is mass unemployment," people say.

My main opposition to disinvestment or sanctions or any steps to inhibit economic expansion of South Africa, is that such action bluntens the only weapon that blacks have — the economic muscle that accompanies upward mobility on the economic ladder.

And I say (who am on the receiving end of many requests from recent job losers for assistance in obtaining jobs) that blacks who don't care are those whose jobs are not endangered or who have never had a job to lose.

However, my main opposition to disinvestment or sanctions or any steps that inhibit economic expansion of South Africa, is that such action in fact bluntens the only weapon that blacks have, or are in the process of acquiring — the economic muscle that accompanies upward mobility on the economic ladder by virtue of greater skills and increased consumer power.

Slowly — too slowly, but nevertheless surely — blacks are obtaining the leverage with which to demand redress in the imbalances in power and wealth and privilege in South Africa.

It is totally counter-productive to put obstacles in the way of the economic forces which so far have led to those changes which are more than cosmetic — trade unionism, skilled job opportunities, urbanisation.

And it is counter-productive to drive whites, a growing number of whom are increasingly disillusion with apartheid and who have begun to accept power-sharing, back into the laager.

I have to admit I really resent the way in which people living many thousands of miles away from South Africa totally ignore the hundreds of thousands of white South Africans who abhor race discrimination, and who have been fighting apartheid for many years.

The Progressive Federal Party, with its policy of no statutory discrimination and full adult suffrage with no domination, obtained 20 percent of the votes of the white electorate at the last election.

We will do better next time, but not if the country is under grave economic stress — liberalising forces are not strengthened in such circumstances.

So what in fact can or should the West do to help bring apartheid to an end without causing chaos in South Africa? Firstly I must say there are limits to what can be done from outside if peaceful reform is the objective.

Most helpful would be for Western interests to stay in South Africa and use their concerted influence with the Goverment in particular and with white South Africans in general.

Contact, not isolation, is needed. In one area only — sport — has isolation been successful in helping to break down segregation. It worked because of South Africa's longing to get back into international sport, but also because desegregation in sport did not affect the power structure. I might add that the fact that there have been no rewards forthcoming in sport is not conducive to South Africans making changes in other respects.

I think European firms should accelerate their efforts to uplift black particiption in the South African economy. The latest report on the implementation of the Code by British firms is quite healthy. I don't know what the position is regarding other countries in the EEC, but all firms not adhering to the Code should have penalties imposed on them.

The US is considering making the Sullivan Code compulsory for American firms in South Africa. I appreciate the problems in monitoring, but certainly there have been positive results from all the codes, and this should be considered.

You should all raise your voices long and loud against apartheid in general, and in particular against any outrageous actions by the South African Government. Never mind about double standards — South Africa claims to have Western values and as such must be judged.

I have no doubt whatever that protest by Western envoys helped to unban people like Beyers Naude, and was instrumental in freezing forced removals such as at Crossroads.

The South African Government is more sensitive than you think. It does not enjoy being a pariah. It would like to be welcomed back into the Western community of nations.

But not at any cost.

Rather should you aim at attainable objectives than adopt measures that could reduce the country to economic chaos, with totally unpredictable consequences.

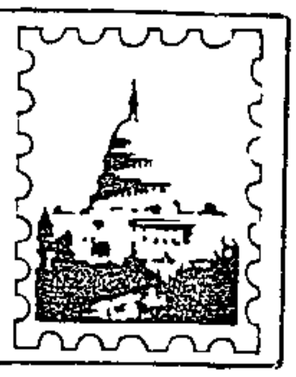
S A no longer just a thorn in the flesh

BUNA 304A NNA 16/7/85

TO THE INNOCENT, congressional actions on southern Africa last week may appear contradictory. In fact they make perfect sense. The reasons should disturb all white South Africans who look to America as a cultural and ideological friend and mentor. Those days are now history.

By a conclusive 80-12 margin the Republican-controlled Senate adopted its first-ever sanctions package against South Africa, while on the House side 60 Democrats broke ranks with their leadership to help overturn that nine-year-old liberal shibboleth, the prohibition on U S support for Dr Jonas Savimbi. The majority in favour of banning military assistance to Mozambique was one vote larger. A proposal to prevent any of the funds the U S provides the United Nations from reaching Swapo did not even require a vote.

Washington Letter



Simon Barber

The Reagan Administration had expected the Senate's action; the House decision to lift the Clark Amendment and effectively repudiate the growing relationship between Washington and Maputo caught it between the eyes, however Rarely has an entire policy — 'constructive engagement' in this instance — been so unanimously shafted by a president's own party in the legislative branch.

The State Department put a brave face on the Angola vote. The administration had always been opposed to the Clark Amendment, officials said, because it restricted the President's hand, and all such intrusions are to be opposed Furthermore, it didn't really matter that much. Luanda would probably understand.

As it turned out, Luanda didn't. On Saturday the Angolan Foreign Ministry publicly announced that it was suspending all negotiations with the U S on Cuban troop withdrawal and the related issue of Namibian independence. In response, Dr Crocker authorised it to be said that the U S was not reversing its policy, and if the Angolans thought so, they would 'be losing an important opportunity and evading key decisions'.

You see, Pretoria is now the enemy — no longer just a political thorn in the flesh, but a government whose actions are as directly inimical to U S interests as, well, Iran, Nicaragua, even Libya. Not for nothing is S A on the 18 most-wanted list of U'S counter-intelligence agencies

Consider Senator William Roth's contribution to the Senate sanctions debate. Roth is no liberal. His Delaware constituency is for the most part white, middle-class and flies the Stars and Stripes from its front porches. Since he has no presidential aspirations that constituency is all he need worry about, and it loves him, wig, monstrous nose, electric-blue polyester suits and all.

This most middle of Americans wanted among other things to end S A's U S landing rights, and here's why: 'As a Republican,' he told his colleagues last Thursday, 'I perceive myself as a loyalist to the political principle of multi-party democracy and the economic principle of free enterprise.

Itching to help

It is all very well to maintain, as the State Department does strenuously, that merely because both House and Senate (the latter by an 88-8 vote) have repealed the Clark Amendment and because the President, if given the opportunity, will certainly sign it in to law it does not mean Unita will soon be receiving anti-aircraft missiles.

This is simply not the case. The Central Intelligence Agency and the U S military have been itching to help Savimbi but have been restrained by Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Adviser Bud Macfarlane not merely on legal grounds but because 'constructive engagement' was abetting the de-marxification and de-Cubanisation of Angola far more effectively than Unita ever could.

Nobody but the State Department believes that any more, least of all Congress.

Chosen ally

It would not be in the least surprising if, after Reagan signs Clark into oblivion, both the Senate and House intelligence committees swiftly approved a programme of covert assistance to Savimbi, better that he should be our ally, like the Afghan and some Cambodian rebels, than South Africa's Why? A strong, free-market, pro-Western Angola would be much more in U S interests than the wellbeing of the impossible South Africans. Better that he should rely on the U S rather than Pretoria

Offensive

'The RSA, as currently constituted, is offensive to both principles. It forbids meaningful political participation of the vast majority of its citizens and, through a plethora of overt and covert measures, prevents them from achieving their economic potential within their own society.

It even commits the primary sin against democracy: it attempts to assert than many of its citizens are not, in fact, citizens and that they can be treated as aliens in their own land.

'Perhaps, though, I am supposed to swallow my distaste for apartheid on the grounds that the S A Government is pro-Western in its sympathies, an anti-marxist state battling Soviet expansionsism in southern Africa.

'I think not.

'Western societies do not attempt to rob their citizens of their citizenship. They do not shoot peaceful demonstrators in the back. They do not imprison without some attempt to show cause.

'Moreover, we should ask ourselves what evidence do we have that S A is indeed anti-marxist ... I can imagine nothing more conducive to marxism among S A's black youth than the conduct of S A's police and security forces. How can one reasonably expect any youth to hold firm to a belief in peaceful change when he sees his community leaders imprisoned without charge?

'What evidence do we have that S A's regional conduct is anti-marxist? The evidence suggests that that conduct is anti-black rather than anti-marxist. S A's security forces have proved just as eager to enter into non-marxist Mozambique as marxist Mozambique. The former operation was, of course, supposedly in search of the ANC, whose presence proved surprisingly illusory, as it had done just a few weeks earlier in Cabinda

'In fact, the evidence suggests that S A enjoys quite a fondness for its marxist neighbours ... Marxist governments, particularly in Africa, are weak, corrupt and ineffectual. So far as S A is concerned they make for ideal neighbours.'

America and its Congress are in a belligerent mood whose source runs far deeper than the recent humiliation in Beirut. Independent of its activist fringes, the great American centre is winnowing through the list of its friends and foes, and, independent of its administration, has grasped the historic thought that once fired President Kennedy:

This country stands for democracy, and considers it its destiny to thwart democracy's opposite, marxism, wherever most conveniently it may. In this twilight conflict Pretoria is no friend but a curse whose very existence shackles the American struggle.

Attempts to involve S A in an overall settlement of the region's problems are doomed, so it must be cut adrift and dealt with separately in order that the United States may back its natural friends and oppose its natural opponents free from the fearful taint of apartheid.

As Roth makes clear, the American ideal would be to have South Africa surrounded by a tier of strong, self-sufficient, free-market democracies. In undermining such an outcome, both by its adventurism and its domestic obscenities, Pretoria has thus become the enemy.

CAR 1157 10/11/85

304A

Botha replies to HSRC report

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night dismissed the finding of the latest HSRC study that his government's apartheid policy was the main cause of escalating racial conflict in South Africa.

In his long-awaited response to the groundbreaking HSRC report, Mr Botha forcefully dismissed criticisms that the National Party had been "preparing the country for a tragedy" with its separate development policy over the past 37 years.

"Nothing is further from the truth," Mr Botha told Afrikaans student leaders when opening the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in Stellensbosch.

'Myth'

"I think the time has come that this myth be crushed for once and for all... I am tired of constantly hearing how guilty the Afrikaner and the National Party are."

Mr Botha's implicit rejection of the report appears to have dashed widely-expressed hopes in academic and opposition political circles that the findings of the government-funded research body would be incorporated in government policy.

Mr Botha was prepared to acknowledge that the self-initiated report was a "comprehensive work" containing "penetrating instrospection" to which the government would give its attention.

However, he was determined to interpret the findings and inferences of the report as "a clear reaffirmation of the government viewpoint that a peaceful and prosperous South Africa must be built along the road of 'co-operative existence' between all our population communities".

Mr Botha argued that the lack of "practical proposals, a more concrete viewpoint about alternatives" in the report was a shortcoming, since "several aspects of the report are interpreted as criticism of the underlying principles of government policy".

'Guilt question'

Turning to what he called the "guilt question", he said it was conspicuous, and even strange, that there was a continuous emphasis in the report on blaming government policy since 1948 for the most serious problems surrounding race relations.

He said the report created the erroneous impression that the Nationalist government and Afrikaner nationalism were the creators of the idea that segregation should be the basis of a political solution in a multiracial South Africa.

Although the Afrikaner and the National Party had given this approach a label, they were "definitely not the creators of the idea" or the only practical enforcer of such a policy.

He criticized those who had been "so critical and negative" about what had been achieved in South Africa in recent years and reaffirmed that "the road to a peaceful and prosperous South Africa is through co-operative co-existence."

Slabbert's siege warning

CAPE TIMES 16/7/81 300W

Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT attempts to entrench racial and ethnic groups within the new constitutional dispensation constituted the greatest threat to the protection of minorities, the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

He told the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in Stellenbosch that this was one of the fundamental shortcomings of the government's constitutional reforms, both in the tricameral Parliament as well as in its latest initiatives for blacks and whites.

"If the government's definitions of racial and ethnic groups had to form the building bricks of the new constitutional dispensation, then a future of conflict and siege will become a reality."

Dr Slabbert said the recently released HSRC report on race relations amounted to a "comprehensive and damning" comment on the government's policies over the last three decades.

'Source of present conflict'

"It not only said that the official policy was wrong, but also that it was one of the most important sources of the present conflict," he said.

Dr Slabbert said the central question facing South Africa was how the country could move away from one form of racial domination without this being replaced by another.

He emphasized that it was essential that the government give a declaration of intent if any successful process of negotiation was to take place.

Such a declaration should guarantee all people in the country a single constitution, a single citizenship, and joint participation without discrimination or domination.

dnesday, July 17, 1985

LP, NPP seen as 'part of govt'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE overwhelming support of the Labour Party and the National Peoples Party for government-sponsored legislation during the past session revealed these parties as part of the government rather than the opposition.

This is the finding of a report compiled by the research department of the Progressive Federal Party on the first session of the tricameral Parliament.

The report contends that the majority parties in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates "went out of their way" not to oppose legislation introduced by the government and did not want to "embarrass" the government.

"This is obviously an indication of the presence of Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi in the Cabinet; in this respect they must be seen as part of government and not part of opposition."

The report adds that the appointment of Mr Luwellyn Landers of the LP and Mr Soobramoney Naicker of the NPP as deputy ministers of general affairs portfolios "will probably lead to an even greater desire on the part of the two majority parties in the other Houses to support the government, at least publicly".

The report argues that in general the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates were "far less inclined" to oppose the legislative programme of the government than the PFP.

However, the House of Delegates adopted a "somewhat more independent stand" than the House of Representatives on two occasions — when the South African Police Special Account Bill and the Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill were considered.

The report notes that a number of key pieces of legislation, including those like the Regional Services Council Bill, which entrench apartheid, were opposed by the PFP but not the LP or the NPP.

The report also noted the scant opposition voiced by majority parties in the two new Houses to the proportionately inferior amounts allocated under their Own Affairs budgets compared with the amounts slated for white Own Affairs.

Criticism was also levelled at the LP's support for legislation providing for the transfer of powers and assets from existing local authorities to management committees falling under own affairs ministers.

'Cynical mind'

"The politically cynical mind would be tempted to deduce from the above arrangements that the government and the LP are co-operating closely to implement the government's apartheid policy and (considering the immense patronage at its disposal once it effectively controls housing) to strengthen and entrench the LP in coloured politics."

Turning to the number of questions asked by different parties, the report notes that only 78 questions were tabled by the House of Representatives during the session — a mere 37 of these by the LP.

All races flood PFP in membership drive

AG645 17/7/85 304A

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party will become increasingly multiracial if the initial response to its membership drive for all races continues.

Party officials say the response has been "beyond expectations" since the drive was launched by PFP leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert after the repeal of the racial provisions of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

Meanwhile the Labour Party also claims to be increasing its membership, and according to a senior party official it did not regard the PFP as a threat to its position.

Operation Outreach

The PFP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said today that considerable public interest from people of all races had been shown in the party since the launching of its Operation Outreach campaign.

When Dr Slabbert announced the campaign on June 19 he said the party was determined to become the largest and most broadly-based political party in the history of Parliament.

Mr Ross said that since then a large number of new members of all races had been signed in. New members had been recruited in the Western Cape, Natal, the Transvaal and elsewhere.

A flood

PFP offices had received a flood of inquiries from people of all races.

Registration tables where people could sign PFP membership forms had been set up in all the

He did not think the PFP would be a threat to the Labour Party, although there might be some interest in the PFP in "middle-class areas" in the cities and among coloured people who had boycotted the new parliamentary system.

major centres.

As a result of these activities so much interest was shown in the party that many house-meetings were arranged for people interested in joining the party or learning about it.

Mr Ross said that in the Peninsula a number of additional house-meetings were being planned and new branches of the party were being formed.

Interest had also been shown in rural areas in the Cape, the Transvaal and in Natal. In the Port Elizabeth area 10 house-meetings were planned.

"The response was far greater than expected," Mr Ross said.

40 branches

If the response continued a considerable increase in the PFP's membership could be expected in the next few months.

Mr Fred Peters, national secretary of the Labour Party, said his party's membership was not affected by the PFP's membership drive.

The Labour Party's membership had, in fact, been increasing. Since early this year 40 new branches of the party had been formed.

Rightist youth meeting ends

Cape Times 18/7/85 (304A) (RN7) (JW)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The right-wing "Youth for Freedom" conference here yesterday agreed in principle to form what they termed a "liberty and democracy international alliance".

No one would say who had paid for the four-day indaba, said to have cost more than R250 000. One organizer said: "The entire amount was raised from the private sector in the United States and South Africa and we are not prepared to disclose who they are."

At the end of the conference yesterday, a statement was issued that said they would "remain forever at the service of the struggle for world rule of liberty and democracy".

Among the delegates were representatives of the British Schools' Old Boys' Society, based in Uruguay; the Federation of Conservative Students, from London; and the Protoporia group, based in Cyprus. Delegates from Nicaragua also attended.

Notable among speakers at the conference were spies or former spies who had "changed allegiance". Chief among them was Gerard Ludi, the security police spy whose activities led to the jailing for life of Nelson Mandela and others after the Rivonia trial.

Then there was Vladimir Sakharov who said he had worked for the Russian KGB in the Middle East. He defected to the West in 1972 and wrote a book entitled "High Treason".

Also present was Mr Michael Morris, the notorious "campus spy" at the University of Cape Town, who confessed in 1979 that he was in fact working for the South African Police.

He recently said publicly that he had resigned from the police, and was described at this week's conference as being based in Zurich, where he is doing research on international terrorism for a group known as "Terrorism Research Associates".

Buthelezi's bottom line on negotiation

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party appeared unwilling to negotiate on the central issue facing South Africa — power-sharing with blacks, the Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

"We are utterly convinced that it is futile to negotiate about anything else," he told the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in Stellenbosch yesterday

Chief Buthelezi said that while Inkatha was prepared to take "a very large step in the direction of compromise" by shelving for the time being its "deeply cherished ideal" of one man, one vote, in a unitary state, "we are not in principle prepared to negotiate unless we can negotiate about power-sharing".

He said that after recent discussions with President P W Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, "it is not clear to us, and I would suggest that it not clear to anyone in South Africa, that the National Party is prepared to talk about power-sharing".

"The National Party may be prepared to talk about power, but we suspect that its concern is to talk about power division, not power-sharing."

The issued revolved around the difference between a federation which involved power-sharing as its central element, and a confederation which seemed to imply a division of power.

South Africa in many senses was already a confederation and it was "manifestly inadequate as a basis for peace and development".

'How the central cake must be cut'

He said power was essentially about control over resources and the major resource of the modern state, the central treasury and the budget, but so far "not one scrap of power over the central division of resources has been conceded to Africans".

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha's desire to gain a share of the power over the central resources should not be seen as an attempt "to make exorbitant and crippling demands".

"We simply say that we are entitled, as a basic and inalienable right, to representation on the bodies which decide on how the central cake must be cut.

"We are prepared to negotiate about checks and balances in a system of power-sharing. We are willing to concede reasonable safeguards to white interests.

"We would be prepared to go to considerable lengths to preserve the confidence of whites in the system of government, because we realize that if whites were to withdraw their skills and experience, we blacks would suffer very dearly."

Any attempt to play ball with Mr Botha without a prior commitment by Mr Botha that he was willing to share power would mean the loss of his own mass following and political utility, Chief Buthelezi said.

By "quite clearly" making a single South Africa something he was not prepared to talk about, Mr Botha had "slammed down a non-negotiable before me", he said.

Cost Trial (ANC) 18/7/85 (ROCA)

'The next move is up to the govt'

Political Correspondent

THE onus for breaking the negotiation deadlock between blacks and the government now rested squarely with President P W Botha, Kwazulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said in an interview he had gone out of his way to set the stage for meaningful negotiations with government by making concessions and spelling out agendas for debate.

The government, however, had failed to reciprocate and had instead adopted an evasive or prescriptive stance towards his overtures.

In addition, Mr Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had made "very damaging" public statements which amounted to "pulling the rug from under my feet".

"It is now up to the government to make the next move. I feel I have compromised enough," Chief Buthelezi said.

"The ball is now in the government's court and it is up to them to spell out what they mean and take the initiative."

Chief Buthelezi said he was especially disappointed by the recent "tragic" interview Mr Botha granted to British television journalist Brian Walden, in which he appeared to rule out both a unitary state or a federation for South Africa.

"Once you put it like this there is nothing to talk about," he said.

"They (the government) still want to prescribe and want me to swallow what they want."

Chief Buthelezi said he stood for a single South Africa with a single constitution with a bill of rights

CAPE Times 30 CA
19/7/85 MM ★

Delegates get new R9m HQ

DURBAN. — Luxury — and tight security — are the keynotes in Malgate, the new R9-million headquarters here of the House of Delegates.

The high-rise building in Stanger Street was "opened" to about 30 journalists last night by the Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and his ministers Mr Baldeo Dookie (housing), Mr Boetie Abramjee (budget) and Mr Kassie Ramduth (education).

Particularly impressive are Mr Rajbansi's enormous wall-panelled 11th-floor offices, complete with a large conference chamber, cabinet room and cocktail bar.

Mr Rajbansi said no date had yet been fixed for the formal opening of the building. — Sapa

GOVERNMENT AND REFORM

P W's dampener

President P W Botha seems to have dashed any hope that government will accept the latest Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report on intergroup relations as a basis for political reform.

His obvious irritation at some of the council's findings emerged when he addressed the annual Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) congress in Stellenbosch this week. His performance dampens verligte expectations and raises new questions on his actual willingness to go for fundamental change.

In particular, Botha was angry that HSRC investigators effectively blamed government's apartheid policies and "an exclusive Afrikaner Nationalist movement" for the country's serious intergroup problems.

This was not so, he said. The main cause of what the report termed "the very high possibility of conflict between groups in SA" was not statutory apartheid but "the character of our population diversity."

His interpretation, that the report reaffirmed government's view that "co-operative co-existence" between population groups was a basis for peace and prosperity in SA, is likely to become contentious.

"Co-operative co-existence" is government's latest euphemism for apartheid, which was rejected by the investigators as a solution to the country's problems.

Botha's response to the findings of the State-funded research body surprised some observers.

Although the investigation was an HSRC initiative, the team of researchers who studied intergroup problems for four years included some pillars of Afrikaner academia.

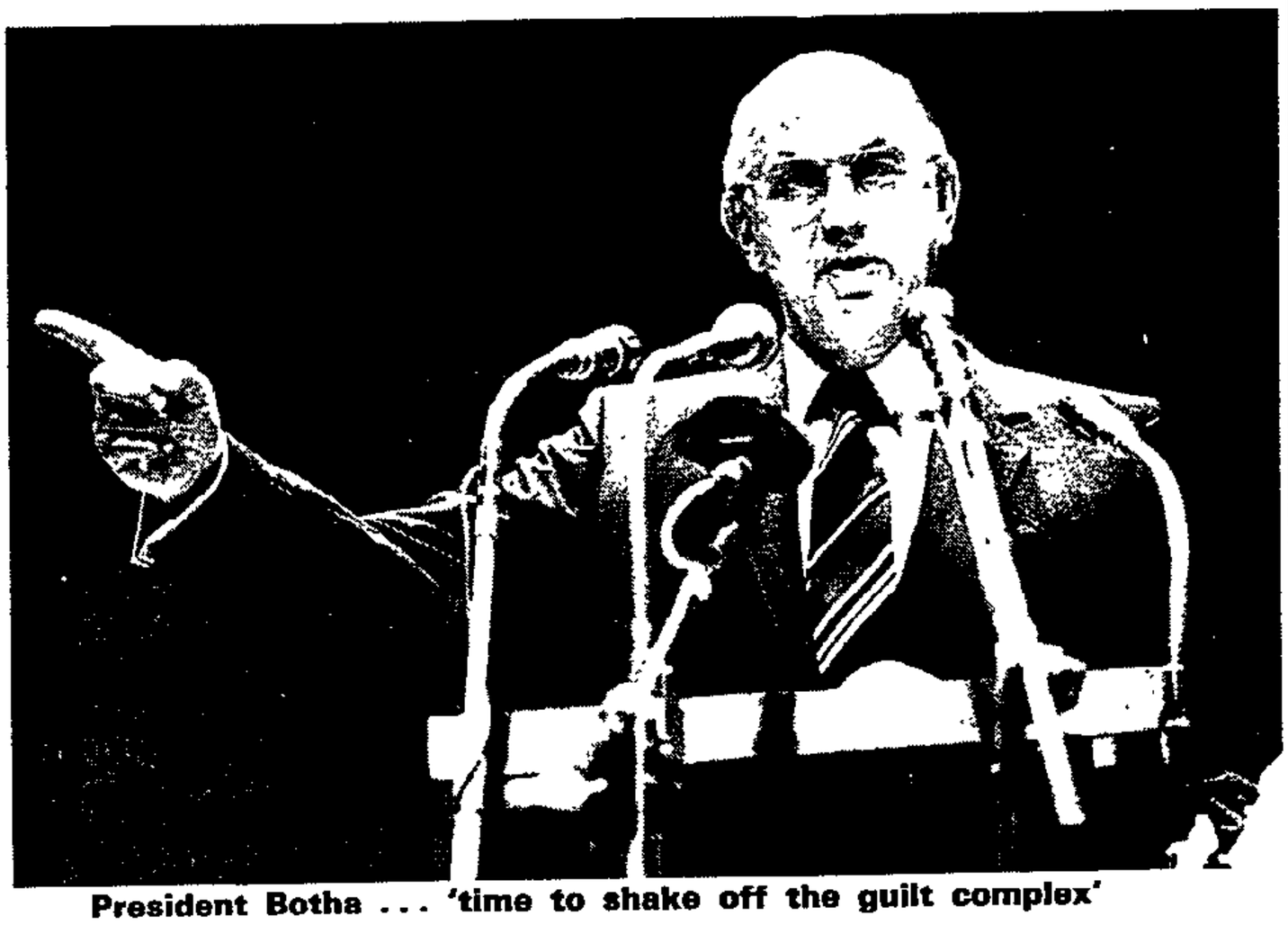
The question in some quarters this week was, if Botha would not accept the findings of a group as impeccably "establishment" as the HSRC, who could convince him that apartheid was at the core of the country's problems?

Botha accused the researchers of a lack of historical insight for failing to focus on the "actual historical origin" of racial segregation.

The time had come, he said, to shake off the guilt complex and crush "once and for all" the "myth" that Afrikaners and the National Party were solely responsible for apartheid.

He conceded that the Nats gave segregation a label in 1948, but quoted historical writers to prove race discrimination existed in SA from Van Riebeeck's time. The president seems to have missed the point: it was his party that entrenched apartheid in the lawbooks.

Botha also attacked the report's "lack of a more concrete viewpoint about alternatives."



President Botha ... 'time to shake off the guilt complex'

He said the correct structures, and not only the correct attitudes, formed the keystone of a peaceful future. The HSRC's proposals were "more in the form of principle directives than practical proposals."

"That, to me, is a shortcoming, since several aspects of the report are interpreted as criticism of the underlying principle of government policy," he said.

He also rejected a statement by Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert that the report proved government had been "preparing the country for a tragedy with its policy of apartheid and separate development."

Government's considerable achievements in improving the quality of life of all South Africans and "broadening democracy" since 1948 belied this statement, he said.

More than 10m blacks had been given votes in self-governing or independent homelands. Any black, whether a voter or not, could say what he or she liked in SA, "all we don't allow is for them to do as they wish with the country," Botha said.

Afrikaners knew what it was to fight for freedom, and were not standing in the way of any other group's desire for freedom, he said.

On the future of the HSRC report, Botha said, somewhat ambiguously, that government would regard it in the same light as previous investigations such as the Theron, Wiehahn and Riekert commissions, and reports by the old President's Council committees, and would "pay equal attention to it."

A more detailed government response would come later, he said. After all, the HSRC took four years to complete the investigation, so government could not be expected to respond fully within a few weeks. ■

ZIMBABWE

Black power

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has carried out his threat to punish Zimbabwe's "unrepentant" whites. He has dropped Agriculture Minister Dennis Norman from his new cabinet.

Norman, an apolitical farming expert, appointed in 1980 from outside the rival parties' hierarchies, was credited internationally with Zimbabwe's outstanding success in agriculture despite three years of drought which reduced much of black Africa to a famine disaster area.

Controlling a technical ministry, he was one of the few cabinet members outside Mugabe's elite Zanu (PF) politburo to have a real role in shaping national policy.

Mugabe said Norman had done his job "marvellously" but this appeared not to have been appreciated by farmers when they voted for Smith: "a man they well knew to be an enemy of the people of Zimbabwe." Smith's Conservative Alliance took 15 of the 20 white seats, but Norman was not a candidate and had not identified himself openly with Smith's pro-Mugabe opponents.

The only white face in the 25-member

Will Govt shoot its way out of unrest? — PFP

Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party's eight-man law and order group issued a statement yesterday demanding to know if the Government intends shooting its way out of the present unrest.

"We now want to know whether this Government intends shooting its way out of the unrest or is seriously committed to negotiation," the statement said.

The eight MPs and MPCs met in Port Elizabeth yesterday to discuss the unrest sweeping through black townships nationwide.

The meeting was chaired by Mr Peter Gastro. In a statement afterwards the group said it noted with alarm that the wave of unrest was undermining the confidence of all population groups in South Africa.

'THIRD FORCE'

It also discussed allegations that a "third force" was operating in the Eastern Cape unrest areas and said it would seek first-hand evidence of this.

"We call on the State President to end his silence on the unrest situation and to give leadership to the country," the statement added.

The PFP group also called on President Botha to appoint a high-powered negotiating team to visit the troubled areas and establish contact with legitimate black leaders.

"The President should also reconsider (PFP leader) Dr van Zyl Slabbert's offer to act as a go-between between the Government and the African National Congress."

In Cape Town, other Opposition spokesmen said the time had come for President Botha to step in and do something positive to end the continuing violence, death and destruction in black areas.

They argued that police and military action had failed to stop the spiral of violence. About 500 people have lost their lives in unrest over the past 17 months.

Some politicians fear the Government's lofty ideas of negotiation politics and peaceful solutions have drifted away with the smoke over black townships.

Dr Slabbert said in an interview the need for the Government to negotiate had never been as urgent as now.

He said as far as he knew, President Botha's multiracial forum for negotiation with black leaders had not yet been activated.

Similarly, there appeared to be little movement in the Government's enlarged special Cabinet committee on black constitutional development.

Earlier this year all political parties in Parliament, with the exception of the Conservatives, accepted President Botha's invitation to join the committee to negotiate with blacks on a non-party political basis.

Nominated PFP MP Mr Nic Olivier, an authority on black affairs and constitutional development, said he was also not aware of any significant progress by the Government towards a negotiated solution to the question of black political rights.

Certain talks had been held between the Government and homeland leaders, and also between the Government and leaders of independent black states.

"But the worrying aspect is that nothing seems to have happened in respect of broad political issues."

FOCUS ON LAW

It had been hoped that after the Kannemeyer Commission's findings, the Government would go out of its way to have talks with black leaders.

But nothing seemed to be happening, said Mr Olivier. The Government's mind was focused simply on maintenance of law and order.

The Government's attitude seemed to make it impossible for negotiations to be resumed with leaders such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi by rejecting outright his request for a "declaration of intent".

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304A

Slabbert warns on black issue

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DR Van Zyl Slabbert last night warned that he had no intention of continuing indefinitely the PFP's "association" with the "stillborn" cabinet committee on blacks which the State President invited him to join three months ago.

The PFP leader also said he felt compelled to dispel the "illusion" that his party was locked in joint ongoing negotiations with the government on the future of blacks.

He said that since President Botha had extended an invitation to opposition parties on April 19 to participate in an enlarged cabinet committee to investigate the constitutional position of blacks, "nothing has happened" — in spite of the deepening country-wide crisis.

Dr Slabbert called on the government to "stop procrastinating" and show that it was serious about involving opposition parties in urgently needed negotiations.

"I certainly have no intention of waiting around indefinitely so that the appearance of negotiation can be kept alive," he said

When the chairman of the cabinet committee on blacks, Mr Chris Heunis, was approached yesterday for comment on the progress made by the committee, he responded: "The deliberations of the extended cabinet committee are confidential and I will make a statement only when necessary."

Another senior government source, who did not wish to be named, said he thought the final structure of the committee was still being worked out.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

In a statement released earlier yesterday, Dr Slabbert said that when Mr Botha invited opposition parties to join the special committee the President had called for a "national team effort" from Parliament to seek solutions to "our most burning issues".

He said he understood there was an urgency in the invitation to:

- Seek a broad consensus between government and opposition parties on black constitutional development,
- Persuade credible black leaders to participate in peaceful negotiation and
- Investigate whether a common declaration of intent could be formulated.

However, "contrary to popular belief" no formal or informal meetings of the committee had taken place to address any of the "burning issues".

"If anything, since the invitation has been made, circumstances for effective negotiation have deteriorated.

"The State President has publicly rejected one constitution and power-sharing between black and white, prompting Chief (Gatsha) Buthelezi to state that he feels 'more estranged than ever'.

"The unrest in the townships has escalated dramatically and the impression is gaining ground that for the government, considerations of stability at any cost are more urgent than the goals of negotiation and reform."

In addition, President Botha's reaction to the Human Sciences Research Council report reflected a "greater concern with defending the past than tackling the future".

'Siege'

"This situation cannot go on. Either the wheels of negotiation politics are going to creak into motion or we have to accept the government is preparing us for siege."

Dr Slabbert said that not only had negotiation between the government and opposition parties in Parliament not yet begun but neither had the government begun talking to credible black leaders.

"I ask the government: 'What in heaven's name are you doing?'"

Dr Slabbert said the fact that the cabinet had not met for the past month and was not due to meet again before the end of July appeared to indicate that a state of "vacation politics" was prevailing in South Africa



The Afrikaanse Studentebond Congress in Stellenbosch this week was not all total onslaught, debate and motion. ASB president Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, right, and vice president Mr Deon Schlechter, left, brought their wives with them to savour the Cape — Mrs Linda Schlechter, left, and Mrs Heila van Schalkwyk, right.

The youth are waking up and, [illegible] formed about the living conditions and daily in the townships. I think we are realising [illegible] — that something [illegible]

WE Argus 30/4A 20/7/86

WAKIN

AFRIKANER youth is waking up and no longer waiting for leadership and example from the National Party.

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Reporter



Chief Mangosuthu Buthulezi — one of the speakers at the ASB congress.

There is also a "general feeling" that blacks must be included in the constitution of South Africa.

These are opinions that were expressed by office-bearers at the conclusion of the four-day Afrikaanse Studentebond congress in Stellenbosch.

President Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, who was re-elected, said that while it did not necessarily mean students were not supporting the National Party, they were now going ahead alone, expressing their own opinions and not waiting for cues from the ruling party.

An example of this was the overwhelmingly successful passage of a motion calling for the abolition of influx control, he said.

More than any other motion tabled at the congress, this one represented a direct challenge to government policy. The issue was debated in small groups before students returned to the congress forum with their vote and a number of the groups amended the motion in a manner which underlined the challenge even more.

The original call was for abolition of influx control "within a year". "As soon as possible" was the amendment offered by a number of groups. At least two others recommended that "discriminatory" be included in the wording to qualify influx control.

"At a congress two years ago a motion about influx control was thrown out before it even reached the voting stage," said Press liason officer, Stellenbosch University student Mr Barnard Beukman.

"There has been a definite move towards a feeling that there must be reform," he said. "The students from the North, though, still represent a stumbling block because culturally, if not politically, they cannot break from conservatism.

"I believe though there is a general feeling now that blacks should be included in the constitution."

Nervous

After the successful passage of the challenging influx control motion, however, congress delegates were a little nervous to take things any further by proposing a motion calling for black participation in government, he said.

But he said "the youth are waking up and, through greater contact, we are becoming better informed about the living conditions and daily experience of black and coloured people in the townships. I think we are realising that there are issues which must be taken up — that something needs to be done."

This new spirit was often difficult to discern from the atmosphere of the congress. Openly conservative statements were often greeted with rousing applause.

Voting on the motions, though, belied a strong conservative presence. It could be deduced that the conservatives were just the noisy ones.

As things warmed up over the four days, the moderates found their protest voices, too. A motion that the United Democratic Front be "investigated" by the ASB in the light of consequences future contact with the UDF might have, elicited some alarming right-wing stuff that was hissed and muttered at by the audience. "We were just not prepared to accept that the police had done all the investigating of the UDF that was necessary, as Mr G Kruger of Pretoria University suggested they should. The feeling which ruled was that the ASB should gather its own information.

And the motion won a clear passage.

"I think there is a new willingness to talk to other groups in South Africa," said president Mr van Schalkwyk, who was delighted with the "unprecedented" spirit of the congress.

A milestone for him was the contact initiated with the Inkatha Youth Brigade in the course of his term of office.



North and Sout

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WAKING UP?

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A milestone for him was the contact initiated with the Inkatha Youth Brigade in the course of his term of office.

"But that was just the start. We must now go on from there." And his re-election could be read as a mandate for him to guide the ASB to do that, he said.

He smiled when the word "liberal" cropped up, suggesting things couldn't be taken quite as far as that.

"Our key words are negotiation, contact. I have the impression there is a core of reasonableness among the students here, a realistic moderateness."

The image of Afrikaner youth rousing itself from the coils of a long slumber might be greeted with optimism but it must be seen in context. Their new reasonableness, their earnest openness to negotiation within a broad political spectrum, could very easily land them sitting uncomfortably and ineffectively on the fence.

Open ears

The list of congress speakers — Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the State President and Dr Connie Mulder (Dr Allen Boesak was invited too but was unable to attend) — says the young ears are open.

But to be effective and act on the responsiblity they have taken so seriously, they are going to reach a crossroads where definition and direction means making choices and taking a stand.

The vote against influx control was interesting, as was the accepted motion that the idea of a unitary white state for South Africa be rejected.

But, blind to political implications of the military, the congress also voted unanimously in favour of supporting the defence force while speaking vehemently against the Anti-Conscription Campaign. And again unanimously, the vote was that violence as a means of change be rejected out of hand.

These, too, are issues to be addressed at their very source, if the responsibility of youth is to be well and truly shouldered.



North and South together

The north-south division was strictly drawn at the ASB congress but challenging motions came from both poles. Mr Barnard Beukman, left, of Stellenbosch University, proposed that the idea of a unitary white state for South Africa be rejected. Mr Willie Kruger, right, member of the ASB executive committee and a law student at RAU, proposed that influx control be abolished.

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PFP group calls on P W Botha to 'end silence on unrest issue'

304A

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

A TOP-LEVEL group of Progressive Federal Party public representatives last night called on the State President, Mr P W Botha, to "end his deafening silence surrounding the unrest situation and to give leadership to the country".

They made the call in a statement after meeting in Port Elizabeth yesterday to discuss the unrest situation, endemic in many parts of South Africa.

They noted "with great concern" that the unrest had reached critical proportions and "continued to escalate".

The statement, issued by Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, who chaired the meeting, added that "alarming allegations relating to the operation of a 'third force' in the Eastern Cape were discussed".

The PFP would try to obtain first-hand evidence "in order to confirm or discount these allegations".

The group, comprising eight MPs and MPCs from the Eastern and Western Cape, the Transvaal and Natal, further called on the Government to appoint a high-powered negotiating team to visit the troubled areas to establish contact and negotiate with legitimate black leaders.

It was felt President Botha needed to reconsider his initial rejection of the offer by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, to act as a mediator between it and the ANC.

● In an interview with Weekend Post last night before flying back to Durban, Mr Gastrow said he felt the meeting had been useful as public representatives from different parts of the country had been able to pool their experiences and knowledge of unrest in their areas.

The party should thus be able to play a more meaningful role in helping to defuse the situation.

More such meetings could be held, he added.

● In Cape Town Dr Slabbert last night warned that he had no intention of indefinitely continuing the PFP's "association" with the "stillborn" Cabinet Committee on theconstitutional position of blacks which President Botha had invited him to join three months ago.

Dr Slabbert said "nothing has happened — despite the deepening crisis".

News restrictions after the 1960 emergency

MATTERS came to a head in 1960, a year of spectacular turmoil in which South Africa probably came closer to revolution than ever before or since.

The government had announced that in 1960 the white electorate would be asked to decide whether to change the country's form of government.

Ever since the defeat of the Boer republics, a cherished Afrikaner goal had been the re-establishment of a republic, free of formal links with the British crown. The proposal met with strong resistance from English-speaking whites, who valued their ties with Britain and the Commonwealth. The largely English-speaking province of Natal threatened to secede if a republic were declared.

Blacks, who would not be consulted in the decision, saw in the republic a further entrenchment of Afrikaner domination and a weakening of what little protection the links with Britain afforded them. Led by the Pan-Africanist Congress, a militant offshoot of the African National Congress, they launched a passive resistance campaign against the pass laws, a hated symbol of their subjugation.

Political and racial tensions ran high. In January 1960 a police raiding party in Cato Manor, a black township near Durban, was set upon by an irate mob. Nine policemen were killed. These events received prominent coverage in South Africa and abroad.

The situation exploded into large-scale violence on March 21, the day the Pan-Africanist Congress had set for protests against the pass laws. Blacks were urged to go peacefully to the nearest police station, report they did not have their passes with them, and ask to be arrested.

A large crowd surrounded the police station in Sharpeville township, near Vereeniging in the Transvaal. The beseiged policemen, mindful no doubt of what had happened at Cato Manor, panicked and opened fire with Sten guns.



A scene from Sharpeville where 69 people died after police opened fire during an anti-pass demonstration in March 1960.

This extract from a new book* on the South African press recalls the state of emergency in South Africa which was declared in March, 1960, when a campaign of passive resistance against the pass laws launched by the Pan Africanist Congress led to police shootings at Langa and Sharpeville and widespread disorder.
(* Total onslaught: The South African Press under attack. By Anthony Giffard and William Hachten (Macmillan)

By the time the firing stopped, 69 people lay dead and 180 were injured. Many victims were shot in the back as they fled, others were hit while in their nearby homes.

ANC banned

Police in the black township of Langa, near Cape Town, opened fire on a crowd the same day. The violence quickly spread to other centres The government responded by declaring a state of emergency, calling up civilian reserve units, arresting hundreds of people suspected of sympathizing with the black aspirations, and banning the ANC and PAC.

These events turned the international spotlight on South Africa as never before. The country's turmoil dominated the world's headlines as media and news agencies sent correspondents to cover the unrest. Their news reports led to South Africa's being roundly censured abroad, including a condemnation by the UN Security Council, called into session by Afro-Asian delegates who were widely reported as calling the shootings an "inhuman massacre", a "barbaric act", and "uncivilized behaviour".

Hundreds of demonstrators scuffled with police outside the South African embassy in London.

The state of emergency prompted heavy selling of South African securities on the world's exchanges. In Johannesburg, stock prices took their worst losses in years. Movements flourished abroad to boycott South African goods, to isolate her politically, to ban sports and cultural exchanges.

Ironically, in many cases readers abroad were better informed about what was happening in South Africa than South Africans themselves. The emergency regulations included restrictions on reporting so far-reaching that if interpreted literally would mean a complete ban on publishing anything relating to the crisis.

The regulation prohibited, on pain of severe penalties, the publication of "subversive statements", presumably including photographs or cartoons. "Subversive statements" were defined as anything likely to have the effect of "subverting authority... inciting any section of the publich to resist or oppose the Government... engendering or aggravating feelings of hostility in any person or section of the public ...causing panic, alarm or fear...weakening the confidence of the public in the successful termination of the state of emergency, unless the statement is proved to be a true and complete narrative".

Self-censorship

The result was that South African editors, unsure about what they could print, had to exercise a large measure of self-censorship. *The Star*, for example, carried a long extract from an editorial in the *Times* of London, dealing with the situation. Alongside this was a panel headed "CANNOT BE PUBLISHED" that read "Many other London newspapers today gave great prominence to the situation in South Africa, but their news reports and editorial comment are of such a nature that it is impossible to publish them in South Africa under the emergency regulations."

Because local publications largely toed the line, there were no prosecutions, although police did raid the offices of *Drum* and *Golden City Post*, publications with large black circulations. A number of black journalists were held under the emergency regulations; others fled the country.

Undemocratic

But reports appearing overseas could not be controlled. Even the normally moderate *Times* of London was moved to write that the South African Government had seized with alacrity "the chance to put into practice the brutal, undemocratic methods which have always had the backing of a powerful minority in the Nationalist Party. The unquestioned duty of every government to maintain law and order has been prostituted. This week alone 1 200 Africans have been detained or arrested. Savage fines, out of all proportion to anything that would be tolerated in a civilized country, have been inflicted on many of the Africans for offences against the intolerable pass laws... the extent of the reign of terror, deliberately created, is harder to estimate because its architechts, wisely from their point of view, are keeping it imprecise. The press in the Union has not been bludgeoned by censorship into silence, but is having to work daily under the shadow of the axe".

Coverage like this led *Die Burger* to lament that comment abroad on South Africa was "practically a catastrophe ... when [British] newspapers like the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* become practically hysterical in their vehemence, then it has become for us far, far later than 12 o'clock on the propaganda front".

PFP calls on President to reconvene Parliament

South African political figures have reacted to the state of emergency with views ranging from approval to condemnation.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday called on the State President, Mr P W Botha, to reconvene Parliament to discuss the state of emergency declared on Saturday.

In a statement, Dr Slabbert urged the State President to summon Parliament to show "the limited form of representative Government we now have is not completely inactive in the face of the state of emergency".

He said Parliament should discuss the Government's record in anticipating, coping with and ending the unrest.

Parliament should "consider the most effective short and long-term ways to promote the politics of negotiation and consensus and to find out whether peace can be restored to our land", Dr Slabbert said. President Botha today turned down the call.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "We support the Government in maintaining law and order but stronger action should have been taken earlier. There can be no concessions to riotous or criminal elements. Blackmail through violence to force political change cannot be permitted under any circumstances."



Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said: "We are compelled to warn the Government that these steps will not resolve anything. We are convinced the unrest will increase, the killings will continue, the unrests will multiply, the anger will grow."

Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu said: "I doubt if it (the state of emergency) could calm the situation, but if it does, it will be a sullen calm and below the surface it will be boiling. We could have an almighty explosion."

REFORM NEEDED

The president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Mr Michael Weir, and the president of the Federated Chambers of Industries, Mr John Wilson, said in a joint statement the business community had been greatly concerned at escalating violence and accepted the need to re-establish law and order in certain areas.

"To be effective, the restoration of law and order must also be backed by a package of substantial reforms to recognise black aspirations and to redress legitimate grievances.

"Real negotiations in the political and industrial relations spheres are the key to a return to an orderly South Africa and to stability in our townships," the businessmen said.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said security legislation alone would not quell unrest.

Mr Donald Masson, president of the institute, said although the AHI was seriously perturbed about the escalation of violence in the country, and saw the necessity of restoring law and order, it felt security legislation alone would not be enough to clear the present conflict.

"A meaningful package of significant reform that takes black aspirations into account and removes grievances felt by the community seems to be obvious in future negotiations," Mr Masson said.

"The AHI, at the same time, makes an urgent call on responsible black community and other leaders not to alienate the black community from the goodwill and benevolence of the broader business community by their actions," he said.

The Azanian Students' Organisation, a United Democratic Front affiliate, condemned the new security laws.

"This state of emergency, together with other apartheid laws like the recently passed University Exclusion Act, which will empower the university councils to expel the so-called troublemakers from campuses, are more coercive measures that this State has resorted to, aimed at forcing apartheid down the throats of the oppressed South African majority," said the organisation.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

Mr Mahmoud Rajab, spokesman on Law and Order for the Solidarity party, the Official Opposiiton in the House of Delegates, said the Government was merely treating the symptoms of political crisis and not getting at the causes.

He said for there to be "real and lasting" peace in South Africa the basic causes of black unrest must be tackled immediately — such as the granting of political rights.

Black Sash national vice-president Mrs Joyce Harris said the Government was travelling in exactly the opposite direction from that which it should be taking. "Instead of negotiating it is banging closed one door after another," she said.

She dismissed Mr Botha's assurance that law-abiding citizens would be unaffected by the emergency. "The fact that information is totally restricted means there is no way of any of us knowing what is happening in the country."

In a statement released to Sapa, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said that at a time the Government should be talking to the real leaders of South Africa, it had given even greater powers to itself and was "chaining the voice of democracy with a ruthlessness not seen since 1960".

The statement said: "Hundreds of popular leaders and democrats have been detained and many more will follow.

"To the people of the townships, this will be seen as a declaration of war. Internationally this could amount to economic suicide."

The committee expressed "great fears" for the safety of detainees.



Dr van Zyl Slabbert . . . NP's record should be discussed.



Dr Treurnicht . . . action should have been taken earlier.

Conflict looms over dismissal of striking workers in SA

HE dismissal of striking workers in South Afa is fast becoming a major issue of conflict tween black emerging trade unions and emyers in recent days.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Workers going on her legal or illegal ikes have faced the ath of the bosses who missed them or called lice to intervene

This disturbing fea- of industrial relans has been criticised unions – especially se engaged in the esent unity talks med at forming a per federation" — yers and industrial ations consultants

The black working ss is angry, militant d is resisting any form of oppression, exploitation and are even prepared to fight apartheid on the factory floor

Thirty percent of strikes in South Africa are caused by "unfair dismissals", retrenchments and disciplinary actions, sources say.



STRIKING workers . . . they face the wrath of the bosses

Demands

In an article entitled "Strikes: new practices and new law", labour lawyer, Mr Clive Thompson, says a worker who goes on strike in South Africa, not always anticipates that his demands will be met, but he has, at least until recently, had good reason to expect certain other consequences: police action, criminal prosecution and dismissal.

"This sequence, typical of the seventies and the early eighties, seems set to change as unions, representative of industrial workers, continue to expand and consolidate that power and to make aggressive use of the opportunities presented by the amended labour legislation," he says.

"The primary purpose of labour law is to regulate industrial conflict. Ten years ago, a mass dismissal by an employer ended a dispute by eliminating the opposition; these days the procedure has changed.

"Throughout the industrialised and developing world, legislatures have come to recognise that the best way of dealing with labour-management strife is through the promotion of genuine and effective collective bargaining", he says.

Mr Thompson adds that the legislature has tried to facilitate matters through the introduction of a very open-ended unfair labour practice jurisdiction.

An unfair labour practice is any practice by an employer which affects a worker unfairly or which, without justification, creates labour unrest. Only the industrial court can actually decide that a particular practice is unfair.

It is against this background that the law of strikes seems on the verge of undergoing a major transformation. The first break-through has already occurred.

"The conventional wisdom says that even lawful strikers can be dismissed by employers at will. However, the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union and the Metal and Allied Workers Union have recently concluded agreements that protect their members for up to 30 days against dismissal".

Again, the on-going battle between the SA Chemical Workers Union and AECI is even more telling when workers could not be dismissed after several negotiations which ended up in the Supreme Court.

Mr Thompson says developments can be expected in the South African labour law, such as decriminalisation of strike action. No successful prosecution has been brought against strikes recently, notwithstanding the fact that the number of offenders in this area is eclipsed only by the number of pass offenders.

He cited the example of several members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) who had charges of instigation against them withdrawn. The charges arose out of a dispute at the East Driefontein gold mine.

He further argues that strike action must only be taken once all avenues of negotiation have been exhausted. This will mean that an employment contract is suspended for the duration of a strike, but that at the end of the dispute all workers will be entitled to return to their jobs.

The present practice of selective re-hiring of dismissed strikers — should be outlawed as it is a fundamental concept of justice that like cases should be treated in a like manner.

He adds that where striked occur as a result of grossly unfair behaviour by management — such as the refusal to recognise a representative trade union — the industrial court should reinstate, without reservation, any workers who may be victimised as a result of the dispute.

"The industrial court has already said it believed that the logical outcome of the unfair labour practice is that lawfully striking workers should receive protection against dismissal.

"It has even reinstated workers who engaged in an unlawful strike when provoked by management. What is needed is for these tentative decisions to be developed into a coherent and forceful body of law that shows an appreciation of the critical role of industrial action in underpinning the entire collective bargaining process.

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PW rejects PFP plea for recall of Parliament

304A

Star 22/7/85

Staff Reporters

President P W Botha today turned down a request from the Opposition Progressive Federal Party to reconvene Parliament to discuss the state of emergency.

Since emergency regulations were imposed on 36 towns and cities on Sunday five people have died in township violence and 139 are known to have been arrested.

Among those arrested and detained since yesterday morning are four black church leaders and at least nine other activists, most of them members of the United Democratic Front, who were held in the Eastern Cape today.

The refusal to recall Parliament was made in a statement issued by President Botha in Cape Town.

He said action to bring the unrest under control was required now, "not further debates".

He added that the unrest situation in the country had been thoroughly debated earlier in the year and during the debate on the Kannemeyer Commission report.

PFP leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert had issued a statement last night calling on the Government to reconvene Parliament.

The UDF acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, released a statement today describing the declaration of the emergency as an "admission by the Government that its fraudulent 'reform' scheme has failed".

Mr Morobe added: "Apart-

See Pages 2 and 13

heid, for as long as it exists, can only be maintained by sheer brute force."

He expressed the fear that the emergency would provide cover for indiscriminate acts of police repression.

In Johannesburg the Transvaal office of the United Democratic Front was operating as usual today, although the national office on the same floor of Khotso House was deserted.

A spokesman for the Transvaal office said major national office bearers had not to date been held by police, but were out of town.

And in continuing nationwide unrest since the emergency measures were announced, at least another five people have died: three in Parys in the Free State, one on the East Rand and another in Lamontville in Natal.

The Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria has listed the following incidents, which they described as "isolated", since yesterday morning:

- At Parys in the Free State three men were shot dead and another five injured in clashes between the police and crowds of youths who were allegedly stoning private homes and the police.
- At Thokoza and Vosloorus on the East Rand 20 black men were arrested when they allegedly stoned police vehicles and a black man was fatally wounded when he allegedly hurled a petrol bomb at a policeman.
- At Lamontville near Durban a group of blacks attacked, stoned and petrol-bombed a private home, police claimed.

"The owner of the house was allegedly shot and fatally wounded by the mob when he attempted to persuade them to desist in their attack". Both the Anglican and Methodist churches in Lamontville were stoned and petrol-bombed, the police report said. Five men were arrested in connection with one of the incidents.

- At Mhalakeng, on the West Rand, buses were allegedly

● To Page 3, Col 1

Botha refuses to recall Parliament

MRGS 22/7/81

BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha today turned down a call from Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, to reconvene Parliament for discussions on the state of emergency.

President Botha said what was necessary now was not further debates but action to bring the unrest under control.

Dr Slabbert gave three reasons for his demand for the recall of Parliament.

- To show that limited representative government was not completely inactive.
- To debate the Government's record in anticipating, coping and ending unrest.
- To consider the most effective ways to promote the politics of negotiation and consensus and to find out whether peace can be restored.

In an interview Dr Slabbert said the Government had clearly opted for suppression rather than negotiation and consultation.

He asked why the Government had not yet convened the special Cabinet committee on blacks which President Botha had announced earlier in the year and in which he was invited to participate.

He rejected a statement issued by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, at the weekend that negotiations were taking place with leaders who were more radical than Dr Slabbert.

Confidential

"The Government should tell us negotiating with. I have seen no sig negotiations. Who are these radical

A spokesman in Mr Heunis's of the information was confidential ar would not be disclosed.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, national of Solidarity, said the situation co been avoided if the Government hac ed properly, not only with those peo ed by constitutional mechanisms those leaders who had been identif taneously by the black people.

Mr Poovalingam called on the ment to issue a declaration of inte set about dismantling apartheid.

He said the Government did no large parts of the country because i represent most people.

SATCEU	South African T	nployees' Union
SATU	South African T	
SAWU	South African W	
SEAWU	Steel, Enginee	ers' Union
SEAWUSA	Steel, Enginee South Africa	ers' Union of
SFAWU	Sweet, Food an	ion
TAWU	Transport and	n
TAWU	Textile and Al	
TGWU	Transport and	on
TOWU	Tramway and On	
TUCSA	Trade Union of	
TWIU	Textile Worke	
UAMAWU	United Africa	rkers' Union
UOA	Underground Of	

President will not recall 70th Parliament

● From Page 1

stoned and three passengers slightly injured. Also at Mhalakeng, police and development board vehicles were allegedly stoned. Stow 23/7/85

● At Cradock in the Eastern Cape a private home was extensively damaged by arsonists. Police dispersed a crowd using teargas and rubber bullets.

No injuries or arrests were reported.

● At Mamelodi near Pretoria policemen were allegedly stoned by a crowd of people. The police dispersed them with shotgun and pistol fire. A man was wounded and arrested.

● At Witbank in the Eastern Transvaal police used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse a crowd after violence erupted at the funeral of a riot victim.

● At Isithebe in Northern Natal, 500 workers at the Apparel Clothing Manufacturers went on strike and police were called in by management to disperse them after they refused to leave the premises.

Reuters news agency quoted a spokesman for the Detainees Support Committee as saying those detained after midnight in the Port Elizabeth area included the Rev De Villiers Soga, president of the Inter-denominational African Ministers Association of South Africa.

Other churchmen known to be held include the Rev Samson Daba, an Anglican minister and community leader from Uitenhage and a Methodist minister, Mr Hamilton Dandala.

PAMPHLETS

A police spokesman today refused to confirm the arrests.

Forty-one Reef residents are believed to still be in detention under the emergency provisions after the two buses in which they were returning from Saturday's Cradock funeral were diverted by police to John Vorster Square and Protea police station yesterday.

Police spokesmen declined to comment.

In the East Rand township of kwaThema where a funeral for unrest victims is due to take place tomorrow, the police distributed pamphlets explaining why the state of emergency had to be imposed.

The pamphlets read: "Thugs are disrupting your life through intimidation, arson and murder. This must be stopped."



With their fists raised, members of the guard of honour stand beside the coffins in the centre of the Ilingelihle Stadium at Cradock at a mass funeral on Saturday for four community leaders who were murdered in the Eastern Cape last month. At their sides are young girls in bridal dress who carried candles at the head of the funeral procession.

Cape Times 22/7/85 30A

Commerce wants reform

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S three major business representative organizations yesterday warned that security measures alone would not restore peace to strife-torn townships where about 500 people have died in the past year.

And the president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), Mr Michael Weir, said organized commerce would seek an urgent interview with President P W Botha to discuss the imposition of the state of emergency.

Statements issued yesterday by Mr Weir, the president of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), Mr John Wilson, and the president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr Donald Masson, all signalled the concern of the country's largest employer organizations by emphasizing that the serious conflict in South Africa could not be ended by security actions alone.

'Restraint'

The joint statement from Assocom and FCI read: "The business community has been greatly concerned at the escalating violence in South Africa and accepts the need to re-establish law and order in certain areas.

"Organized commerce and industry are anxious that conditions should be normalized as soon as possible, and appeal to all groups to exercise restraint and patience.

"However, organized commerce and industry also believe that security action alone will not resolve the serious conflict in black townships.

"To be effective, the restoration of law and order must be backed by a package of substantial reforms to recognize black aspirations and to redress legitimate grievances.

Key to order

"Real negotiations in the political and industrial relations spheres are the key to the return to an orderly South Africa and to stability in our townships."

The AHI statement echoed the need for "significant reforms" to remove black grievances.

But the AHI also issued an "urgent call to responsible black community and other leaders not to alienate the black community from the goodwill and benevolence of the broader business community by their actions".

"In the light of the present circmustances, the AHI, as in the past, will seek to uphold the closest contact with the Cabinet and the relevant State departments."

World leaders call for reform, dialogue in SA

WASHINGTON—The White House said yesterday that apartheid was largely responsible for the current violence in South Africa and it called on the South African Government to move towards meaningful reform in its policy.

The statement was issued by spokesman Larry Speakes when asked about the state of emergency.

'We are disturbed by the violence that is occurring in South Africa,' the statement said. 'It is counter-productive.

"The South African Government bears a considerable responsibility at this time. It says it seeks to restore law and order and that is understandable.

'We look to the South African Government to exercise its responsibilities in a scrupulous manner. The period of violence must be ended.'

Our London Bureau reports that British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said last night the state of emergency underligned the urgent need for the Pretoria Government to establish dialogue with all the people of the country.

Sir Geoffrey, who was attending a meeting of Common Market foreign ministers in Brussels, said the South African crisis had figured prominently in their discussions.

The Dutch Government said in a statement from the Hague yesterday that it was 'very concerned about the worsening situation in South Africa' while France condemned the state of emergency, saying it could make 'repression even more implacable'. — (Sapa-Reuter-AP)

Police hole Blackburn

Progressive Federal Party MPC Mrs Molly Blackburn was due to appear in court in New Brighton township, Port Elizabeth, today.

She had been held at her suburban home at about 6.30 am and taken to police headquarters in the city.

Lieutenant-Colonel G P van Rooyen said Mrs Blackburn was to appear in connection with charges of attending an illegal gathering in mid-July

Black Sash national vice-president Mrs Joyce Harris said the group was outraged at the move against one of its leading members.

She said the fact that such "harsh measures were taken to arrest Mrs Blackburn and take her to police headquarters rather than simply issuing a summons" could be seen as an indication that restraints would be strenuously applied during the state of emergency.

Mrs Blackburn has been closely involved with civic and student groups in the Eastern Cape townships and has helped organise legal representation for residents.

Mrs Harris condemned "strong-arm tactics against someone who epitomises one of the few remaining bridges across the widening black-white gulf".

She said: "Instead of encouraging Mrs Blackburn in her outstanding work for peace and justice the government is doing its best to intimidate her."

Govt sees 'radical' leaders

PRETORIA. — Discussions were continuously taking place between the government and leaders whose views were more radical than those held by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said here yesterday.

Mr Heunis was replying to a claim by Dr Slabbert that nothing had happened since the State President, Mr P W Botha, invited political parties to take part in the enlarged special cabinet committee on development of black communities.

Mr Heunis said that in his capacity as chairman of the special cabinet committee he was continuously extending the negotiation process and several breakthroughs had been made.

Relevance

The statement by Dr Slabbert that this process was not taking place just because he himself had not been present showed that the PFP totally over-estimated its relevance in South African politics, he said.

Mr Heunis referred to discussions which had taken place between himself and Dr Slabbert regarding the enlarged cabinet committee.

He said Dr Slabbert's acceptance of the State President's invitation had been based on certain assumptions and a particular interpretation he had placed on the invitation.

Dr Slabbert had asked certain questions and after correspondence between them, a meeting was arranged for July 18.

This had to be cancelled owing to an urgent meeting on the state of affairs in the country, arranged by the State President, but a new date was to be arranged.

Reaction

Reacting to the statement by Mr Heunis, Dr Slabbert said he thought Mr Heunis "totally misunderstood the point I had made".

"I can assure Mr Heunis that I and the whole country are delighted at the breakthroughs in this regard and that the whole country must be waiting with bated breath to hear more.

"I simply made the point that there was a general impression that an enlarged cabinet committee was considering 'burning issues' and insofar as I had accepted the invitation to participate, nothing had happened as far as I was concerned.

'Impression'

"I have no intention in this respect of keeping the impression alive that the PFP was participating in a process that simply did not exist.

"I wish to make it clear that particularly in the light of Mr Heunis's arrogant response I do not regard myself a member of any special cabinet committee until I am notified when such a committee is going to meet and what for.

"To have informal and personal discussions with Mr Heunis is something I do not object to, but it is not the same thing," Dr Slabbert said. — Sapa

ASB, PFP join in plea

By KIN BENTLEY

IN a joint statement the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) and the national executive of the Progressive Federal Party Youth called for an end to the state of emergency as soon as possible.

They also called for the release of "political detainees like Nelson Mandela".

The president of the ASB, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, told the Evening Post that broader student support among blacks and whites would be sought.

The joint statement was released to the Press by the Eastern Cape chairman of the PFP Youth, Mr Wayne Mitchell.

It follows a resolution taken by the ASB at their recent congress to seek liaison with the United Democratic Front.

The statement reads:

"With regard to the recent state of affairs we feel it is imperative that the Government end the state of emergency as soon as possible.

"We, as young South Africans and leaders of the future, do not wish to be left with a country which will be in a state of confusion.

"At present the state of emergency is causing even more polarisation between the black and white people of South Africa and this is sure to stifle the process of reform.

"We see the state of emergency as tackling the symptoms and not the causes.

"We together call for serious negotiation to take place. But a precedent must be set for this with the release of top political detainees such as Nelson Mandela.

"We make this serious appeal as we of the white youth of South Africa cannot stand by like Nero playing the fiddle while Rome burns.

"We believe the white population should be aware of what is going on. They owe it to themselves and the black population.

"Chances for peaceful negotiation are slipping by as they did in Zimbabwe while everyone remained either unaware of or not wanting to know the consequences of the situation.

"We firmly believe negotiation and consensus is what South Africa's political future needs — not confrontation which will inevitably injure all South Africans, not only physically but morally as well.

"We believe Parliament should reconvene so that the stage can then be set for a serious process of negotiation

The national chairman of the PFP Youth, Mr Andrew Miller, could not be contacted, but Mr Mitchell, commenting on the statement said: "We've got to address this serious situation. I fear that because blacks have felt uncatered for under the free-enterprise system they are being pushed closer towards Communist ideology."

● See Pages 3 and 4

Tutu calls for 'peace, in struggle'

MNews 22/7/85

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu has called for peace and discipline in the "struggle for freedom".

Addressing about 15 000 people at the funeral of 15 unrest victims in the East Rand township of Kwathema, Bishop Tutu said he had no doubt the people would win their freedom, but this had to happen in a non-violent way.

Freedom was a God-given gift: "We are not asking for freedom from 'the baas'," he said.

"Therefore we say to the rulers of this land. You cannot mock God, our God. We want you, who are the perpetrators of apartheid, to know that you have already lost.

"Unless you change, you have had it."

Bishop Tutu said he deplored the incident at Duduza township at the weekend in which a woman accused of being a police informer was bludgeoned and burnt to death.

"If we do this again I am going to find it difficult to speak up for our liberation.

Army

"I will collect my family and I will leave this country that I love so dearly ... that I love so passionately.

"We cannot use murder to attain our goal of liberation," he said.

Referring to the strong police and army contingents positioned within sight of the gathering, Bishop Tutu said they too would not be free until all South Africans were free.

Guests at the funeral included the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, and an envoy from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lichfield, Bishop Keith Sutton.

Bishop Sutton called on people to support Bishop Tutu and also to provide safety for Bishop Nkoane, whose home has been attacked by unidentified assailants.

During the burial procession the Rev Peter Hortop of Kwathema intercepted a small band of placard-bearing mourners who ran towards a group of policemen, shouting that they wanted peace in the townships.

Buthelezi's concern over halt of talks

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The president of Inkatha and Kwazulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has expressed his concern over the state of emergency halting Government discussions with black leaders on black-white power-sharing.

In a statement from Ulundi today Chief Buthelezi said the declaration of a state of emergency was evidence that things were "not normal" in the country.

It was distressing to have to acknowledge that the declaration froze any possibilities of negotiation, he said.

SPECULATE

"There can be no negotiations within a state of emergency nor can one negotiate in the midst of the anarchy that has been a feature of the kind of ructions we have seen in the townships."

Chief Buthelezi said he was not prepared to speculate about what might happen in Kwazulu.

He said: "It is not as if people have not tried to trigger unrest in the Natal-Kwazulu region."

He said South Africa needed democracy and national unity without which it would continue to suffer economically, bringing deeper deprivation to millions of black people.

Hendrickse backs Govt measures

Sat 24/7/85

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has supported the Government's decision to declare a state of emergency in certain areas and has called for consultation with leaders of all groups.

In his first detailed response to the Government's move, he said today it was "the right step at the right time".

Mr Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council and a member of the Cabinet, also condemned the role of the South African Communist Party in the unrest.

He said in an interview: "As far as I can ascertain, most people have welcomed the declaration of the state of emergency in certain areas. It has become obvious that the situation got out of hand, with looting and murder taking place.

"It is also obvious that even the freedom of expression and limited freedom of organisation had been abused for indoctrination and exploitation by the SA Communist Party.

"The presence of the Red flag on the University of the Western Cape campus last year during demonstrations and the blatant exhibition of the Red flag at Saturday's funeral (at Cradock) makes the decision of the State President the correct one."

Grade 10

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Current Real Weekly Wage: R 9.37

Grade 12

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Current Hours: 44 Hourly Change 1975 to date: Nominal +388.1% Real +49.5% Current Real Weekly Wage: R 10.01

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Grade 12

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Current Hours: 44 Hourly Change 1975 to date: Nominal +388.1% Real +49.5% Current Real Weekly Wage: R 10.01

SA whites divided - survey

SOUTH African whites are divided down the middle over the introduction of a fourth chamber in Parliament for urban blacks — in the spirit of the New Constitution.

These are the findings of Markinor research company conducted recently in six major cities involving 1 000 whites.

Half the number approved of the introduction of a fourth chamber for urban blacks to join the whites, Indians and coloureds in the tricameral parliament.

Striking differences between the English-speaking whites and Afrikaners showed as the former passed the issue with a two to every three verdict while the latter gave it a thumbs down by one to every three. These divisions also reflected heavily the population make-up of large cities.

In Johannesburg and Durban the vote was 65 and 64 percent respectively. The Cape returned a 55 percent approval while Bloemfontein whites were deadlocked at a 50 percent for and against. The capital city, Pretoria and Vaal/Reef returned a 36 percent for.

Survey shows pessimism rife among all races

Most people blame Govt for SA's ills, study finds

304A
24/7/85
Star

Pessimism is rife among most South Africans and the Government is blamed for the country's ills, a recent study by Markior has found.

Consumer Pulse, a survey conducted in March using a sample of 1 000 whites and 800 blacks, found a tremendous sense of frustration among all population groups.

"Most people believed there was nothing the individual or the private sector could do to improve the situation."

Black South Africans had been hit harder by the recession while the impact on whites had been less severe, the study found.

Among whites the pinch was being felt mostly by women and single parents. And families with children, particularly older ones, had been more affected.

Afrikaners had been harder hit than their English counterparts as have residents on the PWV area and those in lower income groups.

DRASTIC CUTS

Consumer Pulse reveals 71 percent of urban blacks have had to make drastic cuts in their standard of living compared with only 20 percent of whites.

Saving and expenditure patterns had changed dramatically among all South Africans.

- 90 percent of blacks and 62 percent of whites were spending less on clothes.
- 86 percent of blacks and 39 percent of whites were buying cheaper cuts of meat.
- 83 percent of blacks and 81 percent of whites were saving less.
- 76 percent of blacks and 61 percent of whites were spending less on convenience foods.
- 69 percent of whites were eating out less, and 56 percent plannned to cut down.

Men were less concerned than women, the study found.

Bongweni four 'shot

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

RESIDENTS of Colesberg's Bongweni township claimed last week that four people killed earlier this month were shot in an ambush set by police who had hidden in a black policeman's house.

They claimed the youths had not attacked the house but were shot in cold blood, without any warning.

They also claimed police had provoked township youths into burning a policeman's car earlier that day by placing a youth on top of a Casspir armoured vehicle, with a sjambok tied around his neck, and repeatedly assaulting him

The Sapa version of the police situation report for Wednesday, July 3, published in the Cape Times on Friday, July 5, read as follows

"Three men were shot dead by a policeman who fired on a mob stoning his home (on Wednesday evening) A fourth black man, injured in the incident, died of his wounds in hospital yesterday morning."

Passer-by

Residents alleged that five people — four youths, two of whom were girls, and one adult man — were shot.

They said a group of youths walked around a street corner some 20 metres away from the black policeman's house in which police were hiding and police opened fire on them without warning. They believed the adult man was a passer-by

They said two youths were shot dead at the scene. A third person died on the way to Bloemfontein hospital. According to a relative, the girl was 15-year-old Funeka Siyonzana of Dimbaza, who was visiting Colesberg

A fourth person died in hospital and another was admitted with gunshot wounds.

Group of youths

Residents claimed the person who died in hospital was followed by policemen, caught near his home and hit with the butt of a shotgun or rifle

A woman who said she witnessed the incident that night was standing outside her house when she saw a group of ten to twenty youths walk around the street corner into the street past the policeman's house

Suddenly, shots rang out and the youths dropped to the ground More shots were fired and the youths got up and started running away.

The shots were fired from inside the policeman's house, before the youths had drawn level with it.

Casspir 'hiding nearby'

A Casspir armoured vehicle then arrived and lit up the scene. She said she had gained the impression that it had been hiding nearby.

She said the youths had simply walked around the street corner and had "done nothing" No-one knew policemen were in the house and they had opened fire without warning where they alleged the police were hiding There were small holes and one large hole in the windows. Shards of glass were still lying outside on the stoep There were no stones on the stoep or in the yard

I walked around three sides of the house, one of which contained the back door There were no signs of arson.

Residents pointed out the nearby street corner where they alleged the children were hit.

They also pointed out a house on the opposite side of the intersection which had several bullet holes in the facade.

Residents also said police removed a 17-year-old youth from a house about 9 that morning. They placed him on top of a Casspir armoured vehicle with a sjambok around his neck and repeatedly assaulted him while driving around the township

Cold shower

They claimed this provoked youths into burning the policeman's car in the late afternoon. The shooting took place at another policeman's house about 7.30pm.

It was also claimed that the youth was later taken to the police station where he was assaulted and placed under a cold shower throughout the night while being interrogated. He was not charged and was released the following day

These allegations were submitted to the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria.

The following reply was received.

Police reply

"At 20h30 on July 2, a group of youths erected makeshift barricades at the entrance to the township

"Members of the SA Police who attended were stoned. A black member of the force and his family were evacuated from their home as a precautionary measure

"On July 3, the private motor car of a black member of the police was removed from his yard, overturned and set alight in the street Guards were posted at his house that night in order to protect his property.

"Early that night, a large group of youths surrounded the house, forced open the back door and threw petrol bombs

'Mob' returned

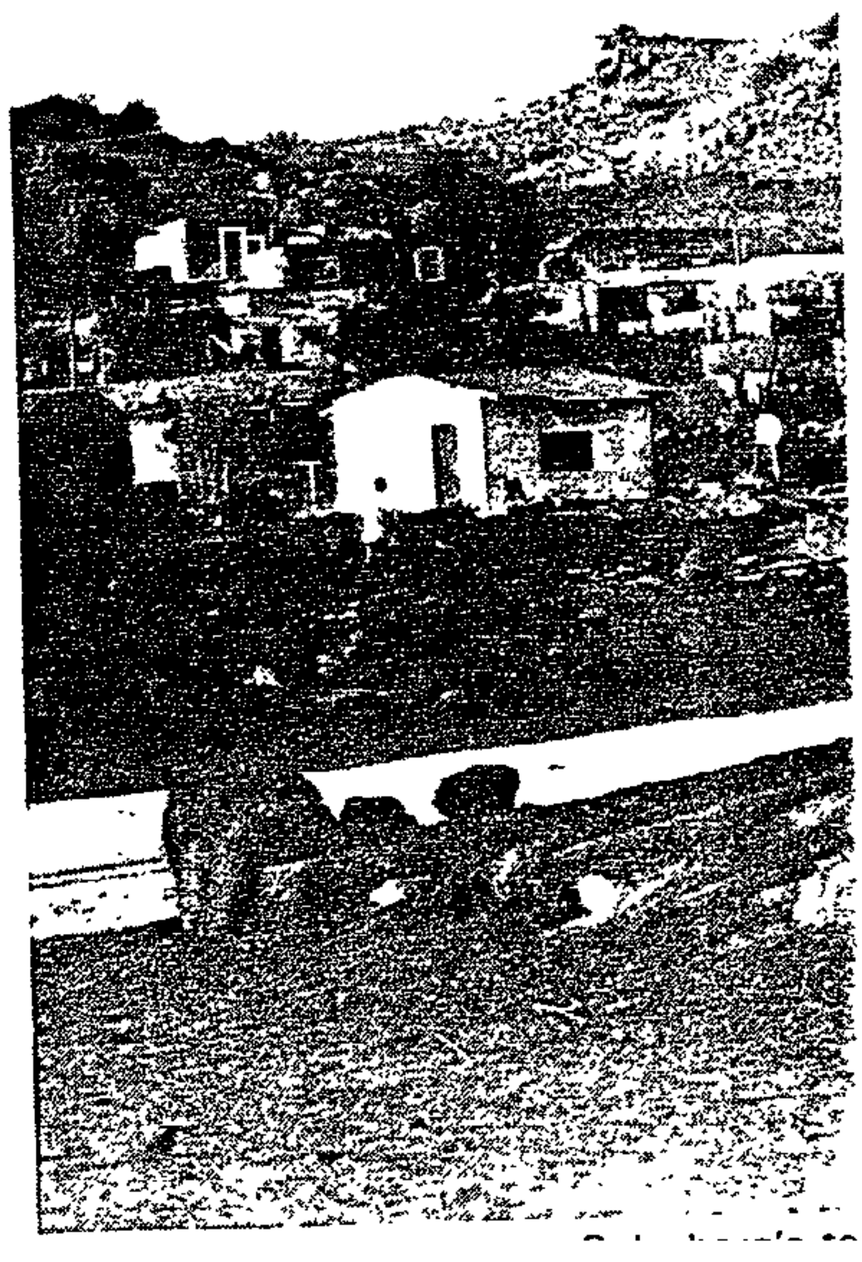
"Members on duty fired shots. Three black males, ages 20-22, were fatally wounded on the scene and a fourth later died in Bloemfontein hospital. The usual inquest proceedings will follow.

"On July 4, a mob returned to the house and set furniture alight. On July 4 and 5, police arrested 80 persons for public violence

"Should any person be of the opinion that there is legal cause for complaint against the SA Police, such a person can file an affidavit at the



Bongweni residents claim policemen wer
this house when they shot five people
month. There are holes in the windows
glass were still on the stoep when this
taken last week.



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A woman who said she witnessed the incident that night was standing outside her house when she saw a group of ten to twenty youths walk around the street corner into the street past the policeman's house

Suddenly, shots rang out and the youths dropped to the ground More shots were fired and the youths got up and started running away.

The shots were fired from inside the policeman's house, before the youths had drawn level with it

Casspir 'hiding nearby'

A Casspir armoured vehicle then arrived and lit up the scene She said she had gained the impression that it had been hiding nearby

She said the youths had simply walked around the street corner and had "done nothing" No-one knew policemen were in the house and they had opened fire without warning.

They claimed this provoked youths into burning the policeman's car in the late afternoon The shooting took place at another policeman's house about 7.30pm

It was also claimed that the youth was later taken to the police station where he was assaulted and placed under a cold shower throughout the night while being interrogated. He was not charged and was released the following day.

These allegations were submitted to the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria

The following reply was received

Police reply

"At 20h30 on July 2, a group of youths erected makeshift barricades at the entrance to the township

"Members of the SA Police who attended were stoned. A black member of the force and his family were evacuated from their home as a precautionary measure.

"On July 3, the private motor car of a black member of the police was removed from his yard, overturned and set alight in the street Guards were posted at his house that night in order to protect his property

"Early that night, a large group of youths surrounded the house, forced open the back door and threw petrol bombs

'Mob' returned

"Members on duty fired shots. Three black males, ages 20-22, were fatally wounded on the scene and a fourth later died in Bloemfontein hospital. The usual inquest proceedings will follow.

"On July 4 a mob returned to the house and set furniture alight On July 4 and 5, police arrested 80 persons for public violence.

"Should any person be of the opinion that there is legal cause for complaint against the SA Police, such a person can file an affidavit at the



Bongweni residents claim policemen wer this house when they shot five people month. There are holes in the windows. glass were still on the stoep when this p taken last week.



Vital to debate unrest Slabbert

Political Staff

ACTION from the Government was necessary to stop the unrest but this was no reason not to reconvene Parliament to debate the situation, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Official Opposition, said today.

Reacting to the refusal of President P W Botha to agree to the recall of Parliament, he said the Government should also be seen to be entering into negotiations with black leadership to end the unrest.

NEGOTIATIONS

"A top-level committee should be appointed immediately to establish who are the leaders in the townships and to start negotiations with them."

Dr Slabbert said it was obvious that action such as the state of emergency was necessary to cope with the problem of unrest "but it is not the only action necessary.

"What is far more important is that Parliament should be recalled to address itself to the root causes of the unrest and to consider the most effective steps to reform."

SLOTTED IN

Dr Slabbert rejected arguments by President Botha that the issue had been adequately dealt with during the session of Parliament earlier this year.

The Kannemeyer report on the Langa shootings had been discussed in a two-and-a-half-hour debate and general discussion was slotted in between other business of Parliament.

"What is desperately necessary is that Parliament devotes itself full-time and without interruption to discuss the present state of emergency, the problems of reform and the Government's performance in dealing with the issues."

Molly Blackburn on bail after court appearance

Argus 23/7/85

3044 337

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, appeared in court today charged with attending an illegal gathering. She was arrested by detectives of the Port Elizabeth Murder and Robbery Squad at her home today.

No evidence was led at the brief hearing. Mrs Blackburn was not asked to plead and was released on R100 bail. The hearing was postponed until August 13.

It is alleged that Mrs Blackburn attended an illegal gathering at Zwide township on July 14 in contravention of Section 46 (3) of the Internal Security Act.

NO-ENTRY ORDER

Mrs Blackburn said she was arrested at 8.15am at her home and held at Louis le Grange Square until she appeared in court.

Questioned on this procedure, the head of the Port Elizabeth Murder and Robbery Squad, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Strydom, said his men had become involved because he had been ordered to investigate the matter by the divisional commissioner of police.

Mrs Blackburn also disclosed that she had been banned from entering the black townships of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth for 14 days from today.

Mr J W S Pienaar was on the Bench, Mr T C Goosen appeared for the State and Mr P Shaw represented Mrs Blackburn.

Govt 'admits failure' — Eglin

Political Reporter

IN an attack on the Nationalist government last night, Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive Federal Party MP for Sea Point, said the government admitted its failure to rule successfully by declaring a state of emergency.

The latest drastic government move to curb unrest in the country was sufficient proof that it had no workable solution for the problems of South Africa, Mr Eglin said.

In a speech prepared for a constituency report-back meeting in Camps Bay, he said the current crisis demonstrated that there was a breakdown in communication between the government and the governed.

Despite the PFP's willingness to participate in the extended cabinet committee in which leaders of all sections would participate in discussions on the constitution, the State President, Mr P W Botha, had not made any moves in that direction so far, he said.

"What have the cabinet been doing while death and destruction have been taking their grisly toll of life and property in the townships of South Africa?

'Shades of Nero'

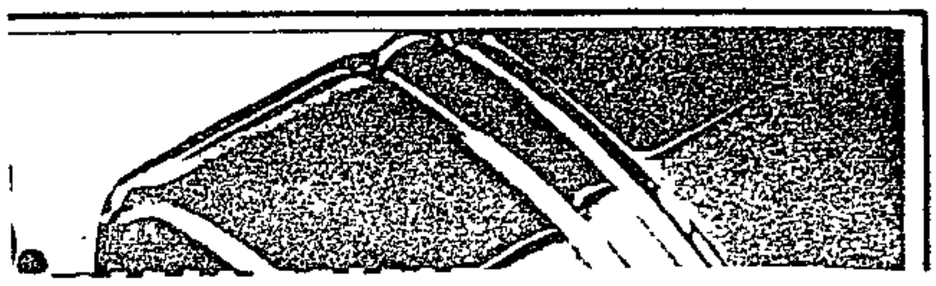
"I am appalled to read that they have been hunting and holidaying! Shades of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning," Mr Eglin said.

"The political die that will determine the future of South Africa is being cast right now."

Emergency powers could possibly contain violence only for a while because the cycle of violence in South Africa required "dramatic political action".

He appealed to Mr Botha to "rise above himself and his party and use this time of crisis to give the lead that South Africa needs so desperately".

An unambiguous declaration of intent which heralded the end of apartheid and moves to find one new constitution and one common citizenship for all, were urgent steps which needed to be taken to rescue the situation, Mr Eglin said.





50 percent support for black House — poll

ARGUS 24/7/85

Political Staff

TWO out of three English-speaking whites and one in three Afrikaners believe South Africa's urban black people should be represented in a fourth House of Parliament, according to an opinion poll.

A sample of 1 000 whites in the major metropolitan centres was tested last month by Markinor for the poll.

Half those questioned supported the concept of a full-fledged House of Parliament for urban blacks

The higher the household income of respondents, the stronger was their support for the idea.

The results also differed greatly from city to city. Johannesburg and Durban (68 percent) were the most enthusiastic about parliamentary representation for blacks, while it was least favoured in the Reef-/Vaal areas and in Pretoria (36 percent).

The Cape metropolitan centres (55 percent) and Bloemfontein (50 percent) were fairly evenly divided on the issue.

There was little difference between the views of men and working women.

Tutu: 'It's now up to PW'

Sunday Times 24/4/88

Talks with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Timothy Bavin

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Timothy Bavin met President P W Botha for more than two hours in Cape Town yesterday to discuss the state of emergency and violence in South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu, the Anglican Church leader, said after the meeting: "We don't know what will emerge from it. We were there to express our concern about violence in South Africa."

Bishop Bavin, the Anglican Bishop of Pretoria, said: "I don't know what will emerge from it. We were there to express our concern about violence in South Africa."

Archbishop Tutu said after the meeting: "We don't know what will emerge from it. We were there to express our concern about violence in South Africa."

Bishop Bavin said after the meeting: "We

Blackburn arrest: 'Normal procedure'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The manner in which the Progressive Federal Party MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, was arrested, charged and taken to court on Tuesday for allegedly attending an illegal gathering was normal procedure, police said yesterday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, was asked to respond to claims by Mr Herbert Hirsch, PFP leader in the Cape Provincial Council, that the arrest was aimed at trying to intimidate Mrs Blackburn and "opponents of the government".

Mr Hirsch also claimed that no one else who attended the gathering had been arrested.

Colonel Van Rooyen confirmed that more people would be charged with attending the gathering.

Mrs Blackburn, a high-profile anti-apartheid figure in the Eastern Cape, appeared in a Port Elizabeth magistrate's court on Tuesday on a charge of attending an illegal gathering at the Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide on July 14.

The case was postponed to August 13 and she was granted bail of R100.

Asked why it had taken police a week to arrest Mrs Blackburn, the colonel said: "I don't think anyone can prescribe to the police when and what time to arrest a person. We have investigations to complete. There is a lot to do in a case like this. It is not as easy as that to arrest a person, formally charge him and take him to court."

US studies SA request for meeting in Europe

By Ramsay Milne
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — South Africa has asked the United States to meet senior representatives of its Government in talks in Europe.

The purpose is to explain recent actions in South Africa and to try end the chill in relations between the two countries.

This was confirmed by senior Reagan Administration officials in Washington yesterday. They said the request was under "intense study".

Some US officials are said to favour such a meeting as a means of providing South Africa with an incentive to ease the present emergency crackdown and resume negotiations for the independence of Namibia.

Reports of the proposed meeting coincided with the disclosure in Washington by a senior administration official that President Reagan is preparing to review his policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa and will soon receive from advisers a number of proposals designed to persuade the South African Government to change its racial policies.

DELAY

The chill in relations had led to the US recalling its Ambassador to Pretoria, Mr Herman Nickel, and a delay in the acceptance of the credentials of South Africa's new Ambassador to Washington, Mr Herbert Beukes.

But before agreeing to any talks, said a senior State Department official, the administration wants to be fairly certain these would lead to a change in South African policy.

"We're not setting preconditions," he said, "but we want evidence that they will be prepared to negotiate seriously in the region."

The South African incursion into Botswana and the earlier raid in Cabinda had raised "the most serious questions about the South African Government's recent conduct and policy", he said.

In Washington, the official who disclosed President Reagan's plans to review his policies towards South Africa, said a new list of "options" had been drawn up in response to the increase in violence in South Africa and to growing pressure from Congress for a change in US policy.

He would not discuss options under consideration, but Senate Republican sources said President Reagan could be on the verge of imposing limited economic sanctions.

Such a move would pre-empt further action by the House of Representatives and the Senate, which have already passed measures imposing sanctions but have been unable to agree on a compromise Bill.

● See Page 3.

UN debate SA today

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council opens an urgent debate this afternoon — called by France — on the unrest in South Africa, following the state of emergency.

The UN move follows the decision by the French to recall their ambassador to South Africa.

France's UN ambassador, Mr Claude de Kemoularia, told reporters yesterday he would be drafting a resolution to present to the council.

Diplomats are watching the situation closely to see whether France breaks ranks from its Western allies on the council and calls for mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria.

LADIES BAR

PHONE: 49 6101

ay to Saturday
and Dinner
OR FUNCTIONS

ing had decided to boycott lectures until next Tuesday, when another meeting would be called if the emergency measures had not been lifted to decide whether to continue the stayaway. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

PFP to hold City rally

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party is to hold a state-of-emergency rally in Cape Town City Hall at 1pm tomorrow.

The main speakers will be the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and PFP MPC Mrs Molly Blackburn, who has extensive first-hand experience of the unrest situation in the Eastern Cape.

The Western Cape regional chairman of the PFP, Mr Jasper Walsh, said the meeting was being held to demonstrate concern for the need to call a state of emergency "because the underlying causes are a direct result of the government's inability to deal with the political aspirations in a meaningful way".

He said Capetonians would be afforded the opportunity to gain information from Mrs Blackburn, who had intimate knowledge of trouble-torn areas.

People could also demonstrate their support for Dr Slabbert's call for Parliament to be reconvened.



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Verligtes and what they think of township riots

Star 25/7/85 304A

How is the current unrest and violence in black townships affecting the attitudes of verligte Afrikaners? HANNES DE WET spoke to members of Parliament and academics.

The nationwide situation of unrest could dampen enthusiasm for reform — but this need not necessarily be the case. It could also make people more aware of the need for political change

This emerged from discussions with National Party politicians and experts in political science

According to some MPs, many Afrikaner verligtes realise that the unrest is being spearheaded by a radical minority. Nevertheless, some of them do feel resentment because their intentions appear not to be appreciated.

This is evident from remarks by

"Their verligtheid is like a young plant — vulnerable. The riots could have a negative influence on their inclination towards change."

Mr Chris Rencken, MP for Benoni:

"I think the verligte Afrikaners are disappointed.

"The political changes we have seen so far haven't all come about easily. Many people have been working hard to involve blacks in the political process. And now we have riots.

"History has shown that violence and unrest tend to dampen the spirit of those striving for reform.

"White voters will, of course, become scared and hesitant. People are getting worried about the scenes they see on television.

"Many voters have come a long way in accepting the idea of political reform. Their verligtheid is like a young plant — still vulnerable. The riots could have a negative influence on the inclination towards change."

Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal in Pretoria, agrees that the riots have had an inhibiting effect on enthusiasm for reform.

"But," he adds in the same breath, "one realises that the majority of blacks are caught up in the unrest without knowing what the real aims of radical elements such as the UDF and Azapo are.

"The riots show that an inherent hate potential has been building up over the years. Only a fool would want to stop reform now.

"Clergymen standing beneath red flags in their purple robes and the barbaric burning of suspects should make everybody aware of the need for reform in an orderly manner

"Many have not realised before how serious the situation really is. Now they do. Even Bishop Desmond Tutu got a fright."

Mr Nothnagel says he hasn't come across people who were talking about changing their political viewpoint because of the unrest.

"But I have heard voters ask (referring to rioters). 'Are those the people we would have to negotiate with?' "

Dr J J Vilonel, indirectly elected Transvaal MP, thinks the effects of the riots are strengthening the view that violence can't be tolerated for the sake of change

"On the other hand, the unrest emphasises that change must come. It can make people aware of the fact that the situation is indeed serious." says Dr Vilonel

Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, doubts that the unrest is having any effect at all on the attitudes of verligte Afrikaners.

"The driving force for reform is moral and Christian conviction. It's

"The driving force for reform is moral and Christian conviction. It's a matter of principle — and principles can't be swayed by daily events."

a matter of principle. And principles aren't swayed by daily events."

Professor Mike Hough of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria speculates that there are two kinds of reaction to the unrest:

- People who feel that reform should be accelerated to prevent more violence.
- And those who say that political change has done nothing to curb unrest.

"A bit of both are probably happening at the moment — although I don't believe that the general atmosphere in favour of reform has been radically affected yet."



Mrs Molly Blackburn ... addresses Wits students about the state of emergency.

Unrest will continue until leaders freed — Blackburn

Staff Reporters

Unrest would continue until the leaders detained during the State of Emergency had been freed, the Progressive Federal Party's MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, told an audience at Wits yesterday .

She said the detentions meant there was no effective leadership left to call off boycotts, stop unrest and negotiate with the Government.

"Now that the effective leadership is either locked up, in hiding, or murdered, who does he (Mr Botha) intend talking to?" she said.

Clearly distressed by the detentions of a number of priests, she asked: "Is this the only way this Government knows of dealing with men of conscience?"

The meeting, attended by about 400 students, was called to discuss the state of emergency and its implications.

A Legal Resources Centre attorney, Mr Geoff Budlender, said the state of emergency sought to introduce "official lawlessness" which was the root cause of the present lawlessness.

"The state of emergency will do nothing to stop the escalating violence in our country," he said.

The emergency measures introduced in 1960 had all been absorbed into the normal laws and the new measures were, by comparison, far more stringent.

A motion was adopted unanimously rejecting the basis for the state of emergency as a means to end the violence and calling on the Government to address itself to the underlying legitimate grievances present in the country.

The Wits Academic Staff Association said the "powers of repression" which the state of emergency gave the Government were formidable, but did not address or resolve the underlying unrest problems.

Days of all-white political arena are over — PFP

304A
Star 25/1/85

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The days when politics are played out in a white political arena are over, says the Progressive Federal Party in its membership drive among people of all races.

The party's message to potential new members is set out in a brochure entitled "A life without hate", to be distributed in all major centres.

The multiracial membership drive was announced by the PFP leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, soon after the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

The party's national director of publications, Mr Jan van Eck, MPC, said the main drive for membership of all races would be launched at the party's federal congress to be held in Durban on August 30 and 31.

"A life without hate" was the main publication for the drive and would be distributed on a large scale.

The brochure says a fundamental concept in PFP policy is that "all people who are South Africans have the same right to say how they wish to be governed and have an equal right to participate in the government of their country".

After referring to the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, the brochure says the PFP has returned to being the non-racial party it was before.

"We will broaden our membership and expand our base to become the catalyst of change and leadership.

"It is a paradox that the current party in power (the National Party) talks about reform and yet is remaining an apartheid, all-white party."

Grade 10

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Current Hours: 44 Hourly Change 1975 to date: Nominal +0.0% Current Real Weekly Wage: R 19.85

Grade 12

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Current Hours: 44 Hourly Change 1975 to date: Nominal +425.6% Real +61.2% Current Real Weekly Wage: R 21.79

Hendrickse gives nod

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has supported the Government's decision to declare a state of emergency in certain areas and has called for consultation with leaders of all groups.

In his first detailed response to the Government's home, he said President P W Botha's announcement was "the right step at the right time".

Mr Hendrickse, chairman of the Coloured Ministers' council and a member of the Cabinet, also condemned the role of the South African communist party and the presence of the communist emblem at protest demonstrations.

Apartheid will come to an end — Shultz

304A

Star 25/7/85

WASHINGTON — US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz said yesterday relations between the United States and South Africa were strained — but defended what he acknowledged was a controversial US policy toward the country.

Mr Shultz said there was no doubt that apartheid would come to an end. It was a question of how this would come about.

And he declared that true peace would come to South Africa only when apartheid ended.

"Apartheid is an affront to everything we believe in," he told the Foreign Policy Conference for Leaders of National Minority and Women's Organisations.

"There isn't any argument for it," he continued. "There's no justification for it. It's wrong. It's got to end."

Current racial violence in South Africa, Mr Shultz said, "demonstrates the folly of oppression".

"The state of emergency that's now just been imposed shows how dramatic the problem has become.

"I agree with all of those who have said that true peace will come only when apartheid ends and when the Government negotiates with, rather than locks up, representative black leaders."

Mr Shultz said some black leaders were prepared for peaceful dialogue if they had the assurance that "what we're trying to achieve is an end point of change, of citizenship, of freedom".

"So we have a strain in our relationships with South Africa, to put it mildly," he said.

Mr Shultz took note of the debate over the constructive engagement policy of the administration of President Ronald Reagan.

"I know it's a very controversial policy," he said. But, he added, he saw no viable alternative.

"If you say the alternative is for the United States to remove itself, disinvest, stop all investment, I don't see that is taking you where you want to go.

"You reduce what influence and leverage you have, and you don't have any contact."

However, he added, "being engaged does not mean being seduced". — Sapa.

English back idea of black House

304A

Star

25/7/85

Two out of three English-speaking whites believe South Africa's urban blacks should be represented in a fourth House of Parliament.

One in three Afrikaners back this idea.

This is one of the findings of a poll last month by the Markinor research group.

Of 1 000 whites canvassed in the major metropolitan centres, half support the concept of a fully-fledged House of Parliament for urban blacks.

The higher the household income, the stronger the support.

It rises from 43 percent for those earning less than R1 250 a month, to 69 percent for those earning more than R3 500.

HOUSEWIVES

The findings differ from city to city.

Whites in Johannesburg and Durban (64 percent) are the strongest in favour of parliamentary representation for blacks, while it is favoured least in the Reef/Vaal areas and Pretoria (36 percent).

The Cape metropolitan centres (55 percent) and Bloemfontein (50 percent) are fairly evenly divided.

There is little difference between the views of men and working women.

But housewives are slightly more opposed to a black House of Parliament than the other two groups.

Unrest marxist led, says Pik

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

THE instigators of the current unrest were misleading the world by presenting themselves as moderate democrats when what they really wanted was a marxist dictatorship, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

In a statement replying to 'critical reporting and commentary' in the foreign Press, he said the instigators had cleverly created the impression that they were deeply concerned about black living conditions.

They were trying to sweep up emotionally the international community in order totally to isolate South Africa.

'They want to injure the country through economic sanctions in order to carry out their violent internal plans,' he said.

They were not interested in improving black living conditions or in a system where black leaders could have a say in decision-making which affected everyone's interests.

The door was open for black leaders who rejected violence to promote black interests including political rights through negotiation.

Prevent

It was exactly because the establishment of a peaceful system for all communities as a result of the Government's reform programme was in sight that the elements who wanted a marxist dictatorship had jumped in to block the process of change.

They wanted to prevent moderate and anti-marxist black leaders from playing a constructive role in a new constitutional dispensation.

They were silent when asked why 1 500 000 workers from neighbouring countries sought work in South Africa.

They did not care about the millions of starving people in other parts of Africa.

'They are not concerned about the lack of political and Press freedom in most of the countries of Africa because they secretly aim for a tyrannical system in which not a single fundamental right or freedom will be tolerated,' said Mr Botha.

'No doubt'

It was for this reason that the President had called on all South Africans to approach the country's problems with mutual understanding and to discuss differences with tolerance and to settle them in a responsible manner.

'The Government has no doubt that a majority of people expect a peaceful resolution to our problems.

'There is too much at stake for all South Africans to allow our country's future to be decided by perpetrators of violence who burn people alive.'

There was no emergency for the millions of South Africans who wanted to live and work in peace. The additional security measures were aimed at stopping people who planned and encouraged violence.

'It is simply not possible to fight people who use violence to achieve political aims with generally accepted norms of a democratic system,' said Mr Botha.

Exceptional steps had to be taken until there was peace, and the Government was determined to achieve this.

SA will make its own decisions, says PW

The Government had a responsibility towards its people and could not be prescribed to by foreign countries, President Botha said last night.

Reacting to Press reports of a French Government announcement that it would recall its ambassador and freeze all future investments because of the South African Government's declaration of a state of emergency, Mr Botha said:

"It amazes one that a Western government which takes an interest in Africa and in the interests of black people can take exception to a Government which restores order when Communist powers and Communist-inspired powers murder black people and try to disrupt the normal life of black communities.

"The South African Government must ultimately fulfil its responsibility towards all its people and cannot let itself be prescribed to about what is in the best interests of the people of South Africa." — Sapa.

Available for talks — P W Botha

ARGUS 26/7/85

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha has intimated that he is prepared to meet Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu if a proper appointment is made.

In a statement he repeated earlier remarks that he was always willing to negotiate with anyone who "does not propagate violence".

However, he "unfortunately cannot negotiate with other people who make appointments for discussion by means of the public media".

President Botha referred to the special Cabinet committee investigating black political rights. "Anyone is free to approach the committee or myself to make appointments for discussion."

● See Page 15.

Crisis meeting was requested by United States

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — It became clear yesterday that the call for a top-level meeting in Europe between senior US representatives and a South African delegation — likely to be led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha — was initiated by the United States

Secretary of State Mr George Shultz said the meeting was intended to give the United States a chance to dramatise its outrage at the South African Government s declaration of a state of emergency.

But Mr Shultz and other top Reagan administration officials made it clear that the American response to South Africa's state of emergency would be primarily rhetorical

Speaking for the US President, White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said yesterday President Reagan continued to oppose economic sanctions against the South Africa.

And, in a surprise move, the State Department took issue with France's decision to ban new investments in South Africa.

The move, it said, would not hit the Government hardest, but South African blacks.

The administration, added Mr Speakes, had reviewed its options and decided "to stick with its policy of constructive engagement".

The United States could take a variety of steps to put pressure on South Africa, Mr Speakes added, "but the steps that we are taking right now are the ones that we intend to stick with".

Mr Shultz said the United States was seeking to express a point of view in a direct and careful way.

Mr Shultz declined to say when the meeting might be held or who might represent the United States.

● See Page 13.

Police, residents clash in Lebowa

Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Protests and clashes between residents and police are becoming a feature of community life in several Lebowa towns.

Pupils at five schools in the Lebowakgomo area are boycotting classes, apparently because of the refusal of headmasters to allow them to establish student representative councils.

The boycotts come after a violent protest at the nearby technical college, during which buildings were extensively damaged, and a hostel matron was rescued by police after being doused with petrol.

Colonel R Moloto of the Lebowa police said there had been no violence at these schools, but the situation was being closely watched.

'FELL THROUGH WINDOWS'

At Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus about 50 residents are said to have been admitted to hospital this week after clashes with police.

On Sunday several residents allegedly fell through windows on the second floor of Mahwelereng Hotel when police broke up a meeting there.

There are different versions of the incident, but a medical practitioner in the area said about 30 people had been admitted to hospital, many of them with head injuries and leg fractures.

Others who had run away despite being seriously hurt had to be referred to hospital next day, he added.

Colonel Moloto has denied allegations that police pushed residents from the second floor windows saying they might have jumped after receiving the order to disperse.

According to the medical practitioner more Mahwelereng residents were severely injured on Tuesday when they were dispersed by police outside the magistrate's court.

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

Ten-point peace package



John Kane-Berman is a former Senior Assistant Editor of the *FM* and is currently director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Sixteen years elapsed between Sharpeville and the Soweto riots, eight between Soweto and the start of the present upheavals. Does this mean that the next angry explosion and the next State of Emergency are but four years away?

Last week's *FM* called for direct action by President P W Botha before things really fell apart in South Africa. The mere declaration of a State of Emergency, which is to seek the easiest way out of the present crisis, was perhaps not what the *FM* had in mind. It is an expedient, not an answer.

Of course violence has to be brought to an end, on all sides, as swiftly as possible — assassinating black policemen in the name of opposition to apartheid is no more justified than shooting children to try to protect it — but SA is crying out for leadership that will turn the economy permanently from that road, not simply put on more armour even as we step further along it.

It may be true, as the government contends, that there are some dedicated revolutionaries about who would like to turn SA into a Communist state, but they are a contributory factor in the violence, not the real reason for it — which is apartheid itself.

President Botha has shown political courage in undoing certain apartheid laws, but the changes so far neither convey a sense of urgency nor do they address what blacks see as the major issues — which, objectively, are the major issues.

It seems more and more blacks, notably youngsters, would rather die than wait out the endless process of commissions and committees and White Papers and more committees to see the day when racial laws finally cease to rule their lives.

Obviously, urgent though it might be, fundamental change, which requires negotiation, cannot be effected overnight. However, it *is* possible to signal, overnight, a change of heart and a change of direction. Now that he has unambiguously reasserted his government's authority, Botha can afford to signal such a change — by going on television again, but this time with a package of policy announcements.

They could include:

☐ That the Emergency will be lifted as soon as possible;

☐ That arrears in township rents will be written off for all households who agree to begin regular payments again from August 1 at previous rates;

☐ That an impartial third party, such as the Bar Council, will be commissioned to probe allegations of unlawful police action on the East Rand and in the eastern Cape;

☐ That the pass laws will be repealed as soon as Parliament reconvenes — the appropriate Minister having, in the meantime, convened a meeting of organised business and organised labour to devise a strategy for urbanisation and related issues, such as housing, and the dismantling of the migrant labour system;

☐ That the entire forced-removals policy, whether under the Group Areas Act or any other law, will be terminated with immediate effect;

☐ That a single Ministry of Education will come into operation on January 1 1986, and that the appropriate Minister will convene a meeting of all educational authorities and organisations to devise a programme for removing legislated educational apartheid with all deliberate speed;

☐ That South African citizenship will be restored to all black people who have lost it through the denationalisation policy and that the necessary legislation will be introduced as soon as Parliament reconvenes;

☐ That a programme for the systematic dismantling of the detention-without-trial laws will be embarked upon when Parliament reconvenes;

☐ That a conference of all interested organisations will be convened before the end of the year to work out a broadly acceptable system of local government; and

☐ That a statement of intent about power-sharing at the national level will be issued within a week.

Attention Attention

To All Peace-Loving People

Thugs are disrupting your life through intimidation arson murder

This must be stopped.

For this reason a State of Emergency has been declared to protect law-abiding citizens and innocent children.

Please go to work.

Please go to school.

Stand together for Stability.

We shall deal with the thugs.

Issued by the South African Police.

Police pamphlet distributed in townships

Even if all these measures cannot be put into effect simultaneously, they can at least be announced simultaneously. This would carry far more conviction and have much greater impact than a piecemeal approach. In other words, Botha needs to capture the imagination of the country.

The statement of intent on national political rights is the keystone of the package because it is the *sine qua non* for carrying the country forward politically. Such a statement need say no more than that the government accepts the principle of power-sharing between black and white in a single parliament.

Botha could then renew his earlier invitation to black leaders to enter into political negotiations with a greater chance that it will be widely accepted; both because he has clearly stated that power-sharing is on the agenda and because the rest of the 10-point policy package would create a climate in which blacks would have some confidence that the government was as last charting a new course.

It is not unreasonable for black leaders to demand such a statement before entering constitutional talks with the government. Such a statement is the only way in which the government can put it beyond all doubt that the aim of the talks is not merely to find another formula for political apartheid, but to devise a different system altogether. In other words, it has to say that it wants to talk about including blacks in the same political system as whites, coloured people, and Indians — not bout some new dispensation which maintains their exclusion.

Once the principle of power-sharing is accepted, the precise form it would take, and the detailed formula for the make-up of the country and of Parliament, would all be matters for negotiation, along with appropriate measures to protect cultural and language rights, religious freedoms, the rule of law, civil liberties, and so on.

Constitutions, of course, have the force of law, but whether they endure or not depends less on law than on popular legitimacy. To ensure such legitimacy for a new South African constitution necessitates the involvement of the widest possible range of black leaders in the negotiations.

Whatever opposite impression the declaration of the Emergency might have created, the *FM* is right in saying that SA is not about to succumb to revolution. Precisely because of this, the government still has time to seize the initiative in a programme of

IN MY OPINION

political change. At the moment, every policy adjustment that it makes looks as if it is nothing more than a reluctant concession to pressure. The government's motives are distrusted, and demands for further concessions steadily escalate. What the government needs to do, to overcome this problem, is to replace the politics of crisis management with purposeful strategic initiatives in a new direction. Only then will it be able to enlist the support of black and white people on the Left to compensate for any losses to the Right that it may suffer.

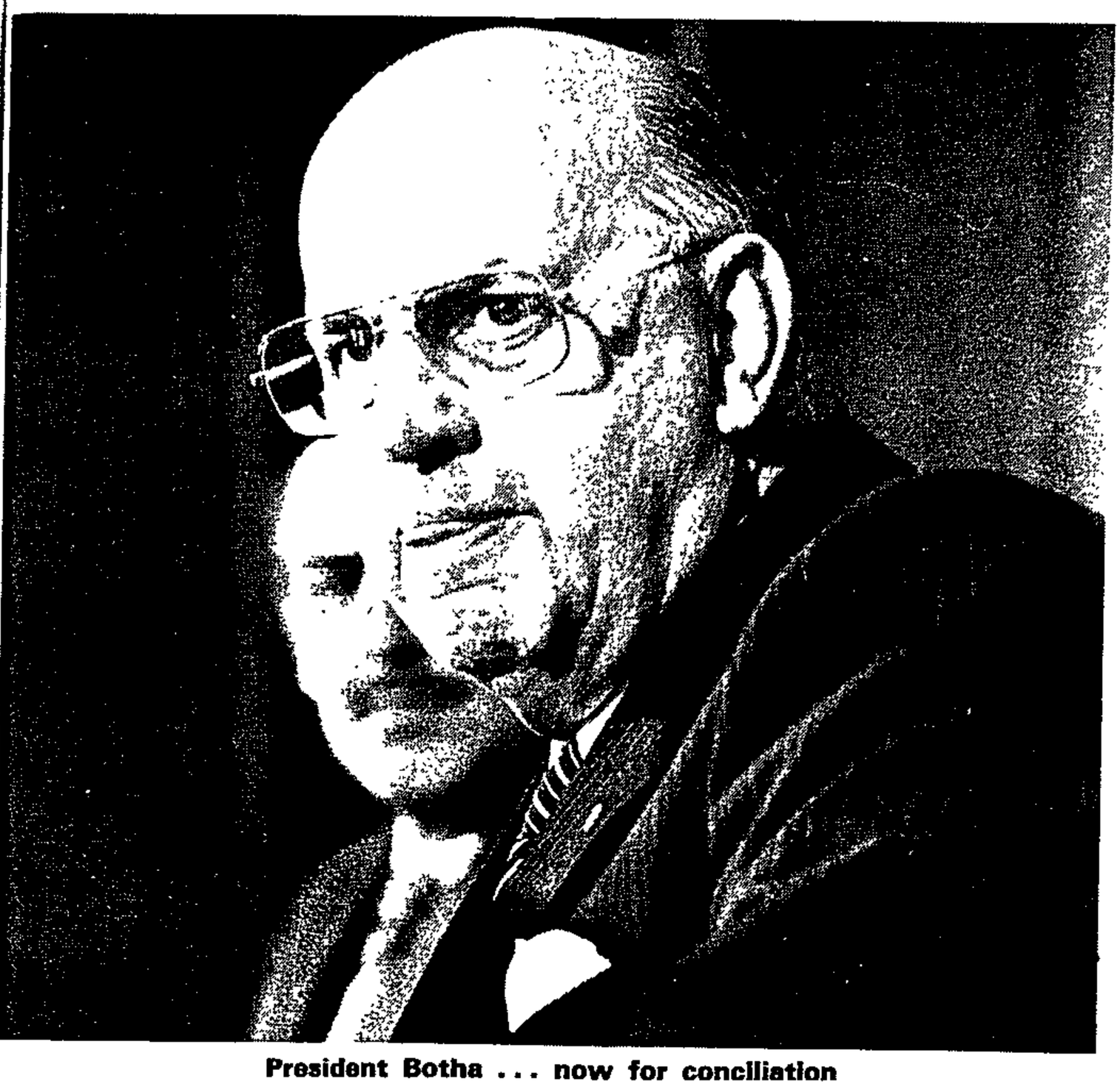
The recent HSRC report on inter-group relations suggests that whites are already anticipating power-sharing, which means that probably half the battle on that front has already been won.

The adoption of such a programme would completely transform the climate in SA. It would give black and white people hope and constructive work to do, and it would also restore foreign and local business confidence. No doubt it would, in due course, be rewarded by an inflow of foreign capital.

Having embarked upon a programme to solve our political problems, the whole nation could turn its attention towards joint action in tackling our economic problems. We do not seem to have a hope of reducing, let alone overcoming, unemployment — surely a major factor in the township violence — as long as our social fabric continues the present process of steady disintegration.

What chance is there that Botha will adopt a programme of this kind? Regrettably, not much — and certainly none at all without a good deal of pressure from the business sector and from academic and religious circles. After all, there is nothing intrinsically radical about any of these ideas in the wider political and economic spectrum. They are radical only in relation to our present policies. Business can play an important role in putting them on to the government's agenda.

If the government were to seize the initiative, I believe that there would be an appropriately conciliatory response from the great majority of black people. Whites would be deluding themselves if they believed that anything far short of the programme outlined would evoke that conciliatory response. ■



President Botha ... now for conciliation



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STATE OF EMERGENCY

Violent equilibrium

The security forces have wasted no time using their special powers to crack down on dissident elements. But the townships burn.

By Tuesday noon, the third day of the emergency, at least 441 people of all race groups had been detained. Violent deaths had mounted to eight.

By contrast, the national mood switched from muted shock to strident demand that State President P W Botha would waste no time to match the containment of violence with bold political initiatives designed to hold out the prospect of peace and stability in the short term, and gratify blacks' most modest expectations of power-sharing in the longer run.

As a result of the prevailing mood of whites, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) may be forced to adopt a much tougher opposition line to maintain its relevance in the face of the State of Emergency and the apparent collapse of earlier government moves to set up a multi-party negotiation forum.

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert gave notice this week that he could not wait much longer for promised negotiations to get off the ground while the country slipped deeper into crisis. Slabbert is losing patience with government's largely ineffectual steps towards broadly based negotiations with political leaders. "It is pointless for me or my party to appear to be locked into a process of negotiation that is not taking place," he says.

Slabbert accepted President Botha's invitation on April 19 to serve on an enlarged Cabinet Committee as a "national team effort" to seek solutions to SA's "most burning issues."

Three months later and the committee has yet to hold its first meeting. Circumstances for effective negotiation have deteriorated, Slabbert says.

In an angry response to Slabbert, government's arch-reformer, Chris Heunis, claims he is having talks with far more radical leaders than Slabbert is capable of speaking to, and adds that negotiations are continuing. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu may not agree.

Another issue that could force the PFP towards new strategies was President Botha's rejection this week of Slabbert's urgent call to reconvene Parliament to discuss the State of Emergency. In dismissing the appeal, President Botha said what was needed now was *action* to bring the unrest under control, not further debate.

Slabbert gave three reasons for recalling Parliament:

☐ To show that the limited form of representative government in the country was not completely inactive during the emergency;

☐ To discuss government's record in anticipating and coping with and ending the unrest; and

☐ To consider effective ways of promoting the politics of negotiation and consensus.

President Botha said the unrest was debated fully in Parliament earlier this year and during the debate on the Kannemeyer report. He also dealt with it in his closing remarks to Parliament last month.

Nonetheless, the PFP has set up a monitoring group to observe developments for the duration of the State of Emergency.

The group, under the chairmanship of Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, wants to see to what extent it can generate public debate in an effort to resolve the crises. It will attempt to maintain contact with organisations and individuals in the townships in an effort to ensure a balanced account of what is happening.

General Johan Coetzee, Commissioner of Police and commander-in-chief of the "combined forces" empowered to deal with the emergency, has given an undertaking to publish at regular intervals the names and addresses of people detained in terms of the regulations of the Public Safety Act.

Indications are that the PFP's surveillance group will be kept busy. With 181 detainees, the eastern Cape heads the list of people arrested since the commencement of the special proclamation.

On the Reef, 70 people have been detained in the West Rand area, including Johannesburg, while another 65 have been arrested in black townships on the East Rand. In townships in the Vaal Triangle area, a total of 24 residents are among the listed detainees.

The arrest and brief detention this week of the PFP MPC for Walmer, Molly Blackburn, on a relatively minor charge, raised levels of apprehension among lawyers and politicians.

Blackburn, one of the PFP's foremost anti-apartheid activists who enjoys widespread credibility in black communities, was arrested at her Port Elizabeth home on Tuesday morning. She was held in custody for three hours before appearing in court on an Internal Security Act charge for allegedly attending an illegal gathering on July 14. Police said the charge was not related to the State of Emergency.

She was released on bail of R100. The case was remanded for further investigation to August 15.

QUOTABLE

From the *FM*, April 1, 1960, following the last State of Emergency decreed by PM Hendrik Verwoerd:

SA is on the road of crisis. The road may be mercifully short. It may also be long and paved with still more corpses. But of the presence of crisis there is no doubt. The whole behaviour of the markets, of all the thinking men of affairs in every section of the community, proclaims it.

So does opinion abroad and the reaction of investors abroad.

The outward sign is the crash in share prices which has taken the *FM*'s index of OFS gold shares down to 119,5 compared with 152,5 at the beginning of this year and with 128,1 only a fortnight ago ...

Hardly less significant in the market have been the sudden rallies that have accompanied each of the several rumours of impending changes in the government ...

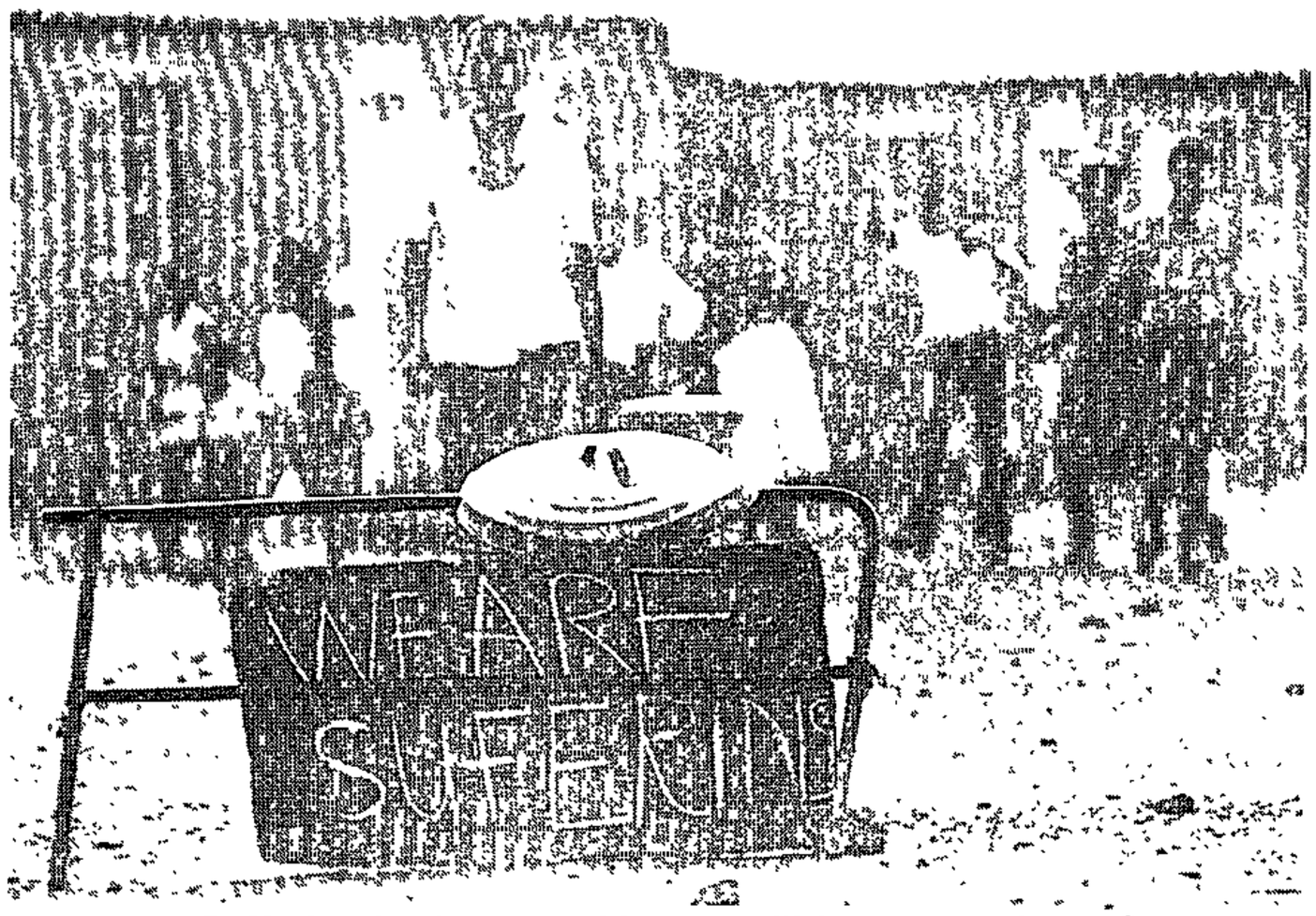
This is no place to evaluate the political prospect. "Government by Saracen" must somehow or other resolve itself into something else.

But as these lines are written the chances seem about equally balanced between a tighter and more autocratic rule and a closer approach to government by consent.

While that condition lasts and while the world can see that it is so, investors and businessmen must face an agonising readjustment of their expectations. It would be sheer moonshine to dream of any substantial amount of foreign capital flowing into SA, torn as it now is ...

The outlook is momentarily bleak and the dilemma seems insoluble — political crisis inhibits business expansion. Yet business expansion is essential to provide a more abundant life needed to loosen the racial tension. Mr Harry Oppenheimer sums it up neatly in the latest issue of *Optima* ... "The co-operation on any terms of the Africans with Europeans in the SA State cannot be expected unless Africans are able to obtain a full share of the material benefits that can be obtained by European experience and technique ... that is to say, that the condition for co-operation can only be obtained against the background of a rapidly advancing economy."

All the ingredients for rapid advance would be present — if there were statesmanship.



Suffering in the townships . . . will it now get better?

Blackburn was one of an estimated 15 000 who attended the gathering in Port Elizabeth on July 14 to honour the four Cradock community leaders found murdered earlier this month.

Another prominent person detained was Johannesburg lawyer Priscilla Jana. She was released after five hours and told by police to "keep her bags packed" and to be "prepared to surrender herself at any time." They also confiscated her passport, as well as personal documents and files.

Meanwhile, a "gentlemen's agreement," in the words of police spokesman Leon Mellet, has been worked out between the police and the media. Says Mellet: "The media would monitor itself. The police will assist the media in assisting its readers."

In terms of an understanding negotiated by media representatives and the police on Monday, there will be no change in the *modus operandi* of reporting unrest in the townships and elsewhere. The police will monitor reports, but there will be no "news management," as had been feared. The media, however, agreed to take note of a request from what General Coetzee called "the highest authority" to "scale down" unrest reports. Even so, media representatives were left with no illusion that the authorities would resort to a complicated system of prepublication news-vetting should the arrangement prove unsatisfactory in the view of the police.

Selected journalists will still be able to visit the townships, but only under police escort. The police will issue two bulletins daily on the unrest. ■

THE 1960 EXPERIENCE

The last time a State of Emergency was declared under the Public Safety Act, 1953, was on March 30 1960. It came in wake of serious rioting in townships, one of them Sharpeville, where 67 blacks were killed and 186 wounded by the police. The riots followed the anti-pass law campaign launched by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

Government was supported by the opposition United Party (UP) to restore law and order during the crisis. Later, however, the UP strongly criticised the duration of the State of Emergency. After 156 days, when it was lifted on August 31, the five-month period had cost government more than R1,3m.

The regulations of the State of Emergency, which affected more than 7m people in 113 magisterial districts, stipulated that anybody could be detained for 30 days without trial "in the interests of public safety." In the event, about 20 000 people of all races were detained during the period. Many became refugees. The African National Congress and the PAC were banned in April that year.

The country's economy was hit badly. Property prices plummeted and thousands of skilled and professional people left the country. The JSE experienced a massive wave of selling by non-residents and residents alike. The *FM* reported on April 1 1960: "The outward sign is the crash in share prices which has taken the *FM*'s index of OFS gold shares down to 119,5 compared with 152,5 at the beginning of this year."

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FEATURE

POLITICAL INTERFERENCE ACT

Another brick in the wall

The Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968 is no more. Freedom of choice has been restored to party politics. To white South Africans, this may sound like real progress, but in fact it is merely a return to the *status quo* before Hendrik Verwoerd cemented the last brick in the apartheid wall.

It must be remembered, though, that separate voters' rolls remain intact, thereby ensuring the racial composition of Parliament. But despite separate rolls, the new freedom of political association means that the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly can become the ruling party in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives, or the ruling party in one and the Official Opposition in the other.



This opens up several intriguing possibilities. If the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) manages to capture majority Indian support in the House of Delegates, as could happen in view of the close co-operation between Solidarity and the PFP, it would be in a strong position to have a caucus member in the Cabinet.

The PFP would also be in a much stronger position to effectively oppose government by blocking consensus between the Houses in the joint standing committees.

Another result of the scrapping of the Act is that black people without the vote can now also join any party represented in Parliament. This will further blur the distinction between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics in SA — a very positive development at a time that the emphasis in SA politics is quickly moving from white politics to politics of negotiation with the black majority.

And, as the SA Foundation remarks in its recently released document *Indicators of change in SA*, "extra-parliamentary political mobilisation now becomes possible and an increasing number of South Africans could gain the experience of sharing political ideals and goals across the colour line."

The PFP is the only white party to open its doors to all. The party perceives it can become "a new political force in SA" and an ambitious programme has been launched to raise R10m to realise this ideal.

Says Alex Boraine, chairman of the PFP's Federal Council and the man responsible for co-ordinating and directing the recruitment campaign: "The scrapping of the Act could provide a wonderful opportunity in a tragically divided SA for different race groups to co-operate more closely in the political field. All the bridges seem to be down; there is so little communication. Even we in the PFP know very little about so-called coloured or Indian politics on the ground because we have never worked together.

"As the only white political party to open its ranks to all, the PFP has a unique role to play. We can now begin to reflect a common South Africanism and seek a common political answer to the conflict that grows worse and worse every day. This is an incredible opportunity for the PFP.

"I would like to see a broad cross-section of South Africans united on a broad base of principle and policy. I dream of the PFP becoming a political force that will effectively destroy racial structures, build bridges and make negotiation a reality instead of a principle on paper. SA has no future if negotiation does not soon become a reality."

But the new "super-PFP" is not going to happen overnight. The United Democratic Front (UDF) has already sharply criticised the PFP's intention to recruit members in the black and coloured townships. And while the PFP wants to co-operate closely with the UDF, it also seeks close liaison with the Zulu-dominated Inkatha — a fierce opponent of the UDF. Ten PFP MPs attended the recent Inkatha agm.

Boraine has no illusions about the difficulties that lie ahead. "We go into this new era against the background of many years of racism and misunderstanding. We are not unaware that there will be many that are suspicious and antagonistic. There is an enormous river of racism that has flowed, and we must now get over it. The people in the townships are engaged in a life-and-death struggle, so there will be enormous suspicion. We have already had the negative reaction from the UDF, and we understand it and will overcome it. The UDF is one example of movements outside the system that we want to co-operate with because we have some common goals."

The proclamation of a state of emergency has further deepened the suspicion and can only make it more difficult for the PFP to make any progress in the townships.

The party's other problem is that it is so divided on many issues, the latest one being whether the PFP should merge with Solidarity. Boraine is adamant: "We have no intention of merging with any party inside Parliament or with any movement outside. But we are pledged to co-operate closely with those outside and inside Parliament who commit themselves in the same way as we have. And we have offered a friendly hand to all individuals who believe in our ideals and principles to join. But there will be no mergers. In any case, there can be no decision on these matters before our national congress in August."

Boraine's statement arguably means that even if the PFP decides against merging with, for instance, Solidarity, the individual MPs in Solidarity could resign and join the PFP. With a few defections from the ruling National People's Party, that could still make the PFP the ruling party in the House of Delegates.

The PFP's big drawback in recruiting significant numbers of black and brown members is the party's "mink and manure" image. Boraine's reaction is: "Yes, I cannot deny that there is that image. But it is false.

Continued on page 73

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And it is less true now than before. I see in my own constituency that we have support from all income groups. But it is true that through the stance we took over the years, we have drawn the better-informed and educated person, who is often the better earner. We will have to break down our fat-cat image. To be realistic, I do not expect droves of blacks and coloureds to join the PFP overnight."

Cape Town University political studies professor Hermann Giliomee agrees that the PFP has a problem with its upper-class image, but believes that party leader Van Zyl Slabbert is the exception."

"The answer that I consistently get talking to radicals all over is that they exclude Slabbert from this. They accept this personal integrity and the fact that he is distancing himself from the mink-and-manure set in the party."

On the question whether the PFP stands to lose white support if it gains a lot of black and brown support, Boraine says: "There is much fear in the white community because of the tragic events in the black townships. I think the attitude of the average white voter is to wait and see how things develop. One must remember the PFP had always been an open party until the Act came in 1968.

"But the hard-core PFP supporters will not waver, and there is the real possibility that the fringe support will become more active again.

"The new moves are particularly exciting for young people, many of whom will feel more at home in the PFP now. But there is little doubt that our opponents will do their best to exploit the situation."

The NP MP who raised the eyebrows of his colleagues in Parliament when he said that the PFP's decision to open up to all races was "morally correct," Randburg's Wynand Malan, does not believe that the PFP will get many people of colour and says the party is going to pay a price for the step. "I believe political parties will still follow the existing dividing lines — in SA, that means ethnic lines.

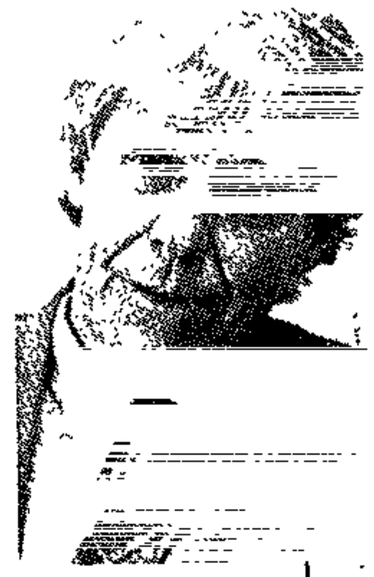
"The ideal is that political parties should be formed around political policy, but even where you get political policy on the same lines, you still get the power-play in politics where the politician needs a power base, and it is always easier to get it from your own kind."

"Look at white politics: you get supporters for the NP whose political profile is not the same as that of the NP, and that is true of the PFP too."

Malan believes the real value of the scrapping of the Act is that a free exchange of ideas between political parties will now be possible. He also sees a psychological effect on all South Africans, who will now see for themselves how different parties can work together.

Giliomee believes the support for the Constitution in the coloured community is now even lower than a year ago, and it would be disaster for the present parties in the coloured and Indian Houses to go to the polls in 1989. "I think the introduction of the PFP into these two Houses could at least restore some credibility to the entire constitutional process and would push up the polls. It shows a certain amount of shrewdness on the part of people like Chris Heunis.

"It will also immediately divide the opposition to the Constitution, in the sense that the PFP would now have to fight the UDF on that issue. The PFP will have to start opening up branches in Athlone and Chatsworth and so on, and that will bring conflict. The Nationalists will laugh all the way. There will also be conflict in the PFP itself. Certain prominent leaders do not want to touch the other three Houses. To me, it looks like a kind of selective morality, like partial virginity.



Boraine

"The scrapping of the Act and what is now going to happen could change the ambience of national politics in the sense that the new PFP could then start emerging as the kind of party that could initiate changes or suggest changes that no one at the moment can do."

There is a chance that the PFP, with farseeing leadership, could pull of something here that could be a stabilising factor. And stability is what we need. ■

FACE TO FACE

JOHAN COETZEE

Putting out the fire



The *FM* spoke to Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, who has wide-ranging powers over the 36 districts covered by the proclamation of a State of Emergency, about the police view on the present unrest.

***FM*: Does the declaration imply that the SA police were in some cases doubtful of their ability to contain the disturbances on their own, and that the areas were in fact becoming ungovernable?**

Coetzee: No, the police were in control even in the worst affected of the areas. But to maintain law and order in the affected areas it was necessary to give the security forces as a whole wider powers.

What groups do you see as the main targets for police action during the emergency?

Both political and criminal elements are concerned. The political groupings want to overthrow democratic government in SA, directing their attacks on law-abiding black people. Simultancously criminals are using the atmosphere to commit anti-social acts.

Does the endemic township unrest and attacks on black councillors indicate a breakdown in the the present black local authorities system?

I don't believe the system of township councils has failed. Political awareness among black people is a natural phenomenon which must be catered for, and the present evolutionary process is adequate to the purpose. Between the radical poles of political opinion are constructive, responsible groups prepared to work within the system.

Many councillors fall into this category, and are consequently targets for attack by radical political thinkers, who can't allow such moderates to be seen to succeed in their endeavour. The radical pattern is to promote events that lead to chaos and anarchy, and they fix on the first handy target. I see it as one of our primary duties, beyond even our legal duty to keep the peace, to support the moderates as far as our manpower and logistics allow.

Another extreme is to be found in the white right wing, which also has thinkers whose position is counterposed to all moderate views. In the body politic, both radical left and right wings are counterproductive, and each may act as a catalyst for the other in a process of polarisation.

How do you respond to the view that the police presence is a precipitating factor of township violence?

The policemen who are targets of township violence are without exception black. They are concerned with enforcement of common law, prevention of rape, murder, theft and so on. There is a very strong criminal element which doesn't want the law and its safeguards. Their actions have nothing to do with the police presence.

On the political level, if you want the radical restructuring of SA society by means of a dialectical leap from one kind of state to another, you must destroy what is in your way, and the police are naturally your first target. Hence the venom towards the police, and the fabrication of stories of police violence. While I'm not suggesting that every action of every policeman is under all circumstances justified, the police are the basic multiracial stabilising force in our society.

But isn't it a problem in itself if the perception of the police role as a violent one is sufficiently widely believed?

Perceptions depend on many factors, some of them beyond the control of the police. I'm happy to invite anyone to lay complaints at any of the 1 000 police stations around the country, not to mention the specialised branches we have. Any evidence or affidavits can be submitted through an attorney, if individuals don't want to expose themselves. Or complaints can be submitted to township councillors, or to parliamentarians, and will ultimately be investigated by the Justice Department, which falls under a separate Minister. But I don't believe that people are afraid to lay complaints — they are lining up to do so, against policemen as well.

Negotiations with the ANC have been proposed. Would that be constructive from the police point of view?

The government is on record saying that it will talk to anyone who foreswears violence



as a political means. In this they are following the counsel of their advisers, of whom I may be one. Discussion is a good thing, essentially democratic. But if a terrorist organisation has been involved in violence as a final solution for three decades, and if, as the ANC did recently, it has taken a decision to escalate its activities even if it means harming innocent people not belonging to government or its structures, there is not much point.

Terrorism is theatre designed to demoralise and destroy willpower. I don't see how one is to get the ANC to foreswear violence if — though there is difference of opinion within the ANC — its actions are based on the Marxist-Leninist belief that any society based on free enterprise has a death wish that will ripen towards a massive collapse. Our basic divergence on socialism versus free enterprise is already a major obstacle.

What about the UDF?

The judge in the Natal treason trial has requested that this not be publicly discussed, and I don't think it would be fair.

And the Right wing?

The SA Right wing is less structured than some overseas equivalents, and therefore potentially less dangerous. It's a natural development: fear for security is a basic motivation. Certainly that fear may be based on invalid perceptions, and may easily be stimulated to cause overreaction counterproductive to the general welfare. Left and right-wing extremes stimulate each other. It's a police duty to see that neither groups grow to the extent that they become courterproductive.

How long do you anticipate the present intensity of unrest lasting?

It is impossible to forecast. It appears that the number of episodes is levelling off, and I feel they are toning down in quality of aggression as well. Nor has unrest been spreading geographically — essentially township unrest has been confined to the eastern Cape and the East Rand for the past three or four months.

How long it will last depends on a combination of factors like urbanisation and unemployment. It's not my job to remedy such factors — my prime duty is to see that the police force's role is not counterproductive to the process of political adjustment that government has undertaken. The police force is the sword of government. Before a society fragments, as it has for example in the Lebanon, the executive must stand up and secure social rights.

A police force can be counterproductive to the objectives of government. In theory, the executive is supposed simply to enforce the laws Parliament makes, but in execution there is always leeway in the way the police operate, allowing them if they choose to obstruct the legislator's intention. This can happen if the force is not finely tuned in to changing social circumstances, needs and methods, which is how I intend the SA Police to operate.

In law you have the basic premise of minimum violence, which fundamentally means not using a howitzer to kill a mosquito. Minor malfeasants should not be shot with a riot gun. Within the body politic there are those who have genuine grievances — against tariffs and levies for instance — and want to make them known in a valid way. It would be wrong for the police to inhibit them. ■

S A's hopes of warming U S relations

[redacted] 304A NM 26/7/85

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON—South Africa has been canvassing the Reagan Administration for a possible bilateral summit in Europe later this year in hopes of easing the current chill in relations, according to diplomatic sources here.

The State Department yesterday insisted that such a meeting was still 'speculative' and that 'no such plans have been made yet'.

The New York Times, quoting a senior Administration official, said that if the meeting occurred, the U S would 'probably' be represented by Michael Armacost, the Under Secretary of State for political affairs. Foreign Minister Pik Botha would appear for S A.

It is understood that the chief item on the agenda would likely be South Africa's regional policy, rather than the domestic crisis which precipitated the current state of emergency.

The American Government appears to be extremely nervous of agreeing to talks without some guarantee that they will result in positive, visible steps towards genuine accommodation between Pretoria and Luanda, South West African independence, and an end to crossborder military activity.

The official quoted in the Times said: 'We are not setting preconditions, but we want evidence that, at some point (the South Africans) will be willing to negotiate seriously in the region.'

A well-placed diplomatic source familiar with the S A proposal said the Americans were still smarting from the Cabinda and Gaborone raids. 'They're convinced S A is up to some kind of monkey business ... they want to know what its intentions are regionally.'

Whether or not the meeting takes place may also depend on the outcome of the major reassessment of U S policy now being conducted by the State Department and the National Security Council.

The State Department is insisting that the Administration's basic objectives — peaceful change in S A, South West African independence, Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, and the reduction of regional tensions — remain unchanged.

But it is also clear that the tactics are under intense review. The Philadelphia Enquirer yesterday quoted a senior White House official as saying that the review included 'the effectiveness of current measures' and 'how we can add additional elements that can strengthen our influence'.

Some analysts have expressed surprise that Dr Chester Crocker, the architect of U S southern Africa policy, is holidaying in France and Switzerland at such a critical moment.

Contentious

However, a senior State Department official said the holiday had been arranged long in advance and that Frank Wisner, who is currently standing in as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, was Crocker's 'alter ego'.

The policy review, which has been prompted not only by S A's action but also the passage of sanctions legislation by both the Senate and the House of Representatives, appears to be contentious.

Monday's Washington Post quoted a senior official as saying that constructive engagement was 'unravelling'.

The State Department angrily rejected the suggestion.

Slabbert to appeal to Government to consult black religious leaders to curb violence in black areas

Political Staff

OPPOSITION leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert today made an urgent appeal to the Government to consult black religious leaders in a bid to curb violence in black areas.

He called for the implementation of a five-point peace plan "to stabilise conditions in the townships and to enable the Government to catch up with pressures for change."

Speaking at a public "state of emergency" meeting of the Progressive Federal Party in the Cape Town City Hall, Dr Slabbert urged the Government to take these steps:

Religious leaders

● Discuss with religious leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Simeom Nkoane and others how violence in the townships — whether from police or inhabitants — could be scaled down;

● Appoint from such people a national committee to monitor and investigate the underlying causes of the unrest — "It is important that people in the townships be in a position to give evidence to members of a committee they trust and respect," Dr Slabbert said.

● Say clearly and unambiguously, so that people could understand, that influx control and similar "blatantly discriminatory measures" were going to be scrapped;

● Declare itself willing to negotiate on the basis of one constitution and one citizenship; and

● Release Mr Nelson Mandela and similar persons unconditionally.

Dr Slabbert said that if the Government did not take steps of this nature it would be trapped into "the old too-little-too-late pattern."

Half-hearted concessions and reforms actually contributed to the instability and unrest they were supposed to solve, he said.

Certain demands

Earlier in his address, Dr Slabbert warned that if the Government did not accept certain demands from black people as reasonable, it "might as well tell this country that we can prepare for a permanent state of emergency."

It was no longer good enough for the Government to say that it was "willing to negotiate about reasonable demands."

The time had come for the Government to say what it regarded as "reasonable demands" and to say with which black people it was willing to negotiate.

To illustrate his point, Dr Slabbert posed these questions:

Was it reasonable to demand that a black person not be compelled to live out his life in a Government-declared black township?

Full citizen

Was it reasonable for a black person to want to move about freely in search of work and shelter, like anyone else in the land of his birth?

Was it reasonable for a black person to want to be a full citizen in the same constitution governing his country?

Was it reasonable for a black person to want to participate fully and equally in the Government which controlled his life?

Dr Slabbert said these demands had been stated time and again by black leaders.

As close to peace as to civil war

From BRIAN BISHOP (Cape Town):

STEYTLERVILLE is a small, dusty farming town on the road from Uitenhage to Graaff-Reinet. On July 13 two of its young men were buried, the latest victims of the tensions sweeping the East Cape. We were invited with Molly Blackburn MPC by the community to attend the funeral.

We were accompanied by three American lawyers, an international television team and three members of the PFP Youth. Mrs Blackburn had telephoned the local SAP commander to request the police keep a low profile and to remind him of Mr Justice Kannemeyer's remarks about the police and funerals.

The two young men to be buried were Mzwandile Muggles, aged 20, a leader of STEYCO, the Steytlerville Youth Congress, a UDF affiliate and Johannes Spogter, aged 13, a schoolboy who died in detention and whose principal paid homage to his qualities.



Mr Brian Bishop

On July 4 the black and "coloured" communities of Steytlerville held a procession between their two "townships" to honour the four Cradock leaders murdered in Port Elizabeth. At the request of the SAP commander the route was altered to avoid passing two white-owned shops.

That evening 24 policemen and local farmers raided the black township of Kabah. We spoke to many witnesses and tape recorded some reports. Because of the occasion we did not take sworn statements. In terms of the Police Act the allegations may not be published but an independent pathologist has submitted his reports to family lawyers.

The funeral attended by about 1 000 people lasted 4½ hours and consisted of prayers, hymns, freedom songs, tributes and messages from many organizations. How one wished that those who form white opinion could hear the messages of anger and frustration from obviously gentle people.

As youths filled in the graves, they chanted in praise of the heroes. "Mandela, VIVA. Tambo, VIVA. Goniwe, VIVA". Long lists of those who have died or suffered. Denis Goldberg and Neil Aggett were the only two white names I heard. From time to time they switched to those they opposed, "Botha, VOETSAK. Le Grange, VOETSAK. Sebe, VOETSAK". Short lists of community councillors and "homeland leaders".

We had taken seats near the back of the crowd and were unknown to our neighbours. We were treated with the respect accorded to funeral guests but with no warmth until we were seen to join in Nkosi Sikeleli. After that we were flooded with warmth, especially from the youth, who said they had never previously met white people who opposed apartheid.

I told them that my wife had stood as a Provincial Council candidate against a Steytlerville farmer (whom they knew) and had spoken for integrated schools and complete non-racialism, and had unseated the Nationalist, collecting 6 568 votes in just one white suburb.

Anyone who saw the reaction would realize how easy it would be to be as close to a great peace as we how are to civil war, if only our people could meet one another.



Mr Kurt von Schirnding: "My Government has embarked upon sincere efforts at reform in stark contradiction to many countries in the world. More and more black Africans are standing up and saying exactly that."

Unrest being instigated to upset reform — SA envoy

Star 26/7/85

The unrest in South Africa was being instigated to frustrate the process of reform taking place in the country, the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, told a Security Council meeting yesterday.

The meeting was called by France to discuss the state of emergency.

Mr von Schirnding said his Government did not regard the internal situation in South Africa a matter for discussion in the Security Council.

South Africa rejected the council's double standards in debating the state of emergency in the country while ignoring similar situtions in other lands.

EQUITABLE SOLUTION

Mr von Schirnding said his Government was ready to enter into dialogue and negotiation with representatives of black opinion to find an equitable solution to the country's problems that would satisfy the reasonable aspirations of all peoples.

"My Government is seeking to create structures of government which will allow participation by all without domination. The process is aimed at achieving a political dispensation involving all."

He quoted from a speech made by President Botha in June in which Mr Botha said he "emphatically rejects the charge that our constitutional objectives run counter to civilised conceptions of human rights, dignity and freedom, irrespective of race, colour or religion".

Mr Botha said in his speech that the fundamental aim had been to enable the country's peoples to co-operate in a way voluntarily agreed between them. The Government did not have any rigid ideas about the type of franchise to be enjoyed by each group. "It may be universal adult franchise, or a qualified franchise, or a mixture of systems."

Mr von Schirnding said Mr Botha had stated that his Government stood for "an evolutionary process of adaptation and innovation based upon and tailored to the circumstances".

One condition was that violence as a means of achieving political ends had to be forsworn.

"It is manifestly clear that my Government has embarked upon sincere efforts at reform in stark contradiction to many countries in the world. More and more black Africans are standing up and saying exactly that.

"But the unrest has been and is being instigated to frustrate this process. Moderate black leadership is being intimidated by acts of assassination, murder, arson and threats to their lives and properties in order to prevent their becoming involved in the negotiating process."

Mr Von Schirnding said no government could allow lawlessness to continue unchecked. "The excesses perpetrated by the extremist left have been beyond belief."

They had indulged in not only "murder, arson and wanton acts of destruction of property" but in such "barbaric acts" as burning people alive.

He said essential services in black areas had been stopped, transport disrupted, rubbish had piled up, and shops had been gutted. The inhabitants, mainly blacks, feared for their lives whenever they emerged from their homes.

The authorities had tried for months to restore order with normal powers, but to no avail.

"This council must realise that if it had been possible to restore order and normality in the black areas by the use of normal, standard methods, the authorities would have done so. But the violence had passed beyond the point where it could be brought under control by normal police actions, and additional measures were necessary."

He said the Government realised what the consequences of such action would be. But it felt it had a duty to protect lives and property, not in white areas, but in black areas that had requested action from the authorities.

"Have the French themselves not discovered that the protection of civilians under unrest conditions required additional security measures?

"The French Prime Minister has done the cause of reform a disservice. France's own experience should have persuaded him of the error of his government's impulsive, if not opportunistic, action."

UNDERMINE ECONOMY

Mr von Schirnding said the measures proposed by French Prime Minister Mr Laurent Fabius would, if implemented, bring "nothing but misery" to the people he professed to want to help.

"Inevitably, the black people of South Africa will be the first to feel the effects of measures designed to undermine the South African economy. Is this what the French Prime Minister wants?"

The ambassador said the state of emergency pleased no one in South Africa and would be lifted as soon as the the violence diminished.

"We shall continue the process of dialogue and debate, and nothing this council may say or plan will deter us from doing what we believe is in the best interests of all people of South Africa." — Sapa.

President will meet Tutu

Political Staff

Cape Town President Botha today intimated he would be prepared to meet Nobel Peace prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, if a proper appointment was made.

In a statement he repeated earlier remarks that he was always willing to negotiate with anyone who "does not propagate violence".

However he unfortunately could not negotiate with people "who make appointments for discussion by means of the public media".

President Botha referred to the special Cabinet Committee investigating black political rights which he said conducted negotiations with community leaders on behalf of the Government.

"Anyone is free to approach the Cabinet Committee or myself to make appointments for discussion."

A spokesman for the President's office said any request for a meeting should be directed to the Office of the President.

Bishop Tutu made his offer to mediate in the state of emergency in an interview with the BBC and later in newspaper interviews.

'Up to P W'

Bishop Tutu said yesterday: "I would be prepared to talk to the President provided it was not something that he was doing merely to have a kind of talk shop."

He said he was not planning to do anything further.

"I could send the President a telegram, but he had to be aware of what I said. It's all up to him now."

● Bishop Tutu said this week a meeting between him and the State President would have to be about the basics of possible ways to end the unrest.

"We would have to get down to brass tacks pretty quickly."

The two men last met in 1980.

The Bishop reiterated yesterday that he was serious about his threat to leave the country if blacks did not stop killing "suspected enemies" indiscriminately.

"It was an unpremeditated statement which illustrated my strong feelings on the subject of violence."

The Star was unable to reach Bishop Tutu for comment today. According to his wife he was having a quiet day and could not be reached by telephone.

Slabbert tells Govt: talk to black clergy

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert today appealed to the Government to consult black religious leaders with a view to curbing violence in black areas.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly called for a five-point peace plan "to stabilise conditions in the townships and to enable the Government to catch up with pressures for change".

He urged the Government to:

● Consult religious leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu on how violence — whether from police or inhabitants — could be scaled down.

● Appoint from such people a national committee to monitor and investigate the underlying causes of the unrest.

● Say unambiguously that influx control and similar "blatantly discriminatory measures" were going to be scrapped.

● Declare itself willing to negotiate on the basis of one consti tution and one citizenship.

● Release the imprisoned black leader Nelson Mandela and similar persons unconditionally.

Dr Slabbert said that if the Government did not take imaginative steps of this nature it would be trapped into "the old too-little-too-late pattern".

President hints he will meet Tutu

Political Staff

Anyone can make an appointment with me, says P W

S A 'could drift into permanent violence and siege'

304A

NM 27/7/85

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Dr F van Zyl Slabbert has issued a grim warning that South Africa is in danger of drifting into a state of 'inconclusive violence and siege' in which the lives of all citizens will be progressively 'brutalised'.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party told a packed Cape Town City Hall yesterday that the longer the Government-imposed state of emergency continued, the greater the likelihood that violence would become 'endemic and normal'.

Dr Slabbert said one of the greatest dangers of the state of emergency was a big disparity between black and white perceptions. The 'worst thing' for whites would be to derive a false sense of security from the imposition of the state of emergency.

Demands

There was a danger that South Africa would repeat the mistake of Rhodesia, in which two competing campaigns of disinformation led to people living in 'isolated cocoons of ignorance'.

He said nothing testified more to the failure of the Government's present course than its need to resort to a state of emergency.

The Government 'might as well tell this country that we can prepare for a permanent state of seige and emergency' if it continued to reject the repeated 'reasonable' demands of black leaders.

These demands included an end to influx control, full citizenship under a single constitution, and blacks' right to 'participate fully and equally in the government which controls his life'.

Agreement

'These demands have been stated time and time again by black leaders from Mandela to Tutu to Buthelezi.'

The Government had said it was 'willing to negotiate about reasonable demands' but had failed to spell out what these were.

'And the longer it remains silent, the more the initiative for reform slips away from its hands because, to bring about effective reform, the Government must be ahead and anticipate the pressure for change,' Dr Slabbert said.

He urged all South Africans to help end the crisis by uniting behind a 'simple, unbeatable' call: 'One constitution, one citizenship, one South Africa.'

At no time in South Africa's history had there been such widespread agreement, inside and outside of Parliament, that 'apartheid must go', Dr Slabbert said.

The Government had fallen 'hopelessly behind' in anticipating pressures for change, and some 'giant and imaginative' steps were needed to regain the initiative.

It was 'urgent and necessary' that the Government:

Consult with religious and community leaders 'like Bishop Tutu, (Simon) Nkoane and others' on how violence in the townships, whether from police or inhabitants, could be scaled down,

Appoint from such leaders a national committee to monitor and investigate the causes of the unrest;

Declare 'clearly and unambiguously' that influx control and 'similar blatantly discriminatory measures' would be scrapped;

Declare itself willing to negotiate on the basis of one constitution and one citizenship for all South Africans; and

Release ANC leader Nelson Mandela 'and similar persons' unconditionally.

'Such steps can enable the Government to stabilise conditions in the townships far better than extensive use of force and extraordinary measures during a continuing state of emergency,' he said.

Botha and Tutu to meet next week

304A 8Aug 27/7/85



— by —
Andrew Beattie

The State President Mr P W Botha and Nobel Peace prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu are likely to meet next week in an attempt to defuse the unrest timebomb.

Bishop Tutu said last night he would send a communication to President Botha urging a face-to-face meeting for "frank and urgent" talks on resolving the unrest.

"We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will grant him an appointment as soon as possible," the State President's private secretary said last night.

President Botha stated yesterday he was prepared to meet Bishop Tutu — or any person who did not propagate violence as a political tool — "if a proper appointment were made".

Bishop Tutu originally made his offer to mediate in the state of emergency with the Government in an interview with the BBC and later in newspaper interviews.

"I don't think much will be gained by speculating now on what these proposed talks will lead to. As a Christian I always go into something like this with an open mind and hope that God will bless my decision.

"There is no point in going into such talks prejudiced by past discussions or events," the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said from his home last night.

Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha previously had talks in 1980, when the Bishop was general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

"I will be sending my request to Mr Botha's office on Monday morning as soon as I get back to the office," Bishop Tutu said.

"We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will arrange a meeting at the State President's earliest possible convenience. The State President has had similar requests from Archbishop Russell, and will have to see when Bishop Tutu can be fitted into his already busy schedule,"the State President's private secretary said last night.

Botha's reply to Tutu on unrest talks

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha said yesterday in reply to a request by Bishop Desmond Tutu for talks about the current unrest that he could not make appointments through the media.

'I am always willing to negotiate with anyone who does not propagate violence,' said Mr Botha.

'Moreover, there is a Cabinet Committee which conducts negotiations with community leaders on behalf of the Government and anyone is free to approach the committee or myself to make appointments for discussions.'

Bishop Tutu was not available for comment on the State President's reply.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Association of Law Societies said yesterday it was concerned at the declaration of a state of emergency, and hoped it would be ended as soon as possible.

Slabbert warns of 'siege'

CNR Times 27/7/85 304A 20C BRZ

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday warned that South Africa was in danger of drifting into a state of "inconclusive violence and siege" in which the lives of all citizens would be progressively "brutalized".

He told a packed Cape Town City Hall that the longer the government-imposed state of emergency continued the greater likelihood that violence would become "endemic and normal".

Dr Slabbert said that one danger of the current state of emergency was the large disparity between black and white perceptions. The "worst thing" for whites would be to derive a false sense of security from the imposition of the state of emergency.

Rhodesia

There was a danger that South Africa would repeat the mistake of Rhodesia in which two competing campaigns of disinformation led to people increasingly living in "isolated cocoons of ignorance".

He said the government "might as well tell this country that we can prepare for a permanent state of siege and emergency" if it continued to reject the repeated "reasonable" demands of black leaders.

These demands included an end to influx control, full citizenship under a single constitution, and the right of blacks to "participate fully and equally in the government which controls his life".

'Reasonable'

"These demands have been stated time and time again by black leaders from Mandela to Tutu to Buthelezi."

Dr Slabbert said the government had said that it was willing to negotiate about "reasonable demands" but had failed to spell these out.

"And the longer it remains silent the more the initiative for reform slips away from its hands because to bring about effective reform, the government must be ahead and anticipate the pressure for change."

Dr Slabbert urged all South Africans to help end the crisis facing the country by uniting behind the call: "One constitution, one citizenship, one South Africa."

At no time in South Africa's history had there been such widespread agreement, inside and outside Parliament, that apartheid must go.

'Giant steps'

Dr Slabbert said the government had fallen "hopelessly behind" in anticipating pressures for change, and some "giant and imaginative" steps would now be need to regain the initiave.

It was both "urgent and necessary" that the government take the following steps:

- Consult with religious and community leaders "like Bishop (Desmond) Tutu, (Simon) Nkoane and others" on how violence in the townships, whether from police or inhabitants, could be scaled down.
- Appoint from such leaders a notional committee to monitor and investigate the underlying causes for the unrest.
- Declare "clearly and unambiguously" that influx control and "similar blatantly discriminatory measures" would be scrapped.
- Declare itself willing to negotiate on the basis of one constitution and one citizenship for all South Africans.
- Release ANC leader Nelson Mandela unconditionally.

PW, Tututo talk

304A

W/E ARGUS 27/7/85 304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President Mr P W Botha, and the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, are likely to meet soon in an attempt to defuse the countrywide unrest.

Bishop Tutu said last night he would send a communication to Mr Botha urging a meeting for "frank and urgent" talks on resolving the unrest.

"We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will grant him an appointment as soon as possible," the State President's private secretary said last night.

Mr Botha said yesterday he was prepared to meet Bishop Tutu — or any person who did not propagate violence as a political tool — "if a proper appointment were made."

Open mind

Bishop Tutu originally made his offer to mediate with the Government in an interview with the BBC and later in newspaper interviews.

"I don't think much will be gained by speculating now on what these proposed talks will lead to.

"As a Christian I always go into something like this with an open mind and hope that God will bless my decision," Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said from his home last night.

"There is no point in going into such talks prejudiced by past discussions or events."

Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha previously held talks in 1980, when the Bishop was General-Secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Earliest

"I will be sending my request to Mr Botha's office on Monday morning as soon as I get back to the offfice," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr Botha's private secretary said: "We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will arrange a meeting at the State President's earliest possible convenience.

"The State President has had similar requests from Archbishop (Philip) Russell (the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town) and will have to see when Bishop Tutu can be fitted into his already busy schedule." — Sapa.

went to meet him

years ago that a state of emergency was declared in a number of magisterial districts.

In terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953 the State President is given wide discretionary powers.

He may declare a state of emergency in South Africa (or in any specified area) when, in his opinion, the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order is seriously threatened and the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to deal with the situation.

Also, in exercising these powers, he may take whatever steps appear to him "to be necessary or expedient" for providing public safety, the maintenance of public order or in order to terminate the emergency.

These steps can be proclaimed by him by way of regulations, even "for dealing with any circumstances which in his opinion have arisen or are likely to arise as a result of such emergency".

Some of the main limitations in respect of such powers are:

- They shall remain in force for a maximum period of 12 months (but could be reproclaimed at any time at or before the expiration of this period).
- Such regulations cannot make punishable "any act or omission which was not punishable at the time it was committed".
- They cannot interfere with elections for or the holding of sessions of Parliament or a Provincial Council.
- They cannot impose military service except as provided for under the Defence Act.
- The names of persons detained, under the emergency powers, for more than 30 days, have to be tabled in Parliament;
- All regulations have to be laid before Parliament for its approval, within 14 days if Parliament is in session or, if not in session, within 14 days after the commencement of its next ensuing ordinary session. They lapse automatically if Parliament does not approve of them within 28 days.

Suffice to say the jurisdic-

Striking similarity to situation in 1960

By KIN BENTLEY

THE events leading up to the 1960 state of emergency bear a striking resemblance to the events prior to the declaration of the present state of emergency.

In fact one could ask the question: "If things have changed, why are they so much the same?"

Press reports of the last state of emergency, declared a quarter of a century ago on March 30, 1960, reveal a period characterised by several prominent factors:

- The Referendum Bill (to facilitate a white South African vote on becoming a republic or remaining part of the British Commonwealth) is introduced by the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr P W Botha, in March while simultaneously the treason trial of 18 members of the African National Congress takes place in Pretoria.
- English newspapers are rapidly dropping the term "Native", for "African" or "black".
- Dr Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, vehemently opposes the introduction of television in the Union.
- The leader of the ANC is being quoted in the Press.
- And, with the National Party having been in power for "only" 12 years, white opponents still speak with some conviction about voting it out of government.

Here is a look at a few days from that period:

March 21:

The ANC in PE is reported as saying they will not support the Pan Africanist Congress anti-pass drive. They are "against defiance methods".

This comes in response to a PAC call on black workers to leave their passes at home and surrender themselves to the police

In the south western black townships of Johannesburg (Soweto) it is reported that "six Saracen armoured cars, packed with policemen and firearms, paraded last night . . . while meetings were held to discuss the PAC campaign".

Mr Harold MacMillan, the British Prime Minister, tells the South African Government its race policy is "a grave mistake".

March 22:

"Fifty-six killed in Transvaal location riot. Police fire into crowd after being stoned" read the headlines, recalling the events of the previous day.

The report says 15 000 to 20 000 people surrounded Sharpeville police station in the anti-pass campaign when police opened fire.

March 23:

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd rejects calls in Parliament for a commission of inquiry into the outward and underlying causes of the "African riots", saying it would "provide a platform for agitators".

Police put figures of shot at 67 dead and 182 wounded.

PAC resolves to "continue the fight" and surrender (without passes) in "small groups" to avoid recurrence of violence

Editorial: "Is it possible in the long run to govern by force and without the consent of the governed . . ?"

March 24:

Headline: "Riot injured are under detention."

ANC, calls for March 21 to be considered a day of mourning.

Dr Verwoerd appoints one-man commissions of inquiry into events at Sharpeville and Langa — one in Cape Town and one in the Transvaal. Also considering commission into causes of "riots".

Progressive Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, calls for an inquiry into the pass laws.

Mr Luthuli in defence evidence at treason trial slates "Bantustans".

The national president of the PAC, Mr Robert Sobukwe, appears in Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on charge of incitement

March 26:

Report that the Minister of Justice, Mr F C Erasmus, will introduce on March 28 a Bill which will authorise the Government to ban the ANC, PAC and certain other organisations.

Progressive Party calls on the Government to negotiate with ANC and lift ban on Luthuli

Government statement on Sharpeville says "police fired in self-defence after 20 000 shot first".

Professor Owen Horwood, professor of economics at the University of Natal (future Minister of Finance and National Party leader in Natal), calls for a national convention of businessmen of all kinds "to save South Africa from what seems to be self-destruction at a remarkable rate" and "to bring home to Dr Verwoerd and his Government the folly of his ways".

He says Dr Verwoerd should "abandon the Republic" idea and abandon the "fantastic Bantustan economic policy which offends against every action of sound economics" and set up an "authoritative and representative commission of inquiry into Native grievances"

March 28:

Sharpeville death toll now at 71

ANC differs with PAC over its "stayaway from work call to mourn victims of violence and protest against the pass laws".

Mr Justice Diemont appointed to inquire into Langa and Mr Justice Wessels into Sharpeville.

Mr Luthuli burns pass in Pretoria. Government announces temporary suspension of pass arrests.

Dr Verwoerd says at mass rally of 70 000 at Meyerton: "Blacks peace-loving — small groups responsible for the troubles."

Mr Luthuli says blacks have real grievances and Government should meet black leaders

March 29:

Rioting, violence on Rand and in Cape Town.

Bill to ban ANC and PAC introduced in Parliament — interpreted by Progressive Party and Native Representatives as "closing door" to talks with moderates like Luthuli and "offers no solution to grievances".

PE stayaway 80% effective — 40 000 don't turn up at work.

Mrs V M L Ballinger, Native Representative, Cape Eastern, calls for consultation with black leaders during debate on Unlawful Organisations Bill.

March 30:

United Party Leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Graaff, backs Bill. Dr Jan Steytler, Progressive Party leader, rejects it and calls for immediate Government consultation with Luthuli and ANC.

State of emergency declared.

tion of the courts has been effectively excluded regarding the testing of the validity of such regulations and in respect of the *bona fide* exercise of any of the immense powers proclaimed under the Act.

It is interesting to note that the state of emergency declared on March 30, 1960, was initially declared in 82 magisterial districts. A further 39 were added later, making a total of 121.

This compares with a total of 36 districts proclaimed in the present emergency.

The state of emergency in 1960 lasted 156 days and, after being gradually lifted, was finally withdrawn on August 31, 1960.

During this time 11 503 persons were detained without trial (compared with about 1 035 people detained so far). Of those arrested in 1960, only about 150 were subsequently convicted.

In 1960 the Government also called out at least 20 000 men of the Citizen Force to assist in the implementation of the state of emergency. In the present emergency this has not been regarded necessary by the Government, which is of the opinion that the manpower available in the SA Police, the Railway Police, the Prisons Service and the Defence Force is adequate to deal with the situation (bearing in mind that since the introduction of the National Service system a fairly large number of national servicemen are available to the Defence Force).

There is no doubt that in 1960 the main causes of the unrest were "political" in nature, as they are in 1985.

The immediate cause of the emergency in 1960 were the demonstrations following on the incident at Sharpeville (March 21, 1960), in which 71 Africans were killed and 180 injured during a demonstration against the pass laws.

But for a long time prior to this there had been unrest and riots in many parts of the country, caused by opposition against the Bantu Authorities system, the educational system, the pass laws, the exclusion of blacks from labour unions, the liquor laws, the general policy of discrimination and apartheid, and, of course, the lack of political participation, aggravated undoubtedly by the removal of the black representation from Parliament in terms of the Promotion of Black Self-Government Act of 1959.

What is noteworthy is that it was also precipitated by the important constitutinal changes that were taking place in South Africa in 1960: The decision to become a republic, South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth and the republic referendum, culminating in the declaration of a republic in 1961, with political power restricted to whites.

The really sad — and shocking — outcome of the 1960 emergency was that the Government, instead of trying to understand and to eliminate the frustrations and the anger of the black masses, reacted by introducing and imposing more restrictive measures and by outlawing the Afrinca National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC), thereby removing the channels of ligitimate protest available to them.

Instead of searching for the real causes of resentment and bitterness, it blamed everything on so-called "agitators".

The 1976 riots should have been seen as further proof that drastic action, particularly in the political field, was essential in order to prevent further confrontation and conflict

It is true that some of the discrimination and disabilities affecting blacks have been removed and their position in a number of areas improved, particularly since Mr P W Botha became Prime Minister.

One has in mind, for example, the abolition of job reservation, the removal of discrimination, accepting labour unions, the acceptance of the permanance of urban blacks, the introduction of the 99-year leasehold, the removal of discrimination in respect of the liquor laws etc.

At the same time the Government's action in particularly three areas have exacerbated the whole situation, viz.

- Denationalisation of blacks as a result of the independence of certain homelands. The automatic deprivation of their SA citizenship has caused tremendous anger and bitterness.
- The continued persecution of blacks in terms of the influx control provisions
- The exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional system. Their total exclusion (while including coloureds and Indians) has been interpreted as a final rejection by the Government of legitimate black political aspirations.

In certain respects the present emergency is more serious, in as much as the unrest today is also prevalent in many small "rural" townships, that it has resulted in blacks venting their anger on other blacks (regarded as collaborators with the system) and particularly in the intensity of international governmental reaction.

The fundamental question is: how will the Government react to the present emergency?

It is possible — and likely — that the Government, considering the massive powers at its disposal (incomparably more and stronger than in 1960), would be able to "quell" the unrest in the townships.

But unless it tackles the underlying causes immediately and vigorously, any "peace" brought about by the exercise of the present emergency powers will be transitory, illusory and short-lived.

Post Focus

Emergencies: has Govt learnt anything in 25 years?



By Dr NIC OLIVIER, MP, the Director of Research for the Progressive Federal Party

B94A W. Post 27:07:85 Weekend Post

Emergency arrests total 1 035

JOHANNESBURG — The number of arrests since the state of emergency was declared last Sunday had risen to 1 035 by today, the police Public Relations Directorate said in Pretoria.

A 20-year-old youth was "seriously injured" in the Eastern Province yesterday when a policeman fired at two youths allegedly attempting to petrol-bomb his home. He was in hospital under police guard, police reported.

Also in the Eastern Province, two men were arrested for throwing stones at an SADF Buffel.

Police used teargas and birdshot when several incidents of stone-throwing occurred in Guguletu, Cape Town, from 4pm yesterday. There were no injuries or arrests and the situation was calm by 7pm.

In Soweto, Johannesburg, three men were arrested when about 20 people stoned a bus and attempted to set it on fire, the report said.

Police yesterday sealed off a section of Modderdam Road after sporadic stone-throwing outside the University of the Western Cape (UWC) at Bellville. The incident followed a rally at the university attended by about 6 000 people, most of them students.

When the meeting ended at about 2pm some 200 youths gathered in Modderdam Road at the campus gates, blocking the carriageway in one direction.

The Rector, Professor Richard van der Ross, directed traffic until seven police vans drew up 10 minutes later.

Police clad in riot gear alighted, but moved off after Prof van der Ross spoke to them. They then sealed off the road.

The youths re-entered the campus, where the Students' Representative Council president, Mr Llewellyn MacMaster, pleaded for them to disperse.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday visited all the areas on the Witwatersrand affected by the state of emergency, Lt Col Leon Mellet, said.

The Minister also had talks with senior police and defence force personnel.

The spokesman did not elaborate.

Figures of those arrested under the emergency regulations were accurate, the Police Directorate of Public Relations affirmed in Pretoria last night.

A spokesman for the Directorate was commenting on a statement by the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) that information had been received that official lists of detainees were "incomplete and inaccurate".

The spokesman said: "All the names are published and are made known to the Press evey day."

Information had been received that official lists of detainees were "incomplete and inaccurate", the Detainees Parents Support Committee said.

In a statement to Sapa, the DPSC said an analysis done by the committee showed broadly that the police were engaged in a "concerted attempt" to crush organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front "and, presumably, the UDF itself".

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was a "particular target", the DPSC said.

Another feature of the crackdown was the way in which the State was moving against "entire organisations, taking their rank-and-file supporters, as well as activists".

"Indeed, the vast majority of detainees are in this rank-and-file category, which partly accounts for our difficulty in identifying many of the detainees," they said.

The committee added that "a remarkable feature" of police figures for the Transvaal was the low number of detainees from the Vaal area, whereas the DPSC information indicated a large number — Sapa

Peace talks on the agenda

WORLD attention will focus on an historic meeting between State President P W Botha and Nobel Peace winner Bishop Desmond Tutu likely to take place this week.



PEACE: Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Bishop Tutu wants an end to the crisis. Referring to the mob killing of a woman the Bishop declared at a funeral: "If this continues, I'll pack my bags and leave."

The President has indicated his willingness to discuss the unrest with the Bishop. No date has yet been set for the meeting but it is likely to be held this week.

Nine years ago, Bishop Tutu made a passionate plea to the then Prime Minister John Vorster for a solution to South Africa's political crisis He warned of "terrible consequences" facing the country.

He said he was frightened.

Three weeks later Soweto exploded.

Since then the country's leadership has changed and Bishop Tutu has continued his call for peace and reconciliation.

In his letter to Mr Vorster he warned that unless basic social changes were introduced a violent confrontation would follow.

Bishop Tutu may now repeat the warning he made to Mr Vorster.

In his 1976 letter he said: "I am writing to you sir, because I have a growing nightmarish fear that unless something drastic is done very soon then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa almost inevitably."

He said he wished to God that he was wrong "that I have misread history and the situation in my beloved country".

But 1976 proved his worst fears.

Now Bishop Tutu wants to speak to South Africa's leader again.

If his 1976 letter to Mr Vorster is any reflection of his present concern for the future of the people — black and white — Bishop Tutu may stress those sentiments once more.

These are extracts from his historic letter:

"I am writing to you as one who is a member of a race that has known what it has meant in frustration and hurt, in agony and humiliation, to be a subject people.

"The history of your own people speaks eloquently of how utterly impossible it is when once the desire for freedom and self-determination is awakaned in a people for it to be quenched or to be satisfied with anything less than that freedom and self-determination.

"Nothing will stop a people from attaining their freedom to be a people who can assume the responsibilities and obligations that are the necessary concomitants of the freedom they yearn for.

"For most blacks this can never be in the homelands, because they believe they have contributed substantially to the prosperity of an undivided South Africa."

The Bishop also wrote of the Government's declaration to move away from racial discrimination.

"I am afraid that very little of this movement has been in evidence so far.

"Fathers are still separated from their loved ones as a result of the pernicious system of migratory labour."

Bishop Tutu wrote of his commitment to reconciliation with justice for all, and the need for a situation where South Africa's riches will be shared more equitably.

The Bishop ended his lengthy address to Mr Vorster by making three requests:

Accept the urban black as a permanent inhabitant with consequent freehold property rights; repeal the pass laws and call a national convention of the genuine leaders of all sections of the community.

The Reverend Allan Boesak said he would consider joining the meeting.



MEETING: State President P W Botha.

SA heading for a 'historic clash'

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — *The New York Times* declares that South Africa is heading for a "historic clash", in which "the white Afrikaner, newly rich, is pitted against the black African, newly roused".

"A monumental tragedy is at hand, and there is not much good people elsewhere can do about it," it said in an editorial.

Neither distant agitation nor disinvestment can make much difference now, said the newspaper, which in the past few weeks has given saturation coverage to the riots in South Africa.

Under a headline "An African tragedy unfolds", the newspaper added:

"Let consciences cry out, but don't pretend that symbolic pickets and boycotts can stem the violence.

"South Africa's racist structure will not yield to such gnats as shareholder votes and ambassadorial recalls.

"Its rebellious blacks will not be bought off by better jobs in multinational corporations.

"South Africa is headed for an historic clash, pitting the white Afrikaner, newly rich, against the black African, newly roused; pitting the most modern weapons against the most powerful ideas."

With the "crude tyranny" of race a declining force, it said the world had implord Pretoria to let apartheid end by emancipation rather than revolution.

"But the Afrikaners will not emancipate and mean to fight, for generations, to defeat revolution."

Afrikaners, it adds, are "brutally honest about their goal and divided only by tactics".

"Inevitably, every arrest or a shooting of a black youngster will radicalise a platoon — and the black population of South Africa will double before the end of the century.

"Sooner or later, all other decent nations will shun the Afrikaners.

"Pretoria will keep blaming the communists and may yet make Reds of many blacks.

"A monumental tragedy is at hand, and there is not much good people elsewhere can do to prevent it."

Tutu's formal request for talks is on the way

Botha agrees to meet Archbishop

Star 29/7/85



Archbishop Philip Russell . . . overseas.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has agreed to meet the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Phillip Russell.

The meeting will take place on Monday August 19.

And this morning Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, sent a telegram to the State President formally requesting a meeting for talks on resolving the current unrest.

"I also made a telephone call to the State President's office," Bishop Tutu told *The Star*.

Archbishop Russell is overseas at the moment but will be returning on August 15. According to his office the Archbishop's meeting with President Botha will include other church leaders.

It is not known who will be part of the church delegation.

Archbishop Russell's request for a meeting followed a decision by the Anglican Provincial Synod in Maritzburg earlier this month.

Bishop Tutu couldn't say this morning whether he would be meeting the State President alone or as part of the Archbishop's group.

Urgency

On the question of when he would meet President Botha, Bishop Tutu said: "I don't know. I only asked for talks as a matter of urgency."

President Botha said last Friday that he was prepared to meet Bishop Tutu — or any person who did not propogate violence as a political tool — "if a proper appointment were made".

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office was reported at the weekend as saying that once Bishop Tutu's request had been received, it would have to be seen when the earliest date for such a meeting could be arranged.

●See Pages 6, 21.

PW SNU TU

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has refused Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu's request for an urgent meeting on black unrest, saying the Bishop could join a church group meeting him three weeks from now.

Bishop Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, sent a message to Mr Botha early yesterday saying, "would like to meet you urgently, either by myself or with one or two other church leaders," according to the Bishop's office.

Mr Botha's office replied that the President "has already organised his tight schedule," to include a meeting with an Anglican church delegation on August 19, led by Archbishop Phillip Russell of Cape Town.

Dictate

A spokesman for the President said Mr Botha's reply indicated he was not willing to meet separately with Bishop Tutu before then, and that Mr Botha "obviously doesn't want to dictate to the Anglican Church on who they should include in their delegation."

Bishop Tutu, reached at home, was clearly angry at the President's response, saying, "I don't play political games, and I would have thought the situation requires statesmanship. I have done all I could about it on my side.

"I don't see how I can go with the other delegation," Bishop Tutu added, because Bishop Russell had already invited leaders from several other churches to accompany him to that meeting.



BISHOP DESMOND TUTU: Yesterday accused the President, Mr P W Botha, of acting like a politician rather than a statesman.

P.. JOE MOLEFI

"I had hoped that I might have been able to do something. Obviously, he(Botha) thinks differently," Bishop Tutu said when asked if he thought Mr Botha had missed an opportunity to try to defuse nearly a year of black rioting. "And there is not very much I can do about it."

Observers said Bishop Tutu took a considerable political risk in even making the request to see Mr Botha, even if it were granted. Many black leaders have opposed any negotiation with the white rulers of South Africa until they demonstrate a commitment to begin dismantling apartheid and to open a broad dialogue with blacks on change.

Presidential spokesman Jack Viviers said Bishop Tutu's request was received by telephone and that Mr Botha's reply was telephoned by the President's office to Bishop Tutu. He said the two men did not speak directly to each other.

Mr Viviers said Mr Botha's reply to Bishop Tutu was: "I said I am prepared to talk to people who denounce violence and civil disobedience. I am meeting Archbishop Russell of Cape Town on August 19, together with a small delegation."

He added that no conclusions about Mr Botha's willingness to meet religious leaders critical of his government should be drawn from the date of the meeting with Bishop Russell. He said Bishop Russell was out of South Africa and that the August 19 date suited the Archbishop. — Sapa-AP.



The MIRROR closes down

THE SOWETAN Sunday MIRROR has been closed down. Its last edition appeared at the weekend.

The board of directors of the Argus Company also announced that it has been decided to close the Bloemfontein publication, *The Friend*, after publication of the issue of July 31.

The Friend has incurred losses for many years and in the current economic environment which has been aggravated by the highly competitive market situation in Bloemfontein, the outlook

State community and its demise will leave a gap which cannot be filled.

Over 80 people on *The Friend* will become redundant. The Argus Company will endeavour to place as many of them as possible in alternative employment at other branches but, in the prevailing economic climate, it is not anticipated that many transfers will be possible. Those who can't be offered alternative employment will be given severance pay benefits. We are discussing the matter with the trade unions concerned.

CIA report probes into S A's regional policy

MM 30/7/85 304A

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON—The Central Intelligence Agency has completed an analysis of Pretoria's regional policy which concludes that the S A Government intends to maintain an uncompromising stance on negotiations with Angola and a South West Africa settlement, according to diplomatic sources here

The study was apparently prepared as part of the Reagan Administration's current reassessment of how best to implement constructive engagement in light of recent developments in southern Africa and on Capitol Hill

The New York Times reported yesterday that similar analyses were being prepared by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and by other U S intelligence agencies

One such analysis, the Times said, dealt with whether or not President Reagan should sign Congressional sanctions legislation, which could reach his desk by the end of the week if negotiations between the Senate and House of Representatives scheduled for tomorrow go smoothly.

Talks

The CIA report, which is understood to have been circulated last week, offers a gloomy prognosis for U S efforts to broker a deal under which Angola would send home a sizeable proportion of the 20 000 to 30 000 Cubans now believed to be in the country, and withdraw the remainder to defensive positions in the north, while South Africa would cut its ties with Unita and submit to UN Resolution 435 in South West Africa

The study is also said to refute S A's version of the Cabinda raid and casts doubt over Pretoria's intentions in Mozambique.

'S A is being asked to accept Cubans in Angola, Swapo in Windhoek, and to abandon Savimbi all at the same time. How, at the present time, can President Botha accept that?' one source observed.

The CIA study's existence was first hinted at following reports last week that the Reagan Administration was considering 'as one option' high-level talks with Pretoria. S A regional policy was said to be at the top of the envisaged agenda.

According to the New York Times, the State Department report deals with S A's internal situation and concludes that it has entered a 'new stage', but poses no fundamental threat to the S A Government.

The report is said to be highly critical of the S A Government for arresting opposition leaders in the townships on the grounds that they might be the only people able to keep order and control the groups of teenagers who are seen as forming the core of the violent protesters.

It also asserted that these teenagers are not necessarily led or controlled by the ANC, and do not appear to have access to weapons.



'Playing games while SA burns'

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG — The State President, Mr P W Botha, was yesterday accused of playing political games while the country burned

The allegation was made by Nobel Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu, who was reacting to Mr Botha's refusal of his request for an urgent meeting between the two of them to discuss unrest in the townships.

Bishop Tutu, Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, yesterday told a press conference at his Orlando West home that his telegramme message to Mr Botha had read: "Would like to meet you urgently, either by myself or with one or two church leaders."

The reply from the President's office, read to Bishop Tutu over the telephone, said Mr Botha had already "organized his tight schedule" to include a meeting with an Anglican Church delegation on August 19, to be led by Archbishop Philip Russell of Cape Town.

Bishop Tutu said "I cannot see how I can go with the other group which is not an all-Anglican delegation. Besides, Bishop Russell has already invited other church leaders to be with him at the meeting.

"His (Mr Botha's) reply indicates that he does not want to meet me alone and that perhaps he feels that if he had a

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A From page 1

meeting with me he would not benefit."

The bishop said he was alarmed by the consequences of Mr Botha having "lost out" on the opportunity of meeting with him for talks

"He is playing political games when the country is burning and I have no time to play with him," Bishop Tutu said.

At present young people understood only the language of violence "and very soon we will not be able to stand before them if we cannot indicate why we are advocating non-violence".

By yesterday afternoon it was confirmed that Mr Botha had indicated his willingness to meet leading businessmen in Pretoria this week to discuss the emergency

Meanwhile, **John Battersby** reports from London that the Canadian Government has urged the 50-nation Commonwealth to act as a mediator in setting up a dialogue between the South African Government and genuine black leaders

The proposal was made yesterday by Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark, who was addressing a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society in London.

● Leading article, page 10

End racialism, says civic honours recipient

(304A 30/7/85 NM)

Municipal Reporter

THE 55th citizen of Durban to receive civic honours, Mr Arnold Zulman, yesterday called on the city council to dismantle all forms of racial discrimination.

Mr Zulman, 53, who is the chairman of Beacon Sweets, signed the Civic Honours Book at a ceremonial meeting of the council yesterday. Civic honours were also bestowed on Mr Shishupal Rambharos, 65, and Mr Edward Rooks, 81.

Mr Zulman said South Africa was facing very difficult times and Durban had a wonderful opportunity to set the pace for the rest of the country.

Conferring the honours on the three men, the Mayor, Mr Neil MacLennan, said the Civic Honours Book was started in 1954 to honour citizens who made an outstanding contribution to the city.

Mr Rambharos was proposed by Councillor Pieter Breytenbach and seconded by Mrs Sybil Hotz. He said his motto was that every man should serve his fellows. Mr Rambharos is chairman of the home council of the Aryan Benevolent Home.

Mr Rooks was proposed by Mr Albie Stowman and seconded by Councillor Gys Muller. He is a former civic leader and has worked for the benefit of Durban's coloured community in the fields of sport, welfare, religion and civic administration.

Mr Zulman was proposed by Councillor Garvin Bernstein and seconded by Councillor Henry Klotz. He was honoured for his contribution to black education. His father, Mr Hymie Zulman, received civic honours in 1966.



Dr Itapa Motsuenyane . . . will inspect services



Mr Peter Soal . . . PW must act

Mandela's release will restore township peace — S

By Gary van Staden
Political Reporter

The sooner Nelson Mandela was released from prison the sooner peace would be restored to South Africa's troubled townships, Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, said last night.

Mr Soal was addressing a report-back meeting at the Rosebank Hotel.

"It is no good him (President P W Botha) saying that the black leaders should telephone him and make an appointment. Any head of the South African State worth his salt at this critical juncture must take the iniative himself if calm and order are to be restored," Mr Soal added.

"The Government is meant to be in control of the situation but unless it does something about it, and pretty quick at that, apartheid is going to destroy us all."

Mr Soal said that it was vitally important that President Botha negotiate with as many black leaders as possible and that was why the Government should review its offer to Nelson Mandela as soon as possible.

Turning to the state of emergency, Mr Soal said that it was to be hoped that Mr Botha would use the regulations to defuse the situation rather than as an excuse to clamp down as the security forces were aparently doing.

"It (the Government) got us into this mess. Two ambassadors have already been withdrawn and another is hanging on by the skin of his teeth. The UN Security Council has taken a decision (on sanctions) that goes further than any previously
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Mr Peter Soal . . . PW must act.

Mandela's release will restore township peace — Soal

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"It (the Government) got us into this mess. Two ambassadors have already been withdrawn and another is hanging on by the skin of his teeth. The UN Security Council has taken a decision (on sanctions) that goes further than any previously taken by that body.

"How mush longer can we rely on the veto of the US and the British when even the Americans are urging us to end this state of emergency'" Mr Soal said.

Mr Soal said, as far as constituency matters were concerned, that he had once again raised in Parliament the issue of the Northlands and Saxonwald post offices.

He added that the relevant Minister, Dr Lapa Munnik, had agreed to visit the constituency and see for himself what could be done to improve postal and telephone services in the area.

Mr Soal added that a decision had been taken by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to erect a police station in the area and that a suitable site would now have to be found.

PFP slams threat to expel foreigners

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

The Progressive Federal Party said today it was spiteful and childish of the President, Mr P W Botha, to threaten repatriation of foreign workers in retaliation for international sanctions.

Mr Botha told a function at Potchefstroom University yesterday that hundreds of thousands of black workers from Southern African countries would be repatriated if governments continued moves to implement punitive measures against South Africa.

Other forms of co-operation, in transport, communications and agriculture with Southern African countries could also be affected, he said.

The PFP spokesman on manpower, Dr Alex Boraine, said the threat by Mr Botha was both predictable and negative.

"It exposes the Government's real attitude towards Southern Africa and makes a mockery of its statements of concern for blacks who they claim would be the first to suffer if sanctions were imposed on South Africa.

"It is tragic that the State President should display such a childish and spiteful reaction.

"If he was really concerned about stability, economic growth and the welfare of Southern Africa, his reaction ought to have been an announcement to disband apartheid once and for all," Dr Boraine said.

● To Page 3, Col 10

Expulsion threat slammed

● From Page 1.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said President Botha's response had to be seen in the light of support of certain countries for pressures against South Africa.

Such pressures could only cause hardship, unemployment and suffering to blacks.

South Africa provided employment for more than a million blacks from outside South Africa.

If black South Africans were unemployed they were the ones whom jobs had to be provided for.

"The United Nations and countries in Africa must then provide employment for those repatriated," Mr Hendrickse added.

● See Page 25.

Time magazine gives SA prime treatment

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In treatment accorded only to the assassination of President Kennedy, the volcanic eruption of Mount St Helens, and major world catastrophes, *Time* magazine takes a deep and penetrating look at South Africa this week — and the result, to American readers, is a picture of a country hopelessly and violently at odds with itself.

Time comes to no conclusions itself, but places a strong emphasis on the likely future role to be played by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Though the reports carry interviews with a wide range of prominent South Africans, including President Botha, Bishop Tutu, the Rev Beyers Naude, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Alan Paton, they focus more strongly on Chief Buthelezi than any, seeing him as the one leader with whom both blacks and whites might be able to talk.

Though noting his opposition to the African National Congress and that he has been called a "traitor", "sell-out" and "puppet", *Time* says both black and white foes of apartheid know that without his consent a solution to South Africa's problems is virtually inconceivable.

"He is pragmatic, articulate and dynamic," the magazine says. "When Buthelezi speaks, both whites and blacks listen — yet what he has to say pleases neither audience."

It quotes Chief Buthelezi as saying: "The forces demanding the politics of negotiation are mounting. Sooner or later the politics of negotiation will become a reality."

To many blacks, *Time* points out, his message — one of compromise and negotiation — is not militant enough.

It quotes him: "We do not seek cheap popularity by posturing in favour of the armed struggle when we do not have even the tools to carry it out. We have not said that we blacks may not be forced one day to take up arms. The point is that there are just no arms to take up at present."

'DICTATORSHIP'

Time also quotes Cape Town businessman Mr Jannie Momberg as saying that what South Africa wants now is "an enlightened dictatorship" — not for the blacks, but for the whites.

"I think we are going to have to force things through for the sake of the country," he says, adding that if he were president he "would bring Chief Buthelezi into my Cabinet".

"I'd scrap the bloody three-way Parliament and bring the whites, Indians and the coloureds into one body, and then I'd look for a federal solution for the next phase, bringing in the blacks."

The magazine's cover carries the words "Black Rage, white Repression, a Challenge for US Policy", and depicts a young black with raised fists against a background of a vehicle in flames.

S Report

)AY, JULY 31, 1985

CAPE TIMES 31/7/85

Botha's threat to expel foreign blacks slammed

From NEIL BEHRMANN and JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — President P W Botha's threat to expel 1,5m foreign blacks was sharply condemned in financial and business circles here.

A London banker said that President Botha's threat was a "knee-jerk reaction for local consumption without regard to the international and regional consequences."

The threat to deport foreign blacks in retaliation to the growing campaign for international sanctions was widely seen here as a "bluff which could backfire".

But Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, told the BBC World at One: "It is no empty threat."

He said that international sanctions would be detrimental for South African blacks and the whole Southern African region. He said the security council's action was "economic warfare".

There was disquiet among representatives of South African business here and UK mining house officials said that about 30 percent to 40 percent of the mines labour were foreign blacks.

"It would be extremely difficult for the mines to train local black replacements in time," said a mining house official, referring to the threat. Brokers, businessmen and bankers stressed, however that general economic sanctions were counter-productive.

The statement of President Botha had no immediate effect on South African mining shares quoted on international markets. But the shares remained depressed because of the general concern about the state of emergency and the threat of voluntary sanctions against South Africa.

For a start they could set off large scale sales of South African securities, make it more difficult for banks to borrow money and fuel the international campaign for disinvestment or even harsher economic sanctions.

The rand could tumble, South African interest rates would rise and the economy would dive into a deeper recession.

Asked about the likely impact of repatriation of blacks Mr David Willers, London director of the South African Foundation, said:

"In repatriating large numbers of workers one may increase the possibility of instability in neighbouring states creating a de facto refugee situation," he said.

49 0144

Reform the 'only hope' for South Africa

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa faced three paths and reform offered the only hope for all citizens, Dr Robin Lee, managing director and chief executive of the Urban Foundation, said yesterday.

Addressing the Social Responsibility Management Association here, he said the three paths were repression, revolution and reform.

Only reform offered hope for all South Africans — and the private sector was capable of playing a major role in the process.

"This is not to say that the private sector has been idle or irresponsible up to now. But what is needed now is almost a quantum leap from conventional views of corporate social responsibility ... to a definite, organized and visible role in bringing about rapid social and economic change."

Dr Lee said various levels of corporate social responsibility could be identified, including promoting good employment conditions, with meaningful employee benefits and particular emphasis on the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the workplace; and contributing to housing, education, transport, health-care and recreational facilities for employees and their families.

Dr Lee said the distinction between political and economic reform was useful only up to a point. There was often an overlap between the two, while change in one sphere generally had consequences in the other.

"I nevertheless believe that it is worth drawing specific attention to both — as South Africa's needs as a developing country are too often ignored in the face of the enormously problematical political issues."

Country's 'mounting crisis'

Dr Lee said there were a number of reasons why a focus on reform was now essential.

There was the mounting crisis in the country, reflected in the declaration of a state of emergency.

Also on the debit side was the measurable and possibly growing alienation of the black community from the free-enterprise system, which stood in danger of rejection by the black majority.

On the credit side were the opportunities presented to the private sector to play a greater role through the Carlton and Good Hope conferences and, more recently, the publication of the HSRC report on inter-group relations.

There was also the willingness of government to review its policies and to introduce reforms aimed at reducing discrimination, and a discernible swing in private-sector opinion towards acceptance and implementation of a more active role.

Dr Lee said that in recent months organized commerce and industry had made a number of calls for reform, such as the joint statement issued by the six major employer associations at the time of the visit by US Senator Edward Kennedy.

There had also been the call by the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa for a variety of reforms, including parliamentary franchise for blacks, the unbanning of the ANC and the termination of forced removals.

"The private sector is to be applauded for taking these initiatives," he said. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 21/7/85

'No desire for revenge'

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA had no desire to take revenge on her neighbours, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

He was responding to queries regarding the threat by President P W Botha to expel 1,5-million foreign workers from South Africa in retaliation for their countries' support for sanctions against South Africa.

Last night Mr Botha appeared anxious to shift the blame for any punitive steps taken by the Republic against her embattled neighbours away from the South African Government and on to the UN Security Council.

He said President Botha's statement had merely emphasized the inevitable and logical consequences that would flow from implementation of the "illegal action" of the UN Security Council.

● Botha's threat to expel foreign blacks slated, page 10

Talk about talks must stop, and talks begin

3040 NM 31/7/85

A tantalising insight into what could be achieved through black/white dialogue in South Africa passed fleetingly across British television screens last week.

One could not help but be struck by the deep irony of the situation.

Why did it take a BBC television satellite to connect Vaderland editor Harald Pakendorf to Bishop Simeon Nkoane ?

And why a state of emergency before black and white sit down at a table to talk about a new South Africa?

There was a tremendous poignancy in the brief satellite encounter between Pakendorf and Nkoane which distinguished it from the overwhelming media attention given here to the state of emergency.

The direct dialogue between these two moderate and well-meaning South Africans led both to the disarmingly simple conclusion: there was no reason why dialogue between black and white should not begin immediately.

Pakendorf conceded that he was encouraged by what the bishop was saying and the bishop said he could not understand what was preventing the Government talking to 'a harmless creature like myself.'

Powerful plea

Earlier in the same programme one had seen Bishop Desmond Tutu making his powerful and impassioned plea to the assembled thousands at the Springs funeral for the violence by black against black to stop.

But even as Bishop Tutu spoke sections of the ululating and chanting crowd appeared to be impervious to his plea and his emotional warning that he would abandon his fight against apartheid and leave the country he loved if the violence did not cease.

It was a stark reminder of the level of black anger and the mood of expectancy and martyr-like euphoria that has gripped the black townships — a warning that the influence of moderates such as Bishop Tutu is waning.

But Bishop Tutu's message did get through to the majority of the crowd and the significance of the occasion was that he made the appeal in the terms that he did.

Since then a request by Bishop Tutu for a formal meeting with President P W Botha to discuss ways of defusing the tide of violence sweeping the townships has been refused by the State President, who explained that he was to meet an Anglican Church delegation next month.

Are the Anglican bishops to emerge as the honest-brokers in setting up the elusive indaba between black and white to steer the country away from its headlong course to disaster?

John Battersby
LONDON BUREAU

My sources here tell me it was no coincidence that Bishop Tutu's plea to stop the violence was made in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury's personal envoy

The Bishop of Lichfield, the Right Reverend Keith Sutton, was sent to the Springs funeral in response to an appeal for support from Bishop Tutu after death threats to Bishop Nkoane, the assistant Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg

But I understand that Bishop Sutton's visit was the first move by the Archbishop of Canterbury in an ambitious and carefully considered intervention by the Anglican hierarchy to calm black passions and prepare the climate for black-white dialogue.

Dr Runcie, who has developed a close personal relationship with Bishop Tutu, is due to visit southern Africa in the near future.

The sources tell me that the Archbishop's chief trouble-shooter, the Rev Terry Waite, whose diplomacy has unravelled thorny impasses in Libya and elsewhere, is intimately involved in the Anglican initiative which has included contacts with leading members of the South African business community. Mr Waite had ample opportunity to get to know Bishop Tutu when he accompanied him on his trip to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Shocked

Bishop Sutton, the Archbishop's special envoy who addressed the Springs funeral last week, clearly carried the signal from Dr Runcie that the time had come for Bishop Tutu to act with the full backing of Canterbury.

The state of emergency and the horrifying televised scene of a black woman suspected of being an informer being beaten and burned to death by black youths has shocked the Church

On his return to Britain last week Bishop Sutton urged the Botha government to 'seize the opportunity' for talks with Bishop Tutu

Impressed

Bishop Sutton spoke of the Nobel Peace Prize laureate as a leader who could play a key role in the development of South Africa and compared him to Mahatma Gandhi as an apostle of non-violent resistance.

He was clearly deeply impressed with Bishop Tutu's ability to control the highly emotional crowd 'in total peace and discipline'.

'The most tragic thing would be if South Africa, given the gift of this amazing leader, should discredit him by letting the time run out on him, in the great ministry that he is pursuing,' Bishop Sutton said.

The Times said in an editorial that charges that Bishop Tutu was 'conniving at black revolution' were 'tragically misplaced'.

Authority

'It is very difficult to feel hopeful about the future of South Africa but what hope there is lies precisely in sustaining the authority over the black population wielded by, among others, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Bishop Tutu and, indeed, by Nelson Mandela ...

'The current violence is clearly intended to make that impossible, but white leaders must do all they can to create opportunities for dialogue with men of such unusual moral stature,' The Times said.

I understand that the Anglican plan has the quiet nod from Downing Street although Mrs Margaret Thatcher is insisting that Britain will fight mounting international pressure for sanctions tooth-and-nail

When President Botha says that the state of emergency is an interim measure to restore order to enable further reform he still gets a sympathetic ear in Washington and Whitehall.

There is an intense debate already under way as to whether the state of emergency will last weeks, months or years, but the consensus is that it will be months rather than weeks and some believe it will continue until genuine black-white dialogue begins.

For three days the state of emergency dominated every television and radio news bulletin and the front pages of Fleet Street's major newspapers. Hours of prime television time were devoted to behind-the-news features and panel discussions.

The news coverage was highly objective and the actuality programmes — particularly those on BBC Newsnight — intensely constructive.

The overwhelming message that emerged from all this was: President Botha's options have been drastically narrowed if pending disaster is to be averted in South Africa

'He must talk and he must talk now. The talk about talks must stop and the real talking must begin Nelson Mandela must be released unconditionally as a participant in those talks along with other representative black leaders'

This was the main thrust of statements issued by the the U S and British governments and by the 10 EEC foreign ministers.

The statements reflected less rhetoric and a deep appreciation of the seriousness of the situation in South Africa.

Irony

The irony of the new situation is that any reformist gestures President Botha now makes will have to be all the more dramatic to make an impact and defuse black anger.

The violence of the past year — and now the state of emergency — has set President Botha's reformist programme so far back that only a dramatic and symbolic gesture, such as the release of Nelson Mandela, would allow him to regain the initiative.

The alternatives are bleak: more repression will bring further international isolation, deeper economic recession and feed the internal cycle of violence.

Pik tells liberals of power-sharing option

Star 31/7/85

Pretoria Correspondent

30/48

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has told a delegation from Liberal International that common citizenship for all South Africans is his Government's policy.

And in his 75-minute meeting with the group he also accepted power-sharing was one of the options the Government was considering as a future solution.

The liberals, who are on a 10-day fact-finding tour had a cordial meeting with Mr Botha and were invited to return.

The delegates — Mr Gijs de Vries of the Netherlands, Mr Rex Collings and Mrs Margaret Burnett of Britain, Mr Hadar Cars of Sweden and Mrs Aideen Nicholson of Canada — had expected a more turbulent encounter in the light of recent international action against South Africa.

In Pretoria yesterday they also saw Education Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party.

Liberal International is an association of 32 liberal democratic parties in 23 countries. A dozen of the organisation's member parties participate in coalition governments.

Their itinerary in South Africa has been drawn up by the Progressive Federal Party.



LEILA SEIGEL: "Zionism cannot be equated with apartheid."

Zionism doesn't go hand in hand with apartheid

Star 31/7/85

30KA

By Kate McKinnell

Moves to equate Zionism with apartheid so incensed Ms Leila Seigel that she accepted the position of President of the International Council of Jewish Women (ICJW), to fight the issue.

Ten years ago, at the beginning of the United Nations decade for women, Arab states put Zionism forward, along with racism and apartheid, as an obstacle to world peace.

"I took this as a personal insult, and was determined the resolution should not be passed at this year's United Nations women's conference in Nairobi.

"Zionism and apartheid differ in their very concept — Zionism is a move to liberate a nation, while apartheid successfully limits groups," says Ms Seigel, who is in South Africa as a guest of the Union of Jewish Women of South Africa (UJW).

Under Ms Seigel's direction, ICJW affiliates in 32 countries lobbied governments, encouraging them to brief delegates to the conference in support of Zionism.

"The three weeks at the conference were filled with suspense. But finally the conference threw out the resolution condemning Zionism and equating it with apartheid," says Ms Seigel.

She says racism is against Jewish teaching and she does not believe any Jewish person holds racist beliefs.

The ICJW is opposed to apartheid but believes in dialogue and supports the affiliation of South African organisations.

"The concerns of the ICJW are broad, covering all aspects of human and particularly women's rights.

"An issue we tackled at the Nairobi conference was the recognition of the economic importance of work women do in the home," says Ms Seigel.

In industrialised countries, the value of work women do in the home probably makes up between 25 and 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This figure rises to between 80 and 90 percent in Third World countries.

A recommendation at the Nairobi conference was that housework should be included in countries' GDP figures.

"It will be a long time before this is practised, but other improvements can be made. Marriage and social security laws can be changed to give women more protection," says Ms Seigel.

Ms Seigel, an American who has been living in Switzerland for over 20 years, has an MA in social science. Before working for ICJW she was information officer for the World Organisation through Rehabilitation and Training Union.

She will be speaking on the Decade of Women Conference in Nairobi at a UJW open meeting at 9.15 am on August 6 at the Transvaal Automobile Club. For more information telephone (01) 331-0331.

SA - Govt Politics - General

1985

August Mouth

CAN THIS IS 16/8/85 SOCA

Criticism flows in

REACTING to Mr P W Botha's speech, several South African political leaders last night called on the State President to take urgent steps to accommodate black aspirations in a new dispensation.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Opposition, said Mr Botha's speech did not give South Africa much new hope, but did affirm his commitment to reform and negotiation.

Dr Slabbert said: "The speech did not measure up even to any of the moderate expectation that had been generated.

're-statement'

"It was only a re-statement of his opening address to parliament.

"Since then the situation has deteriorated considerably, as evidenced by the declared state of emergency.

"The speech is therefore no significant progress beyond what was stated at the beginning of parliament.

"But it is a reaffirmation of his commitments to reform and negotiation.

"In that context we have to search for ways of avoiding escalating violence and anarchy," Dr Slabbert said.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, **Bishop Desmond Tutu**, said President Botha's address left no hope for a negotiated settlement of the country's problems.

He feared South Africa was "on the brink of catastrophe".

The President had not shown any sense of the current crisis. Instead, he had indicated the government's determination to put down opposition.

"Blacks were not expecting much, but at least they had hoped he would have offered something — but he didn't," the bishop said.

In London **Dr Denis Worrall**, South African Ambassador to Britain, interpreted President Botha's as "dismantling important parts of apartheid."

'Pragmatist'

Dr Worrall said: "I think one can say this is a new approach. I think it is correct to say that Mr Botha is not an ideologist. He in fact is a pragmatist."

He said, "Mr Botha finds himself in a situation where the ideology of the National Party, the separate development concept, is discredited intellectually and it is also discredited on the grounds that South Africa is a mixture of separation and integration.

"I don't think that he has the capability and I don't think the time is ripe to in fact recast government thinking in a way which provides an intellectual basis for the next step forward," Dr Worrall said.

The national leader of the New Republic Party, **Mr Bill Sutton**, said he did not believe South Africa was ahead of time, as the President had claimed.

'Urgency'

"There is an urgency about accommodating the legitimate aspirations of moderate black people," he said.

He said this could be done through a confederation for the homelands, with two members of that confederation in the cabinet, and a fourth chamber of Parliament, which the President had "so lightly dismissed".

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, had not listened to the speech and would not comment.

Mr J N Reddy, the leader of Solidarity, called on Mr Botha to create the necessary machinery to enable consultations with all black leaders and to start as soon as possible.

"There is a tremendous sense of urgency about finding an answer to the question of black aspirations. We must start the groundwork as soon as posible," Mr Reddy said.

Mr Mahmoud Rajab, the chief law and order spokesman for Solidarity, said the State President's speech had come as a disappointment.

The burning issue right now was black political rights, but there was no firm commitment from the Mr Botha in this respect, Mr Rajab said.

UDF

Dr Farouk Meer, executive member of the United Democratic Front in Natal said he was "astounded, shocked, amazed and angered at a government that raises expectations at a time of national crisis and then produces absolutely nothing".

The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, **Dr Beyers Naudé**, said the government had raised expectations of a major policy statement.

"Even in the black community there were signs of hope that some meaningful direction of change would be forthcoming," Dr Naudé said.

But the crucial issues which urgently required attention and solution remained unresolved.

"I'm afraid very little has emerged which can give us hope for the future."

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, described Mr Botha's speech as "hardly a pronouncement by a statesman in the present South African situation but rather a prevarication of a party political leader".

"It is clear that Mr P W Botha's speech was merely framed to placate white voters and I don't think that he dealt adequately with the most urgent issue facing South Africa, namely the restoration of law and order in the black townships," Mr Marais said.

The leader of the Conservative Party, **Dr Andries Treurnicht**, said last night President Botha's statements, particularly on influx control and the national states, were fatal political moves.

Dr Treurnicht said the recognition of black permanence outside the national states in white areas had to lead to black majority rule in the long run, and this would not offer political security to anyone. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

Only reform path offers SA hope

SOUTH Africa faced three paths and reform offered the only hope for all citizens, Dr Robin Lee, managing director and chief executive of the Urban Foundation, said yesterday.

304A

Addressing the Social Responsibility Management Association in Johannesburg, he said the three paths were repression, revolution and reform.

1/8/85

The private sector had a responsibility to take up the challenge of reform, he added.

Benefits

Dr Lee said various levels of corporate social responsibility could be identified, including:

- Promoting good employment conditions, including meaningful employee benefits and sound industrial relations, with particular emphasis on the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the workplace.

SOWETAN

- Showing concern for the immediate community by contributing to housing, education, transport, health-care and recreational facilities for employees and their families.

The private sector could also participate in the political accommodation of the black community as well as the removal of institutional discrimination.

Danger

Dr Lee said the distinction between political and economic reform was useful only up to a point. There was often an overlap between the two.

Dr Lee said there were a number of reasons why a focus on reform was now essential.

On the debit side, there was the mounting crisis in the country, reflected in the declaration of a state of emergency.

Also on the debit side was the measurable and possibly growing alienation of the black community from the free enterprise system, which stood in danger of rejection by the black majority.

'S Africans, not Govt, must solve problems'

3044H

Mercury 1/8/85

Finance Editor

SOUTH Africans could not expect the Government and politicians or political parties to solve the problems of the country. They had to do it themselves.

This was said by Mr Tertius Myburgh Editor of the Sunday Times, at the annual dinner of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce this week.

He said that people had far too long thought that the 'gravy train' would continue to roll without them needing to reach out to other people who lived in the land.

He believed that South Africa was not on the edge of revolution but that it needed to come to terms with the 'flux of reform' in order to go forward

In response, the incoming president, Mr Bruce Forssman, said that the State President, Mr P W Botha should seize the opportunity for reform and begin with Natal-KwaZulu

It was highly significant that there was no state of emergency in this area and he believed that Natal remained 'different' to the rest of the country.

The research into the future of Natal had been done, talking had been done and now was the time for President Botha to 'test us and Natal-KwaZulu will not be found wanting'.



Mr Bernie Law with Mrs Esther Africa, mayor of KwaMashu at the annual dinner of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce this week. Mr Law, past president of Assocom and the Chamber was made a life member of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce.

10 EEC countries recall envoys

Emergency, failure to meet Tutu firm

Helsinki

Foreign Ministers of the 10 European Common Market countries agreed in a meeting in Helsinki to recall their ambassadors from South Africa for "consultations," it was disclosed early today.

The move — one of the most startling on the world diplomatic front in recent years — is a compromise between countries wanting immediate sanctions and those opposed to economic punishments for the policy of apartheid.

The ambassadors will be expected to devise a joint strategy for dealing with South Africa, to be presented to a joint Foreign Ministers meeting on September 10.

The Ministers, in Helsinki for a 35-country anniversary of the 1975 signing of the Helsinki Accords, failed to reach agreement on any other immediate joint measures.

The Foreign Ministers were said to have underlined their opposition to the recently declared South African state of emergency, and condemned Pretoria's refusal to meet Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The 10 countries party to the decision are Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Denmark.

Only seven of them have ambassadors in South Africa, while in the case of France the ambassador, Mr Pierre Boyer, has already been withdrawn in protest at the state of emergency.

France and Belgium are in favour of immediate economic sanctions, while Britian and West Germany have both refused to implement any kind of economic sanctions package.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was not immediately available for comment.

'Running away won't help'

Last week Mr Botha said of recalled ambassadors that problems could not be solved by running away. He claimed that countries who had withdrawn their ambassadors still maintained contact with Pretoria, no matter what they said.

The recall of the ambassadors follows the withdrawal of the American ambassador, Mr Herman Nickel, two months ago in protest at military adventures in Angola and Botswana and the setting up of an interim self-government in Namibia.

There was no indication that the recalls were intended to be permanent.

One point of the ambassadorial consultations, an official said, was to draw up a list of sanctions already imposed by individual EEC countries. It appeared that such a list would then be used in further efforts to work out a common EEC policy.

'Violent explosion or dialogue'

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said after the meeting the recalls were "not a diplomatic gesture. We thought it made sense to bring them in for consulation". His government opposed economic sanctions "which have not been shown by experience to be effective — and will not, we believe, be effective in this case."

He added: "We share passionately the view that apartheid is an evil foundation for a system of government — and we wish to see it changed."

Luxembourg's Foreign Minister, Mr J F Poos, said the Foreign Ministers had discussed whether reform was to take place "through a violent explosion — or by fruitful dialogue". — Political Correspondent, The Star's Foreign News Service, Sapa-AP.

officials of the ... seven astro- ... hours after li ... despite a me- ... able to revive ... 30-million) plat- ... "We are opt ... eration of the

PFP leader spells out the true aim of his party

Star 1/8/85 304A

In a recent letter to *The Star*, Mr Bruce Stevens attacked both the Progressive Federal Party and its leader on a wide front, including the party's participation in the tricameral Parliament and Dr van Zyl Slabbert's attitude to the Gaborone raid and conscription. In a letter to the Editor, DR SLABBERT exercises his right of reply ...

Mr Bruce Stevens, in his letter of July 22, under the heading "PFP Now in Quagmire of Consensus Politics", encourages members of the PFP to resign if certain circumstances prevail and to "make their presence felt in groups like the Black Sash, the UDF and the ECC who are working for change from outside parliament".

To add substance to his appeal, Mr Stevens cites (a) our past participation in Parliament where, "despite our valiant role as a party of opposition to Government", (thank you so much), we now simply "enhance the credibility of an institution which deserves to be discredited"; (b) my own "early jingoistic comments on the Botswana raid", and (c) me doing the Government's "dirty . work, by publicly attacking the End Conscription Campaign (ECC)". For those who may seriously be considering Mr Stevens' plea, may I offer the following observations:

(a) The issue of participation/non-participation: This is an old, old argument in the politics of South Africa. To support an extra-Parliamentary organisation, ie ECC, Black Sash or UDF, does not automatically mean that one is against participation in Parliament, unless the extra-Parliamentary organisation makes participation or non-participation a pre-condition for membership of the group. If it does, IT chooses to elevate this issue to a matter of principle and not one of strategy, and obviously one cannot be a member of the PFP and a member of such an oganisation at the same time.

After much reflection I urged the PFP to participate in the tricameral Parliament at the November 1983 Congress. We had just come through a bruising referendum campaign in which we tried to highlight the shortcomings of the new Constitution which have now become so glaringly apparent. I realised that the new Constitution, if anything, was worse than the old one, but the fundamental question to be faced was — "Can it still be used to promote constitutional change and socio-economic reform?" I believed and still do, that it was worth a try.

The defining quality of constitutional change is that it can only come about through a constitution, no matter how poor, inadequate or unjust that constitution happens to be. Of course history may prove that constitutional change was impossible in South Africa and that change came about through violent, revolutionary or military means, but I believe the PFP has to explore to the limit the possibility of promoting constitutional change. One cannot demand a perfect constitution before one participates to bring about constitutional change. If the constitution is perfect, such change is surely unnecessary.

The repeal of the Political Interference Act changed the circumstances under which we can participate, but certainly not the principle. It is no more or less appropriate for a white to participate in terms of the above approach than it is for a so-called coloured person or Indian, although the history and practical circumstances of participation for members of these population groups do differ substantially than for whites. It is precisely because of these differences that the PFP Congress will have to apply its mind to the nature and problems of extended participation for itself as a party in Parliament.

Therefore, if Mr Bruce Stevens urges people not to participate as a matter of principle, he must subscribe to a theory of change which does not believe constitutional evolution is likely or even perhaps desirable. As far as the PFP is concerned, we believe it is worth trying, for both Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary groups to bring about pressure for constitutional change and socio-economic reform.

(b) My "jingoistic comments on the Botswana raid". I confess I am at a loss to know what Mr Stevens is referring to. I do know that I never condoned the raid and suspended judgment as to whether it was indeed a pre-emptive act or even a specific reprisal on the people who actually threw the bombs into the houses of two MPs in Cape Town.

I was phoned at 5.15 in the morning by the liaison officer of the SADF who gave me to understand in no uncertain terms that the people who threw the bombs had been dealt with.

Before I had read a newspaper or heard a broadcast the Press wanted to know what my "comment" was. Even then I said I was not prepared to condone or attack the raid because I did not have sufficient information. I supported the principle of pre-emptive action to prevent premeditated acts of violence, but was not in a position to state whether the Gaborone raid was such a case.

Later I released this statement:

"One of the most worrying developments of the recent session has undoubtedly been the political and international consequences of independent SADF actions into neighbouring territories. There is no doubt that the repercussions have been severely damaging for South Africa internationally as well as domestically.

"It is difficult to understand the timing, the necessity and the logic behind raids such as those of Cabinda and Gaborone. The Official Opposition has refrained from making hasty judgments without having had an opportunity to test or decide on the validity of information made available to it from local sources and overseas.

"No country would hesitate to act pre-emptively should it have conclusive evidence that specific bases were busy planning imminent attacks of violence or terror within its borders. It is not clear at all whether either Cabinda or Gaborone are instances of this pre-emptive principle. The Gaborone raid in particular appears to be a clear act of reprisal to the Landers and Peters grenade attack. This may hold short-term advantages for the South African Government, but the long-term repercussions for the country as a whole would appear to be very serious indeed.

"Domestically it hardens attitudes into ones of violence and counter-violence and internationally leads to our increasing isolation. No-one would deny that those responsible for the Landers and Peters bombing should be sought out and apprehended as quickly as possible and brought to justice, and if clear evidence exists for such persons the Government should act quickly and decisively, but this is not the same as arbitrarily extracting vengeance for a despicable bomb attack on public representatives, particularly if it is subsequently shown that those killed were not related to such an attack.

"The counter propaganda against South Africa and the increasing hostility between the races inside South Africa eventually outweigh the short-term advantages of demonstrating the Government's ability to strike back indiscriminately whenever such acts of violence occur inside our borders.

"In retrospect this is a very worrying development that has come out of this session of Parliament and I believe it is in the interests of us all to apply our minds to the problem of combating terrorism and violence which we all believe should be ripped out of our society.

"Nothing brutalises us more than the steady drift into siege in which violence becomes the most dominant mode of addressing the problems of change and stability."

Apart from the fact that I reasonably assume Mr Stevens, with me, would abhor and condemn acts of violence, such as throwing a bomb into someone else's bedroom, and that he would support pre-emptive action if prior knowledge of such acts became available, it would be instructive, both for his potential converts as well as myself, if he could point out what exactly he considers as "jingoistic" in what I have written here.

(c) The EEC campaign and my doing "the Government's dirty work by publicly attacking them". This arose out of a debate that I participated in on the invitation of the ECC to discuss the topic: "SADF — shield of the Nation or Defender of



Apartheid". I made one bad mistake that evening. I did not have a written or prepared speech like my opponent Dr David Webster. This enabled EEC Focus to publish in its June Volume: "Dr Slabbert also commented that *the call* (my italics) to end conscription was "dangerously romantic, extraordinarily naive and counter-productive".

To my knowledge I never said that, nor would I now. I thought it was a debate, not a lecture or a policy speech, and therefore took notes. What I did say was that the *reasons* for ending conscription put forward by Dr Webster and in the literature that had been sent to me were "romantic", etc. I still believe they are and that is what I debated on that evening. I certainly could not have meant "the call" to end conscription because I had given evidence to the Commission under General Jannie Geldenhuys to that effect and stated it unequivocally during the Defence debate in Parliament.

As for "publicly attacking" EEC, I think Mr Stevens is being precious and squeamish. That evening I was called "a collaborator", "propping up the system", "willing to encourage others to fight for apartheid", and other such things which the trendy Left say to add spice to their "rap" sessions on campus.

But I must point out a very important difference between the ECC and the PFP — the former is an organisation supporting a single-issue campaign (conscription), the latter is a political party with a policy and principles that have to be applied to issues ranging from a new constitution for South Africa, to health, welfare, economics, sport, etc. Members of a political party support its principles and policy and judge its performance against them. Members of a single-issue campaign feel strongly about *that* issue. Therefore it can attract people who have a wide variety and even divergent or contradictory reasons for supporting that issue, and groups within the campaign may even try to hijack the movement to fit into its own reasons for supporting the issue. For example, some may believe you can only be serious about ending conscription if you do not participate in Parliamentary politics. I obviously disagree.

I hope these few points help to clarify some of the issues on which Mr Stevens made his plea.

Still plenty of goodwill for SA, says MP

NM 1/8/85

30 HA

Mercury Reporter

LEADER of the Opposition Solidarity in the House of Delegates, Mr J N Reddy, said in Durban yesterday there was still a tremendous amount of goodwill for South Africa in the United States in spite of the growing disinvestment lobby there.

Speaking on his return after a two-week visit to the U S, Mr Reddy said he met several influential members of the Reagan Administration, congressmen, aids of congressmen, business leaders and churchmen.

He was one of an 18-member Government-backed delegation to the U S to campaign against the withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa.

Mr Reddy said yesterday one thing that emerged clearly from the visit was that Americans want to see positive steps by the South African Government for the inclusion of blacks in the decision-making process at the highest level of government.

'They made it abundantly clear that they will not dictate to us on how this is to be done, but would leave it to South Africans themselves to decide. Nobody wishes to see South Africa go down in flames,' he said.

Development

'Nobody is hellbent on destroying South Africa. The disinvestment campaign is essentially aimed at applying pressure on South Africa to get on with political and social reforms.

'The Americans realise that South Africa has great potential and can play a meaningful role in the development of southern Africa,' he added.

Mr Reddy said it was now up to South Africans of all races to pave the way for black involvement in the decision-making process at central government level.

S Africa recalls envoy from US

SOUTH Africa's Ambassador to the United States, Mr Herbert Beukes, has been recalled for consultation with the government, according to a foreign affairs spokesman.

The spokesman would not elaborate on the decision but said in a brief statement: "A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirms that the South African Ambassador to the United States, Mr Herbert Beukes, has been requested to return to South Africa for consultation with the minister."

Mr Beukes, who took over the post of ambassador more than two months ago, has still to present his credentials to the US government.

The US government recalled its ambassador to SA, Mr Herman Nickel, in June, shortly after the South African defence Force raid on Gaborone and the capture of a South African soldier in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda. — SAPA.

August 2, 1985 Cape Times
3044

EEC cold shoulder for SA

HELSINKI — The European Community, Spain and Portugal yesterday agreed to recall their envoys in South Africa for consultations, but remained split over calls for economic sanctions.

After a long and difficult meeting which ended early yesterday, foreign ministers from the 12 countries issued a statement condemning the imposition of a state of emergency.

The 10 member countries, with Spain and Portugal which are due to join the community soon, called for a committee of experts to draw up a list of measures that could "contribute to the abolition of apartheid".

The list would be considered at the next meeting of EEC foreign ministers on September 10.

Thatcher

The recalled envoys would advise community experts on mapping strategy the community could adopt towards South Africa, ministers said.

John Battersby reports from London that the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said last night Britain had no intention of withdrawing its ambassador permanently.

While staunchly opposing sanctions against South Africa, Britain has agreed to go along with the European Community decision to recall all envoys for consultations.

Mrs Thatcher said the ambassador, Mr Patrick Moberly, would certainly return to South Africa. "I want mine present in South Africa to know exactly what's going on."

Eglin

The chief PFP spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, said: "This decision has not been taken by a bunch of wild Marxists but by South Africa's trading partners, and therein lies the significance."

Although there were differences of opinion between EEC members about the desirability and effectiveness of sanctions, South Africa had become locked into a process of increasing isolation and pressure because of apartheid.

Mr Eglin said President Botha had consistently refused to face up to the central theme in South African politics — political representation for blacks. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

"He said that the foreign ministers of the 10 have decided to meet in early September to discuss South Africa and that they wished to consult with their ambassadors in order to prepare for this meeting."

However, the South African Ambassador to Finland, Mr David du Plessis, said the EEC action was "certainly a gesture and it is not taken lightly, although we do not understand why South Africa is always picked on".

Mr Du Plessis, who spent yesterday lobbying community delegations at the Helsinki commemorations to find out what effect the latest decision would have, added: "We are sorry they are taking such measures."

The Progressive Federal Party said last night South Africans should not underestimate the diplomatic or economic consequences of the EEC decision.

'Picked on'

Anthony Johnson reports that the Department of Foreign Affairs last night appeared determined to play down the EEC action and unwilling to see it as an act of protest.

A department spokesman said: "Media reports that the ambassadors of the EEC countries were recalled does not reflect the position as conveyed to us by an official spokesman.

SA AND THE FUTURE

The vital issue of black political rights

ARGUS 2/8/85 (3044)

FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff examines the question of how black political aspirations can be accommodated

AS unrest continues in black areas an issue looming larger than ever is that of black political rights in South Africa.

It has become the burning issue which has a direct or indirect bearing on virtually all the major problems facing the Government and politicians of all political parties.



Mr Botha .. steered clear of federation

It is the flashing red warning light which must have been ever-present in the collective mind of President P W Botha's Cabinet when it met in Pretoria this week to consider current matters in the running of the country.

It affects South Africa's shaky international relations, the embattled economy, the security situation and the very foundations of South Africa's political, economic and social stability.



Dr Slabbert .. federation and

The big question, still unresolved and very much in the melting-pot, is: how can black political aspirations be accommodated in the country's constitutional system?

Must the constitution be changed to allow black power-sharing and participation in decision-making at the highest level? If so, how can this be done to the satisfaction of all population groups?



Mr Sutton .. own ideas on confederation

Over a wide spectrum of political opinion there seems to be agreement on one point; the exclusion of blacks is a major flaw in the present constitutional system.

Drastic constitutional changes have been advocated by some, and throughout this on-going debate a recurring theme has been the possibility of a federal constitution as a way of accommodating black aspirations.



Rev Hendrickse .. non-racial federation

Federation has been described as a form of government under which central (federal) and component state authorities exist within the same country.

In the United States, for example, there is a federal (or national) authority comprising the US Congress, the President and a hierarchy of federal courts. In each of the 50 component states of the USA there are legislative, executive and judicial authorities.

So far South Africa's Nationalist Government has steered clear of the idea of federation. Instead it has advocated a Southern African confederation, which has been described as an association, alliance or union of sovereign independent states, without any super government and formed by treaty for the achievement of specific objectives.



Mr Paton .. 'the only hope for future'

Like the Government, the New Republic Party is in favour of a confederation, although it has some ideas of its own on how such a system should be designed.

Leader Mr Bill Sutton said recently that his party's model for confederation was a convention on the lines of the Brussels agreement between the European powers, which was primarily economic.

The NRP envisaged a monthly meeting of homeland leaders and certain of their Ministers with the State President and his appropriate Ministers to discuss specific subjects.

One of the most important sessions would be that concerned with the budget to which black homelands would have access.

Political analysts have pointed out that little was being heard these days of President Botha's earlier vision of a "constellation" of Southern African states.

Constellation

Mr Botha's previous references to "confederation" had implied a loose arrangement between the independent homelands and South Africa, with a "constellation" being offered to the neighbours.

Subsequently, however, the idea of a federation of states rather than a confederation gained ground among most of the homeland leaders. In 1983, for example, Transkei's Chief Kaiser Matanzima announced that he, too, was prepared to rejoin South Africa via a new federal arrangement.

Lately more has been heard about federation as a solution for South Africa.

Among strong advocates of the idea is author Dr Alan Paton who has expressed the belief that federation is the only possible form of constitution which holds any hope for the country's future.

Now a University of Fort Hare academic, Dr Norman Holliday, in a study entitled "Federate or Fail" (Lovedale Press) has presented a federal framework for a new South Africa.

Provinces

His plan is based on the existing provinces, the independent and non-independent homelands and new units for urban and rural blacks not falling into units at present.

Dr Holliday also presents a programme for introducing a federation. The first step, he says, should be the appointment of a commission under a senior judge to consult all groups in the potential units as to how receptive they would be to federation.

The next step, if the response were favourable, would be to call a national convention.

Another recent advocate of federation has been Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who suggested in Parliament that the possibility of a non-racial geographic federation be investigated.

Convention

One of the strongest advocates of federalism in South Africa has been the Progressive Federal Party, which also advocates a national convention to work out a new constitution for the country.

The PFP envisages a federal constitution under which the consent of all the significant political groups is required before the Government can take action on fundamental issues.

A Stellenbosch University academic, Professor Gerhard Erasmus, suggested in a recent article that South Africa may be moving in the direction of a federal system.

He wrote that the success of any system of government depended in the final instance on the extent to which it was accepted by the inhabitants of the country.

IN MY OPINION

HERMANN GILIOMEE AND LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

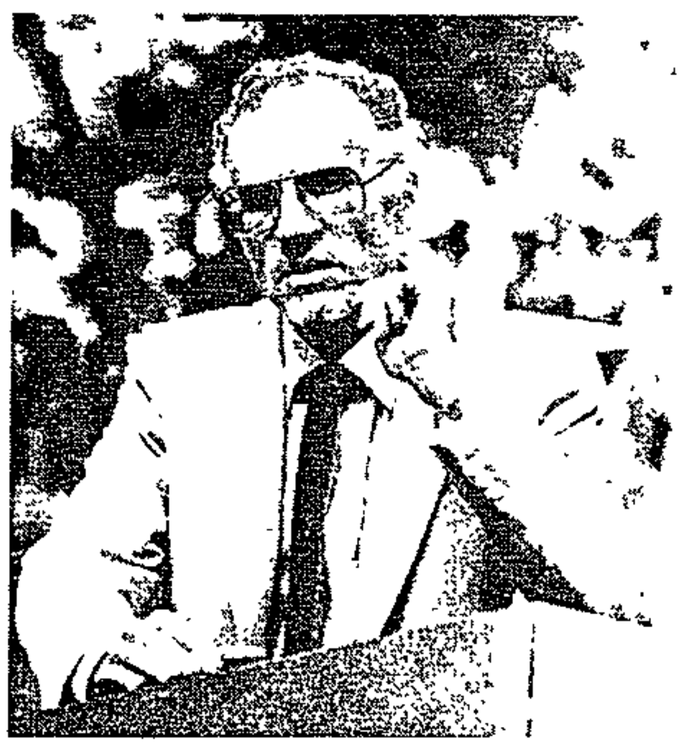
Don't settle for less

Both professors Giliomee and Schlemmer were members of the Buthelezi Commission. They are co-editors of a recent book on influx control: *Up Against the Fences: Poverty, Passes and Privilege*.

The proclamation of a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts must surely prompt thoughtful businessmen to reassess fundamentally the process of reform in South Africa and their participation in it.

The reason must be there for all to see: the Government's constitutional reforms and the unrest have a direct causal link.

Indeed, the present wave of unrest has been dramatically stimulated by the elections for the tricameral Parliament and steps taken to implement the system. The new Regional Services Councils Bill could well have a multiplier effect.



Schlemmer

Raymond Parsons, Chief Executive of Assocom ("Settling for Less," *FM* July 19) sums up a major characteristic of recent business involvement in constitution making. According to him, the Regional Services Councils (RSCs) are "part of an evolutionary process in constitutional reform."

Organised business "must do what it can" to make a practical success of what has now been decided upon by Parliament.

In a purely technical sense, the proposed RSCs can probably improve the provision of local services to urban black communities. However, it takes no imagination to see business and the urban communties paying a very heavy price for this misconceived initiative on the level of third-tier government.

Parson's article provides vivid evidence that organised business stands poised to be sucked, once again, into the political vortex of "step in the right direction" thinking by associating itself with a flawed system which stands no chance of gaining credibility in the black communities.

Worse still, Parsons spells out a disastrous hand-maiden role for business in constitution making.

Firstly, business must help to make a system which government has unilaterally decided upon more "practical."

Secondly, business must facilitate the implementation of the flawed system. This includes "top-level discussions with black leaders across a wide spectrum to strengthen the acceptability of the proposed system . . ."

The essential flaws in the proposed new system, apart from the taxation mechanisms, are the following:

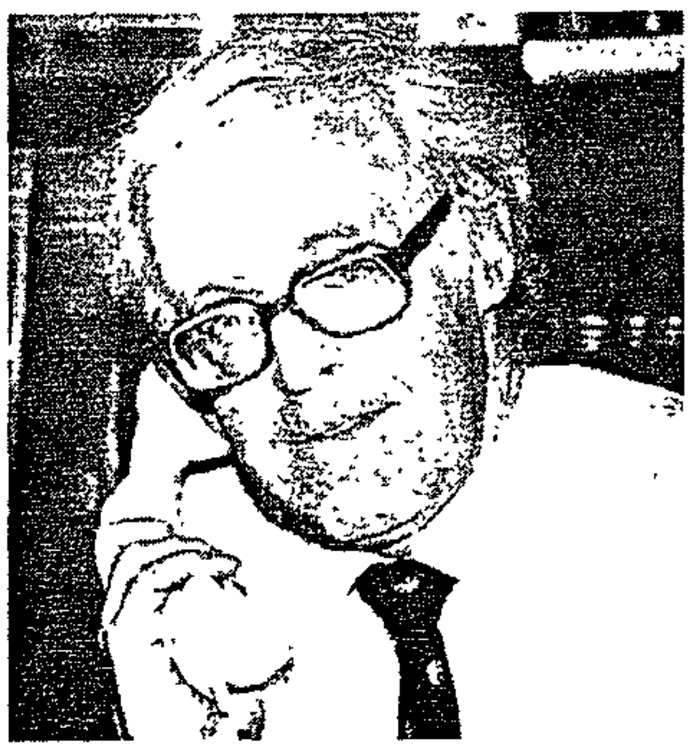
☐ As Chief Buthelezi and Dr Nthato Motlana have said clearly, the new Bill is yet another example of policy imposed on black communities without any prior negotiations with black leaders with demonstrable popular support.

Today the resistance to imposed solutions far outweigh practical gains or new resources which the councils may introduce. They stand no chance of winning widespread acceptance;

☐ The local authorities on which the entire structure of RSCs rests are fatally impaired in the perception of black communities. The initial doubts raised by the pathetically low polls in the black municipal elections have been more than confirmed by the literal routing or elimination of local councils in areas affected by the unrest;

☐ Worse still, the RSCs will rob black local government of whatever vestige of legitimacy it might have gained by emphasising the basic element of segregated representation in the councils themselves and the inequality of representation reflecting urban black poverty. Material inequalities between white and black communities are an unfortunate fact of life of which everyone is aware, but to embody the inequality in differential representation is rubbing salt into political wounds; and

☐ While Parsons is rightly concerned that there should be a "true devolution of power," the proposed system provides for nothing more than a delegation of administrative service functions which in many areas will reintroduce an unsympathetic white bureaucracy into the townships with a vengeance.



Giliomee

We cannot afford costly political mistakes at the present time. We feel that the private sector should as a matter of urgency take two steps:

☐ Top level business leaders should appeal to government that it should not proceed with the implementation of the RSCs; and

☐ Business leaders should declare themselves willing to participate in the search for a practical and credible system of local government through a process of negotiation with regional black leaders. This would take the form of a Regional Government Work Group on which a wide range of legitimate white and black interests are represented. A working group must include local authorities, civic associations, regional authorities, organised business and various relevant experts.

Regional Government Working Groups should initially be focused on the four major metropolitan regions of the PWV, Durban-Pinetown, western Cape and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage.

The Buthelezi Commission has demonstrated that support for power and revenue-sharing arrangements on a regional level can be attained among groups with widely divergent initial viewpoints.

However, the essential prerequisite is a process of well-informed negotiation and the development of mutual trust. We believe that this was present in considerable measure in the Buthelezi Commission, but is almost totally lacking in the current government initiative.

We dare no longer "settle for less" as the headline over Mr Parsons' viewpoint invites businessmen to do with respect to the RSCs.

With a state of emergency now a fact of life, businessmen must now settle for nothing less than negotiated settlements which have a real chance of gaining widespread support.

But to get to that point, business must at this very moment be prepared to take bold and courageous steps to promote genuine reform initiatives on the regional level.

More stable regional governments would make the daunting task of reforming the national level of government much more attainable.

Instead of both whites and blacks settling for less, our aim should be to build structures of negotiation which would produce a new system that would enhance the quality of life for everyone. ■

(30th) FM 2/8/85

URBAN FOUNDATION

Managing reform

The private sector has a "massive responsibility" in this time of crisis in SA to take up the challenge of playing a major role in reform, says Urban Foundation (UF) chief executive Robin Lee.

"We are playing for survival — the highest stakes," he cautioned busy corporate executives to whom this might seem a new onerous role. And he presented a method for tackling the problem that is comparable to business operations.

Addressing the Social Responsibility Management Foundation this week, Lee outlined a strategy of "managed reform" for business to undertake towards achieving fundamental change in SA.

"The realisation that reform is a process that can be managed gives cause for hope. It is absolutely not the case that nothing can be done, that we must simply wait for the revolution to occur. On the contrary, substantial progress can be made on an incremental basis — especially if the private sector throws its weight behind this process."

The private sector has an important opportunity to play its role in the "larger drama" of SA, Lee urged. Every company can reinforce its already evident contribution to social welfare by: "channelling its social responsibility commitment to the goal of reform; pooling resources to maximum effect; becoming an active partner in the reform alliances so crucial for effective change."

According to Lee, SA now needs "almost a quantum leap from conventional views of corporate social responsibility and the patterns of expenditure associated with those, to a definite, organised and workable role in bringing about rapid social and economic change."

A..hough corporate social responsibility has focused on a great number of projects especially in education, training and housing, project funding and activity are not enough, said Lee.

"Quantitatively, these projects in themselves constitute little more than drops in an ocean of need. Qualitatively, single projects have little hope of dealing with society-wide causes of low quality of life . . ." observes Lee.

Such projects should be "linked to carefully planned, co-ordinated programmes to bring about positive changes in the institutions and structure of our society . . ." This approach has been adopted by the UF. It aims to change fundamental structures in our society, such as legislation and public attitudes, and so remove the causes of low quality of life and effect a "permanent, wide-ranging improvement."

Lee urged businessmen to consider the UF's pioneering approach to maximise the private sector's impact through projects.

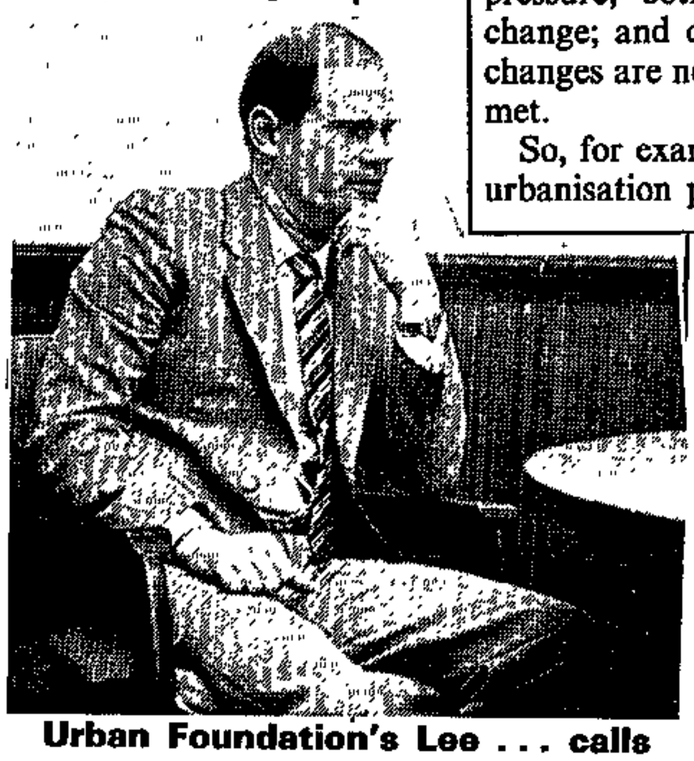
The thrust of Lee's address concerned the private sector's reform role in the political accommodation of blacks and removal of institutional discrimination, and SA's needs as a developing country. The latter involves the challenges of urbanisation, enormous shortfalls in education and training and a structural inability to provide employment for millions of its people. Political and economic reform often overlap, Lee pointed out.

Mere calls for reform are not enough, he said. While applauding the initiatives taken by SA's main employer associations in recent months, Lee says the key question is whether such statements, in themselves, are effective.

The first prerequisite of managed reform is to identify "key areas of need in which positive change seems attainable and will have important multiplier effects in the society."

Secondly, four conditions must be met: a willingness to change on the part of the dominant sector in society; the inability of past policies to cope with present problems; pressure, both external and internal, for change; and concrete proposals as to what changes are necessary and how these can be met.

So, for example, managing the reform of urbanisation policy will require:



Urban Foundation's Lee . . . calls for reform are not enough

- ☐ "The countering of white concerns relating to the migration of black people to the cities;
- ☐ "Emphasis on the reality that influx control is not succeeding in slowing black urbanisation (but merely diverting it to homelands which lack resources to meet the challenge it presents) and that, instead it has a number of adverse consequences, including the criminalisation of large numbers of people and a waste of resources in its implementation;
- ☐ Pressure on the government to change, derived — internally — both from increasing sense of crisis and emphasis on the benefits of black urbanisation, as opposed to the costs of present policies; and
- ☐ "The formulation, as the UF is doing, of a positive strategy to manage black urbanisation, incorporating specific proposals for urban, rural and regional development."

Lee's third essential step is the marshalling of resources for change. In particular, he says, the forging of reform alliances of people and organisations who are like-minded on particular issues. ■

Suzman, Buthelezi for No 10

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Helen Suzman and Chief Gatsha Buthelèzi will meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher separately today for talks on the state of emergency in South Africa.

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Suzman and Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, are both staunch opponents of sanctions The meeting comes as Britain faces increasing pressure to change her anti-sanctions stance.

Mrs Thatcher, who was in the United States last week, quoted Mrs Suzman to justify the British position.

The meeting today is at Mrs Thatcher's invitation. It will be the last of a series of meetings Mrs Suzman has held in Britain and Europe over the past two weeks.

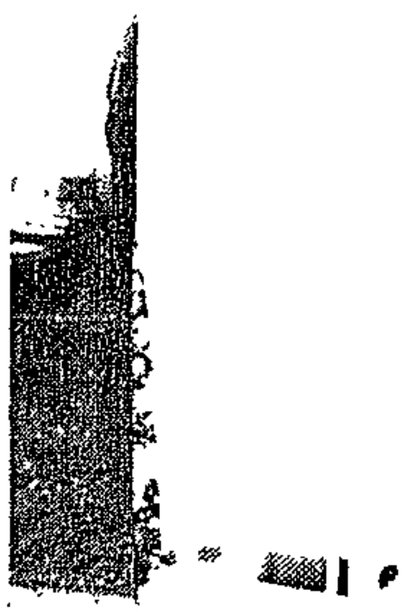
MULTITUDE OF INTERVIEWS

She has addressed a meeting of members of the European Parliament in Luxembourg at the invitiation of Lord Nicholas Bethel, met the Britsh Foreign Office Minister of State responsible for Southern Africa, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, and former Ambassador to South Africa Mr Ewan Fergusson, and given a multitude of interviews to the British media.

At all she argued the case against sanctions — giving four television interviews in one day.

She returns to South Africa after meeting Mrs Thatcher.

Details of Chief Buthelezi's programme are not known.



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Let's get together — Cardinal McCann

Argus 2/18/85 3 col 23

Staff Reporter

SOUTH African leaders need to meet to draw up a "proper constitution" which would be acceptable to citizens as a whole, says the Roman Catholic Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town, Owen Cardinal McCann.

Such a conference had to include leaders of all spheres of communal living — social, economic, political, managerial, professional, trade unions and ethnic groups, he told the annual meeting of the Western Cape branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations last night.

Addressing the institute on The Future South Africa, Cardinal McCann said it was necessary to build on justice, freedom, truth and charity.

He envisaged a form of federation with franchise for all responsible citizens, with the right of veto to minority groups to protect their culture and values.

No domination

There would be a charter of fundamental rights of the individual and family, and all would be equal before the law.

A legislature, elected by "colleges" comprising social or cultural groups, would legislate all affairs for the common good.

No group would be allowed to dominate other groups and consensus would be the normal method of working, he said.

Franchise disqualifications would have to disappear and possibly also cultural barriers.

Taking up arms to secure rights was a most serious matter that could be legitimate only when all other negotiations had failed.

The State was subject to God's law and the natural law, and there were certain universal inviolable and inalienable rights which it had to recognise and safeguard.

These included freedom of movement and residence, the right to work and to a worthy standard of living, the right to training and education, to set up a family, to take part in public affairs and social decisions and the right of assembly and free association.

(304A)

Dispatch 02:08:88

Botha: commitment to reform undiminished

Dispatch Bureau

JOHANNESBURG — The government has assured commerce and industry its basic commitment to reform is "undiminished".

A delegation from the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) and the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) met the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday. The delegation was led by the president of Assocom, Mr Mike Weir, of King William's Town, and the president of the FCI, Mr John Wilson.

A press statement issued after the meeting said the two groups had conveyed to the President their concern about the need for "real change". They had urged "visibly effective" dialogue between the government and black leaders to promote political stability.

The delegation also indicated commerce's concern about the impact of internal and external threats on the South African economy.

The statement added that the President had assured the two groups that the state of emergency would be lifted as soon as possible.

Mr Botha said he appreciated the frankness with which the delegation had taken part in the discussions. — Sapa.

Buthelezi, Suzman meet Thatcher

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Two of South Africa's staunchest opponents of sanctions — Mrs Helen Suzman and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — held in-depth discussions with the British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday.

Mrs Thatcher has been seeking support for Britain's policy of maintaining contact with South Africa in the face of growing world pressure to impose punitive sanctions.

Both leaders asked Mrs Thatcher to use Britain's influence to promote black-white dialogue in South Africa.

In an interview afterwards Mrs Suzman said: "We had an in-depth discussion on the whole question of sanctions. I told her why I opposed them and said Britain should set herself a number of attainable objectives for change in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi, at a brief Press conference on the steps of 10 Downing Street, said he would support sanctions "if they would topple the Government tomorrow".

But they would not do so and would inflict more hardship on black people, he said.

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Diplomatic parties are shrinking fast

Star 3/8/85

3049

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Diplomatic parties in South Africa are a little thin on ambassadors these days.

In fact, guest lists are shrinking by the hour!

At last count, two ambassadors to South Africa had been recalled to their capitals for consultations (read: in protest at South African policies), while two are on extended holiday (read: absent while their governments decide what they should do).

Soon there will be virtually no ambassadors around, as the European Economic Community (EEC) countries have decided to call those of their representatives who remain in Pretoria home for "consultations".

Australia announced yesterday that it, too, was calling their man in Pretoria to Canberra "for talks on a major government review of links with Pretoria".

This leaves only a handful of envoys in Pretoria, including those of China, Israel, Chile, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda.

The first ambassador to go was that of the United States, summoned two months ago after Washington felt badly let down by South Africa's military adventures in Angola and Botswana and the setting up of an interim self-government in Namibia.

Mr Herman Nickel is still languishing in Washington and will probably continue to do so for at least a few more weeks.

N0 2 out was the Frenchman, Mr Pierre Boyer, whose government recalled him in protest at the state of emergency imposed in 36 magisterial districts. The French move was widely interpreted as being less to punish Pretoria and more to impress internal critics that the socialist government had not gone too soft on established liberal causes.

The recall of the ambassador and the imposition of certain financial restraints were considered to be going too far by some of France's European partners, but it was none-the-less interesting to note that a number of EEC ambassadors saw Mr Boyer off at Jan Smuts Airport in a show of solidarity.

Then Madrid announced that its ambassador to Pretoria, Mr Federico Garayalde, would not be returning from his holiday in Spain for the time being. The Spanish Government wanted time to "review" the state of emergency in South Africa, it said.

The Dutch ambassador, Mr Hugo Carsten, has just started a "two-month holiday" in the Netherlands. His departure was planned before the state of emergency and the current impasse over the refuge of Mr Klaas de Jonge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, the embassy insisted.

Some observers are, however, sceptical that Mr Carsten should embark on a holiday while such a major dispute in his embassy remains unresolved. There is a whiff of a suspicion that he, too, may have been recalled for "consultations".

The 10 EEC governments met in Helsinki this week to discuss their common strategy to deal with the South African question, and about the only thing they could agree on was the move concerning their ambassadors.

Their decision represented a considerable cooling in relations with South Africa, particularly on the part of Britain and West Germany, who had appeared to be against the idea of withdrawing their ambassadors.

Then Norway announced that it was closing its consulate in South Africa, and soon the Danes may also be absent at diplomatic parties as Denmark has just announced that it is considering closing its consulate in Johannesburg "in the near future".

In May, Panama ended its consular relations with South Africa.

Relations between South Africa and Canada have worsened in recent times, with the Canadian Government saying there had been a "basic change" in relations reflecting the "widening gulf between the two countries".

South African relations with Britain are still a little sensitive after last year's consulate sit-in and Coventry Four reprisal, while probably the most sympathetic government in Europe, Mr Helmut Kohl's in West Germany, is under heavy bipartisan pressure to take a tougher line against Pretoria.

No, diplomatic parties are not what they used to be in South Africa.

That is a far cry from the position at, say, the same time last year, when President Botha was flushed with the success of his grand tour in Europe (he told those Europeans a thing or two, gleeful South African officials said) and there was a lot of talk of plans for a similar expedition in Africa.

The South African Government is on the one hand perplexed that this deterioration in relationships should have happened, and on the other it claims that relations with the countries that have traditionally had links with Pretoria are fairly normal.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, for example, told journalists this week that it was ironic that the world should treat South Africa the way it had in a year when "quite a number" of discriminatory measures had been removed.

"We cannot understand why Western countries, who ought to be aware of the political climate and the difficulties encountered by the South African Government, are so ill-informed," he said.

On a previous occasion, Mr Botha said of recalled ambassadors that problems were not solved by running away.

"Those countries retain contact with us, no matter what they say. They merely make that contact more difficult without having their ambassadors here."

The danger for South Africa, which Mr Botha knows all too well, is that the few remaining countries who maintain full dilpomatic links with South Africa may well find that they can "retain contact" at minimal level quite adequately.

In an international climate which is becoming rather hot for South Africa, this country needs all the links and good will that can be mustered.

South Africa the world's cauldron

304A NM 3/8/85

A TORY MP observed as he set off for an official visit to South Africa this week that developments there over the next five to ten years would have a profound effect on international stability.

John Battersby
LONDON BUREAU

Mr Anthony Beaumont-Dark happens to be the first British Member of Parliament to visit South Africa since the state of emergency was declared

He did not plan it that way; he was invited by the Government to visit the country and he believes that it is to their credit that they have not cancelled his trip as a result of the emergency.

Mr Beaumont-Dark is a rebel back-bench Tory who would fit the broad description of pro-South African but is not identified with the vociferous Right-wing lobby.

He told me this week that he was going to South Africa to see and to learn and did not expect to return with any answers.

But one thing he believed strongly: South Africa would become the major international issue in the next five to ten years and the course of events there would largely determine the degree of global stability.

His observation is a variation on the popular theme that South Africa is, in fact, a microcosm of the world and contains within its borders manifestations of all the major problems facing mankind.

The geographical point, if you like, where the buck stops. Where the First World meets the Third World, where black meets white, where different cultures meet and overlap, where Africa meets the West and where the West must finally confront its colonial legacy in Africa.

Dennis Henshaw, who this month is writing the Idler's column, will resume his 'Heavens' column on September 7.

The events of the past two weeks — since the state of emergency was declared — would certainly indicate a dramatic escalation in the involvement of the international community — and the Western world in particular — in what is going on in South Africa.

As the internal situation deteriorates so new divisions emerge in Western and international alliances and new tensions appear within sympathetic administrations.

Anglo-French relations have cooled dramatically following the unilateral sanctions action by France. Anglo-U S relations face new tests if President Reagan signs the Congress Bill on sanctions.

U S tensions

New tensions have emerged within the Reagan Administration over what should replace the widely discredited policy of constructive and the genuine black leaders ranged in opposition against him

This was significant as Canada — with Australia — has taken a lead among Western nations in the Commonwealth to use economic leverage against Pretoria in pursuit of a Namibian settlement.

Ironically the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, widely perceived as a more radical anti-apartheid campaigner, struck a cautious note ahead of the October Commonealth summit in the Bahamas.

He said the views of Commonwealth countries such as Botswana should be taken into consideration before any Commonwealth proposals on trade embargoes were approved or they might face 'some sort of slow, lingering, economic death'.

There is a sort of morbid fascination here with the lifestyle of whites at the pool-side braaivleis while blacks die in the burning townships.

Confusion

But there has also been a lot of confusion here about what is happening in South Africa.

After much agonising, international commentators have reached the conclusion that the revolution is not at hand and — although many pre-revolutinary ingredients are present — South Africa has not yet reached a classic pre-revolutionary situation.

The commonly held apocalyptic vision of South Africa — reinforced by events in post-colonial Africa — tends to impede the process of sober assessment here.

Ironically it is white confidence and the ab-

President Reagan signs the Congress Bill on sanctions.

U S tensions

New tensions have emerged within the Reagan Administration over what should replace the widely discredited policy of constructive engagement.

Within the British Government — firmly opposed to sanctions — the Department of Trade and Industry is at loggerheads with the Foreign Office over whether British firms should be forced to observe the EEC Code of Conduct.

South Africa's three major Western trading partners — the United States, Britain and West Germany — find themselves increasingly isolated in international forums.

For the West it is now a question of how best to pre-empt more radical sanctions — such as total disinvestment and trade embargoes — already being demanded in more radical forums such as the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Eastern bloc.

The Western hope-barometer rose visibly when a crisis meeting between President Botha and Bishop Desmond Tutu seemed imminent.

The disappointment — and anger — in Western capitals when the meeting did not materialise was reflected in statements from the Reagan Administration and the EEC.

Disbelief

Western anger turns to disbelief when President Botha threatens to retaliate against the economies of neighbouring states and foreign black workers if the West imposes sanctions.

And incredulity to despair when President Botha announces moves to curb township funerals — widely perceived here as the last remaining outlet for black frustration and anger.

But the Western hope that President Botha will work a miracle before the real crunch comes cannot be suppressed.

During a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society this week Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, perhaps somewhat naively, offered Canada's services as an 'honest broker' between President Botha's government

reached a classic pre-revolutionary situation.

The commonly held apocalyptic vision of South Africa — reinforced by events in post-colonial Africa — tends to impede the process of sober assessment here.

Ironically it is white confidence and the absence of panic selling on the Johannesburg market — as experienced following Sharpeville in 1960 and to a lesser extent Soweto in 1976 — that has led commentators to the conclusion that there is no direct threat to Pretoria.

Several commentators have made comparisons with the Iranian revolution and the similarity of President Botha's position to that of the Shah: a prisoner of history caught between half-hearted reform and half-hearted repression.

Worse round

Other commentators believe the country will emerge from this penultimate round of violence only to be plunged into a worse one by the end of the decade which will finally see the submergence of white domination.

Some believe President Botha will release the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, in a bid to get his much-vaunted talks with black leaders off the ground. But even they concede that it will be well nigh impossible for President Botha to regain the political initiative in the present domestic and international climate.

Any reformist gesture — however dramatic — would be seen as whites giving in to pressure while even tougher repression — his only other option — would further fuel international and domestic pressure.

Britain's role

Analysts at the British Foreign Office perceive Britain's role as best served by careful diplomacy which vigorously denounces apartheid, protects the Anglo-S A trade relationship and, without taking sides, keeps in touch with opposition groups that do not advocate violence.

Whatever government finally emerges after a protracted period of violent — but not apocalyptic — transition will still need British trade.

Buthelezi, Suzman meet Maggie

3/8/85 NM

304A



London—Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, and Progressive Federal Party MP Helen Suzman with British Prime Minister Mrs Maragaret Thatcher after their meeting at 10 Downing Street yesterday.

London Bureau

THE British Prime Minister met two leading South African opposition politicians yesterday in an attempt to rally support for her rejection of economic sanctions.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, and Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, met Mrs Thatcher separately at Downing Street to discuss the state of emergency and the mounting international sanctions campaign.

A Downing Street spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had thanked Mrs Thatcher for her opposition to sanctions while Mrs Suzman had urged the Prime Minister not to impose sanctions.

Pressure

Speaking after a 30-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher, Chief Buthelezi said he had urged the Prime Minister to continue applying diplomatic pressure to prepare the ground for a national convention.

The KwaZulu leader said diplomatic pressure on South Africa should be directed toward lifting the state of emergency, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and supporting his declaration of intent for reform.

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that the African National Congress was urging the liquidation of black collaborators.

He said the ANC was capitalising on the current levels of black anger and mob violence but had not caused them.

Violence

Earlier, Chief Buthelezi had met Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe at the Foreign Office. The meeting was followed by a lunch at which the deputy Under-Secretary of State on Africa, Mr Ewen Fergusson, was the host.

Earlier in the week, Chief Buthelezi, who is an Anglican, had a lengthy meeting with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie.

Chief Buthelezi said on the steps of 10 Downing Street after the meeting that he had told Mrs Thatcher of his concern at cross-border violence and recent official threats that borders with neighbouring states like Lesotho might be sealed.

'The South African Defence Force is a rogue elephant which has trampled our people in Maseru, Botswana and Angola, and the international community does not do anything about it,' he said.

Welcomed

But he opposed economic sanctions and the withdrawal of Western ambassadors from South Africa.

He said the recall of EEC ambassadors was useful insofar as it conveyed the seriousness of the situation to white and black South Africans, but he added that they should return to South Africa after the meeting.

However, he welcomed the imminent visit by three EEC foreign ministers to urge further changes on the Government.

On sanctions, Chief Buthelezi said he would support sanctions tomorrow if he thought they would 'topple the Government', but he was opposed to symbolic gestures which did not achieve results.

He said he had congratulated Mrs Thatcher on her 'sensible' attitude on sanctions.

A Downing Street spokesman said after the meetings that Mrs Suzman had told Mrs Thatcher it was 'quite wrong to seek to isolate South Africa through economic sanctions'.

The spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had thanked Mrs Thatcher for her stand and re-iterated that blacks would suffer most if sanctions were imposed.

racial city council

he answer for PE?

304K (2623) E Post 03:08:85

...ted "as an entity".

were three coloured councillors ...il elected by mixed-race areas

... dissolved and segregated by the ...oup Areas Act)

... was elected by the Central ward ...illor about 30 years ago, his ward ... and a few African voters, mainly

a common voters' roll based on were no laws telling people where

time no blacks owned their land ... leasehold, but still not freehold ... of the municipality, which col- ... services. The townships did not on council.

...ious system he served as a chair- ...ve Affairs Committee, which met ...bers of the African Advisory

...t way to do things, for the simple ... then felt they were part of one

... new buildings in the black areas ...f PE, because they were consid- ... city.

... that by their having been cut off ... the situation.

...s, welfare organisations and so ...ly cut off and a new body estab-

being nostalgic, but that system ...ee interchange between people. the black areas ...

...egional Services Councils (RSCs) ...at we had before. But it is an ...vernment is genuinely trying to ... although it is doing it in a

He said the Act facilitating the implementation of the RSCs had already been passed by Parliament and was just waiting to be "triggered off" by the Administrators

The different groups would have equal constitutional rights on the body, although the representatives of the groups which raised the most money would, he believed, have more say.

But, he added, "the people of PE will not vote directly to put people on the RSCs"

Stressing that he had no specific political opinion, he said "I feel as far as civic affairs are concerned, there is only one way (to operate) everyone who contributes to the city's income should have a direct say in its running, based on the old American system of no taxation without representation."

He said the RSC system would effectively be a return to the situation which existed about 30 years ago, before the introduction of the administration boards, which changed PE civic affairs.

Mr Young said one of the major problems with the planned RSC was the raising of capital.

The new, complex system of taxing business turnover and staff would have to be implemented before the system could get under way.

(This week, PE city councillor, Mr Rick McKiever, said at a public meeting that RSCs could cost about R1 500 million a year — equivalent to as much as a 2% GST increase.)

Mr Young said he foresaw the PE Municipality possibly providing services for the RSC on a contract basis The major functions of local government, including electricity, water, roads, services, sewerage, transport and abattoirs would fall under the RSC with the councils having a much smaller role.

The chief director of the East Cape Development Board (ECDB), Mr Louis Koch, said he was not in a position to sit in judgment over the alternative systems of black local government which could be applied.

What he could do was explain the situation as it existed.

Mr Koch agreed that under the old advisory board situation (where half the members were elected, half appointed), the blacks had advisory powers similar to what the coloured and Indian management committees have today

He said in 1973 the Development Board took over township administration In 1979 the community councils replaced the advisory system, giving black councils the power to carry out the functions themselves or delegate their execution to white municipalities or the board

In 1983 came a further improvement -- in the form of the Black Local Authorities system, for which councils could apply. In the ECDB area, of 54 black local authorities, four councils were granted this status — in PE (Kayamnandi), Uitenhage (Kwanobuhle), Cradock (Ilingelihle) and Grahamstown (Rini) The remainder stayed community councils

He said the new town councils were "totally autonomous of the Board, something of which the public was not generally aware".

These councils took over all the functions of local government

"The Development Board no longer oversees their functions This is done only in the case of the community councils."

He said in the unrest, two of these councils — at Cradock and Uitenhage — resigned.

Why the rejection of town councils in some areas?

Mr Koch said there was a "conflict of political interests" within the black communities between those who did not want the local authorities and those who did.

He added that the first group did not want a return to blacks' pre-1973 advisory status, but wanted direct representation with full voting rights on one city council — alongside the other race groups. (Representatives of the United Democratic Front-affiliated PE Black Civic Organisation, Pebco, have called repeatedly for a single local authority in PE.)

Mr Koch said another group in the township was satisfied with the black local authority.

He added that he could not sit in judgment on the political beliefs of the black community.

On the proposed RSCs, Mr Koch said the black representatives would sit as equal components. The RSC boundaries would be determined by a delimitation commission.

Post Focus

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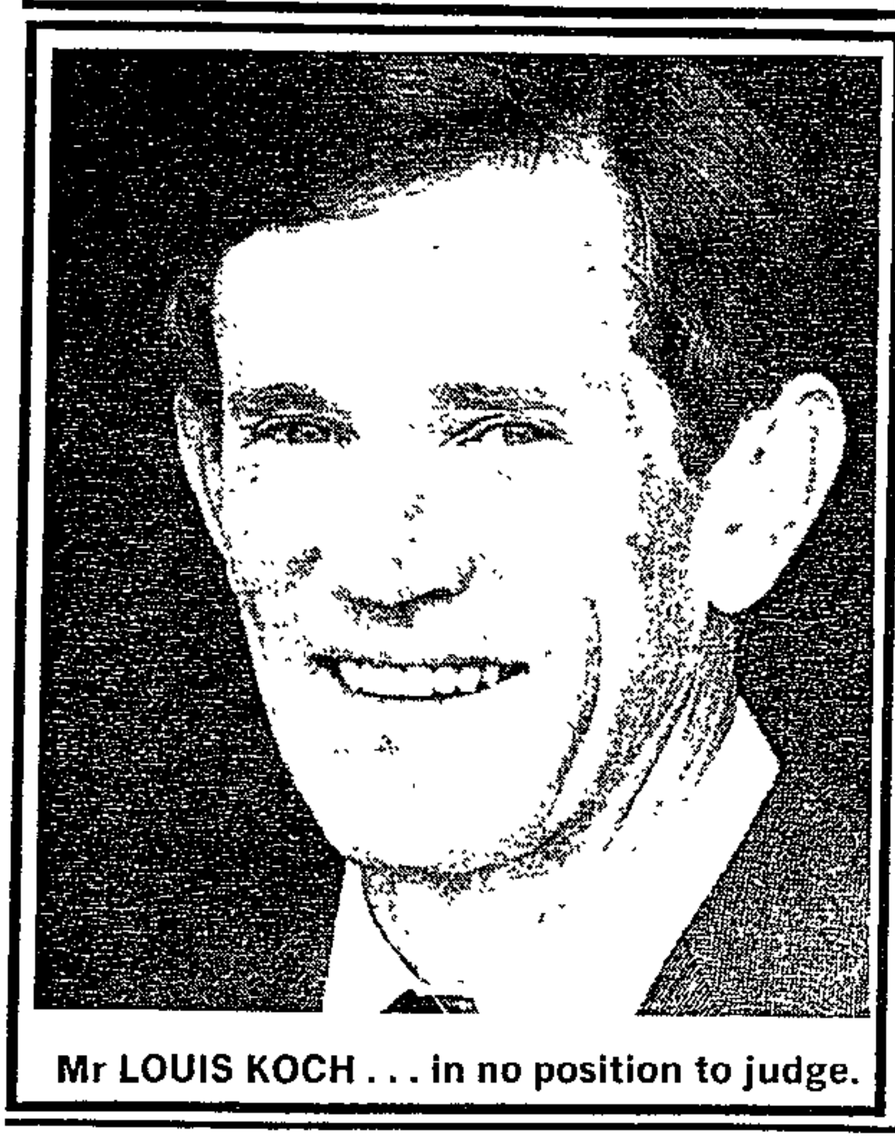
Mr GRAHAM YOUNG . . .open council.



Mr LOUIS KOCH . . . in no position to judge.

By KIN BENTLEY

SHOULD Port Elizabeth's people of all races be represented on one common city council?

Or does the Government's combination of separate, autonomous black local authorities, coloured and Indian management committees with advisory powers on the white council, and a future over-arching Regional Service Council, provide the answer?

South Africa is in a quandary over its political future and the question of how to reconcile the aspirations of the different racial blocs at local level inevitably arises

Indicative of the frustration of coloureds and Indians at their inferior "advisory" status on the PE City Council — which largely controls the purse-strings of the city — were the heated debates which arose this week over the seemingly trivial issue of seating accommodation in the council chamber.

Among others, the chairman of the Indian Management Committee (IMC), Mr Raman Bhana, MP for Malabar, objected to the IMC and Northern Areas Management Committee (NAMC) members having to sit at separate tables from the white councillors

Some city councillors said they had no objections to joint seating, while others opposed it.

Former Mayor and veteran councillor, Mr Graham Young, was the only councillor interviewed who opposed the idea from the point of view that the chamber's horseshoe should be restricted to elected councillors and that "it would be far better if they (the coloured and Indian committee members) were elected to the city council".

To have unelected people sitting on the council benches he described as "farcical".

He said the Government was "well-meaning" in attempting to create better communication between the management committees and the council, but the two bodies remained constitutionally separate.

Recalling the system of local government which existed in the early days of his civic career, Mr Young said at that time the whole of PE — including the mixed areas of Korsten and South End, as well as the black townships like New Brighton — was treated "

In fact, he said, there were sitting on the PE City Council like Korsten.

(These areas were later dis... Government under the Group ...

Mr Young said when he was for his first term as a councillor included several coloured and shop owners

"In those days it was a ... property only," and there were they should live.

Mr Young said at the time (today they can get 99-year le... title) and all were tenants of lected rents and rendered ser... have direct representation on ...

He said under the previous ... man of the council's Native Af... monthly with black members Board, in New Brighton.

"I feel that was the best way reason that black people then natural unit".

He said he often opened new ... in his capacity as Mayor of PE, ered an integral part of the city.

"My personal opinion is that ... from the city, it worsened the ...

"Our officials, councillors, ... on, were literally physically cut lished.

"People might say I'm being worked well. There was free ... White traders had shops in the ...

"I am not sure the new Regio... will be a substitute for what attempt. I believe the Gover... knit together the wounds ... a... different way."

SA heading for diplomatic battle

Ties with world in shreds — and severe punitive clamps loom

by
David Braun,
Political Correspondent

South Africa is facing one of its gravest diplomatic crises in many years as traditionally friendly countries gather to orchestrate what could be the toughest censuring of apartheid yet.

In a week in which Pretoria saw what remained of its diplomatic links with the world ripped to shreds, the 10 countries of the European Community, plus Spain and Portugal, agreed to "recall" their ambassadors, Australia withdrew its envoy and Norway and Denmark closed their consulates.

The American ambassador was recalled two months ago.

West European powers are likely to agree at a meeting of foreign ministers on September 10 on a new series of punitive measures to persuade South Africa to abandon its policies.

The measures could be the most damaging yet applied to South Africa in that for the first time virtually all the world's countries would be united in their implementation.

Pretoria is not expected to take this without a fight and senior officials in the Department of Foreign Affairs are already considering what options are open to deflect the gathering crisis.

Intensive briefings

Intensive briefings of the foreign ministers of the each of the countries involved, as well as a possible appearance at the September 10 meeting by a South African envoy, if allowed, are not being ruled out.

A flurry of diplomatic activity has already started in the wake of the exodus of Western ambassadors announced by most of the major West European governments and Australia this week.

Three Common Market foreign ministers are to be allowed to come to South Africa for discussions with the Government on the state of emergency, the Department of Foreign Affairs announced yesterday.

They are Mr Hans van den Broek, of the Netherlands, Mr Giulio Andreotti, of Italy, and Mr Jacques Poos, of Luxembourg.

By Thelezi

Cape Times 3/8/85

Buthelezi meets Thatcher

304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Two leading South African politicians told the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, yesterday that they supported her refusal to consider sanctions against South Africa.

KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and veteran Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman met Mrs Thatcher separately at Downing Street to discuss the state of emergency and the threat of a mounting international sanctions campaign.

A Downing Street spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had thanked Mrs Thatcher for her opposition to sanctions while Mrs Suzman had urged the Prime Minister not to impose sanctions.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Mrs Helen Suzman with Mrs Margaret Thatcher outside 10 Downing Street yesterday.

'Wrong'

A Downing Street spokesman said after the meetings that Mrs Suzman had told Mrs Thatcher that it was "quite wrong to seek to isolate South Africa through economic sanctions".

Mrs Suzman had asked Mrs Thatcher to keep up pressure for incremental reforms.

"Mrs Suzman said economic and industrial progress were the largest factors in contributing to the break-up of apartheid. She said sanctions would interrupt that process.

"She agreed with the line the Prime Minister and the British Government have been taking in this matter," the spokesman said.

Chief Buthelezi said he had urged the Prime Minister to continue applying diplomatic pressure to prepare the ground for a national convention.

He said diplomatic pressure on South Africa should be directed towards lifting the state of emergency, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and supporting his declaration of intent for reform.

Chief Buthelezi said he had told Mrs Thatcher of his concern at cross-border violence and recent official threats that borders with neighbouring states like Lesotho might be sealed.

He said the recall of European ambassadors from South Africa was useful insofar as it conveyed the seriousness of the situation to white and black South Africans, but added that they should return to South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said he would support sanctions tomorrow if he thought they would "topple the government" but he was opposed to symbolic gestures which did not achieve results.

He said he had congratulated Mrs Thatcher on her "sensible" attitude on sanctions.

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that the African National Congress (ANC) was urging the liquidation of black collaborators.

He said the ANC was capitalizing on the current levels of black anger and mob violence but had not caused them.

Only hours earlier an ANC spokesman had told a press conference here that armed struggle was the only course open to the ANC, and criticized Britain for opposing economic sanctions.

● It was announced yesterday that a three-man ministerial delegation from Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg is to visit South Africa soon on a fact-finding mission.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said it was not clear whether the delegates would be the foreign ministers of these countries. The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that the Netherlands Ambassador had approached him on behalf of the EEC president about the visit.

He said the ambassador was advised that the South African Government would welcome a visit by the three ministers for discussions.

Sources at The Hague said it was probable that the three ministers would decide at a meeting on a joint set of demands to be conveyed to the South African Government.

No firm date has yet been set for the trip.

It comes against the background of South Africa's growing diplomatic isolation — the latest steps were the closure of the Danish Consulate in South Africa yesterday and the recall of the Australian Ambassador, Mr Robert Birch, for a review of relations with South Africa.

EEC

Most senior envoys of the EEC countries still represented in South Africa are already out of the country on home leave, and will be staying on until after an EEC meeting in Brussels on September 10, to discuss what new steps might be taken on South Africa.

The countries affected by the recall include Britain, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Denmark. The Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors will also attend the meeting.

Spokesmen for the Finnish Legation and the Canadian and Austrian embassies said yesterday they had not yet received any notification involving the recall of their senior envoys.

The United States withdrew its ambassador from Pretoria in June after the South African incursion into Botswana.

Sanctions

The EEC countries are split over sanctions.

Britain and West Germany oppose sanctions as ineffective and potentially harmful to blacks, and both countries made it clear that they viewed the recall of their ambassadors as temporary.

However, backing for economic action has grown within the EEC. France and Denmark have already frozen new investment, while Belgium has backed sanctions and the Netherlands has said it is ready to discuss economic measures if they are adopted jointly.

Porn mags keep nurses hot

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Health officials are keeping down the costs of heating a Midlands hospital by burning tons of pornographic magazines.

The Worcester District Health Authority came up with the idea of cutting huge heating bills at the Worcester Royal Infirmary with a new incinerator boiler.

And they're taking supplies of pornography seized by the West Mercia Police Force along with dangerous drugs and other rubbish to use as fuel to keep their patients cosy.

A spokesman for the Health Authority said: "The new incinerator is saving us R9 000 a year.

"We are charging outside organizations for disposing of their rubbish and at the same time we are getting free fuel for the hospital."



"The tragedy is that the real story of reform in South Africa has been overwhelmed by the stories of repression, police killings, black-on-black violence . . " — Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

"Sanctions, far from accelerating the reforms we all wish to see, would delay them and reduce the prospect that they could be achieved without bloodshed and suffering" — Mr Malcolm Rifkind, British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



n't alienate old friends — warn top foreign aides

South Africa's few friends are desperately worried by the direction she is taking. Two of the most important politicians as regards Southern African affairs recently spoke to the influential magazine, *Leadership SA*, warning that time is running out. ANDREW WALKER reports . . .

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do everything we can to sustain constructive engagement but there is still a lot to sort out and we don't have all the answers yet."

Asked if Cabinda and Gaborone had damaged his credibility, Dr Crocker replied: "They have damaged South Africa's credibility."

"Self-destructive" actions by the Government had given rise to criticism that the policy of constructive engagement had failed.

Dr Crocker still stood by constructive engagement — but believed there had been a recent shift in policy by the South African hierachy.

"I think something has changed on the South African side and it is for that reason that we asked our ambassador to come home — to review those decisions and their implications.

"Whatever we decide on now our policy will remain the same: to move towards negotiated solutions, to reduce violence, to get foreign forces out of places they shouldn't be, and to achieve independence for Namibia."

He warned: "If the South African Government decides to take action that makes it impossible for others to work in a co-operative framework, then it will reap the fruits of that decision."

On disinvestment, he remarked on the "irony" that Black African states would be hurt by economic action against South Africa.

Western firms forced to pull out of the Republic would not move their operations to neighbouring states.

"There really is a great risk for all countries who are neighbours of South Africa if the West engages in any measures such as disinvestment."

A comprehensive economic withdrawal would have "awesome implications" for the region.

Mr Rifkind also spoke out against economic pressure.

He believed the economic development of South Africa was the "most effective motor there is for the peaceful attainment of black aspirations, and that sanctions, far from accelerating the reforms we all wish to see, would delay them and reduce the prospect that they could be achieved without bloodshed and suffering."

But, he said, pressure on Western leaders to take action grew every day.

In this volatile situation, the Government was seeking greater recognition of reform steps already taken, and understanding of the immense difficulties of its task.

It expected "those who understand the problems and pressures to speak up," said Mr Rifkind.

But "the South African Government seems almost suicidally determined to alienate even those who wish the best for that country."

Mr Rifkind criticised the Government's refusal to return the "Coventry Four" to Britain to stand trial on arms charges; the arrest of United Democratic leaders; the incursions into Cabinda and Gaborone.

The incursions had "dealt a body blow to efforts to settle the problems of that region and to achieve Namibian independence."

The appointment of an interim administration in Windhoek "must cast doubt" on whether South Africa really intended to proceed with UN Security Council Resolution 435 (the UN blueprint for Namibian independence).

While surprised that the Government had made decisions which "fly in the face of reason", Mr Rifkind still hoped that "it may not be too late."

It was easy to say what should be done from outside South Africa.

"I fully realise how difficult is the task facing President Botha. But those who want to see a peaceful transition in South Africa towards a society which meets the political aspirations of all its people, need evidence that the South African Government means what it says: that it has faced up to the full implications of its commitment to 'adapt or die', and that the goal is full political rights for all the people.

"Only hard evidence of South African determination to press ahead with fundamental reforms can provide a really convincing answer to those who urge us down the road to confrontation."



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Don't alienate old friends warn top foreign aid

South Africa's few friends are desperately worried by the direction she is taking. Two of the most important politicians as regards Southern African affairs recently spoke to the influential magazine, *Leadership SA*, warning that time is running out. ANDREW WALKER reports ...

Two of the most important politicians in the world as far as South Africa is concerned have warned that the Republic seems to be going out of its way to alienate its few friends.

Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, and Mr Malcolm Rifkind, British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, have taken the Government to task over the recent Cabinda and Gaborone affairs.

They told *Leadership SA*, a top-flight independent South African publication, that the Republic appeared to have changed its regional policy to such an extent that its already poor position in the international community could become indefensible.

Dr Crocker, in an interview with *Leadership SA* Editor and publisher Mr Hugh Murray, warned that recent actions by the Government appeared "self-destructive."

Mr Rifkind used even stronger language: the South African Government seemed "almost suicidally determined" to alienate its friends abroad.

Said Dr Crocker: "The tragedy is that the real story of reform in South Africa has been overwhelmed by the stories of repression, police killings, black-on-black violence and some recent regional acts (military actions in Cabinda and Gaborone) by the South African Government which seem so self-destructive."

On US Congress moves to impose sanctions, Dr Crocker, architect of the Reagan Administration's "constructive engagement" policy, said if South Africans believed there was a single consensus about sanctions in US politics they would be making a terrible mistake.

"There are many people in the Senate and in the House who don't want to go down the road of economic sanctions. The fight is not over by any means. We are going to do everything we can to sustain constructive engagement but there is still a lot to sort out and we don't have all the answers yet."

Asked if Cabinda and Gaborone had damaged his credibility, Dr Crocker replied: "They have damaged South Africa's credibility."

"Self-destructive" actions by the Government had given rise to criticism that the policy of constructive engagement had failed.

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Change 'spurred by businessmen'

Chief Reporter

MR John Wilson, executive chairman of Shell South Africa, says in the latest review of the company's activities that he is convinced the pace of change in the Republic has been accelerated by the pressures of the private sector.

"The business community in South Africa accepts its role in the process of change," he says. "The coming year is likely to see growing consultation between government and the private sector, with very real benefits to the entire South African society."

Wiehahn

Mr Wilson says one of the most compelling arguments in favour of continued investment in South Africa is contained in the establishment several years ago of the Wiehahn Commission, to investigate the Republic's labour legislation.

"Not even the severest critics can deny the positive results of this commission. Reform in the industrial arena has been widespread and far-reaching. Statutory discrimination in the workplace has been eradicated, and the rise of black trade unionism has been dramatic.

"It can be argued that the Wiehahn Commission would in any event have been established, that all of these changes would in time have come to pass.

"But I remain convinced that at the very least, the pace of change was accelerated by the pressures of the private sector, of which the South African-based operations of multinationals form an important part."

● The Shell review outlines the company's involvement in a wide range of community projects "aimed at promoting the social, economic, cultural and sporting development of the people of South Africa".

Scholarships

In education, it says, R3-million has been spent in the first nine years of a post-matriculation and university scholarship programme sponsored by Shell. The second nine-year cycle, starting this year and made up of five school years and four university years, is expected to cost R6-million.

Since the programme started, 85 students have attended school and then registered at the University of Cape Town for courses in engineering, science, commerce and social science.

'Emergency causes unrest in Ciskei'

05:08:85 E Post

Post Reporter

EAST LONDON — THe state of emergency declared in neighbouring territories has led to an upsurge in political unrest in Ciskei.

This is the the view of Ciskei's director-general of information, Mr Wessel van Wyk.

Mr Van Wyk said today that this upsurge was due to state of emergency being declared in South Africa and Transkei.

He disagreed with a report in a Sunday newspaper claiming that African National Congress (ANC) terrorist bases were being established in Ciskei.

But he did concede that political activists did now seem "to be concentrating to some extent on Ciskei".

"For the past year, while South Africa has had a lot of unrest, Ciskei has been peaceful," he said.

"Now we in Ciskei have seen the beginnings of school boycotts, a shoot-out between police and terrorists near Mdantsane and an explosion at the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court."

Mr Van Wyk said Ciskei was aware of the increased political unrest within its borders and was well prepared to meet it.

"At present the situation in Ciskei is properly under control," he said.

"The situation here is nothing like as serious as it is in South Africa."

Ciskei's Minister without portfolio, Mr Ray Mali, said at the weekend that the country's security forces had the situation under control.

Mr Mali denied that the Ciskeian Government intended to impose a curfew in the country.

No political reform without economic partnership — Spier

By Stan Kennedy

Political integration without economic integration would lead to the collapse of South Africa's economic system, Mr Andre Spier, director of Syncom, told the Association of Personnel Service Organisations.

He said economic integration, in which the total population became partners in a modern economy, was the essential prerequisite for any political agenda for constitutional reform.

Presenting a paper, "What happened to the future of work?", Mr Spier said the products of modern science, electronics, bio-technology and integrated information systems were transforming society and its activities.

The traditionally more inert social, economic and political institutions were unable to absorb the avalanche of novelty at the speed at which it was pouring on to the market.

TRANSFORMATION

"Our speed of innovation is not matched by the speed in which we can absorb the new tools in our outdated systems and institutions.

"What we are witnessing is a fundamental transformation of all our institutions because the old ones do not foot the bill and are cracking up."

"Today, in an advanced economy, 50 percent of all jobs are related to the computer and the forecast is that this will be 70 percent by the year 2000. Yet we see a major slump in the computer industry, with Silicon Valley in trouble, the giants retrenching and the so-called service industries declining in most economies."

What complicated the process, he said, was that the developed and developing nations were at different stages of the transformation process.

While the advanced nations were in the first stages of an emergent post-industrial society, in which whole industries and categories of employment were being made obsolete, most developing nations were battling to employ their burgeoning millions through the process of industrialisation.

This urge to modernise their economies had thrown them into an endemic debt situation from which they were unlikely to emerge except by default. Such a massive default would destroy the monetary system. To some Swiss bankers, such a collapse was not a matter of if, but when.

In the developed world, high unemployment levels persisted with only a remote relationship to what was happening in the economy.

In the Netherlands, 150 000 with academic qualifications could not find work. In the UK, being young and black meant no job. In the US, most jobs were created by the 800 000 new small businesses which started up each year.

Mr Spier said that in the next 20 years, more than 2 000 million would want work.

South Africa had both problems. An advanced sector reluctant to go flat out on modernisation because of the social pressures of massive unemployent and a retarded sector, in which some 30 percent of the total population did not participate in the economy.

BENEATH SOUTH AFRICA'S RACE LAWS LIES A HUGE ECONOMIC MACHINE

Apartheid world-wide mechanism

304A

AS South Africa burns, the world stands peering into the smoke and chanting abuse against apartheid. This has happened before and, so long as white South Africa holds out, it will happen again.

The very use of that Afrikaans word suggests something unique to South Africa, a localised disease. But the mechanism underlying apartheid is, in fact, world-wide.

At its core, apartheid is not so much a condition as an engine. Beneath the race laws lies a huge economic machine which, far more than whites-only bathing beaches, preserves white domination and

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Many miners, especially, already came on contract from abroad, from Mozambique or Lesotho. Dr Verwoerd and his successors now began to convert the Homeland reserves into Bantustans, into statelets like Bophutatswana or Transkei whose independence was basically fraudulent but which took over responsibility for their so-called 'citizens' working in the white economy.

Export

The influx-control engine pumped away, recruiting labour as it was needed and deporting hundreds of thousands of unwanted men and women back to Bantu-

the Low Countries and northern France, came to rely on migrant labour as their own internal labour reserves were absorbed or became too expensive.

In the boom years of the Sixties and early Seventies, millions of short-term contract workers were recruited from Spain and Portugal, then from Greece and Jugoslavia, finally from Turkey. Sweden, Austria and Switzerland, though not EEC members, recruited too.

Here was another industrial heartland — the Witwatersrand of northern Europe — served by a periphery of small states which were politically independent but economically dependent. The heart's diastole drew in trainloads



APARTHEID is not so much a condition as an engine. It was designed by Hendrik Verwoerd a generation ago and it is a labour pump. It sucks in cheap black labour. In the picture above, the Rev Simon Ngobeni talks to one of the workers on the Letaba Estate, Mr William Ngobeni, a victim of cheap labour.

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mises their political cost.

This engine, designed by Hendrik Verwoerd a generation ago, is a labour pump. It sucks in cheap black labour, pours it through the wheels of industry and agriculture, and then expels it to distant pools of umemployment until it is required again.

Influx

Its name is "influx control". First, blacks in the white regions of South Africa were declared to be "migrants". Even those resident for generations in white areas were redefined as citizens of black "Homelands" and denied rights of settlement or citizenship in their place of work.

Migrant labour was nothing new in South Africa. But the horrible brilliance of the apartheid system was to see how the idea of the nation-state could be perverted to serve it.

In any capitalist economy subject to slumps and booms, workers become costly and dangerous when they are unemployed. Any "reserve army of labour" needs money if it is not to mutiny.

Deporting the unemployed back to their villages still leaves the government responsible for them. But what if the workers can be transformed into foreigners?

So there was born the idea of constructing around "white" South Africa a periphery of "independent" black states. them there no longer concerned the Pretoria government or their white employers.

South Africa seemed to have discovered the philosopher's stone of economic management; how to export unemployment.

But the South African system of influx control is not unique in the world. There are other places where nation-states have been used as the foundations of a machine to exploit migrant labour.

One of these engines has been pumping away in Western Europe for many years. The European Economic Community, especially the old EEC of the Six, had a striking resemblance to South Africa. The overt violence of the European machine was far less, but the mechanism was the same.

West Germany, with little men clutching cardboard suitcases, guitars, parcels of mother's cake.

Cheap

The heart's systole pumped them back again, richer by a Grundig stereo or a second-hand Volkswagen, to dying hill villages in Croatia or Anatolia. And West Germany's unemployment figures remained negligible. It was all exported.

Much the same goes on in the United States. Anyone who saw 'El Norte', the marvellous film by Greg and Anna Thomas about migrant workers in California, was watching yet another influx-control pump drawing in cheap labour from Mexico and Central America and sluicing it out again when it was no longer required.

Along the Rio

copters and jeeps hunt down the 'wetback' illegal immigrants. The inlet valve must not open too widely.

But when migrants are allowed to settle in the heartland, the pump can't work. Britain, in its casual, good-natured way, brought in West Indians to correct the labour shortage of the Fifties without any plan to export them again: it was supposed that unemployment was an extinct as smallpox.

Before Algerian independence, Algerians flocked freely to France and settled in dismal bidonvilles around the cities. By the time that Britain passed immigration acts and France limited labour movement from independent Algeria, it was too late to dislodge these 'new Europeans'.

Don't blame S A for repatriation, says President

304A NM 5/8/85

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—President Botha has made it clear that his threat last Monday to repatriate 1 500 000 foreign black workers was no empty gesture.

However, blame for such punitive action, if implemented, should not be apportioned to South Africa, he said at the weekend.

In an interview with the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport, Mr Botha said that if economic sanctions were instituted and this disadvantaged black workers in South Africa, then he would have to consider the welfare of South African blacks first.

'If it then leads to the situation that the legal and illegal black workers from neighbouring countries are repatriated to protect the work of these people, then this will have to be the unfortunate result

'The blame for this will be carried by the Western powers and the United Nations, who are initiating sanctions, rather than the people who will have to pay the price,' he said.

Mr Botha said that South Africa made a major contribution to southern Africa's transport infrastructure, communications, health and vetinary services, as well as agricultural services and development.

'All these services will necessarily be influenced when shortages in capital as a result of sanctions force South Africa to look after her own interests.'

Delegation

Mr Botha dismissed criticisms that his Government was attempting to destabilise neighbouring states by exercising pressure on them. Rather, he said, South Africa was a regional power that pursued a policy aimed at 'regional stability and development'.

Of the request by Bish op Desmond Tutu to se him last week, Mr Both said he could not under stand why the the bisho was dissatisfied. M Botha said he had al ready granted a meetin to a multi-denominatio al church delegation le by Archbishop Phili Russel of the Anglica Church.

'Is he (Bishop Tutu) n a member of Archbisho Russel's church? Th composition of churc delegation are not draw up by me but th churches themselves.'

However, Mr Botha reaction has been inte preted in church and p litical circles as a refusa to acknowledge the Nobe Peace Prize winner as leader in his own right — someone who enjoys a substantial following in the black community.

'Avoiding chaos after black rule'

Australia seeks a 'charter for change' in SA

5/8/85
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The Star's Foreign News Service

MELBOURNE — The Australian Government is to promote ideas for change that will give the blacks political rights and encourage the whites to feel there is hope in a multiracial future.

After its recall last week of ambassador, Mr R Birch, it was revealed today the government is preparing to seek international support for presenting South Africa with a charter of demands for change.

The Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, has ordered work on the plan as part of the government's wide-ranging review of South African policy.

The review comes at a time when opinion around Australia seems to be moving away from the government's hard line — there is overwhelming support for the Australian rebel cricketers and the business community appears to be indifferent to the government's code of conduct for operating in South Africa.

The government wants to seek the views of South African black leaders before deciding on the final composition of the charter.

It is expected to promote the ideas of a charter for change at the October meeting of the Commonwealth heads of government in the Bahamas.

The programme would outline changes which countries believe South Africa should make to dismantle apartheid and move to a liberal democratic regime in which the black population has its proper political rights.

It would also guarantee that the economic and other skills of the white South African community would be used by the regime which evolved so South Africa would have the opportunity to avoid the chaos into which so many African countries have fallen after black rule was achieved.

Mr Hawke believes that with mounting pressure for stronger international action on South Africa, the world community must be "positive and specific" about what is demanded of the country.

P W 'should have spoken to Tutu' says MP

3044 NN 5/8/85

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

PRESIDENT Botha should have spoken to Bishop Tutu 'even if Mr Botha does not like what the bishop has to say or how he says it', Mr Graham McIntosh, PFP MP for Pietermaritzburg North, said here yesterday.

In his report-back meeting, Mr McIntosh said: 'As State President, Mr Botha should make time for a man committed to peaceful change; is internationally recognised; and who is one of the country's important leaders.'

He said while Government policies concerning apartheid were changing, they were not all necessarily that of reform.

The emergency situation, Mr McIntosh said, had been precipitated by the Government who had denied full political rights to the majority of the population, banned the ANC and PAC and did not have Parliament's sanction in the emergency.

'The powers given to the police are worrying and the Internal Security Act itself is a form of permanent emergency.'

Mr McIntosh said he had also sent a telegram asking the Government to reconsider its decision not to move the headquarters of the Natalia Development Board from Durban to Pietermaritzburg.

'Get rid of apartheid fictions and go forward

STAR 6/8/85

Attacking the "dangerous fictions" that are often used to justify apartheid, a leading figure of commerce, Mr C S Menell (below), warns that these must be got rid of before real reform can begin. SOL MAKGABUTLANE reports.

A prominent South African businessman has slammed what he called "dangerous fictions" pervading the South African society, attitudes which he said must be changed before real reform can begin.

Mr Clive S Menell, deputy chairman of AngloVaal, strongly underlined this point yesterday in a keynote address to a conference of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), in Bophuthatswana, at which the black business group is celebrating its 21st anniversary.

He pointed out that it was widely assumed "particularly by supporters of apartheid" that if different races mixed, friction inevitably resulted.

"This pernicious proposition has been disproved more often than it has been proved. I think of the extraordinary gathering in size and diversity in Ellis Park a short time ago of music lovers, an occasion of great joy. Anyone can observe the fallacy of this idea every day in our factories, mines, shops and offices.

"Another fiction that endures to this day is that a State can provide separate but equal facilities for its peoples. In spite of the De Lange committee's carefully considered judgments, in spite of the weight of experience throughout the world, our whole educational system as well as our political system remain rooted to this questionable premise."

Criticising separate development, Mr Menell qouted economist Barbara Ward Jackson as saying that "where there is separation there is no development, and where there is development there is no separation."

He called for everyone's involvement in the present reform path being taken by the Government, to ensure that blacks did not just become mere beneficiaries in the process of change, but took part in the "genuine negotiation and joint decision-making".

Mr Menell added: "Major reforms involve all parts of a society. They do not just involve the passing of certain laws or the promulgation of regulations, but action by the private and public sectors, change institutions and, even more importantly, change attitudes.

"This process implies far greater sensitivity by the whites, many well-meaning ones trapped in patterns of paternalism; many not such well-meaning ones, who are slaves to their prejudices. This also implies great tolerance by blacks who have for so long suffered inequities in all our structures."

He said changes made "in response to specific and irresistable pressures with no particular end goal in view" did not constitute reform.

"They may improve the climate in which reform can take place, but equally they may dangerously rouse expectations that cannot be met. They may lead us into dead ends from which it is difficult to retreat."

He also cautioned against the introduction of reforms that threaten to destroy the "worth while wealth-creating mechanisms that are vital to the nation's health", no matter what political structure a country has.

"Thus, any reforms which lead to a mass emigration of white South Africans could lead to economic decay and could be self-defeating."

He listed areas in which reform action was most pressing and most likely to produce accelerated development. These were:

- Participation by all South Africans in the political decision-making process that governs their lives.
- An all-embracing strategy on urban and rural development involving the abolition of influx control and the repeal of pass laws.
- A unified education policy in order to make possible a greatly improved quality of education for all.
- Ready access to business opportunities.
- Freedom to own property.
- An increase in the pace of advancement in employment, and
- A re-emphasis of the concept of the rule of law.

Dwelling on the last point, Mr Menell observed that the rule of law must apply equally to authorities and to every citizen.

"In turbulent times such as these it is particularly important that this even-handedness is seen to be operating. No person or institution should be perceived as outside or above the law."

The deputy chairman stated: "Today our country is in a deeply worrying state, with a sick economy, serious and continued social and political unrest in many areas of the land, and mounting pressures from abroad.

"Such a state of affairs can lead all too easily to a polarisation of opinion and a reinforcement of past prejudices. But it could also lead to concern, out of which can emerge the necessary commitment to essential change.

"The events of the past year must shock us out of our past ways. We need to move away — swiftly and conclusively — from the body of laws and the weight of customs and conventions which have restricted — no, cursed — our society. Reinforcing ignorance and prejudice, concentrating always on that which divides man rather than that which unites him and his fellow man in our country."

He added that he envisaged the "potential riches that could be unleashed, great talents that would appear" if we would truly accept the errors of the past and recognise one nation — South Africa.

"With its many people, rich in its



diversity of race, re[illegible] background, the stage can genuine negotiation [illegible] peaceful, prosperous a[illegible] South Africa."

To Nafcoc's members, [illegible] had a word of advice: present difficult situation silently going about one[illegible] can be seen as su[illegible] *status quo* of discrim[illegible] injustice."

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Nafcoc's conference Sun City and whose theme and Economic Reforms for Accelarating Advancement in Southe[illegible] — ends on Thursday.

t rid of apartheid fictions —

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STAR 6/8/85

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He added that he envisaged the "potential riches that could be unleashed, great talents that would appear" if we would truly accept the errors of the past and recognise one nation — South Africa.

"With its many people, rich in its diversity of race, religion and background, the stage can be set for genuine negotiation towards a peaceful, prosperous and shared South Africa."

To Nafcoc's members, Mr Menell had a word of advice: "In the present difficult situation the act of silently going about one's business can be seen as supporting the *status quo* of discrimination and injustice."

Black businessmen were particularly vulnerable to being misconstrued in that way, he said.

He informed them that "business as a whole must identify itself unequivocally with the important changes that are needed to move South Africa away from apartheid.

"The black business community needs to be seen to be actively involved in wanting to change South Africa."

Discussion, debate, analysis, commissions and research projects were fine and even necessary to a point, he said.

"But surely our present situation demands, above all else, a sense of urgency, a sense of purpose ..."

Nafcoc's conference — held at Sun City and whose theme is "Social and Economic Reforms Necessary for Accelarating Black Advancement in Southern Africa" — ends on Thursday.

Natal-KwaZulu ideas invited by Heunis

304A B. Day 6/8/87

ALL parties have been invited by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis to make recommendations on the future of Natal/KwaZulu.

He made the invitation while answering a question at a development symposium in Durban by Progressive Federal Party MP Graham McIntosh, and was asked give a clearer indication of government's attitude to political and constitutional initiatives for Natal/KwaZulu.

Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo criticised government for ignoring growing opinion about the viability of a joint constitutional future for Natal and KwaZulu.

Earlier in his speech, Heunis spoke in favour of some of the new moves being made on this issue and said certain initiatives in the institutional field, which had only just been implemented, as well as those expected from the provincial council and regional services council, would provide a much better basis for joint planning and decision making.

This would serve not only in the local context, but also in terms of the involvement of government.

Calling for joint recommendations, Heunis said it would be wrong to ignore such moves.

He referred to the Natal Provincial Council's request for a joint statutory body to govern common matters in Natal/KwaZulu and the impending provincial and KwaZulu/Government discussions on August 14.

He said there was no doubt about the need for co-operation but solutions had to be worked out collectively. There had to be sufficient flexibility to allow for different circumstances in different provinces.

Heunis said it had been decided that those homelands which did not want to take independence had to take part in decision-making in another form at the highest level.

The type of institutions to provide for this had to be negotiated.

Dhlomo, who is also the KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, said: "Central government has displayed remarkable insensitivity and callous disregard for a growing momentum of opinion in making its decisions on second-tier government applicable to Natal."

The symposium, at a Durban beachfront hotel, was organised by the Development Society of Southern Africa. — Sapa.

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Divisional councils worried over future

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Staff Reporter

THE 70th congress of Divisional Councils of the Cape opened with a call for clarity about the role divisional councils will play in the new system of local government and regional services committees about to be instituted by the Government.

Mr S Bekker, president of the association, said in his opening address yesterday that members were feeling "frustration and concern" because the future role of divisional councils was as yet unclear.

"We are convinced that the system of divisional councils should be maintained and even expanded," he said.

With care

The matter of roads, the construction of which was the most important function of the 38 Cape councils with their total of 143 000km of roads, should be approached with care in any constitutional development, Mr Bekker warned.

"The councils are worried about the threatened removal of this responsibility from their sphere.

"The financial implications of such a change should be seriously considered and I would go as far as to say that the State and the Provincial Administration could not deliver the same service on such a cost-effective basis."

His warning followed the official opening by Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, who said the congress was probably the last of its kind.

More clarity

"Greater clarity about the future of divisional councils will emerge once greater clarity about the implementation of regional services committees has emerged."

"Divisional councils will change completely within the new structure and will have to be fitted into the new system of regional services committees whose function, with few exceptions, will be general affairs and the taking over of a large part of the present divisional councils' responsibilities like public roads."

Mr Louw called for co-operation from all involved and said he hoped that an address on the subject by the Director General of Constitutional Planning and Development, Dr A H van Wyk, to be given to the congress today, would be met with "a spirit of openness and willingness to ensure the success of the new system".

Mr Louw also announced that the executive committee of the Provincial Council had made R100 000 available for the 1985/86 financial year for sports grounds for "coloured participants and rugby players".

This followed discussions between the committee and the SA Rugby Board and nominal allocations would be made to local authorities, specifically in rural areas, and if recreational needs were seen as a matter of urgency.

PW 'to announce policy on blacks'

Political Staff

SPECULATION mounted today today that the Government is preparing a major new policy initiative on blacks.

The speculation which has been doing the political rounds since the weekend, has been boosted by statements made by US Congressman Mr Stephen Solarz after a three-hour meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday.

Mr Solarz, a long-standing and outspoken critic of the Government, said his talks with Mr Botha had given him new insights and he realised there was an enormous complexity of problems.

He said some of the Government's intentions for reform outlined to him would be considered quite significant in America.

The policy initiatives are expected to be announced by President Botha in the next few weeks. He is expected to use the National Party congresses, which start in Durban next week, as the platform for his announcements.

Political sources close to the President say it is logical that he should wait until he has his party congresses to announce ment his Government's plans.

The provincial congresses are the highest policy-making organs of the National Party. If Mr Botha can carry their support, he can make virtually any adjustments.

Incentive

Observers say the areas which need urgent attention, and where there is enormous pressure for progress, include constitutional negotiation with credible black leaders, revision of influx control laws and the issue of South African citizenship for blacks.

All these grievances were mentioned by the President or senior Cabinet Ministers during the last session of Parliament. They indicated that attention was being given to them.

The Government has had certain revisions in mind but now, with the American Congress poised to legislate sanctions, the European Community meeting next month to decide on punitive measures and the Commonwealth countries meeting in October to discuss further anti-South African pressure, there is a major incentive to speed up the reform programme by making statements of intent.

The SABC, usually well-informed on Government thinking, said in its Current Affairs programme yesterday there were several reasons why reform measures in the pipeline should be made public now.

● See Page 3.

Foreign MPs see SA paradox

Cape Times 7/8/85

By BARRY STREEK

MEMBERS of the Liberal International delegation visiting South Africa have been astonished by the two different worlds South Africans live in.

"In some respects, South Africa is a democracy, on paper that is, with an apparently free press and the right to assembly," Dr Gijs de Vries, a Dutch member of the European Parliament, said in an interview.

"Yet the other side of South Africa represents an Eastern European dictatorship.

"People disappear and are detained but no one knows where they are being held. Disinformation is practised and opposition is suppressed."

Miss Aideen Nicholson, a Liberal member of the Canadian Parliament: "Here we are in a comfortable restaurant in Cape Town, as good as any in the world, yet many of the people in it have never ever been to Crossroads."

Miss Nicholson said she also found it unbelievable that people were "being locked up for being young and idealistic, and for being angry with the system — but the government calls itself a democracy".

The government people they had met — they included the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha — had talked about Christianity and the family.

"Yet they can have a young person locked up in solitary confinement without any necessity for the authorities to notify their parents and without allowing family visits either ...

"Yet there is a Cabinet minister who believes in Christianity but at the same time has no heart for these people," Miss Nicholson said.

Dr De Vries said the delegation had been shocked by the "high-handed" manner in which President P W Botha had treated Bishop Desmond Tutu.

"Here is a moderate leader, one of the people who might be able to build bridges between the government and its radical opposition, and then he is treated like some minor bishop, not a recognized leader ...

"This government gives the impression of having eyes and not being able to see, ears and not being able to hear.

"They are sitting on a powder keg and all they are doing is shortening the fuse," Dr De Vries said.

Miss Nicholson said she was astounded at the costs of apartheid. In one relatively small town they had found three hospitals — one for whites, one for coloureds and one for blacks.

"If they amalgamated those hospitals, surely you would get a better and cheaper service for everyone," she said.

Courage

Both Dr De Vries and Miss Nicholson said they had been impressed by the courage of the moderate group of people in the centre, consisting of both black and white people, who they believed would be able to lead South Africa out of its present conflict.

Dr De Vries said this group, which included members of the UDF, PFP and the Black Sash, were exposing themselves to detention and arbitary action, but were still willing to speak out.

"These people deserve support and solidarity across party lines from outside."

Miss Nicholson, who like Dr De Vries was on her first visit to South Africa, said the impression one gained in Canada was that conflict in South Africa was split along black/white lines.

"I suppose the only thing that really hit me was to meet English and Afrikaans-speaking whites so solidly opposed to apartheid. This is a moderate, liberal group that is keeping up this fight very courageously — and at considerable personal risk," she said.



Chief Buthelezi:

- We are prepared to shelve the ideal of one man, one vote in a unitary state.
- We are prepared to negotiate about power-sharing (federation), but we are not interested in power-division (confederation).

President Botha:

- We believe in the principle of one person, one vote as long as it is not in a unitary state.
- If I say a federation, or if I say a confederation, I'm prejudicing the issue. I have an open agenda in mind.



President Botha (or Cabinet Ministers):

- The Government is no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their homelands attain independence.
- Legislation aimed at changing the influx control laws would be introduced in the second half of 1985.
- Forced removals will be stopped.
- The Government's goal is equal standards of education for all race groups.

Bishop Tutu:
I will support the Government's reform programme on four conditions:

- That common citizenship for all South Africans be recognised.
- That all pass laws be scrapped or gradually phased out.
- That forced removals of communities be stopped immediately.
- That one education system be created for all races.



More common ground than generally believed

The differences between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the two most visible black leaders in South Africa at present, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner, are being highlighted almost every day. But what about the common ground between them? A study of their public statements during the past year shows that the perceived distance between President Botha and the two leaders is not as great as their daily rhetoric would suggest. HANNES DE WET analyses the situation.

The common threads outlined here are of course not the whole story. There is a morass of ifs and buts and divergent interpretations behind these statements of the three leaders.

But one fact remains: the subjects they touch on are key issues in South Africa.

Irrespective of the way in which these statements are qualified, they show that in essence the thinking of the State President and/or members of his Government and those of Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu is along similar lines.

● President Botha and Chief Buthelezi:

Until recently tension between the kwaZulu leader and the State President appeared to be easing.

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

Barely a month later a sudden chill developed in their relations after President Botha's end-of-session speech in Parliament on June 19 in which he again rejected a one man, vote in a non-unitary kind of federation acceptable.

But then, as Chief Buthelezi is saying, Mr Botha doesn't want to commit himself to a federation.

Is Chief Buthelezi's assumption that Mr Botha is unconditionally opposed to a federation or power-sharing correct?

According to National Party sources on constitutional development it is not. It is true, they say, that Mr Botha doesn't want to use the word federation.

The reasoning is that the Government feels convinced that the classical model of a federation found in European countries cannot be applied in South Africa. And, it federation is the system of regional and provincial government which the Government is setting up.

Against this background the question can be asked: Is the State President really as opposed to the sharing of power as Chief Buthelezi claims?

● Bishop Tutu and President Botha:

Not all four of Bishop Tutu's conditions for supporting the Government's reform programme have been fulfilled yet.

But on three of them it is clear that Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha have the same goal.

With regard to common citizenship, the State President has stated unconditionally that he is



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STAR 7/8/85

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

According to Chief Buthelezi Mr Botha had also ruled out the possibility of a unitary state structured along either union or federal lines. Because of that, he said, it was no longer possible for him to negotiate with the Government.

On July 17 Chief Buthelezi said that he was prepared to back off his demands for one man, one vote in a unitary state. But he was still not prepared to negotiate before the Government was willing to discuss the sharing of power (a federation) and not a division of power (a confederation).

What he wanted, he said, was a declaration of intent from the State President that negotiations would be about a federation or the sharing of power.

Mr Botha's statement that he believed in the principle of one man, one vote as long as it was not in a unitary state can be read in different ways.

It can be seen as simply a reiteration of the policy that blacks can have voting power in their own independent homelands in a confederation. Or it can mean that Mr Botha will find one man, one vote in a non-unitary kind of federation acceptable.

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Is Chief Buthelezi's assumption that Mr Botha is unconditionally opposed to a federation or power-sharing correct?

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The reasoning is that the Government feels convinced that the classical model of a federation found in European countries cannot be applied in South Africa. And, it believes, that once it uses the word federation in committing itself before negotiation this could tie it to the European model.

In actual fact, NP sources say, Mr Botha has never ruled out the possibilities of some form of common political system.

Supporting evidence that Mr Botha is not necessarily against a federation in principle can be found in his April declaration that he was no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their "homelands" attain independence.

Confederation by definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement was clearly inimical to confederation.

A political re-ordering within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing.

Federation means dividing the country into a number of geographic regions or states which have a fair degree of self-rule (excepting on defence, foreign policy and the Treasury) and a common citizenship.

Another move that smacks of federation is the system of regional and provincial government which the Government is setting up.

Against this background the question can be asked: Is the State President really as opposed to the sharing of power as Chief Buthelezi claims?

● Bishop Tutu and President Botha:

Not all four of Bishop Tutu's conditions for supporting the Government's reform programme have been fulfilled yet.

But on three of them it is clear that Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha have the same goal.

With regard to common citizenship, the State President has stated unconditionally that he is committed to South African citizenship for all.

The Government has conceded that the pass laws are an unhappy legacy of the past. The proposed Bill to review these laws will bring "dramatic" changes, say National Party sources.

The question of forced removals has not yet been resolved — although all removals were suspended after an announcement by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The Government's efforts to curb legal action against previous removals are still causing resentment. And there are still thousands of blacks in "black spots" whose future is uncertain.

However, the Government's suspension of forced removals indicates a sensitivity to this issue.

The prospects that Bishop Tutu's demand for one education system will be met are dim — although the Government is aware of the need for upgrading black education.

But a score of three out of four suggests that the position is not hopeless and gives enough reason to believe that President Botha and Bishop Tutu can reach out and find a mutually acceptable solution.

Australia's charter for black

Planning

MELBOURNE—The Australian Government is preparing a Charter for Change to present to South Africa as a way of helping blacks towards self-rule.

By Mercury Correspondent

The Natal Mercury, V

The Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, has ordered an immediate start on the plan which he hopes to present for ratification at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in the Bahamas in October

It is understood that part of the plan involves inviting prominent blacks such as the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to come to Canberra for consultations.

The idea is to ensure that the charter has input from those directly involved in the situation, although Foreign Affairs officials privately forsee travel difficulties for those invited.

The recent recall of Australia's Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robert Birch, coincides with a Canberra think-tank on continuing ties with South Africa. It will culminate in a full Cabinet review of South African policy next week

Violence

Yesterday Mr Birch said it appeared that only continued international pressure would force South African whites to 'get the message'.

But he warned that the process would take time, and said it should not be rushed.

'They (the whites) are aware of what s going on but the violence (in the townships) doesn't directly affect them It may be some time before they are mindful of the consequences of depriving blacks of political rights and economic advantages.'

He described the South African Government as being 'very, very upset and disappointed' by the decision to recall him.

'They no longer see us as a friendly government, as they might have in the past,' Mr Birch said. He believed a formal diplomatic break with South Africa would be detrimental.

Leaders

He said he would make no recommendations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, about what eventual course Australia should take — including the possibility of imposing trade sanctions.

'It is the Government's decision,' Mr Birch said.

His views came as Mr Hawke attended a meeting of the South Pacific Forum in the Cook Islands, where he is believed to be privately testing the water over his charter blueprint.

Should his plan find widespread support among leaders of the South Pacific nations, Mr Hawke would be greatly encouraged to present it in draft form at the Commonwealth meeting

Among caste-iron guarantees he would like to see implemented are the abolition of apartheid, and a steady move towards a democratic nation in which blacks have, the franchise along with Indians and coloureds.

Mr Hawke, a former national secretary of the powerful Australian Council of Trade Unions, also seeks guarantees that the economic and other skills of the white community be used to build a multiracial country instead of allowing it to run down.

The proposed Charter for Change would include a staged timetable.

The Australian Embassy in Pretoria is expected to play a significant role in gauging the views of black leaders.

Militancy

Should the response be positive both in the Cook Islands and in the Caribbean later this year, there are many here who believe Australia's African initiative may bear fruit.

They point out that it would defuse township militancy by providing a time scale on which blacks can hope to attain the vote, as well as give the South African Government a firm guideline of what the West expects if stringent trade sanctions are not to be rigidly applied.

Mr Hawke can be expected to play a personal role in guiding his peace plan not only through Cabinet, but also into the hearts and minds of Commonwealth leaders.

Meanwhile from Pretoria it has been alleged that the state of emergency has made it increasingly difficult for foreign diplomats to monitor the unrest.

'Because of emergency laws we can't speak to people on the telephone about what is going on,' said an Australian diplomat who asked not to be identified.

'We have got to speak face-to-face with them (the blacks) — and that in itself creates danger.'

Move forward, Buthelezi urges

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNANESBURG — President Botha's rhetoric on reform should not prevent him making a statement about real change in the near future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, says.

"Most white people in South Africa are receptive to change. Mr Botha is misreading the situation," he said yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a visit to Britain.

President Botha had stopped just one step short of genuine reform, Chief Buthelezi said But he deserved credit for the scrapping of legislation such as the Mixed Marriages Act, which were not just cosmetic actions.



Chief Buthelezi

"I implore him to now pick up his courage in both hands and move forwards. If he does that he will gain black support as well."

Asked what he was going to do to end the present stalemate between him and the State President, Chief Buthelezi said: "I'm prepared to wait. Time is on our side. In the meantime we will sweep our own backyard."

Chief Buthelezi was referring to the disunity among black leaders and organisations. That, he said, was the biggest stumbling block in the path of liberation.

Non-violent strategies such as the boycott by black consumers in the Eastern Cape could be effective only if the people involved were really united.

MAIN THRUST

The Chief Minister said he did not regard the current unrest and state of emergency as the start of a revolution.

"The main thrust of the violence so far has been unleashed with blacks fighting each other. The classical revolution has not yet begun."

Chief Buthelezi said no black leader could meet the State President until the state of emergency had been lifted.

"Any leader that did would discredit himself," he said."There is nothing treacherous about seeking reform — and I'm prepared to wait."



Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, secretary-general of the Catholic Bishops' Conference, spoke at the meeting last night.



Among the guests of honour at a meeting in Johannesburg last night to protest against the state of emergency were Dr Beyers Naude and Mr Jules Browde.





Mrs Molly Blackburn (PFP MPC for Walmer) spoke at last night's meeting.



Part of the crowd of about 500 which attended the meeting on the state of emergency in South Africa at the Central Methodist Hall in Johannesburg yesterday. ● Pictures by Alf Kumalo.

'SA has now forgotten about normal powers'

STAR 7/8/85

By Susan Pleming

The Government has ruled by emergency powers for 25 years and South Africans have become so accustomed to it they no longer know what "ordinary power" is like, Professor John Dugard of the University of the Witwatersrand said last night.

Speaking to about 500 people at a meeting in the Central Methodist Hall in Johannesburg, Professor Dugard said the state of emergency had been declared because the "permanent undeclared state of emergency" had failed.

Another reason was that the South African Government had "boasted loudly" to foreign countries about proposed reform measures.

SYMPATHY SOUGHT

"The Government hoped they would gain sympathy from overseas and local critics. They have failed miserably."

He said the Government had chosen an opportune moment to declare a state of emergency: it had waited until Parliament was in recess and until it was certain the All Black rugby team would not tour.

Professor Dugard said the unconditional, immediate release of Nelson Mandela and the granting of South African citizenship to blacks would be far more effective than any emergency powers.

A field worker for the South African Council of Churches, Mr Diliza Matshoba, said that as long as the white establishment continued to talk to leaders of its own choice there would always be a crisis.

The Progressive Federal Party MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, told of an incident at a Port Elizabeth high school where policemen shot and killed two pupils and injured another.

"How does the Government hope to deal with people who interpret these wide powers as having a licence to kill?" she asked. "Mr P W Botha said innocent people would have nothing to fear, but he must explain this to youngsters' parents."

Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, criticised President Reagan for praising the South African Government's decision to declare a state of emergency.

"His ill-formed, arrogant utterance serves nothing more than to justify Yankee imperialism. He has made this statement because of his constructive engagement policy."

Mr Mkhatshwa said the state of emergency was important for British and American leaders because they wanted to justify their involvement with the apartheid policy.

"They have the cheek to say that if the disinvestment campaign is successful the 'poor little black people will suffer'. I am not advocating disinvestment, but big business has no right to use such a cheap argument to promote their own economic interests."

If black people wanted multinational companies to stay in South Africa, they had the intelligene and voice to say so themselves, said Mr Mkhatshwa.

PFP claims shop owners harassed

304A.

STAR

By Andrew Beattie

Police acting in terms of emergency regulations have detained and harassed black shop owners in the Eastern Cape in an attempt to stifle the boycott by blacks of white-owned businesses, according to members of the Progressive Federal Party.

7/8/85

Mrs Molly Blackburn (MPC, Walmer) spoke out against the "arbitrary powers given to police under emergency regulations" at a meeting in Johannesburg last night.

Mrs Blackburn said she had details of how police had detained the owner of the largest black-owned business in Fort Beaufort. Since then the shopowner's employees had also been detained, as well as his relatives — including his elderly parents. As a result there was no one to operate the shop, she said.

"This makes ridiculous the claim by President Ronald Reagan that business districts in South Africa have been opened to blacks," she said.

MORE CUSTOMERS

● In a telephone interview, Mr Errol Moorcroft (PFP, Albany) said Mr Zamile Daniel Nondumo, the owner of a supermarket in Fort Beaufort, had been detained. Since black consumers had started boycotting white-owned businesses about four weeks ago, Mr Nondumo's shop had been attracting more customers until it was forced to close.

He also said that he had received complaints from residents in Alexandria (a coastal town near Port Elizabeth) that police had been firing teargas into a local shop and had stopped customers from shopping there.

Speaking from Port Elizabeth, Dr A G Blackburn, husband of Mrs Blackburn, said relatives of Mr Nondumo said he had been detained on July 9 — before the emergency was declared.

"They said Mr Nondumo was told he was being detained in terms of the Public Safety Act, which provides that a business or organisation may be closed down if it is deemed to be prolonging a boycott. Once the state of emergency was declared the police informed him his continued detention was in terms of those regulations," Dr Blackburn said.

● Retailers in Port Elizabeth have appealed to the Government to take immediate action to curb the boycotts of white businesses by black consumers, reports the *Evening Post*.

Solidarity to explain stand on Govt's reforms

Political Reporter

SOLIDARITY, the Official Opposition in the Indian House of Delegates, is to be the host at a meeting with local affairs committee and local authority members to explain the party's opposition to the Government's proposed local-government reforms.

Mr Yunus Moolla, Solidarity's spokesman on local government, said a time and venue for the meeting still had to be decided, but it would be held toward the end of the month.

'After the Act setting up the new constitution the most important changes are the Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill and the Regional Services Council Act.

'Solidarity has always opposed the further creation of racially segregated local authorities,' he said.

'It is ironical that the regional services councils are meant to benefit black local authorities, but there are no black local authorities left to take part in them.'

Mr Moolla said that if more racially segregated authorities were created without the support of the people, the unrest would spread to Indian areas.

Tutu has no power for 'quick peace', US is told

STAR 8/8/85, 30 A

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — It was not in the power of Bishop Desmond Tutu to declare peace overnight in South Africa, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Louis Nel told American television viewers last night.

"After all, he did not declare the war between the black people," said Mr Nel.

Appearing on the ABC "Nightline" programme, Mr Nel denied that President Botha had refused to see Bishop Tutu.

Mr Nel had been asked by show host Mr Ted Koppel whether it did not ring hollow for the South African Government to talk about consulting moderate black leaders and then turn down a meeting with Bishop Tutu during a time of crisis.

Mr Nel said Bishop Tutu would in all probability see the President if he is a member of the church delegation which will meet Mr Botha on August 19.

"Bishop Tutu can surely play a positive role to influence people against violence. He has been doing so lately — and I am very glad to say that."

Mr Nel also denied that the police "stormed Winnie Mandela's house and ransacked it".

Mr Nel said: "Apparently there were several students outside the house, some of them armed with axes and picks, and a conflict arose and some took shelter in the house.

"In the process of resolving this difficulty ... damage was done to the house."

Peace moves run into snag



PRESIDENT P W BOTHA

FOCUS
By SAM MABE

THE moves by President P W Botha to engage in secret talks with influential blacks in an attempt to diffuse the current unrest and to find long-term solutions to the country's political problems are doomed to fail.

Leaders who enjoy popular support in the community are still not prepared to talk to the Government — not until certain conditions, which include the release of political prisoners, have been met.

Besides, there are many who feel that it is unsafe to engage in secret talks, as this could cost them their credibility and place their lives in danger.

Crisis

Faced with a serious diplomatic crisis with the recalling of envoys by the USA, France and 10 European Economic Community countries, Mr Botha is using agents of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) to approach various leaders for the meetings.

One such leader, a well-known Soweto educationist, said the NIS who spoke to him said that Black Consciousness leaders who have been approached have refused to speak to the Government.

Secret

He also turned down the invitation because he did not want to meet the Government secretly.

"The whole thing must come out in the open. Talking in secret can create all sorts of suspicions and they can put us in a very difficult position with our people," he said

Mr Murphison Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF said there was no leader within UDF who has been approached for talks with the President.

But he was emphatic that the UDF would not even consider such an invitation. He said the first condition for talking would be the lifting of the state of emergency, followed by the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on political organisations.

"And how can we be expected to talk when our leaders are being detained? The sincerity of the Government has got to be demonstrated by stopping some of the actions we have always condemned," said Mr Morobe.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's president, describes secret talks with the Government as a conspiracy against the popular liberation movement and its leadership.

Mandate

He said Azapo would not agree to be singled out as a group or as a movement to the exclusion of other popular forces such as the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), PAC and the ANC.

"If there was agreement among these movements and a proper mandate from the masses, we could then consider talking to the Government. But secret talks are out of the question.

"The Government ought to know what our aspirations are. We have articulated them at every forum and I cannot see anything new be ing discussed in a secret meeting — it could only be a betrayal of what our people have been fighting for," said Mr Mkhabela.

The diplomatic crisis faced by the South African Government started after the Cabinda raid, the Botswana raid and the imposition of an interim government in Namibia, which angered the American government and led to the recalling of its ambassador.

The declaration of a state of emergency about three weeks ago only helped to further tarnish South Africa's international image.

It was followed by an immediate recalling of France's ambassador and 10 EEC countries followed suit.

Now the government is beginning to see the importance of dialogue with black leaders, except that it is going about it in the wrong way.

It does make diplomatic sense for a Government to want to talk secretly in certain situations, but using officials of the NIS to contact leaders to be spoken to might not be the best of ideas that Mr Botha could have used.

Dialogue

Any black person known to have had secret contact with the NIS or even the Security Police, is viewed with suspicion, to put it mildly.

Maybe to pave the way for the dialogue that Mr Botha seeks now, he should have agreed to talk to Bishop Tutu last week.

Bacause of his position as a church leader and the role he played in the country's politics, Bishop Tutu is the only credible leader who can speak to the Government without placing his credibility at risk

In his talk with the bishop, Mr Botha could have shown his intentions to bring an end to the crisis in South Africa by, among others, lifting the state of emergency and releasing all those detained without trial.

This could have created the first signs of an atmosphere that is required by black leaders to seriously consider dialogue.

tised' cartel, for your own sakes, gentlemen.
Name and address withheld.

.:AL MERCURY 26.7.85



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before they see the light

P W rejects 'hysterical' attacks on S A

304A

8/8/85 Mercury

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—In spite of 'hysterical attacks' against South Africa from 'certain quarters', the country would continue on the road of orderly development, President Botha said yesterday.

Speaking during a tour of KwaNdebele where he met Mr S Skhosana, Chief Minister, and members of the KwaNdebele Cabinet, Mr Botha said he did not think those who were reacting hysterically knew what they were being hysterical about.

'The country is to continue on the road of orderly development in the constitutional, economic and socio-economic areas.

'We will follow the road of justice in South Africa and I have no doubt in my mind that we'll gradually overcome our problems.

'No other country can tell us what to do with our problems. only we in South Africa can solve our problems I am convinced we have the power, wisdom, necessary feeling and co-operation to solve our problems.'

He was accompanied by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education; Mr Ben Wilkens, Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs; and Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development.

Waving flags

KwaNdebele, a tiny homeland north of Pretoria, has a population of about 500 000 and has already opted for independence although no date has yet been decided on.

Mr Botha arrived at Siyabuswa, the capital, in an army helicopter to scores of children waving small South African and KwaNdebele flags.

Following talks with the Cabinet of KwaNdebele, Mr Botha said 'We again showed we can sit around a table and discuss our problems.'

Mr Skhosana and Mr P Kunutu, the KwaNdebele Minister of Education, praised Mr Botha for the 'strong stand' he had taken by declaring a state of emergency.

Mr Botha toured the homeland, visiting its embryonic industrial growth points, a game reserve, a youth centre and an agricultural training centre.

Chatting amiably to farmers and KwaNdebele officials and cracking jokes as he went, Mr Botha showed few signs of strain over the state of emergency and the country's diplomatic isolation.

● See Editorial Opinion

was not a contradiction of what

ARGUS 8/8/85 (3047)

'Business charter' on talks for SA

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Top businessmen are to draw up a "business charter" which will include bargaining principles and a timetable for negotiations on power-sharing.

The charter was announced at a Press conference yesterday by the executive heads of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Federated Chamber of Industries.

Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of Assocom, and Dr Johan van Zyl of FCI said organised business hoped to "build confidence in the process of reform".

The two gave the Press conference on their return from a visit to western Europe and the United States where they addressed a United Nations special committee.

Assocom and the FCI endorsed a statement before the United Nations which proclaimed "there is a need for establishing a South African 'business charter' outlining ... the full set of objectives and principles for power sharing and black advancement to which the business community is committed in pursuing its own action programme".

The statement was also endorsed by the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and the Urban Foundation.

POSITIVE

The UN visit had closed the communication gap between South Africa and the rest of the world, said Dr van Zyl.

He added that the UN had indicated further contact with the business sector was likely and said he hoped the discussions would lead to a more pragmatic and positive attitude towards South Africa.

Mr Parsons and Dr van Zyl emphasised that they were not officially linked to the Convention Alliance set up by Opposition leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi although they said organised business sought to encourage negotiations between all parties in South Africa.

POLITICS

Argus 8/8/85 (30K)

A top businessman's vision of SA's future

The chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr GAVIN RELLY, recently led a delegation of businessmen and journalists to a meeting in Zambia with leaders of the ANC. In an article written for The Guardian he explained why he went and what his hopes are for South Africa

SOUTH AFRICANS must turn their minds to thinking about how to create a new, coherent society that offers reasonable equity to all.

If we leave aside the right-wing fringe, which basks irritably in the 19th century and doesn't want to see any change at all, there seem to be two fundamental approaches.

The first is to continue to modify the present system — a process which, in the absence of direction, leaves the many South Africans who are certainly supporters of reform, in some doubt.

The approach appears to take into account, nevertheless, the necessity of a form of power-sharing which at least would recognise various real power centres in the country, some of which may be tribal, such as the powerful Zulus, some of which may be the independent homelands (which can by no means be disregarded), some of which may be urban and multiracial, and some of which may even be white.

In our highly complex society I would by no means reject this line of thinking as impractical, and provided it were able to establish a balance of power in a free society shared by everyone, I would not regard it as morally offensive.

Nor would it exclude everyone's having the vote, though not necessarily in a single, directly elected assembly.

The other approach stems from the view that any modification of the present structure would be simply serving the same pie in a different dish.

> It bluntly declares that nothing short of immediate universal suffrage with protection for minorities or safeguards for institutions is acceptable.

This attitude is supported by the African National Congress.

I myself have no hesitation in believing that an implementation of such a policy would have a devastating effect on the country and the sub-continent.

It was with some of these considerations in mind that a group of business and news



Mr Gavin Relly

paper men accepted an invitation from President Kaunda of Zambia to meet members of the ANC last month under his auspices.

Predictably, there remained great gaps between us. Businessmen do not embrace the prospect of nationalisation, either in practical or philosophical terms. They know as a matter of fact that economic thinking which derives from the shadowy incompetent world of worn-out Marxism does not create wealth.

On the other hand, who can deny that there are inequalities in the generation and distribution of South Africa's wealth?

A new society, reformed or revolutionary, would have to apply itself more diligently to the alleviation of deprivation in education, health and feeding.

How would this be paid for? Which economic system would best create growth and wealth? Which political system would best secure the stability required inter alia to encourage investment both foreign and local?

People of liberal disposition need to be reminded that the creation of wealth is the African continent's greatest need indeed that without it democracy itself can have no real meaning.

In moving into the future one of the most important questions to be asked, therefore, is whether the economic motor of South Africa can be kept going at a sufficient pace to ensure some per-capita improvement in living standards for its growing population and be able to contribute also in skill, money and know-how to the development needs of the sub-continent.

Growth will depend on a great number of factors, among them the preservation of investment confidence and the availability of capital, the untrammelling of the people so that they can participate in a free-enterprise society and the creation of political structures that have the moral underpinnings to generate acceptability and confidence within and beyond the borders of South Africa.

We have to recognise that formal economic sanctions will have an extremely serious capillary effect in the long term and introduce an increasing number of obstacles to growth by cutting the economy off inter alia from contemporary technology.

It should also be obvious that unless the world's bankers become more judicious in their professional attitudes toward South Africa, the financing problems that face the country and that have nothing to do with its intrinsic viability will turn South Africa into a capital-exporting country with predictably damaging results for the whole sub-continent in terms of diminished economic activity.

Though few politicians yet seem to perceive it, that prospect is already sufficiently close as to render irrelevant and acasanctions in so many legislatures around the world.

More by accident, it seems, than by design, the international banking community may itself be in process of bringing about the economic wasteland in South Africa that well-meaning, but mistaken folk argue is the "caring way" to political change.

The international community presumably is hoping for some dramatic gesture from South Africa, but I very much doubt whether it will see an immediate handing over of power on a basis of one man one vote.

It would like to see Mr Nelson Mandela released and so would most South Africans. It would also like to see the beginning of negotiations which President P W Botha has offered on an open agenda with anyone who abjures violence, and most South Africans would like that too.

Many would agree with President Botha, however, that opening negotiations with people who advocate and instigate violence as a means of obtaining the change they want is rather difficult without some give-and-take.

One has to search for common ground even if at this stage the gap between the reformists and the revolutionists in regard to the type of society they envisage is a chasm.

At least we have some important things in common — and nothing I heard in Zambia significantly qualifies my list.

First, we are all South Africans, a fact recently acknowledged by President Botha in announcing the restoration of South African citizenship to all blacks.

Second, we all wish to have a vital and productive society supported and endorsed by a majority of the population.

Third, a society that would have as one of its major objectives a significant improvement in the health, welfare and education of those who are deprived.

Fourth, that there is a sub-continental community of interest which calls for consolidation of resources to our mutual benefit rather than their diminishment by quarrels and fighting.

Fifth, that whether the politics are of reform or revolution, political stability will not be bought by votes if the population as a whole enjoys no prospect of improvement in its material condition.

That is why I myself would hope, if we were wise at all, that our society should have sufficient coherence to enable us at *least to alleviate* unbridled population growth in the recognition that in South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, this is an absolute inhibitor of any real improvement in the condition of man.

President announces black affairs reshuffle

3044 STAR 5/8/85

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The administration of urban black affairs will be transferred temporarily to the Ministry of Constitutional Development from next month, pending further constitutional moves, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Pretoria today.

The old Ministry of Co-operation, Development and Education will be renamed the Ministry of Education and Development Aid from September 1.

It will remain under the political control of Dr Gerrit Viljoen and it will be responsible for two departments — the Department of Development Aid and the Department of Education and Training.

DIRECTED

Development Aid will be directed mainly at the national states with regard to land affairs, works and management services.

The announcement clears the way for the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Special Cabinet Committee investigating the political future of urban blacks to work out a constitutional accommodation of urban black communities.

It also brings to a close the decades-long rule of urban blacks by the bureaucratic empire which has variously been known as Native Affairs, Bantu Administration and Development, Plural Relations, and Co-operation and Development.

STARTED

Mr Botha started the process earlier this year when he said statistical services, economic advisory, scientific planning and social planning modules had been transferred to other departments from the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

He said today he had decided that certain modules under Co-operation and Development could now be more practically placed under Constitutional Development.

In terms of the rationalisation, the Department of Education and Training will be the overall authority over black education, youth development, cultural promotion and sport development.

● See Page 15

'Economic situation main cause of unrest

STAR 8/5/85

30(4A 4A

South Africa's bad economic situation was responsible for the unrest in black townships, Mr Brian Goodall, PFP MP for Edenvale, said at a party meeting in his constituency last night.

Mr Goodall told a gathering of about 100 people that militancy among blacks was due almost entirely to economic deprivation and that it would worsen if unemployment reached a projected 50 percent by the year 2000.

One need only look, he said, at the economic performance of the Eastern Cape in relation to unrest in that region.

He referred to the recent Human Sciences Research Council's report on apartheid which stressed the need for faster economic growth if South Africa was to solve its problems and that unrest is also caused by the political deprivation of blacks in a tricameral system.

Slabbert: Future of free enterprise 'grim'

Cape Times 8/8/85

Political Correspondent

FREE enterprise faces a "very grim" future in South Africa as long as blacks remained locked into the townships and out of central government, according to the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Speaking to the Diamond Club in Johannesburg yesterday, Dr Slabbert said that much had been said recently about the government's commitment to free enterprise and reform.

However, their future in the Republic was "very grim indeed" if the government could not say "yes" to young blacks asking questions like: Can I get out of the township in which I was born and live wherever my own ingenuity and talent enables me to live?; Can I move freely in the land of my birth to find work?; Am I in the same position as any other South African to call to account the government that takes decisions that affect my daily life?

● Meanwhile, speculation continued to grow yesterday that the government was likely to unveil significant new policy initiatives on blacks soon — probably at the National Party's first provincial congress of the season which begins in Durban next Thursday.

Speculation was fuelled by visiting US Congressman Stephen Solarz who, after a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, suggested that certain of these planned reforms would be viewed as significant in the US.

The new government initiative on blacks is expected to deal with influx control and constitutional change.

The government has claimed that these issues have been on its reform agenda for some time, but the threat of impending sanctions is likely to infuse Pretoria with new urgency.

'All laws' to be discussed with blacks

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Government was prepared to discuss all of the country's laws in future negotiations with black leaders for a new constitutional dispensation, Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Louis Nel told Americans on national TV last night.

CONVINCED

He said contacts were being made with a wide variety of leaders and the Government was convinced that the process would "take off" in the near future.

Mr Nel said on the American Broadcasting Corporation's Nightline programme: "And when (the talks) take place, all the laws of South Africa could surely be on the table and could surely be talked about."

Mr Nel was pressed several times on this point by the show's host, Mr Ted Koppel, who asked him: "If and when these negotiations do begin anything is open, anything can be discussed, any of these laws are subject to negotiation and subject to change? Is that what you said?"

SURE

"Sure, that's what I said," Mr Nel replied.

He said that what South Africa did not need at the moment was for the Government to prescribe unilaterally.

What was needed was for the parties to come together to talk things out.

"South Africa is a society in transition. We want to continue with that process and we want to do so hand-to-hand with the black leaders of South Africa," he said

Asked about the effects of recent diplomatic pressure on South Africa, specifically the withdrawal for consultations of 10 European ambassadors and the American envoy, Mr Nel said: "South Africa is not going to be governed by the capitals of the Western world."

The country was busy with a process of reform and could carry it out during a period of calm, stability and economic growth.

"South Africa is not going to bow to (any) pressure whatsoever," he said.

RECALL

In some respects the recall of the ambassadors had been to the advantage of South Africa

It meant that the ambassadors would be able to brief their governments directly on the real situation there.

"They can tell their governments that what we are dealing with are radical revolutionary black people who are assaulting, attacking and killing other blacks," Mr Nel said.

"They can tell them this is an attempt by revolutionaries to stop the emergence of a moderate black leadership that would be recognised by the outside world."

There had already been a change in the attitude of the Australian government which now wanted constructive dialogue with South Africa, a change of policy for that country.

BURNING

Mr Nel said he got the impression that Americans thought the whole of South Africa was burning because of news reporting which highlighted incidents

But that was not the case and in the last couple of weeks the incidence of unrest had declined.

"At the moment, the situation in South Africa is to a great extent restful," he said.

But it was not possible to say when the state of emergency would be lifted in the 36 magisterial districts. That would take place when life returned to normal in the townships.

SA will overcome its problems — Botha

ANDRE MEYEROWITZ of the Argus Political Staff reports from Pretoria on the State President's visit to Kwandebele

PRESIDENT P W Botha, happy to have won renewed backing from the Kwandebele homeland, sets out today on another homeland trip — this time to Gazankulu.

He will have talks in Gazankulu with the Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, and members of his Cabinet.

The President had a friendly welcome yesterday in Kwandebele, an arid territory which houses about 300 000 people and has had some success as an industrial growth point.

Mr Botha praised Kwandebele leaders and they in turn backed his constitutional ideas and his tough stand on law and order.

He said after a day of talks and walk-abouts in Kwandebele that he was convinced South Africa would overcome its problems with the help of people, such as Chief Minister Mr Simon Skosana.

"I have no doubt that we will change this sub-continent into a fortress of goodwill, development and progress," Mr Botha said.

He dismissed what he called "a hysterical outcry in some quarters of the world", saying South Africa would continue along a road of orderly constitutional, social and economic development.

Details of the talks Mr Botha held with the Kwandebele Cabinet have not been disclosed but Education Minister Mr P M Kunutu told him in one of the day's many speeches: "You can count on our support for your stand on law and order."

Mr Botha's series of homeland visits is are seen in government circles as providing a clear counterpoint to the unrest which is continuing in many parts of South Africa.

The trips demonstrate, according to officials, that many blacks are against the unrest and want to get on with peaceful development.

Sapa reports that more than 1 000 primary schoolchildren greeted Mr Botha when he arrived in the capital of Siyabuswa, waving South African and KwaNdebele paper flags.

After holding discussions with Mr Skosana and his cabinet in the single-storey government buildings in Siyabuswa, about 130km north-east of Pretoria, Mr Botha said:

"We have once again shown that we can discuss one another's problems around a table and plan together for a better future for the peoples of South Africa."

● THE Argus Group representative who travelled with President P W Botha to the Kwandebele homeland yesterday has been barred from accompanying the President on the visit to Gazankulu.

Mr Botha has withdrawn an invitation to Mr Andre Meyerowitz, political correspondent of the Pretoria News, to join him as a representative of the Argus Group of newspapers.

A report published in the Pretoria News yesterday started by recording that Mr Botha stumbled, but recovered immediately, as he alighted from his helicopter on arrival in Siyabuswa, the Kwandebele capital.

A spokesman for the State President's office said: "The President feels it was unnecessary to lead off with the reference to his disembarkation from the helicopter in a news report about his discussions with Kwandebele on the important issues of independence and the consolidation of their homeland."

The spokesman indicated that there was no bar on a different Argus Group representative replacing Mr Meyerowitz.



President P W Botha and Kwandebele Chief Minister Simon Skosana share a joke and a handshake during the President's official visit to Kwandebele yesterday.

'SA in the dark about violence'

STAR 8/8/85

304A

South Africans didn't know half of what was really going on in the country, Dr Alex Boraine, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands, said last night.

"On a recent visit to the United States I saw bestialities on TV screens in news reports from South Africa which were never shown in this country.

"I wish you were there so that you could have seen what was really going on in your country," Dr Boraine told a report-back meeting of the PFP in Parktown, Johannesburg.

He said there was a direct correlation between the current unrest and the new constitution which excluded blacks from the decision-making process.

"Black anger has been growing and developing for decades. We have warned the Government that blacks wouldn't take the new constitution sitting down.

"There are people in the Government who are aware of this anger. But instead of showing compassion they resort to militarisation and strong-arm tactics.

"Part of this strategy is the destabilisation of neighbouring countries."

Referring to the Government's acknowledgement that the rebel Mozambique National Resistance movement had received support from South Africa, Dr Boraine said: "They will do it again and will keep on doing it."

Dr Boraine predicted that the Government would increasingly depend on military might rather than real reform.

Dr Marius Barnard, PFP MP for Parktown, said it was ironic that Mr P W Botha wanted Nelson Mandela to reject violence when "the country itself is being torn apart by violence".



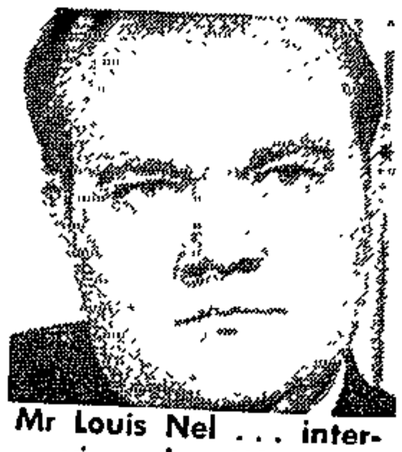
Dr Alex Boraine



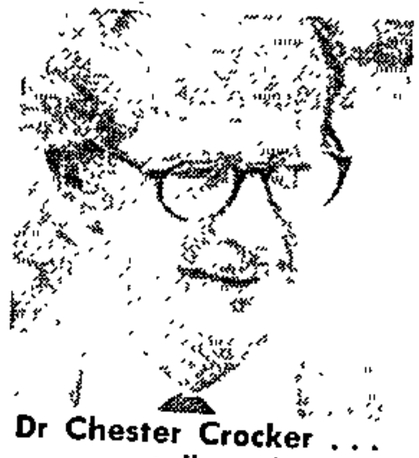
Mr Brian Goodall



Mr Pik Botha ... pleased with talks.



Mr Louis Nel ... interviewed on US TV.



Dr Chester Crocker ... more talks today.



Mr Herman Nickel ... will have his say.



Senator Richard Lugar ... keen on sanctions.

Pleased Pik heads for home after Vienna talks

LONDON — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was heading back to South Africa today apparently pleased with the talks he has had with United States and British representatives in Vienna.

But he may return to Europe later to further brief the US, Britain and Germany on the state of emergency.

And there is speculation that Mr Botha will make a secret stop on his way home. A South African spokesman said he was making his way home "slowly".

Although Mr Botha had an appointment in South Africa on Monday "he may come back to Europe after that," the spokesman said.

In Washington, diplomats were reported as saying the the Reagan Administration was seeking serious changes in South Africa's racial policies, despite President Ronald Reagan's declared opposition to tough economic sanctions against the country.

The diplomats said senior US officials had requested the changes in the talks at Vienna yesterday with Mr Botha.

They said the US team of National Security Adviser, Mr Robert McFarlane, and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, had no fixed demands to make on Mr Botha. Mr Botha is also thought to have met with Mr Ewan Fergusson, former British Ambassador to Pretoria and now a senior Foreign Office official.

The State Department said more talks were held in Vienna today with Dr Crocker and Mr Herman Nickel, the US Ambassador to South Africa who was recalled for consultations in June.

ANGER OVER RAID

Yesterday's talks were the first high-level contact between the two countries since Mr Nickel was recalled as an expression of Washington's anger over a South African military raid into Botswana.

The diplomats said Mr McFarlane was expected to repeat US demands that the state of emergency imposed last month be lifted and talks be started with black leaders concerning moves away from apartheid.

They said Mr McFarlane may have sought an explanation of comments made by Mr Botha's deputy, Mr Louis Nel, in an interview on US TV this week.

Mr Nel had said South Africa was willing to discuss the revision of any law in talks with black leaders.

The diplomats also said Mr Botha appeared pleased after the first day of talks.

It is understood he gave the Americans an outline of a reform package that might be announced by President P W Botha at a National Party congress on August 15. Speculation has it the package will include an easing of influx control and common citizenship for black and white South Africans.

Senator Richard Lugar, one of the chief sponsors of the sanctions legislation, said the Vienna talks could be seen as an indication of possible flexibility on the part of the South African Government. — Sapa-Reuter, The Star Bureau.

● See Page 13.

Some Cabinet jobs to change

304A MERCURY 9/8/85

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG— President Botha announced a reorganisation of Cabinet portfolios yesterday, splitting the administration of black affairs under two ministries

From September 1, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, will be effectively in charge of the urban black population in addition to the constitutional-planning task.

And the Ministry of Co-operation, Development and Training is to be renamed the Ministry of Education and Development Aid, with Dr Gerrit Viljoen remaining the minister.

City blacks

The reorganisation of the portfolios means a substantial increase in the powers of Mr Heunis at the expense of Dr Viljoen

Some observers see the inclusion of urban black affairs under the constitutional-development umbrella as a prelude to some form of inclusion of city blacks in the new constitutional dispensation.

Mr Botha, who announced the changes at a Press conference in Pretoria, said urban blacks would fall under the department temporarily as the Government had declared itself in favour of devolution of power.

He responded with a grin when asked to comment on reports that he would make a major policy announcement at next week's Natal National Party congress

The Press was told it could speculate if it wished but would have to 'wait and see'.

Land affirs

Mr Botha said the Department of Development Aid would be directed mainly at the 'national states' with regard to land affairs, works, towns and management services

The Ministry of Co-operation and Development would be responsible for one department which would deal mainly with:

Determination of land utilisation, development co-ordination and the overall planning of land consolidation,

Town planning, urbanisation strategy and social development; and

Constitutional planning and promotion

Mr Botha said the current Deputy Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, and Mr Ben Wilkens, the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs and Development, would assist Mr Heunis.

Mr Wilkens and Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, would be Dr Viljoen's deputy ministers



Westville fund-rais

Mercury Reporter

PUPILS of Westville's Pitlochry Senior Primary School have challenged schools throughout Natal to raise money to help save the wattled crane from extinction, after handing over a cheque for R705 to the Natal Parks Board

With 1985 having been declared International Year of the Wetlands — the habitat of the wattled crane — the school decided to do its bit for the conservation of the rare species, the population of which has dwindled to a

THE NATAL OPTION

Towards a workable solution



It's time for Natal to take off. We don't mean secession, but joint rule within the region could pave the path for national reconciliation.

There is a way out. With all SA calling for solutions to its grave and fundamental problems, one option presents itself as a realistic, low-risk starting point to a new future: it has been called the Natal/KwaZulu option.

Over the past few years, those who want Natal and KwaZulu to be allowed to develop a local political dispensation which suits the region have mounted to a powerful chorus: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu government and his mass movement Inkatha; virtually the entire business and farming community; professional people; religious and community leaders; a wide variety of politicians; and some of SA's most respected academics.

Government can no longer afford to ignore the idea.

In essence the issues are simple. Independence for the 44 pieces of KwaZulu scribbled over Natal is totally impractical — and unacceptable to most whites and blacks alike. Again, there is a strong economic and geographic interdependence between the homeland and the "white" areas. A glance at the Natal/KwaZulu map shows that two separate administrations — with sometimes overlapping functions — is patent and profligate nonsense. (There are, for instance, no less than six departments administering eduction in the region.)

As importantly, there is an unequalled racial tolerance between blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds; and a strong sense of common destiny in the province — a province that has always been a little bit different from the rest of SA. All the people of Natal and KwaZulu want is to be able to run their province jointly.

Says KwaZulu Education Minister, Secretary-General of Inkatha and, at the time of the interview, acting Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Oscar Dhlomo "We have a rare commodity here in Natal, and that is stability and racial tolerance. These are rare in SA today We must not waste it."

Joint rule is not a new idea. The Buthelezi Commission recommended something along these lines back in 1982. But the idea has grown, the atmosphere and attitudes have changed, and suddenly there is a new sense of urgency. The growing stature of Chief Buthelezi as a popular, reasonable and moderate national leader, as well as the fact that Natal has largely escaped the township unrest, have strengthened the arguments.

As Bruce Forssman, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, observed in a speech to assembled captains of commerce last week "Everyone acknowledges the need for reform What is needed is action. That action must come from the chief executive of the country, the State President, P W Botha. And my proposition is that he starts with Natal."

In an obvious reference to the Buthelezi Commission report, Forssman added "I believe that the research is done, the talking is done. All we need now is the doing And President Botha must give us the chance. Test us Mr Botha ... Natal/KwaZulu will not be found wanting."

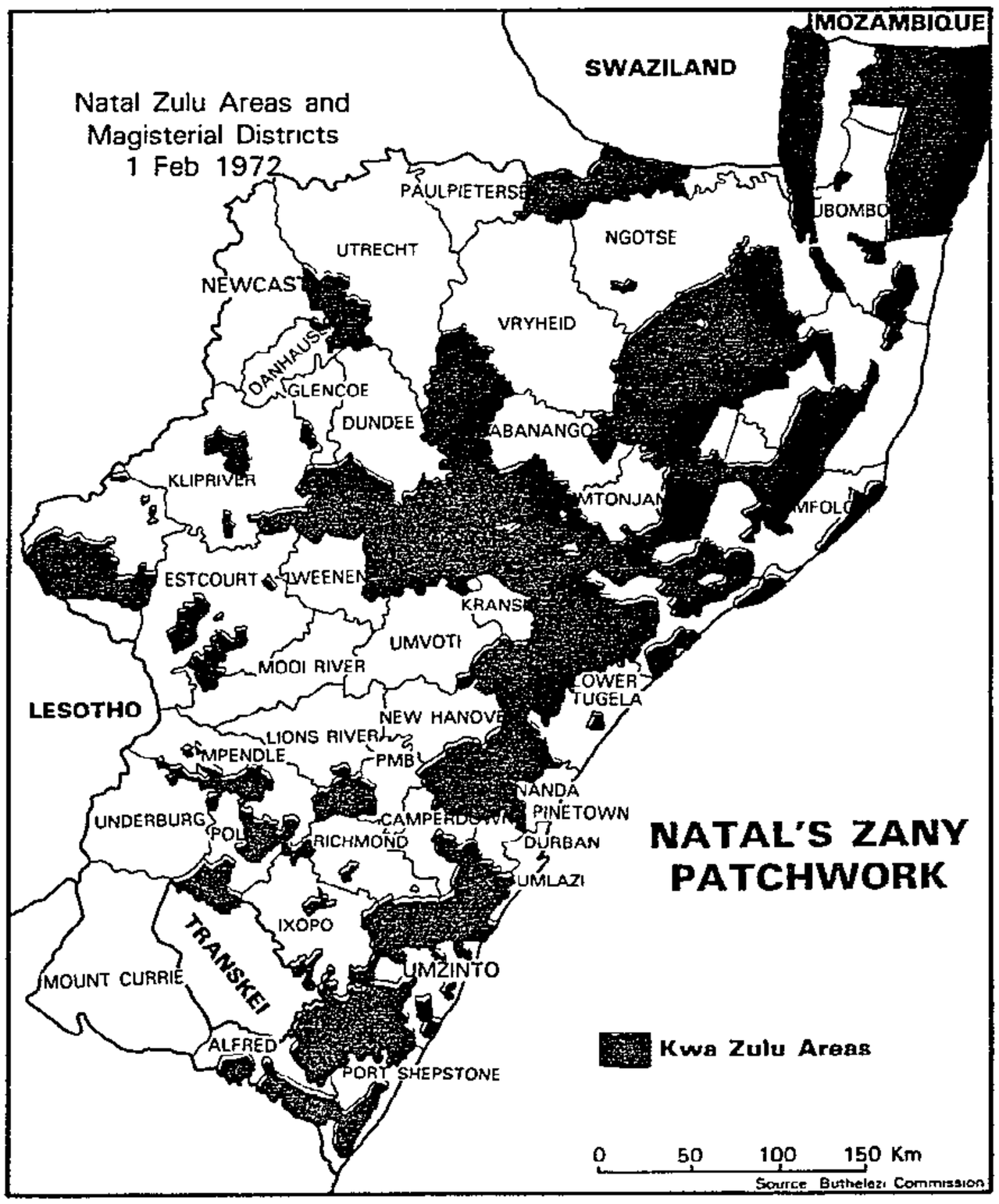
There can be little doubt in the minds of realistic South Africans that the only viable constitutional option for SA is some form of federalism. Continued white hegemony is untenable; and a simple one man, one vote system holds out dangers of group domination.

At central government level, an ethnic federation holds too many dangers of confrontation and deadlock. Yet there are several systems in the world which prove that geographical federation can work. On a regional level, where the focus is on local and practical affairs, a formula for group representation and protection seems reasonable — and can indeed form the basis for minority protection at national level.

The Natal option could provide an ideal starting point for a geographical federation in SA. Like Natal, there are other regions which have strong interdependence: the PWV, the eastern Cape, the western Cape. No doubt it will be more difficult in these areas; but once the Natal option is in place and working, it could prove to all that this is a sensible solution to our complex problems.

Let us look at the possible mechanics of a joint Natal/KwaZulu government. The Buthelezi Commission recommended in 1982 that KwaZulu and the Natal Provincial Administration should run their affairs side-by-side for a "phasing-in period," before final fusion of the two entities.

The commission further recommended



that there be parity of representation between blacks and whites on the initial regional executive, with Indians and coloureds as an additional component. Proportionality — rather than a "winner-takes-all" system with minimum group representation and a limited minority veto right — was proposed for the legislative assembly to be elected by universal adult suffrage

The KwaZulu government, in 1985, is still prepared to use these recommendations as a basis for development. Says Buthelezi Commission secretary, Natal University's Professor Lawrence Schlemmer. "Anything less than the commission's proposals would simply offer too little to be workable, and in that sense would not assist the population minorities in protecting their interests in the medium to long term."



Chief Buthelezi

The problem of the Buthelezi Commission, however, is that it gave little thought to how this system would mesh in with a larger SA. It has also been overtaken by events. It was, for example, drafted long before government's proposed regional services councils had been thought of, or the tricameral Parliament became a reality.

So some view the scrapping of the Natal provincial administration, to make way for the proposed regional services councils, as a setback for the Buthelezi Commission. In reality it could well be that the new structure would suit the proposals. The seven or so regional services councils for Natal would then ultimately be the new executive authority in the province. Their proposed boundaries overlap into parts of KwaZulu, so will of necessity be inherently multiracial in character. What's to stop government, some ask, from appointing a joint, multiracial super-council made up of representatives from KwaZulu and Natal to act as a body co-ordinating and negotiating with central government?

This proposal was first floated six months ago by Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC, and was quickly seen by all principal players as having within it the seeds of a workable compromise.

Inkatha's Dhlomo concedes that such a body could facilitate a type of joint administration while a more permanent solution is worked out. It would be tantamount to the "phasing-in period" proposed by the commission.

There would however, be certain structural hurdles to overcome. Whites, coloureds and Indians in Natal would have representation at the centre of government through the regional services councils working upwards through the tricameral Parliament. Blacks, who are not part of the tricameral arrangement, would have none.

This, suggests Dhlomo, could possibly be overcome by a form of "direct rule" from Pretoria — much like the arrangement with the Administrator-General in Namibia — which would afford blacks at least some leverage at the top.

Schlemmer likes the idea: "If you could have a separate state department responsible for Natal/KwaZulu, it could serve as the nucleus of a Federal Council that is different from the Cabinet, but obviously includes the Cabinet. Government has to release Nelson Mandela at some point, but can only do it when the negotiation forum is in place. What better idea for such a forum than this Federal Council?"



Inkatha's Dhlomo

Schlemmer says that if several regions begin a process of negotiation towards an interracial accommodation within their boundaries, an obvious parallel development at central level could be a "second house" of Parliament concerned with the co-ordination, funding and facilitation of the affairs of those regions. Black representation in the central Cabinet could be drawn from this "house"

But before any alternatives to the Buthelezi Commission are considered, Dhlomo stresses, the KwaZulu government has one important prerequisite: that "government would need to spell out in a statement of intent that it is working on a mechanism for sharing power with blacks at the centre"

He adds: "It must be clearly understood that this is merely an interim arrangement while a national convention of some sort



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works out a broader formula for a future government."

None of this seems too far away from current government thinking. In late May this year President Botha told London Weekend Television "What we are quietly working towards is to create a system of the broadening of democracy in SA, to see to it that every person has a vote as far as possible over his own interests and that structures be created through which it will be possible to have joint discussions on matters of mutual concern." When asked if that included joint decision-making, he replied "Yes, if that is necessary."

Two weeks ago UN Ambassador Kurt von Schirnding made it even clearer when he told the UN: "My government is seeking to create structures of government which will allow participation by all without domination."



Natal's Schlemmer ... a formula that could work

In one way at least there has been real progress since the Buthelezi report The Political Interference Act, which would have made implementation impossible, has been scrapped. Also, some forms of formal co-operation between KwaZulu and other authorities have been instituted. These include a committee co-ordinating and integrating planning for the whole region, headed jointly by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal.

Dhlomo makes a valid point. He says if President Botha can manage to take blacks in Natal/KwaZulu into his confidence, he would tap a deep pit of goodwill, here and abroad, and he would find the large body of moderate black opinion squarely behind him. If he does not, Dhlomo warns, "all goodwill between him and black leaders prepared to compromise and pursue non-violence would be lost and Botha could find himself down the road in 10 years' time having to consider far more radical proposals than the Buthelezi Commission."

Chief Buthelezi is internationally well known and respected. Allowing Natal and KwaZulu to opt for a regional solution could just convince the West that there is the political will in SA to change fundamentally — and that could lead to a normalisation of relations with these nations (Even *The Economist* offered as advice in a recent cover story that Botha should allow Natal/KwaZulu to "embark on a provincial experiment in multiracial government that might become the model for a future SA federation.")

Signals from Pretoria

Government, of course, ignored the Buthelezi Commission report when it came out in 1982; but recently Co-operation, Development and Training Minister Gerrit Viljoen told Parliament that certain aspects of the report are being looked at by government. More than that Pretoria does not want to say.

When Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis was cornered at the Development Society of Southern Africa's symposium on the subject in Durban this week, he was vague and said that if he was to pronounce on it, "it would be prescriptive and that is what I warn leaders against." But he added, significantly, that the future of Natal and KwaZulu is so interrelated that, in his view, they cannot but co-operate closely: "The solution may not be the same in all the provinces. We must be flexible and take local and regional conditions into consideration."

Then there is the question of whether the ruling National Party will accept such a move; or rather, whether government has much to fear from the white rightwing. The likes of Andries Treurnicht and Jaap Marais would condemn it and use it as a stick to beat government with. But it must be remembered that the Afrikaner has had a long history of recognising local solutions (several small republics). Afrikaner Weerstands-

A SOCIETY IN BALANCE

It might have something to do with the heat of the midday sun, but Natal and its people have always been regarded as slightly eccentric. The region has a very distinctive history and, in effect, its own culture.

The ritual of gin slings on the front lawn, croquet and cucumber sandwiches, is still practised with an almost religious fervour in some circles. The Union Jack still flutters incongruously outside Maritzburg's Union Club and it is not uncommon to find diehards talking in hushed tones of such heretic concepts as secession.

But the heterogenous peoples of the region seem to get on well enough — though it wasn't always so. There were some dark events in the distant past that pitted men and races against each other in the search for political power and dominance. The battle of Blood River was one, the murder of Piet Retief and his men another. In the end it was the Zulu wars which brought those cataclysmic days to a final and bloody close. More recently there were the Afro/Asian riots of 1949 which once again fanned racial passions.

Today, these events are best left forgotten.

For the majority black population the benign, despotic colonial rule of the British overlords turned into a more formalised master/servant relationship with the advent of Union. The ascension of the National Party in 1948 saw the beginnings of institutionalised apartheid — practiced in Natal as fervently as in any other region.

Blacks, because of their position in the social pecking order, have suffered harshly under apartheid. But Zulus, a proud people, have borne their burden with true stoicism. They are SA's largest single black ethnic group (numbering some 8m) and still cling rigidly to their tribal customs and beliefs, nothwithstanding their rapid urbanisation.

Even today their king remains more than just a symbolic figure. Zulus everywhere would rally instantly to his call, or that of KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This gives them a political unison unique in African politics. Nowhere is this more exemplified than in the 1m strong membership of the Inkatha cultural liberation movement, Buthelezi's major power base.

Natal's Indians came somewhat belatedly to the scene in the 1860s as indentured agricultural workers for the sugar industry. They did the jobs blacks of the time held in contempt, put down their roots and prospered. Among their descendants are the wealthy Indian merchant class of modern day SA. By far the majority, 0,7m, still reside in the province. Indians, it would be true to say, have few political aspirations of their own. Ironically, their first true political involvement has come via the tricameral Parliament.

As in other parts of SA, Natal's small coloured population (around 89 000) owes its existence to inter-racial miscegenation. But they differ from coloureds elsewhere in that they have adopted English as their mother tongue and follow closely its traditions.

Conflicting aspirations, even some disagreements, there may be. But blacks and their co-inhabitants of Natal have largely learnt to put aside their differences, their spears, guns and petrol bombs, and get along with each other. So much so that today they are further down the road towards joint government than anyone else can claim to be

beweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche recently told the *FM* his vision is to reinstate the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Free State, while he is happy "if P W Botha and the coloureds in the Cape and the English, the Indians and the Zulus in Natal work out something they are prepared to live with."

In Natal itself, with the possible exception of parts of northern Natal, the idea of joint administration is likely to be supported by many Afrikaners. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, for instance, has expressed itself against independence of KwaZulu and for closer co-operation between the KwaZulu and Natal administrations.

Surveys done in 1981 for the Buthelezi Commission indicated wide support among whites, coloureds and Indians for the commission's proposals. Schlemmer, who was in charge of these surveys, says this support has increased significantly, especially since the white referendum and the implementation of the new constitution.

Says Natal University vice-principal and Buthelezi Commission chairman Professor Deneys Schreiner: "The urgency of the SA situation requires bold action by our politicians. The public of Natal, of all race groups, cannot afford the passive acceptance by our present politicians of the subjection of local variation to a central policy totally unsuited to this area."

Indeed. There will not easily be another chance like this to start the slow process of normalising SA society. All that is needed is courage and a leap of faith by government. Natal is waiting. ■

VOX POPULI

"The Natal/KwaZulu Option" is the talk of Natal. Seminars on the topic are being held, local newspapers write about it regularly, it is widely discussed by organised commerce and industry — and even the man on the street is talking about it. This is what some Natalians say:

☐ **Richard Castle,** chairman of the Pinetown branch of the National Party and prominent Durban stockbroker: "The ordinary white in Natal will support it if he knows that the new government is not going to turn Greyville into a soccer stadium. He does not want the old colonial lifestyle of Natal to be changed. I will support it if law and order is underwritten by the central government and if the new administrator swears his loyalty to the SA State President."

☐ **Grant McCallum,** a Pietermaritzburg accounts clerk: "If this is going to keep the kind of black violence we have seen on TV away from Natal, why not? Buthelezi seems to be a moderate and responsible leader. I can follow him."

☐ **Tony Ardington,** chairman of the SA Cane Growers' Association: "We in Natal still have a strong black leadership who can give credibility to new initiatives and who have the strength to look at political possibilities rather than totally uncompromising policies. I believe this to be our single greatest political asset. I believe we must act quickly to ensure the opportunity and the asset are not lost."

☐ **A young Durban architect:** "The atmosphere in Natal is far more laid-back than elsewhere in SA. I grew up with the Zulus and I respect them as a nation. I have no problem with Chief Buthelezi being my provincial leader. It is in our mutual interest that we have peace and stability in Natal and that standards are not lowered."

PLATE GLASS

Global challenger

It's more than timber and glass now — the multinational operations of Plate Glass have reflected burgeoning growth in turnover, profits and share rating. Yet it's very much a tale of two brothers.

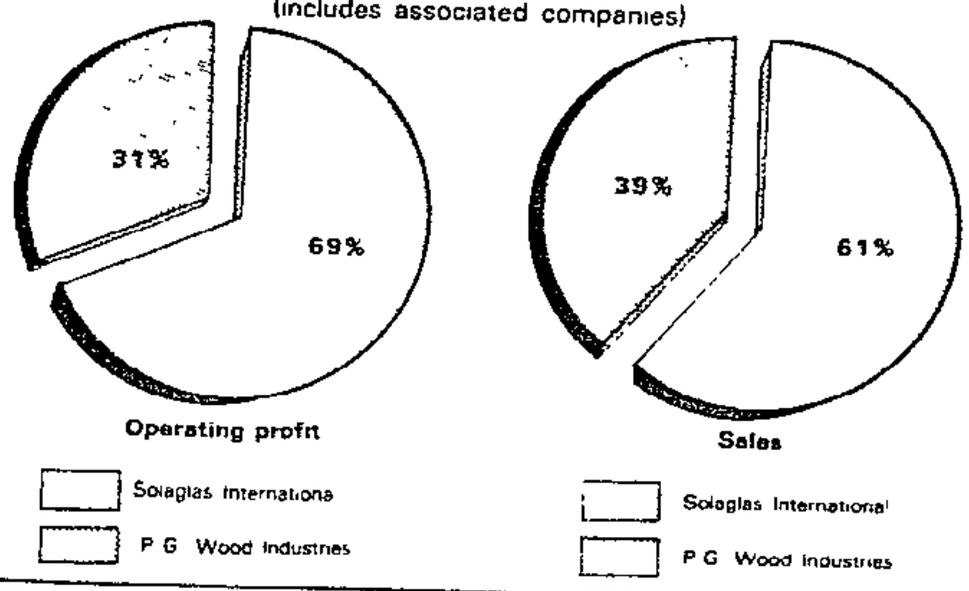
Plate Glass's joint executive chairman Bertie Lubner is regarded as a more conservative man than his brother Ronnie, with whom he shares the chairmanship of Plate Glass (PG). But there is no doubt that the brothers' complementary skills have expanded PG from a local family-run timber and glass business into SA's biggest industrial multinational.

The market is impressed and has rerated upwards PG's share and that of its holding company, Placor, which is jointly controlled by the Lubner family and Liberty Life. PG has risen from a R12,35 low in late-January to a R23,25 high in July and Placor from 500c to 800c. These rises occurred on thin volumes — barely 2% of PG's total share capital was traded and both shares are tightly held. But PG is considered soundly run, holds dominant shares of its markets, has attractive international exposure and promises solid and sustained longer-term earnings growth.

"Ronnie and I don't run the business," says Bertie, "we motivate it. We are getting a better market share because our people are motivated. There is a confidence in our executives; there's depth of management. We employ top-rate people with leadership qualities. We agree on philosophy, but the man-

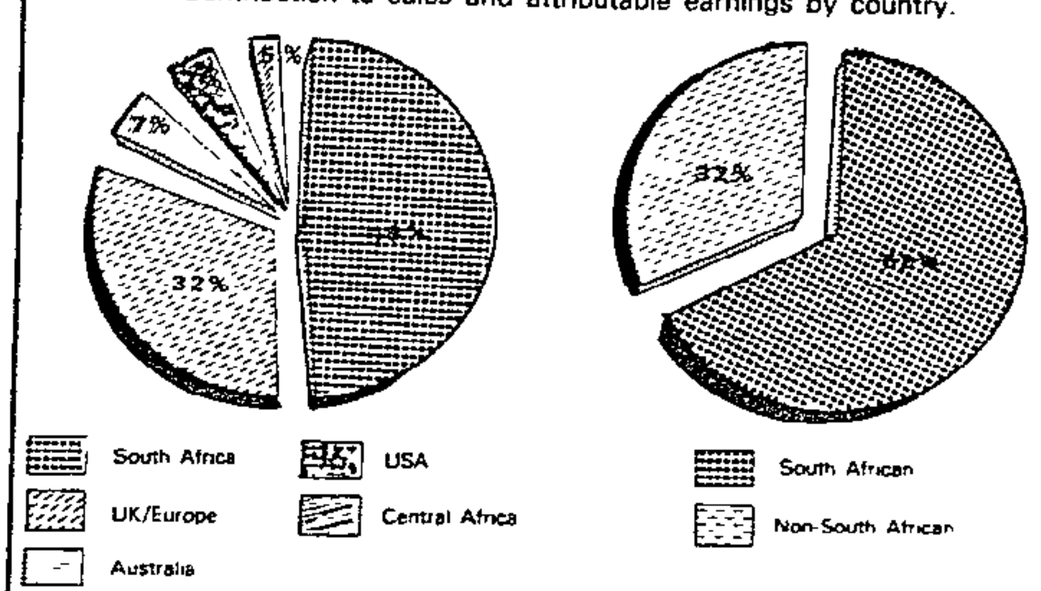
DIFFERENT VENTURES . . .

Divisional contribution to sales and operating profit (includes associated companies)



. . . LED OFF SHORE

Contribution to sales and attributable earnings by country.



The South African condition

Visitors look at 'insane' system of apartheid

304A MERCURY 9/8/85

MEMBERS of the Liberal International delegation currently on a 10-day visit to South Africa have been astonished by the two different worlds South Africans live in.

'South Africa at present is a country which has a totally split personality,' Dr Gijs de Vries, a Dutch member of the European Parliament, said in an interview.

'In some respects South Africa is a democracy, on paper, that is, with an apparently free Press and the right to assembly.

'Yet the other side of South Africa represents an Eastern European dictatorship

'People disappear and are detained but no one knows where they are being held. Disinformation is practised and opposition is suppressed

'That paradox, those two souls living in one body, cannot last for ever,' Dr de Vries said.

Miss Aideen Nicholson, a Liberal member of the Canadian Parliament, said it was 'unbelievable' that the people lived in two different worlds

'Here we are in a comfortable restaurant in Cape Town, as good as any in the world, yet many of the people in it have never ever been to Crossroads.

'It is possible to live in two different worlds here,' she said.

Miss Nicholson, who represents the Toronto constituency of Trinity, said she also found it unbelievable that people were 'being locked up for being young and idealistic, and for being angry with the system'. 'But the Government calls itself a democracy.'

The government people they had met — including

Barry Streek CAPE TOWN

the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha — had talked about Christianity and the family.

'Yet they can have a young person locked up in solitary confinement without any necessity for the authorities to notify their parents and without allowing family visits either

'There is a Cabinet minister who believes in Christianity but at the same time has no heart for these people. It is so cruel, yet no one in the government seems to have thought about it,' Miss Nicholson said.

Dr de Vries said the delegation had been shocked by the 'high-handed' manner in which President P W Botha had treated Bishop Desmond Tutu

'Here is a moderate leader, one of the people who might be able to build bridges between the Government and its radical opposition, and then he is treated like some minor bishop, not as a recognised leader. Pik Botha even told us Bishop Tutu was not a recognised leader.

'This government gives the impression of having eyes and not being able to see, ears and not being able to hear. They are sitting on a powder-keg and all they are doing is shortening the fuse,' Dr de Vries said.

Miss Nicholson said she was astounded at the costs of apartheid In one relatively small town they had found three hospitals — one for whites, one for coloureds and one for blacks.

'If they amalgamated those hospitals surely you would get a better and cheaper service for everyone,' she said

In South Africa, including the homelands, there were 15 different ministers responsible for education.

'It's insanity. I guess when you get highly intelligent people who operate an incredible structure, with the pieces being put together so methodically, the people don't seem to have stepped back and looked at the premises behind it.'

This 'insane' system had been built with teutonic zeal. 'There is a complicated and efficient framework but it is built on a totally false premise,' Miss Nicholson said

Both Dr de Vries and Miss Nicholson said they had been impressed by the courage of the moderate group of people in the centre consisting of both black and white people who, they believed, would be able to lead South Africa out of its present conflict.

Dr de Vries said this group, which included members of the UDF PFP and the Black Sash, were not only 'exposing themselves to detention and arbitrary action but they are still willing to stick their necks out and to speak out'. 'These people deserve support and solidarity across party lines from outside.'

Miss Nicholson who, like Dr de Vries, was on her first visit to South Africa said the impression one gained in Canada was the conflict in South Africa was split on black/white lines.

'I suppose the only thing that really hit me was to meet English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites who were so solidly opposed to apartheid This is a moderate, liberal group that is keeping up this fight very courageously — and at considerable personal risk,' she said.

Window on Africa

POLITICS

'Greater clarity' to come about blacks' political future - Minister

The Minister of National Health and Population Development predicts that the State President will soon start spelling out the political future of blacks. Political Correspondent

TOS WENTZEL reports

GREATER clarity about the political future of blacks outside the national and independent states would be provided at the coming round of National Party congresses.

This was predicted last night by the new Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

Adressing 60 people at a Nationalist report-back meeting in Stellenberg in the De Kuilen constituency, Dr Van Niekerk said:

"The question on your minds is how the Government is going to handle the political aspirations of the black man, the political future of the black man outside the national and independent states.

"After the congresses of the National Party which start soon you will all have greater clarity on this aspect."

He indicated that President P W Botha would start spelling out the matter at the Natal Nationalist congress next week.

Dr Van Niekerk said it had always been the National Party's policy to bring about change through an evolutionary process.

"Co-operative co-existence" was the watchword in relationships between the various population groups.

The National Party had always, and in an especially dynamic way under Mr Botha, moved to promote this concept of co-operative co-existence.

Referring to the state of emergency Dr Van Niekerk said that only 36 of the 250 magisterial districts and only 20 per cent of the black areas were affected. The whole country was not in a state of emergency.

Revolutionary elements wanted to make the country ungovernable. Intimidation and acts of horror were aimed at getting the population under the influence of the revolutionary power.

In the unrest situation the black-black confrontation had to do with this intimidation.

In the counter-revolutionary action it was of the utmost importance that moderate black leaders should not be seen to be intimidated and should continue in local government. A large number of municipal police had been trained in order to protect this group and to maintain law and order.

Dr van Niekerk said he was extremely optimistic that South Africa would move out of the emergency situation, the economic recession, foreign pressure and the general negativism to a greater optimism.

The emergency measures had diminished unrest and evolution was overcoming revolutionary attempts.

The problems around "co-operative co-existence" would be dramatically handled towards the end of the year.

Mr Myburgh Streicher, MP for De Kuilen, pointed out that Mr Botha had acknowledged the permanency of blacks outside the national states and had stated that their ties with these states were not sufficient politically.

Blacks therefore had to have a say over their own affairs up to the highest level This could be done without sacrificing the principle that one group should not govern over another.

The question of citizenship would now receive special attention from the special Cabinet committee and the multiracial and multiparty forum.

These steps were an indication of the new style of consultation and dialogue. More and more plans were being discussed and the future was being planned along with other groups in order to avoid confrontation and conflict.

Pressures from outside would only bring South Africans closer together.

Basic changes needed — Solarz

STAR
304A
10/8/85

The Star's Foreign News Service

MAPUTO — Unless basic changes are implemented, South Africa is heading for "a cataclysmic confrontation" warned United States Congressman Stephen Solarz here yesterday, the Mozambican news agency Aim reports.

Mr Solarz, a New York Democrat in the House of Representatives, was speaking to reporters at Maputo Airport before his departure from Mozambique.

Asked how he viewed South Africa under the state of emergency in the light of his recent visit there, the Congressman said the country was "quite obviously experiencing a wave of unrest and natural dissatisfaction with the status quo".

TIDE OF ANGER

"There is a rising tide of anger on the part of the black majority over the continuing injustices and inequities of the apartheid system".

He added: "There are many whites who are coming to realise that apartheid is part of the problem and not part of the solution."

Any peaceful change would have to accommodate the "legitimate aspirations of the black majority," he said. It would require a willingness on the part of the Botha Government "to enter into meaningful negotiations with the recognised leaders of the black majority".

In its turn this would require an end to the state of emergency and the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, stressed Mr Solarz.

"Unless there is fundamental change in South Africa in the relatively near future", said the Congressman, "that country is likely to be plunged into a cataclysmic confrontation between the races with profound consequences not only for South Africa, but for the whole region".

Asked what role the United States should play, Mr Solarz said it was essential Washington "makes it clear by deed as well as by word that the continued existence of apartheid is morally and politically untenable, and that we will not continue with business as usual".

He added he would like to see the United States "make a contribution to an atmosphere in which peaceful change becomes possible". This implied letting Pretoria know "that our future relationship depends on the willingness of the Government to move towards the end of apartheid".

Questioned on South Africa's failure to honour the Accord of Nkomati and on the continued violence in Mozambique, Mr Solarz said "the primary source of violence is the existence of the apartheid system in South Africa".

The best thing the United States could do to help win peace, he continued, was "to use its influence to bring apartheid to an end".

Mr Solarz spent less than a day in the country and held discussions with Economic Affairs Minister Mr Jacinto Veloso, Security Minister Mr Sergio Vieira, and Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Jose Carlos Lobo.



Demetri Qually . . . appealing to all like-minded South Africans to join the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) now.
● Picture by Rebecca Hearfield.

PFP's S Tvl hot seat has a new chairman

304A STAR 8 10/8/85

—— by ——
Shirley Woodgate

"Contrary to the common saying, what we really need now is to save this country for ourselves, not only our children," said Mr Demetri Qually (42), the newly elected chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Qually this week stepped into Mrs Irene Menell's hot seat to head probably the most powerful concentration of PFP supporters in South Africa, and outlined future party strategy in the region. Previous regional chairman were Mr Douglas Gibson, Mr Gordon Waddell and Mr Max Borkum.

He is the sales manager for an American computer company and traces his PFP connection back to 1961 when he joined the then Progressive Party. This was followed by his first taste of canvassing, for Mr Rene de Villiers in Parktown in 1974.

He moved to the Witwatersberg constituency where in two elections he helped to slash the National Party candidate Mr Hans Schoeman's majority from 5 000 to just over 1 000 votes.

Now it is sleeves up and the setting of PFP objectives and priorities: "What do we want to achieve? Why, when and who will do it?" are his catch words.

Convinced the party has recently had some significant successes (for instance in Pinetown), he sees the major objectives as fund-raising and broadening the membership base after the removal of the Political Interference Act.

Mr Qually does not see any dramatic breakthroughs for the PFP at this stage. But he warned "time is short for South Africa: on the other hand time has always been short in this country but not enough people have seen it."

SA is NOT 'in flames' — Pik

304A

STAR 10/8/85

FRANKFURT — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said here yesterday the state of emergency declared last month would be lifted as soon as his Government brings civil strife under control.

The Foreign Minister also said only a few areas of South Africa had been affected by recent violence and he denied the country was "in flames".

"It is untrue and a distortion of the truth to try to portray a picture of South Africa in flames," Mr Botha told reporters here.

"As soon as we succeed in getting the position under control in those few areas where turbulence does occur, the emergency measures will be lifted," he added.

SAME ACTION

He said any European government would have taken the same action to end similar "turmoil".

He said the world did not realise the violence was aimed at black people by black people. And he said it often took place on street corners where television crews were waiting.

Mr Botha also said his government would continue to consider reforms, but declined to elaborate. But he assured that the Americans have not presented any ultimatum. "There is no need. We have never been anything but good friends.

"I do not want to be secretive. But it is not in the interest of peace and development in South Africa to disclose what we have discussed."

In Washington it is reported South Africa has briefed top American officials including National Security Adviser Mr Robert McFarlane and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker on various racial reforms it is considering.

"We are encouraged by what we heard," White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said here. — Reuter-Associated Press.

Discrimination must go, Ntsanwisi tells Botha

GIYANI—South Africa would have to do away with institutionalised discrimination before it was accepted by the international community, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi, told President Botha yesterday

After a two-hour meeting with Mr Botha in the capital of Giyani, Prof Ntsanwisi said Mr Botha's visit to Gazankulu was an historic occasion

He told a Press conference after the meeting: 'The State President is not only at the front of reform, but he also takes the trouble to visit a national state and to get first-hand information of what is taking place and deliberate with those in positions of leadership'

Gazankulu is the second homeland Mr Botha has visited in the past week, his first call being at KwaNdebele, where he held discussions with the Chief Minister, Mr Simon Skosana.

Mobbed

Mr Botha is being accompanied by two deputy Ministers and a contingent of more than 20 journalists, flying in three South African Air Force helicopters.

The Office of the State President said earlier Mr Botha intended touring all the national states 'in the near future', although no further details were given.

After touring various industrial and agricultural projects, Mr Botha and Prof Ntsanwisi arrived at the government buildings in Giyani, where Mr Botha was mobbed by more than 300 cheering schoolchildren waving paper flags.

Mr Botha said his talks with Prof Ntsanwisi and the Gazankulu Cabinet had dealt with matters of mutual interest.

Prof Ntsanwisi said he believed the tasks facing South Africa were 'colossal,' adding: 'but I think with the courage he (Mr Botha) has shown and the initiative he has taken, we shall be able to surmount some of the difficulties.'

Prof Ntsanwisi said blacks and whites in South Africa needed to change their attitudes for the country's leaders to carry on with reform.

'We need to redress the imbalances in this country,' he said.

Reform

'And before we can be accepted by the international community, we have to do away with institutionalised discrimination in the politics of our country.'

Prof Ntsanwisi said he believed whites and blacks belonged together in South Africa and 'cannot wish each other away,' and he added: 'I hope that in the movement of reform a place will be got at all levels of decision-making for all the black citizens of this country.' — (Sapa)

New promise sparks high expectations in South Africa and overseas

Reform plan

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

DETAILS have emerged of the Government's major reform initiatives which President P W Botha is expected to announce at the forthcoming round of National Party congresses.

The new promise of reform has sparked high expectations in South Africa and overseas, especially following Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's meetings with senior American and European politicians in Vienna and Frankfurt.

The major thrust of the plan concerns citizenship rights for blacks and moves towards giving them a say at the highest level on matters affecting them.

Consultation

The main elements are:

- The creation of a consultation process with blacks leaders.
- The Special Cabinet Committee along with members of Parliamentary parties, excluding the Conservative Party, will form an informal forum as the core of such a consultation process.
- A key role is also being envisaged for the President's Council which might be cast into a new form with blacks as members.
- The new President's Council could lose its powers to adjudicate between the Houses on disputes on legislation. In its place will come some form of constitutional court.
- The President's Council will become a body largely for consultation. How its members will be appointed or elected has not yet been finally decided but there will be black members.

The blacks affected will be those outside the national and independent states. Earlier this year President Botha acknowledged their permanency in the white areas and said their links with black states alone were not a satisfactory form of political expression.

Citizenship

Citizenship for blacks is one of the key issues the Cabinet was dealing with before the Parliamentary recess.

Blacks of the non-independent but self-governing areas such as Kwazulu are already South African citizens but not those of the independent states such as Transkei, even if they live permanently outside these states.

The plan is to give these people the right to choose whether they want to be South African citizens or citizens of their homeland.

Nationalist politicians are anxious to have the approval of their congresses although the Cabinet has so far largely taken the decisions.

These politicians say the Government is trying to find a power-sharing formula with blacks without stating this too openly for fear of a rightwing backlash.

The President is also said to be sensitive to the idea of coming with an outright declaration of intent, although what he might be saying in the next few weeks may amount to this.

High Western hopes

Cork Times 10/8/85 (3044)

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — Expectations of major reforms in South Africa seized European capitals yesterday following a secret four-nation summit in Vienna and a White House spokesman said the Reagan administration was "encouraged" by the talks.

Diplomatic sources said that although Britain and West Germany were not represented at ministerial level both the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Kohl, were being kept informed.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told journalists following his meeting with senior United States, British and West German officials in Vienna and Frankfurt that the government was "seriously considering further reform movements".

And diplomatic sources close to the Vienna talks said Mr Botha had given Western officials a detailed preview of the reforms to be announced by President P W Botha at the opening of the National Party's Natal Congress on Thursday.

Speculation ranged from the release of the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela, to a more moderate package including a common citizenship for blacks, the lifting of influx control, amendments to the Group Areas Act and the acceptance in principle of black/white power-sharing.

However, rumours that Mr Mandela is to be released were categorically denied by the South African Prison Services yesterday afternoon. A spokesman said they have "no knowledge of such a decision".

UPI reports from Washington that the US National Security Adviser Mr Robert McFarlane briefed President Ronald Reagan on his return yesterday.

'Specific changes'

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said Mr Botha told Mr McFarlane of some "specific changes" his country had in mind.

The country was now reviewing aspects of its apartheid policy of racial separation and was expected to complete that review "in a matter of days, perhaps weeks", Mr Speakes said.

A British Government spokesman confirmed that Mr Ewen Fergusson, the deputy Under-Secretary of State responsible for Africa, had returned from Vienna yesterday after two hours of talks with Mr Botha on Thursday night.

● Govt on verge of change?, page 4

Bribe-case MP is a political rookie

N/C Argus 10/8/81 (30 4 ...)



Mrs Soheir Hoosen

JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT has acquired a non-political Mrs Helen Suzman in the shape of Mrs Soheir Hoosen, the housewife who will become the new MP for Tafelberg after the Cape Supreme Court stripped the previous incumbent of his seat for bribing voters.



Mr Abdurachman Mohammed

Mrs Hoosen will be the lone woman in opposition in the House of Representatives (coloured), as Mrs Suzman was the lone PFP spokesman in the white House of Assembly for many years.

But there the resemblance ends. Mrs Hoosen, a 32-year-old housewife and mother of four, appears to know little about politics and only stood in the elections because her husband, commercial traveller Mr Abdurachman Mohammed, was precluded on grounds of race. He is Indian and his brother was already standing in the only Western Cape seat for the Indian House of Delegates.

"My own cooking"

Mrs Hoosen is unique for another reason. She is an Egyptian who grew up in Cairo and only left that country when she was 20. When she arrived in South Africa with her first husband 10 years ago she was classified as Malay and this qualified her to stand in a coloured election.

The man who had to make way for Mrs Hoosen ("I do my cooking and housework myself — I'm a mother and businesswoman rolled into one") is Mr Martin Arendse, former leader of the Labour Party which has the overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives.

In what is believed to be the first decision of its kind, the Supreme Court this week had ballot boxes opened and found that four pensioners had voted for him after being promised bribes and Christmas gift parcels.

Pile of Hansards

Mrs Hoosen is fluent in French, Arabic, English and has some Afrikaans, but Mr Mohammed (wives married by Muslim rite do not always take their husbands' surnames), noted: "She finds it a bit difficult to express her views, but that doesn't mean she doesn't know what she is talking about — my wife is very intelligent. Not a stupid person."

He is helping to make sure she will be as well prepared as possible for her duties. "She has to learn everything about politics now. We have got a pile of Hansards here."

Mrs Hoosen says of Mrs Suzman: "I think she is doing her job properly and I admire her. But I don't want to copy others. I want to do better."

R43 000 a year

Mrs Hoosen's career may be the most extraordinary yet in the convoluted world of coloured and Indian politics. She was put in as an eleventh-hour candidate when her husband, who was masterminding an election campaign of independents standing in loose alliance around the country, was let down by a candidate.

She was seven months pregnant and went on to lose by exactly three votes. Four votes were cancelled in this week's court action, giving her a majority of one and an income of R43 000 a year as Member of Parliament.

The money is likely to be welcome. Mr Mohamed estimates the court battle cost him R20 000.

No programme

At the moment Mrs Hoosen is a member of the tiny People's Congress Party, but she may form an opposition alliance with the equally small Democratic Workers' Party.

Right now she has no particular programme and her platform during the brief run-up to the election was anything but clear. "I promised them nothing. I said I will do the best I can. If anybody needs any help I will do my best."

This week she was speaking vaguely in terms of education and health reforms and was clear on only one point: Apartheid must go

Her husband was also sure she would support a qualified franchise — but he may have to explain the concept to her first.

JONSSONS 7866 2

Men of peace made to look like militant extremists

Cape Times 10/8/85

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
By ANDRÉ DU TOIT







Dr Allan Boesak (left) and Dr Beyers Naudé . . . men of moderation

"WHAT I cannot understand about this country," said the visitor from overseas, a seasoned politician but on his first trip to South Africa, "is the lack of a political centre.

"In our politics," he said, "the main parties constantly battle for command of the centre. But here everything is polarized: all the leaders vie with each other to mobilize opposing extremisms. And there seems to be no one representing stability at the centre."

At first sight one had to agree Where indeed is the stable centre of South African politics? And who is able to speak for it? But on reflection one must disagree: our visiting politician had been misled by the superficial appearances of our political scene. For in truth we do have articulate and moderate leaders occupying the middle ground even as the political conflicts heighten. Only: they are the leadership which the government, much of the media and many whites perceive and project as radical extremists.

School boycott

A case in point is that of Mr Matthew Goniwe, the Cradock community leader brutally murdered by unknown political opponents, and the main figure mourned at the extraordinary mass funeral at Cradock on Saturday, July 20.

It had been Mr Goniwe's dismissal as acting school principal, when he refused to accept a departmental transfer following his involvement in a local rent action, which had triggered the school boycott and the long sequence of disturbances and unrest in the Cradock township more than a year ago.

Now, in a remarkable tribute printed in the local newspaper just before the funeral, Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, declared Mr Goniwe had been a practising Christian and a "man of peace who did not seek confrontation" (as reported by Riaan de Villiers, Cape Times, July 31, 1985).

This was not a totally novel assessment of the man, even from such quarters and only once he was safely dead.

According to reliable sources there had been considerable efforts to prepare the ground for a meeting between Mr Goniwe and the Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, some time last year. A sober assessment of the very serious situation in the Cradock schools and township had brought some senior officials to the conclusion that the key person capable of defusing the escalating confrontation in Cradock was Mr Goniwe.

The meeting never took place. The reason? According to the assessment of the security forces Mr Goniwe was a dangerous agitator, the main force responsible for the prolonged boycotts and unrest at Cradock.

This view was certainly shared at the time by many in the white community. And at the funeral of this "man of peace who did not seek confrontation" it was the presence of a communist flag which was seized on by the media, and which was shown on TV screens and published on front pages across the land.

It is not the case that we do not have moderate leaders of the centre. On any objective assessment this is precisely the place and the role of such public figures as Bishop Tutu, Dr Motlana, Dr Beyers Naudé, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Van der Ross, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and many of the leading figures in the black trade unions and the UDF.

Between the right-wing backlash and the awesome coercive powers of the state, on the one hand, and those committed to guerilla strategies and personal violence aimed at "making the country ungovernable", on the other hand, these are the leaders caught in the crossfire while making a stand for essentially moderate positions and strategies.

Vilified

These are the leaders who have been taking a public stand against the increasing use of political violence with some hope of swaying people in their own constituencies — and not just as a way of scoring political victories off the other side.

There are few public figures who have been more vilified and ridiculed in the media of late than Dr Boesak and Bishop Tutu — to many whites they must have become the very epitomes of irresponsible political extremism.

Yet anyone who has followed their own words and actions over the last few weeks at all closely would have seen essentially moderate leaders doing what they can in very trying and often dangerous circumstances to defuse looming conflicts and channel pent-up political energies in more constructive directions.

This is not what one would gather from the general gist of media coverage and comment

Here is a typical sample of the way in which experienced and influential political commentators see fit to represent their aims and actions: "Neither Dr Boesak nor Dr Beyers Naudé arouse in me even the slightest inkling that they want peace and reconciliation, every fibre of their presentations point in exactly the opposite direction. They are not looking for discussions; they are merely inciting people. And then others have to pay the bill when things get out of hand So that we can have more funerals. . ." (Pollux in Rapport, July 28).

The next Sunday Pollux commented that Dr Boesak yearned to be detained by the police, and was supposed to be extremely frustrated because he was not among the more than 1 300 already detained under the emergency regulations. This appeared following various detailed press reports of how Dr Boesak had personally taken initiatives to defuse possible conflict situations on the UWC campus and on the steps of St George's Cathedral.

Unfortunately this inability to recognize the essentially moderating roles of those public figures caught in the middle of the increasingly violent conflicts is much more widely shared.

Communist flags

Also in Rapport Dr Ben Marais, much respected elder statesman of the progressive forces in the Ned Gerek Kerk published an open letter to his "old friend" Beyers Naudé.

In measured tones he berated Dr Beyers Naudé for allowing himself to be misused for dangerous political ends by associating with the UDF six in the Durban consulate and appearing in the presence of communist flags at the Cradock funeral.

It is a sad day indeed if even such a far-sighted and humane man as Dr Marais fails to see that the presence of a Beyers Naudé at the Cradock funeral, and the warm

middle ground even as the political conflicts heighten. Only: they are the leadership which the government, much of the media and many whites perceive and project as radical extremists.

School boycott

A case in point is that of Mr Matthew Goniwe, the Cradock community leader brutally murdered by unknown political opponents, and the main figure mourned at the extraordinary mass funeral at Cradock on Saturday, July 20.

It had been Mr Goniwe's dismissal as acting school principal, when he refused to accept a departmental transfer following his involvement in a local rent action, which had triggered the school boycott and the long sequence of

fore the funeral, Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, declared Mr Goniwe had been a practising Christian and a "man of peace who did not seek confrontation" (as reported by Riaan de Villiers, Cape Times, July 31, 1985).

This was not a totally novel assessment of the man, even from such quarters and only once he was safely dead.

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It is a sad day indeed if even such a far-sighted and humane man as Dr Marais fails to see that the presence of a Beyers Naudé at the Cradock funeral, and the warm reception accorded him there, is one of the genuine points of hope that common ground may still be possible in our torn society.

The proof of the radical intentions of such men as Dr Naudé and Bishop Tutu is often found in their preparedness to espouse political strategies such as that of civil disobedience. But this is to miss the whole point. To opt for civil disobedience, amidst the growing political violence and confrontation of all sides, is to opt for a *nonviolent* and *non-revolutionary* strategy premised on and aimed at an essentially *moral* resolution of conflict rather than a coercive showdown.

We may perhaps doubt their political realism, and the critical question remains whether the political centre is large and viable enough to sustain such moderate strategies. But it is self-defeating to make these moderate leaders and policies out as radical extremists. And that can only serve the purposes of the real extremists.

The men who write the Constitution

PETER WALLINGTON visited the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning's offices in Pretoria recently and spoke to top officials who are helping to shape South Africa's political future

SOME people sell cars for a living. Others write constitutions. At the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, former university professors and lecturers are grappling with new formulae within which to frame solutions to SA's political problems.

What started off as a small component of the office of the Prime Minister five years ago has become a growth industry. The atmosphere at 240 Walker Street is busy, the personnel confident and enthusiastic.

From the original draft of the Constitution, to the Regional Services Council Act and the Provincial Council Bill, they are altering the face of government in SA. The tricameral system has had its first session, and the RSCs are next. Planned date for the first to come on line is January 1.

Then comes the reorganisation of provincial government, and finally the inclusion of blacks into the political mainstream. Negotiations — including those with parties "to the left of the PFP" — are underway.

Heading the department is Dr Andreas van Wyk, the Director General. He arrived in December last year, following what by now has become something of a tradition: from academia to the public service and a chance to put into practice years of theoretical learning.

And like many of his colleagues, Van Wyk's academic achievements are considerable: BA LLB degrees, with distinction, at the University of Stellenbosch, followed by post-graduate studies at the University of Bonn (West Germany) and the University of Leiden (Holland), where he obtained a Doctor of Law de ree, was 42 he was head of the law department and a member of the university's council. It was time for a new challenge, and he joined the "think tank" at Constitutional Development and Planning. "I felt like coming to grips with the country's problems," he says.

A specialist in private and mercantile law, Van Wyk has authored or co-authored three standard legal textbooks and played a major part in drafting the Matrimonial Property Act of 1984.

The department has, he says, changed considerably in the last few months. "Although planning is important, we have become much more development orientated. Apart from thinking up constitutional structures, we are operationalising them as well".

And he is philosophical about how long he will be in the public service. "That's in the lap of the gods. We will always have the need for the development of government structures. It would be naive to think one could wake up one day and find the constitutional problems of the country had been solved."

But he says the emphasis on constitutional matters will hopefully recede in the years to come and switch to social and economic areas. "Even if the political problems are solved, the socio-



● ANDREAS VAN WYK

opment, with special reference to local government.

Dekker has degrees in law and administration, as well as a Masters degree in State Administration. He began his career in the Department of Justice and then joined the Johannesburg City Council as a legal adviser.

In August 1981 — "I remember the time so well, because Lady Di married Prince Charles" — he was seconded to the Office of the Prime Minister. "They had a small component of constitutional planners, but lacked a person with practical experience in local government."

What was to be a temporary posting became permanent in 1982. While his work does involve planning, it is more concerned with constitutional development — "with implementing policy".

He concedes the new tricameral system might not be every-body's cup of tea, but says all MPs have agreed the standing



● LEN DEKKER

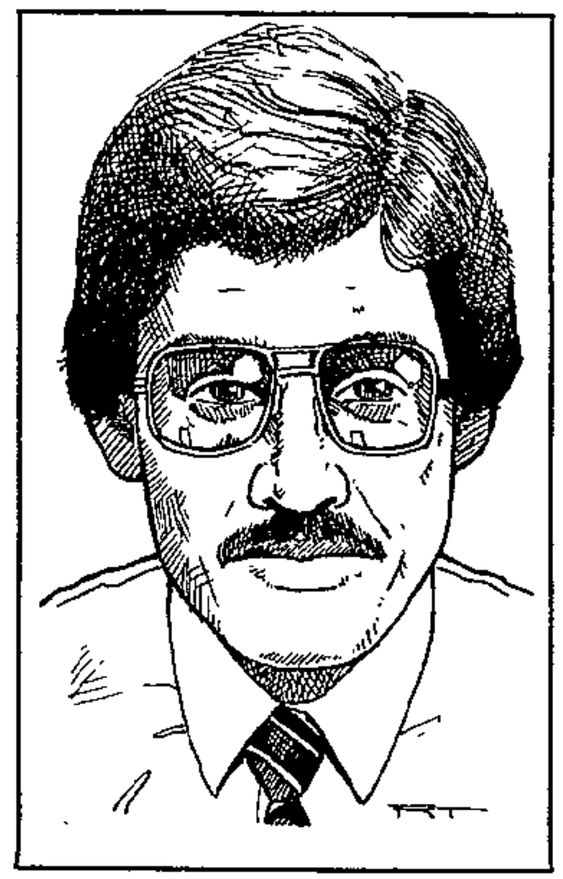
As an example he cites the Regional Services Council Act which, after its passage through the standing committees, "ended up a better product".

Dekker, acknowledged as an expert on regional development, is keen to see the Act implemented. "We have a meeting on August 13, when the preparatory steps for its implementation will be considered. And we must make progress if we are to achieve our goal of implementing the first RSC by January 1."

Dekker is very happy with the way his work and outside interests have coincided. "This is a most interesting job, and that's fortunate for me. It's what real job satisfaction is about — when the cause is greater than your own person."

He is anxious for the RSCs to succeed. "I can't see that the fire will stop burning unless this succeeds. We need the RSCs and the revenue they will generate to upgrade the infrastructure and services of the developing communities."

For Dr Fanie Cloete, joining



● FANIE CLOETE

plementation of conclusions reached in his doctorate.

Cloete's studies were tailored to suit the situation in SA as far as whites, coloureds and Indians were concerned, but the question of black participation "was too big an issue at that stage".

"I found there were examples abroad where successful attempts had been made to reduce ethnic conflict, and where groups were successfully accommodated into one political system."

Cloete wrote parts of the first draft of the new Constitution as well as the Regional Services Council Bill, and is presently working with provincial legal advisers on the text of the Provincial Government Act, but emphasises the products are the combination of many people's ideas.

He is also a Stellenbosch University "old boy". It was there he obtained his Honours and MA degrees in political science after graduating from the Rand Afri-

seconded to the Theron Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to coloureds for two years. He then joined Stellenbosch University as a lecturer in 1976.

After completing his doctorate, he joined the CDP department in 1982 as Director: Constitutional Subsystem Planning. And he says his work is far from over. "We have only tackled problems affecting 17% of the population. The core of the problem, black participation, is still ahead."

The new Constitution was the first phase, and the re-organisation of local government the second ("which already allows for power-sharing at the third level of government"). Third is the reorganisation of the provincial government and, finally, "the incorporation of the blacks into the main body politics of SA — on the principles already spelt out by the State President.

"In other words, all communities will have a say in the affairs that affect them, as well as in matters of general concern."

Cloete says he is satisfied with what has been achieved and is hopeful that the final piece of the political jigsaw can be achieved with "direct negotiation".

He believes the new systems of government will create their own legitimacy in time to come. "When you think we abolished the sex laws and the Political Interference Act in six months, ask yourself what can we do in the next six?

"It is significant that in the present climate of unrest it has been largely restricted to black areas. It just might be the coloureds and Indians have been calm because the new Constitution is succeeding."

And what of the future? "I w stay as long as there is a ch lenge for me. If the time ca

It certainly wasn't a move in the right direction

304A

Veteran freelance journalist DOUG ALEXANDER takes a searching look at Mr Heunis's "much-flawed" constitution.

12/8/85

President P W Botha predictably blames communists or communist-inspired agitators for the current crisis.

I blame Mr Botha.

I blame him and his chief lieutenants Chris Heunis, Gerrit Viljoen, Pik Botha and Magnus Malan for rushing through Parliament a cock-eyed new constitution which has triggered unrest and discord; a "much-flawed" constitution, one newspaper called it, while nonetheless urging us to vote "Yes" in the fateful 1983 referendum.

Events have shown how unwise it was to vote "Yes" for a "much-flawed" constitution that gave no parliamentary representation to our biggest ethnic group, the blacks.

It was not enough to justify a "Yes" vote by saying that the controversial reform plan was "at least a start" or "a move in the right direction".

Tragic, indeed dangerous, events have shown that it was not the right direction at all.

There can be no justice or peace as long as the blacks are denied the dignity and right of citizenship and franchise, and as long as the country is fragmented into non-viable black "national states".

STAR

I am not in favour of one man, one vote, because it would be handing over to a black majority not competent or sufficently advanced to govern a sophisticated, highly-developed westernised country like South Africa.

But that same black majority nonetheless is progressing steadily in education, skills and civic awareness, and deserves a direct say in the central Parliament.

And that central Parliament should comprise only one house, not a whole assortment of chambers, which are not only ineffectual but costly; too costly for a recession-hit country like ours to preserve much longer.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, now advocates "one citizenship, one constitution and one South Africa".

That is a relief, for federalism, which many Progs advocate, would be as costly and divisive as the present tricameral system; or a four-chamber parliament if the blacks are belatedly given their own separate house.

There should be only one Parliament with 150 white MPs elected from constituencies of equal strength (even the pro-Government *Vaderland* advocates equal-strength constituencies nowadays), plus 50 black MPs, 20 coloured MPs and 10 Indian MPs elected by their own people.

Every adult man and woman in the land, regardless of colour, would have a vote, although obviously white votes would be worth more than non-white votes.

The ratio of white to non-white seats in our Parliament could be reviewed after a trial period of 10 or 15 years, with the view to adjustments; probably to increase the non-white representation?

But in the one central Parliament the MPs of all race groups would have equal status; which means that if elected, politicians like Gatsha Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu would have their say in the major forum of the country, not from the hills of kwaZulu or the cloisters of St Mary's Cathedral.

The ratio of 150 white to 80 non-white seats might seem unfair.

But for all practical purposes in the current tricameral Parliament the non-white vote is worth — zero, nil, niks.

Sanctions: the ace up PW's voluminous sleeve

304A STAR 12/8/85

South Africa's railways and harbours system acts as a lifeline for much of southern and central Africa. Much more serious than President Botha's threat to repatriate migrant workers of those African countries supporting sanctions against South Africa, would be a total or partial transport ban. BRENDAN SEERY of *The Star's* Harare Bureau reports ...

When President Botha recently warned black African states over the sanctions issue, Press interest centred on his threat to expel thousands of migrant workers presently employed in South Africa.

However, as head of the most powerful country on the African continent, Mr Botha made a far more significant threat to those African nations supporting the UN Security Council motion on sanctions against South Africa.

A flexing of South Africa's economic muscle, he made it clear, is all that is needed virtually to strangle the economies of central and southern African states.

He told a youth meeting at the University of Potchefstroom: "It does not take much imagination to realise the consequences for our neighbouring states and even African states further to the north, should the South African railways, airways and harbours not be able to handle their imports and exports any longer."

In the first half of this decade — which saw the formation of the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) with its pledge to reduce economic dependence on South Africa — central and southern African countries have become, if anything, more dependent on South Africa's transport infrastructure.

Zambian and Zairean copper exports, together with container trains of Zimbabwean tobacco and minerals, all make their way along South Africa's rail arteries and out through its seaports.

Vitally-needed diesel and petrol, new vehicles, machinery and even thousands of tons of food in imports for drought-stricken countries have all flowed north on the SAR routes.

In Zimbabwe's case, reliable trade sources estimate that at present between 80 and 90 per cent of the country's imports and exports go through South Africa either direct to South African ports or via the Komatipoort line and on to Maputo. Although Mr Mugabe's country gets its diesel and petrol supplies from the Beira-Mutare pipeline, aviation spirit is still brought in through South Africa.

In the last few years, traffic over the South African routes has increased, largely because the rehabilitation and efficiency of the Mozambican rail links and harbours have not come up to expectation.

Problems of security have also played a large part in the reluctance of Zimbabwean businessmen to utilise the Mozambican facilities.

The Beira-Mutare rail line is operational and the route offers savings of up to 50 percent on the alternative routes from South African ports. However, there is only a limited amount of locomotive traction power available to haul traffic along the route, which has difficult gradients. In the port of Beira itself, harbour facilities are being revamped, but are not nearly back to the state they were when the Portuguese withdrew from the country in 1974.

Some of Zimbabwe's tobacco is being exported through Beira, but most of the 90 000 tons of the annual crop is routed along SAR systems at preferential freight rates.

There is no doubt that if the South African transport authorities in some way prevented their system being used by the sanction-supporting African countries, then the Mozambique ports and infrastructure would be totally swamped with the increased, re-routed traffic. The threat of South African anger to countries in the sub-continent is real enough, but the question is: will Pretoria actually go as far as a formalised retaliatory transport ban?

Such a ban, while crippling some of South Africa's most bitter enemies, would also badly affect her one "friend" in Africa — Malawi. Most of Malawi's imports of fuel and essential supplies come through Zimbabwe via the South African rail and road links.

Also, up to now South Africa's transport relations with its neighbours have been governed by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt), to which Pretoria is a signatory. The Gatt convention specifically bars members from doing anything to stop or hinder exports to other landlocked member countries.

What does seem a more likely form of South African action is the subtle, "unofficial" pressure which can see exports and imports for African countries piling up in South Africa through one or other administrative reason.

That the South African transport and harbours systems can be a great help was amply demonstrated in the past year when, despite the tremendous pressures on them to move thousands of tons of grain imports for their own country, they also moved large consignments of food aid for neighbouring countries.

The subtle pressure principle has already been applied by the South Africans on a number of occasions, notably with "delays" of diesel delivery to Zimbabwe to underscore South Africa's displeasure with anti-apartheid propaganda shortly after independence in the early 1980s.

In 1976 Prime Minister John Vorster used similar tactics to force a reluctant Mr Ian Smith to the settlement negotiating table. At that time Rhodesian exporters suddenly found that their shipments were experiencing unusual delays as bottlenecks built up unaccountably on the South African rail system.

More than 16 000 tons of citrus destined for export had to be destroyed and the mining, industrial and agricultural sectors were almost at the end of their tether.

If Mr Vorster could do that to a "friend" in 1976, what compunction would Mr Botha have about doing the same thing to people who are decidedly less than friends in 1985?

D-day for US sanctions Bill is drawing closer

PW's plans for reform will influence the Reagan veto

STAR 12/8/85 304A

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sources close to President Reagan say he will base his decision on whether or not to veto economic sanctions against South Africa largely on what the South African Government does about racial reform in coming days and weeks.

President Reagan is recuperating from his cancer surgery at his ranch in California and is expected to have a light work-load — but the situation in South Africa is high on his limited agenda, and he is said to be personally concerned about developments there.

His top officials are waiting to hear from South africa this week about reform moves — and the expectation is that the steps will be spelled out on Thursday by President Botha. They say that what Mr Botha says could make the difference between sanctions or a veto.

President Reagan must make up his mind about the sanctions early next month when the US Congress returns to Washington from its midsummer recess. The House of Representatives has approved a compromise sanctions package. It has been temporarily stalled in the Senate, but is expected to be cleared and on the way to the White House for signing within days of the session resuming.

Mr Reagan's National Security Adviser, Mr Robert Mc Farlane, is said to have told Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at their meeting in Vienna last week that the president will base his decision on reform steps taken in South Africa.

Mr McFarlane said at the meeting that Mr Reagan continued to support constructive engagement with South Africa but that, in Mr McFarlane's view, there was an emotional climate in the US that would make it impossible for the president to sustain a veto unless there was an "accelerated movement" toward fundamental changes in the country.

It is understood that the Administration, faced by the Congress sanctions demand, has decided to use the sanctions as a lever to persuade South Africa to introduce sufficient reforms to beat them. This could happen especially if black leaders respond favourably to the reforms.

The President will not be able to sustain a veto if two-thirds of the members of each chamber vote for sanctions. They already have this support in the House.

Another official, who asked not to be named, said that if Mr Reagan decided to veto the sanctions, nothing would sway him — not even an overwhelming demand by the Congress that he sign them into law.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, rides a camel durin tour of the Old City of Jerusalem yesterday. Chief Buthelezi is in Israel fr 10-day tour during which he is scheduled to meet the Prime Minister Shimon Peres, and other top officials.



Mr Relly

Relly calls on Govt to free Mandela, scrap influx control

Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The South African Government should move directly towards universal citizenship in South Africa, according to Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American.

In an interview published today in the Financial Times Mr Relly also calls for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the removal of influx control and for a commitment to talks involving all races on the future political shape of the country.

"The first fundamental need in South Africa is for the white man to do what he has not done for the last 40 years and create circumstances so that when he talks about the future of the country it seems credible to black people," he said.

This meant citizenship as a birthright, because, without it, the Government could provide leadership for whites but not blacks.

● Black mayors throughout South Africa yesterday added their voices to the growing call for President P W Botha to drop all hurtful laws and start talking with popular black leaders.

The meeting resolved to seek an urgent meeting with the President in an attempt to resolve the "political impasse".

The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that Nelson Mandela is not about to be released from jail by the South African authorities, according to Government sources.

Intense speculation at home and abroad that the President is about to announce the release of the former leader of the African National Congress is described by the sources as being misplaced.

The condition that he may be released only if he undertakes to forego violence as a political means apparently remains in force.

The statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, at the weekend that this had never been regarded as a "condition" for Mandela's release, but rather as a "norm", has not changed this position.

In fact, when the President first announced his offer to release Mandela, on January 31, he used both the words "condition" and "norm".

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Inkatha, Matie SRC consensus on policy

Cape Times 12/8/85

(3044)

Political Reporter

A SINGLE constitution based on regional power-sharing, the scrapping of influx control and the abolition of the homelands policy were among points of consensus reached at the end of talks between the University of Stellenbosch SRC and the Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday.

The talks were held at the University of Stellenbosch over the past two days.

Ms Annami Oosthuysen, SRC vice-president, said last night consensus had been reached on several important political, social and economic issues.

The meeting had agreed on one citizenship for all South Africans, the scrapping of statutory racial discrimination, equal education for all and the establishment of healthy labour relations.

The business community was called on to launch a pro-investment campaign as a matter of urgency.

"However, we realize that disinvestment is linked with an immoral system in South Africa," Ms Oosthuysen said. Both groups had also agreed to "discourage the exploitation of the present situation by unscrupulous elements".

Relly calls for universal citizenship

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The South African Government should move directly towards universal citizenship in South Africa, according to Mr Gavin Relly, the chairman of Anglo American Corporation.

In an interview published today in *The Financial Times*, Mr Relly also calls for the release of Nelson Mandela, the removal of influx controls, and for a commitment to talks involving all races on the future political shape of the country.

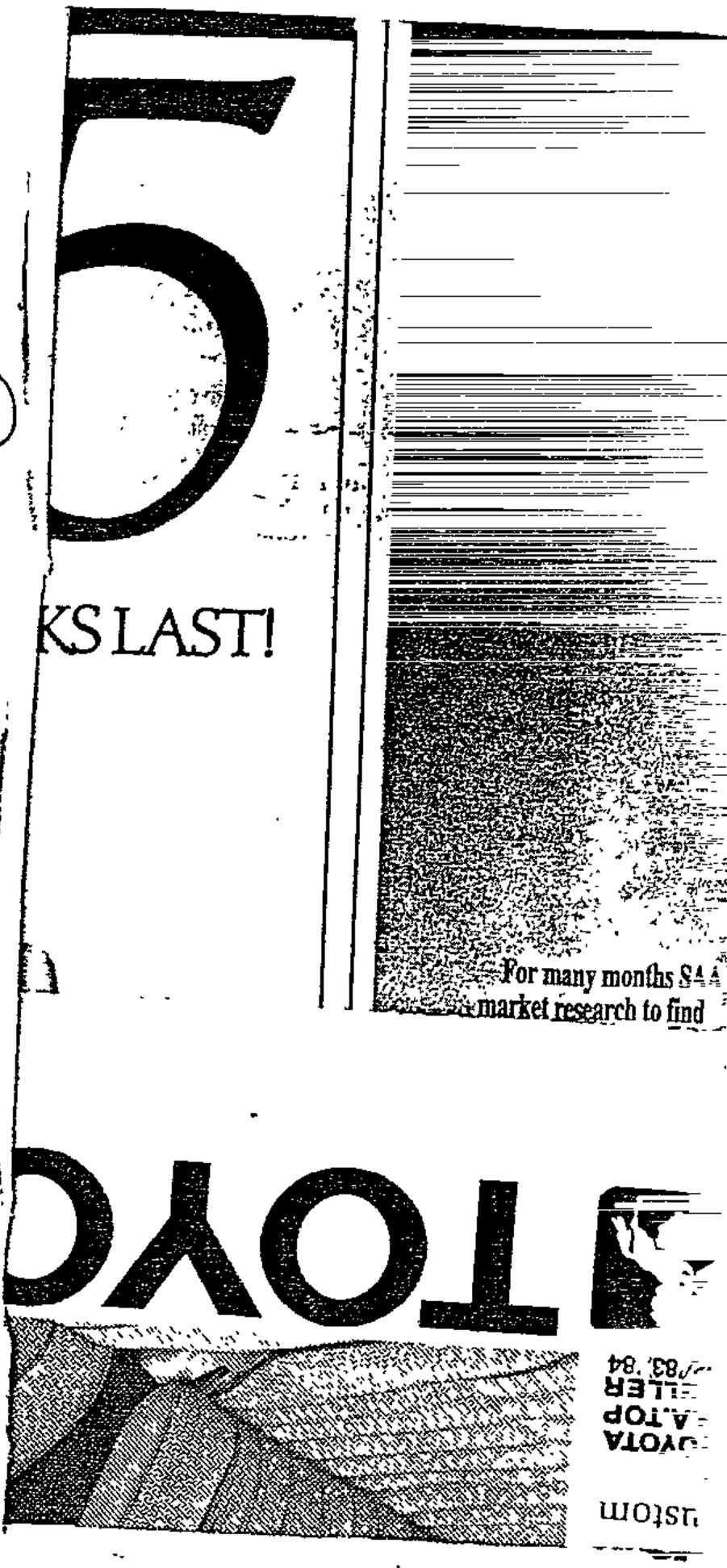
"The first fundamental need in South Africa is for the white man to do what he has not done for the last 40 years and create circumstances such that, when he talks about the future of the country, it seems credible to black people," he said.

This meant citizenship as a birthright, because, without it, the Government could provide leadership to the white people but not the black.

"The Government must seek solutions which are not merely concessions because whites have got scared, or because whites have suddenly decided to make them," he added

He warned that if the black attitude was that there could be no discussion unless it was about one-man one-vote in a unitary state, the forum would not go far.

He envisaged a federal system in which everyone had the vote within the different constituencies that made up South African society — some white, some black and some already integrated — but not directly for the central authority.



LETTERS

Duncan Innes and his linguistic gobbledegook

Dear Sir,

DUNCAN INNES ("Owen and his turbulent times . . .", *Business Day*, July 31) perpetuates a calculated Marxist myth as if he is a hapless victim of "Newspeak" a la George Orwell's "1984"

He, like all class analysts of his ilk, has an inexplicable compulsion to call state ownership and/or control "capitalism" for which he cannot find any authority in any reputable English dictionary.

What Ken Owen and others on our side of the ideological divide are for is a voluntary society with private ownership and control of human and non-human resources, where human interaction is possible on a contract and consent basis rather than coercion by the state, "the people" or whoever.

Whether we call our position capitalism, libertarianism or the rule of law is immaterial.

It is intellectual sleight-of-hand and linguistic gobbledegook for him to call such aspects of the Freedom Charter as the coercive expropriation and redistribution of wealth by the state and the nationalisation of mines, banks and so-called "monopoly industry" capitalism.

His economic illiteracy reaches its pinnacle when he describes the "nationalisation of key industries and strategic companies (which) has been common practice among the European and Scandinavian (so-called) capitalist countries for decades" as an "advanced form of capitalism".

The most charitable thing we can do about such flagrant nonsense is hope that he blushed when he wrote it.

An even more bizarre aspect of Innes-style Newspeak is his monstrous proposition that apartheid is somehow capitalistic when, by any intelligible definition, it is socialistic — i.e., anti-individualistic.

The debate between him and Ken Owen as to whether the Freedom Charter is essentially capitalistic or socialistic may be settled by observing that, to a capitalist, it has an intolerable amount of socialism, and, to a socialist, an intolerable amount of freedom.

In other words, it reflects what was, at the time, an attempt by liberal capitalists and totalitarian socialists to reconcile the irreconcilable.

The authors of the Freedom Charter agreed on what they oppose: apartheid. But they have no agreement on what they are for.

Apartheid, like elements of the Freedom Charter, is offensive to the capitalist by virtue of its socialistic nature: unparalleled state ownership, redistribution and control of human and non-human resources, including calssic socialist-/Marxist-type social engineering, especially as regards blacks.

To a socialist, apartheid is offensively capitalistic since, under it, whites are relatively free economically, socially, politically.

In sum, capitalists want to get rid of apartheid by extending equal or greater freedom to blacks. Socialists want to replace it by extending equal or greater despotism to whites.

LEON M LOUW
Executive Director,
Free Market Foundation
of Southern Africa

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Australia holds SA sanctions at the ready

ARCL 3
13/10/85
304A

GEOFF KITNEY, The Argus Foreign Service correspondent in Canberra, reports on the Australian government's preparations for sanctions against South Africa

AUSTRALIAN Prime Minister Bob Hawke is determined to show the world that, despite the rebel cricket tour, Australia's anti-apartheid stand remains undiminished. But his problem is how to show it, for the domestic political reality is that the majority of Australians don't like the government's tough policies towards South Africa.

The complexities of this problem were revealed yesterday when the Australian Cabinet met to decide the question of new sanctions against South Africa. Mr Hawke and his senior Ministers wanted to get from this meeting agreement on a series of new measures that would strongly reinforce the anti-apartheid policies previously adopted by the Whitlam and Fraser governments and endorsed by the Hawke government when it came to power two years ago.

Mr Hawke is extremely conscious of the international attention now focused on Australia by the decision by 15 of the nation's top cricketers to ignore Australia's commitment to the Gleneagles agreement on limiting sporting contacts with South Africa and play in South Africa over the next two summers.

The sports policy was seen by the international community as a highly effective sanction against white South Africa and Australia, because of its status as a rugby and cricket playing nation, was critical to the success of the policy.

The rebel cricket tour has seriously undermined the effectiveness of the policy. Although the international community generally has recognised that the Australian government tried hard to dissuade the cricketers from going ahead with the tour the Hawke government now believes it has to do more to maintain Australia's reputation as an opponent of apartheid and a supporter of the rights of black South Africans.

While it cannot be said that Australians support apartheid there appears to be a strong view in the community that sport and politics should not be mixed. When Cabinet met yesterday to consider toughening Australia's anti-apartheid policies its deliberations were held in the shadow of the impending announcement by the South African State President Mr P W Botha of new reforms.

Cabinet Ministers were concerned that to announce tough new sanctions against South Africa on the eve of this statement could increase domestic political hostility towards the government's South African policies.

The Cabinet decided that the most sensible course that the government could take was to decide in principle about new sanctions but not to announce the details until after president Botha's statement.

Foreign Minister Bill Hayden said at a news conference at which he came under intense questioning about this



Prime Minister Hawke

compromise strategy that the government had decided that it would be unreasonable to make any announcements of new sanctions until the contents of the Botha statement were known.

He said that there was a possibility, even if it was a slim one, that the South African Government might at least have recognised the need for an orderly process of change which would lead to the emergence of a multi-racial society based on universal suffrage

Mr Hayden said that Australia's ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robert Birch, who was recalled two weeks ago for consultations, would return to Pretoria on Sunday and would report to the Australian government on political developments in South Africa.

The Australian Cabinet would then decide whether or not to implement its in-principle decisions.

Details of the decisions are being kept secret but reports today indicate that they include banning the sale of Krugerrands in Australia, closing the Australian trade commissioner's office in Johannesburg, ending government support for companies trading with South Africa and removing incentives for investment by Australian companies in South Africa

The government is also considering a strategy for imposing economic sanctions on South Africa which it hopes to win support for from heads of government of the Commonwealth at their meeting in Nassau in October and from the United Nations Security Council, of which Australia is currently one of the rotating members.

According to senior government officials the view at yesterday's Cabinet meeting was that if the reforms announced by president Botha on Thursday were judged by the international community be inadequate then Australia's policy initiatives would be seen as being consistent with international action against South Africa.

Although this would be unlikely to win the government a lot of domestic political kudos it would mean that Australia would be seen to be still playing an important part in applying pressure for change in South Africa.

Nel tells UK viewers: ANC wants revolution, not reform

13/8/85

3044

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The South African Government's doors were open to "any black leader who is recognised as a leader and who renounces violence" for discussions on how the country is to be governed, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said in a television interview last night.

But he defended the present state of emergency because, he said, intimidation by radicals meant that "many of the moderate leaders cannot come forward at the moment and that is why it is so important that law and order be re-established in all areas of South Africa".

Interviewed on the BBC programme "Newsnight", he repeatedly refused to say whether Nelson Mandela was one of the leaders with whom the Government would be prepared to negotiate.

'REASONABLE'

"Our doors are open to all reasonable leaders. After all, we are all South Africans."

Asked whether the Government was not hampered in any moves towards real reform by the danger of losing its own white support, he said: "Reform is always a painful process, and we are saying to our white constituents that we must do what is morally right, what is right for SA.

"The time has come for all South Africans, black and white, to rid themselves of their own prejudices, and to stand together and to work for a peaceful future."

However, he said, the ANC's attitude remained that it wanted revolution, not reforms — "and this is of course one of the most important motivations behind the present unrest".

NON COMMITTAL

Although noncommittal on the Government's future attitude towards Nelson Mandela, the interview with Mr Nel provides more fuel for the rumours that the Government is still seeking ways to secure the black leader's release.

"We want to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally, and the State President has made it quite clear that he must renounce violence," Mr Nel said. "We are all civilised people and we must apply civilised standards. If we say Nelson Mandela must be released on the basis that he renounces violence, we think this is only stating the norm. It is as it should be for civilised people — a mere formality. And we think Mr Mandela should accept this situation and then he can be released immediately."

US Press ... bold

(304A Cape Times)

decisions'

SANTA BARBARA, California. — The Reagan administration yesterday called on the South African Government to make "bold decisions" and begin negotiations with black leaders to help build a better future for the country.

"The South African Government has important decisions to make. It is considering them," a White House spokesman, Mr Larry Speakes, said yesterday.

The Reagan administration believes an announcement may come within days.

"The situation in South Africa is clearly very serious. It is time for bold decisions and it is time for those who believe in peace to reason together and agree upon and build a better future for South Africa."

The statement came as the administration made known it had issued a high-level warning to South Africa that President Ronald Reagan may be unable to hold off congressional sanctions.

Mr Speakes said a National Security Adviser, Mr Robert McFarlane, was told by the South Africans in a meeting in Vienna last week that they would announce reforms "within a matter of days".

He said the United States wanted "a restoration of order, negotiations between government and black South African leaders that will produce political rights, justice and equality for the country's black majority, an end to violence and apartheid".

And in Pretoria yesterday the State President, Mr P W Botha, held talks with US congressman Mr Stephan Solarz.

Mr Solarz, a campaigner for disinvestment, has been visiting South Africa for the past week.

Hopes

He told a press conference in Pretoria after meeting Mr Botha: "I am not prepared at this point to abandon my hopes for peaceful change in South Africa, but my meeting with the State President did not make me any more optimistic."

Mr Solarz said he appreciated Mr Botha's consent to talk to him, but that the meeting "would make a cold shower seem warm".

'New approach'

Asked whether the President had indicated the content of his speech to be made later this week and which government sources have indicated will include major announcements about changes to apartheid policy, Mr Solarz said: "No. He indicated that he does not disclose the contents of his speech before he has made it."

Mr Solarz said he had hoped for some indication from Mr Botha that the government was prepared to move towards a "new approach" to the political problems in South Africa.

STANLEY UYS reports from London that international attention will be focused on Durban on Thursday when President Botha unwraps the package of reforms which his government hopes will check the momentum towards sanctions.

Under a headline, "Mr Botha, Be Bold", The Times said in an editorial yesterday that his audience at the Natal congress of the National Party would be worldwide, because "rarely has a speech by a South African leader attracted such universal attention".

Prominence

The ongoing disturbances in the townships continue to receive saturation coverage here. Reports on the South African situation were the leading items yesterday in The Times, Financial Times, Daily Telegraph and Guardian.

Television and radio bulletins, if anything, give the South African story even more prominence.

And the Australian cabinet expressed a widely-held view among South Africa's trading partners yesterday when it announced that it would delay possible sanctions against the Republic pending Mr Botha's statement on Thursday.

The Guardian's editorial said Mr Botha was expected to announce an unprecedented package of apartheid reforms when he kept his "appointment with destiny" on Thursday.

Mandela

In a front-page interview with the Financial Times yesterday, Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, said the government should move directly towards universal citizenship, free ANC leader Nelson Mandela, remove influx controls and demonstrate its commitment to talks involving all races on the future political shape of the country.

But in Johannesburg, Mandela's family said they had had no communication at all from the government about any release or proposed release of Mandela.

Their lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said: "We do not expect the government to release Mr Mandela." — UPI, Own Correspondent and Sapa

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) ..	$326,75
Rand	$0,4800/$0,4920
FT index (close)	964,20
JSE	1053,00

ROMENS
WINTER SELL-OUT
LESS 50%
ON ALL SPORTSCOATS, KNITWEAR, WINDBREAKERS, TROUSERS AND JEANS, SHIRTS, BELTS, SOCKS, TIES, LEATHER AND SUEDE JACKETS, ECSAINE JACKETS, OVERCOATS AND RAINCOATS
E.G. TROUSERS TREVIRA/WOOL WERE 59.95 NOW 29.95
3 PIECE SUITS TREVIRA/WOOL FROM 99.95
DON'T DARE MISS IT!
ROMENS

Natal speech may become damp squib

Pessimism growing on PW's new plans

304A STAR 13/8/85

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

South Africa is heading for an unprecedented low point in its foreign relations as it emerges that President Botha's anxiously awaited speech at this week's National Party Natal congress will probably fall far short of expectations.

Two major Western Governments have indicated that their future relationship with South Africa could depend largely on Mr Botha's speech.

The US Administration has revealed that it issued a high-level warning to South Africa that President Reagan might be unable to hold off congressional sanctions.

A presidential spokesman, Mr Larry Speakes, said yesterday that it was "time for bold decisions" by South Africa.

He said the administration did not know when the South African Government would announce changes, but that they could come within days.

US Congressman Mr Steve Solarz, however, predicted in Pretoria last night, after a week-long visit to South Africa which included an hour-long talk with President Botha, that the Senate would also approve anti-apartheid legislation passed by the House of Representatives last month.

He was pessimistic about the nature of reforms being contemplated by the South African Government.

And in Australia the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Bill Hayden, announced that the Australian Cabinet had already decided on firm action to be taken against South Africa. Details would not, however, be announced until after President Botha's speech, he said.

Media speculation about the contents of the President's speech, particularly in overseas newspapers, has been euphoric.

SPECULATION

In South Africa speculation has ranged from the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela to a radical new deal for non-homeland blacks, possibily including blacks in the Cabinet.

Government Ministers and Afrikaans newspapers have moved this week to tone this down.

In what appears to have been a leak of parts of the President's speech to certain sources, it now emerges that Mr Botha will not take his reform pronouncements much further than his speech made at the opening of Parliament on January 25 this year.

In that speech, Mr Botha highlighted five areas for reform: extended co-operation with independent national states; increased co-operation within collective structures with self-governing national states; the inclusion of non-homeland blacks (now regarded as being permanently in white South Africa) in co-operation structures at all levels; co-operation on matters of common interest within the same overall framework with the various political entities in South Africa; and the resolution of the issue of com mon South African citizenship.

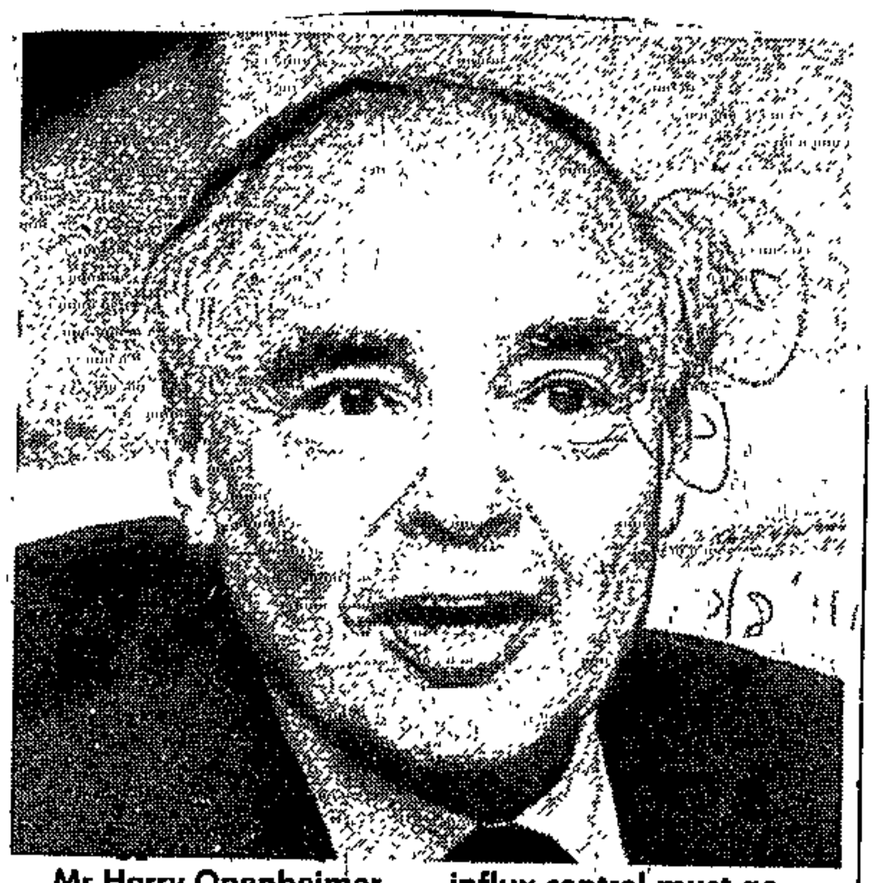
● Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Cooperation and Development, has warned that expectations of race reform may be growing unrealistic.

Dr Viljoen told a party meeting in Pretoria last night that the Government envisaged reform "only within the diversity of South Africa's people".

He said this entailed the maintenance of separate residential areas, separate schools and separate political representation.

On the present state of unrest, Dr Viljoen said only 250 of the 7 200 schools outside the national states were affected by boycotts.

● See Page 15.



Mr Harry Openheimer . . . influx control must go.

'Real reform since '76'

STAR 14/8/85

Real reform had taken place in South Africa since the student riots of 1976, but the country was more unsettled now and black grievances more acute, Mr Harry Oppenheimer writes in the Urban Foundation's 1985 annual review.

Mr Oppenheimer, president of the foundation, said there had been change in the areas of political representation, property ownership, job reservation, education, trade unionism, and trading rights.

"The offensive and intolerable influx control regulations, in particular, deserve prompt attention." If the economy were to expand at a rapid enough rate, this system, which prevented workers selling their labour in the best market place "must be ended".

Mr Oppenheimer said the Urban Foundation had played a leading part in reform.

Slabbert's hopes from Botha speech

Star Times 14/8/85 3040

By BARRY STREEK

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday said he would like President P W Botha to announce the release of Mr Nelson Mandela tomorrow night and declare his intention to talk to representative black leaders.

Mr Botha should also ask church leaders to form a national committee to advise him on grievances in the different townships and who the leaders were in these areas.

Dr Slabbert said he hoped Mr Botha would make "a dramatic break with our past".

In the wake of extensive speculation about what the President will say when he opens the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban tomorrow night and government attempts to cool down expectations of major announcements, Dr Slabbert issued a statement on what he would like the State President to say.

Emergency

This is what Dr Slabbert would like to hear tomorrow:

"Top priority is to restore calm to the townships and to lift the state of emergency.

"With this in view, I am going to request the delegation of church leaders to set up a national committee to advise me on:

● The particular grievances in different townships.

● Who the respected community leaders are in each of them.

"I wish to make it clear that I intend to talk to representative black community and national leaders on how we can find an evolutionary and acceptable solution to our constitutional, social and economic problems.

Reform

"My government has embarked on a process of reform that has awakened expectations and caused confusion.

"Some idea has to be given to all South Africans not only what we are moving away from, but where we are moving towards.

"I speak from a position of power and not weakness when I say that I am prepared to negotiate with any credible leader for creating one constitution based on one common citizenship for all South Africans.

"This obviously means that the rights of South African citizenship for blacks are the same as for whites and we must negotiate a constitution in which all can work together without domina-

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tion or discrimination.

"This is not going to be easy, but it is preferable to continuing in a state of siege and confrontation.

"To prove my government's good faith in the above respect, I:

● Declare our intention to get rid of influx control completely and to substitute it with a policy of systematic and planned urbanization. All South Africans should have the same rights to move around to look for work and shelter.

● Intend to appoint a non-racial national committee to advise the government on how to get rid of racial discrimination and inequality both statutory and de facto. I realize this has implications for existing laws such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, etc, and wish to remove them with the minimum disruption and dislocation of society.

'Serious'

● Am prepared to release Nelson Mandela so that he can play a constructive role if he so wishes in achieving the above goals.

"These objectives represent a dramatic break with our past and should make it clear to anyone inside or outside South Africa that we are serious when we talk about reform and peaceful change.

"I wish therefore to make it clear that if any individual or organization persists with violence or subversion in pursuing these objectives for South Africa, my government will use all its resources to act against them," Dr Slabbert said.

304A

Cape Times 14/8/85

By MICHAEL ACOTT

The business end of trade boycotts

When a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully.

SAMUEL Johnson's words two hundred years ago could apply to the consumer boycotts spreading throughout the country, including Cape Town.

The objective of the boycotters is not to hang white traders economically. It is to concentrate their minds on the social, political and economic plight of their customers who are not white, and on the need for far-reaching reforms to redress the situation.

In a sense, too, the boycott is where people who have suffered most from the unrest and are affected most by the state of emergency meet white businessmen, whose lives and families have been least affected.

Politically aware

The unrest, the killings, the teargas and the destruction have hardly been experienced by whites. Their suburbs are peaceful, they can enjoy beer and braaivleis around the pool, their children's schools and education have not been disrupted.

The boycott's aim is to force businesses to become more politically aware and involved.

The problem is that the demands being made are not within the power of business to meet. Businessmen cannot lift the state of emergency, remove the SADF from black townships or release political detainees.

Forced removals

They can — and have — put their views strongly to government on these and other issues. Business organizations such as Assocom, the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and local chambers of commerce have become increasingly involved in political issues.

This year alone, they have called for meaningful black political representation, an end to forced removals, educational reforms, open trading areas and effective dialogue between government and black leaders. They have met President P W Botha to discuss the state of emergency.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has specifically called for the release of political detainees, negotiations with leaders selected by the black people themselves and reforms on all fronts.

Employers would therefore argue that their minds *have* been concentrated, that they have done what they can. President Botha will tell us tomorrow night how successful their representations have been.

Whites, however, and businesses in particular, are seen as part of the system. They are seen as the beneficiaries, if not always the supporters, of government policies. They are seen as having unused political influence at municipal, provincial and national government level.

Consumer boycotts have hit hard in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, East London and other areas in the Eastern Cape. They are starting in the Transvaal and the Western Cape, with Worcester and Cape Town the current targets.

Grievances

The Cape Town boycott may or may not be stringently enforced. Whether businesses will fail here from lack of customers as they have in Port Elizabeth remains to be seen.

One of the immediate effects of the Port Elizabeth boycott has been to send businessmen scurrying to find out who the leaders are in the local community, to try to open channels of contact and negotiation and to seek to redress local grievances.

It should not have taken a boycott to do this.

Businessmen can argue that they are being discriminated against unfairly and that the boycott will fail.

Whether individual businesses — and not just employer organizations — can argue that their minds have hitherto been sufficiently concentrated on conditions discriminating against millions of their customers is another matter.

P W Botha warned of US feeling

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT P W Botha was warned two months ago that the feelings towards South Africa in the United States were so serious that they went beyond disinvestment into the wider field of rejection and isolation.

The warning was given by Progressive Federal Party chairman Mr Colin Eglin after his US visit

Mr Eglin urged Mr Botha to minimize incidents which reinforced South Africa's negative image and to issue a "bold declaration of intent".

Afterwards President Botha wrote to Mr Eglin thanking him for their discussions and for his "very interesting" notes.

The text of the notes, and President Botha's reply, was released yesterday by Mr Eglin.

Mr Eglin said that if the trend of increasing isolation intensified, in spite of occasional valley periods, it would lead to "increasing polarization inside South Africa and make the problem of finding a solution inside South Africa even more difficult"

'Negative'

"In my opinion the dangerous trend for South Africa will not be reversed as long as the image created by negative events overshadows that created by the process of reform."

Mr Eglin said the declaration of intent, which would counter the negative image of apartheid, had to be "crisp, clear and unambiguous".

Each intent should be linked to a commitment to specific action, which would emphasize its importance and reinforce its symbolic significance.

The declaration should state that the government was resolved "to do away with apartheid, and by this I mean to repeal all racially discriminatory legislation, with deliberate speed".

Democratic

The pass laws and discriminatory influx-control measures would have to be repealed and the government would have to implement positive measures to ensure that the inevitable process of urbanization took place in an orderly manner.

The government should also restore South African citizenship to people who had lost it as a result of a law passed by Parliament, and draft legislation should be submitted to a standing committee If necessary, Parliament should be reconvened this year.

Mr Eglin said that through negotiation with all sections of the population a constitutional system based on democratic principles, which ensured that no group could be dominated by another, should be evolved.

He also urged President Botha to extend an invitation to leaders of all sections of the population to take part in the process of negotiation and discussion and to release Mr Nelson Mandela from prison to assist in creating a climate conducive to this process.

dnesday, August 14, 1985 ★

Mandela-Hess analogy—Botha

PRETORIA — The State President, Mr P W Botha, told visiting US congressman Mr Stephen Solarz on Monday that advisers of imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela were not interested in his freedom on condition he renounced violence because they wanted him to lead the movement of violence in South Africa

This is according to an extract from the transcript of the conversation they had on Monday afternoon and which was released last night by the State President's office here.

No unconditional release

At a press conference after his meeting with the President, Mr Solarz said Mr Botha had indicated the government would not release Mr Mandela unconditionally, and that the ANC leader was being kept in prison for the same reason the Western powers were keeping Mr Rudolf Hess in a West Berlin jail.

According to the transcript's extract, Mr Botha said he thought Mr Hess should be released. Mr Hess, as was the case with Mr Mandela and his organization, was responsible for the killing of people, but the question was why Mr Hess. who was nearly 100 years old, was kept in jail.

"Those are the same moral reasons why I do not want to keep an old man in jail, if I can help it"

It was for this reason he had offered Mr Mandela freedom on condition he renounced violence

After this offer, Trankei's President Kaiser Matanzima had offered him freedom (in Transkei)

"Mr Mandela refused it, because he is not interested in freedom, and his advisers are not interested in freedom for Mr Mandela. They are interested to let him lead the movement of violence in South Africa," Mr Botha reportedly told Mr Solarz.

Mr Botha asked Mr Solarz whether he should rearrest Mr Mandela if he was freed unconditionally and he started perpetrating violence again Mr Solarz did not reply to this

Mr Hess was not freed because he perpetrated a sin against humanity but, the President asked, was there a difference between this and the sins perpetrated by the ANC against humanity in South Africa, under the leadership of the Communist Party in London? — Sapa

Six years on . . . and P W Botha is to make another much-heralded speech

Urgent reform changes or just a damp squib?

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Six years ago, almost to the day, a report in *The Star* said: "The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is expected to make a major policy statement on Wednesday night when he officially opens the Natal National Party Congress".

The report mentioned that indications of a new stance in Nationalist thinking had emerged and would become apparent during the congress — the theme being the challenge of the 1980s regarding manpower, the black peoples and energy.

This week newspaper reports have been saying that President Botha is expected to make a major policy statement tomorrow night when he officially opens the National Party congress in Natal.

Indications are that Mr Botha will at least take further his pronouncements earlier this year on certain basic grievances of black people.

His speech six years ago was important. It gave details of his vision of a constellation of Southern African states and unveiled his 12-point national strategy policy for the future.

Many observers fear that tomorrow's speech will be something of a damp squib, falling far short of expectations.

The 69-year-old President will open the congress at one of the most critical junctures of South Africa's history.

Violence racks much of the country and the Government has had to reassert its authority by means of a state of emergency in 36 of South Africa's 265 magisterial districts.

World condemnation of apartheid has never before been so united, and even South Africa's best friends are poised to impose economic sanctions.

South Africa's future relations with the world, and the country's prospects in the short term, hinge to a great extent on what Mr Botha does or does not say in the Durban City Hall tomorrow.

It is for this reason that many people abroad and in South Africa have appealed to him to be courageous and make bold decisions.

The President has always shown that he is a man of courage. Shortly after he was elected Prime Minister he declared that the brand of apartheid that was projected by South Africa's enemies was dead.

In July 1979 he showed South Africa the way he was going when he made his famous "adapt or die" speech at a National Party rally in Upington.

In it he committed himself to strongly verligte lines, especially in improving race relations.

"Policy has to be adapted to changing circumstances. The Government cannot be forced to keep its policy completely unchanged for ever, as then it will not be able to govern," he said. "The blacks of South Africa cannot be wished away."

Opening the Natal congress later that year, he dismissed the doctrine of white supremacy and legally-enforced separation as a recipe for confrontation. However, he also rejected one man, one vote.

His policy was a division of power with the mutual recognition of rights.



President Botha ... will he really take bold steps forward at the Natal National Party congress?

Asked at the Cape congress later in the year whether he was not "going too fast", Mr Botha retorted that the times demanded speed. "The only thing that moves slowly these days is a funeral procession."

Mr Botha's 12-point plan was greeted with encouragement and disillusionment. He was warned that the plan could lead to a verkrampte revolt against his leadership.

Five of the points were only a restatement of separate development, but others included removal of discrimination, improvement of living conditions of all population groups, and better rationalisation of the public service.

Mr Botha's verligte leadership angered diehard separatists in the party, and the first showdown was at the Transvaal congress in 1979.

The Prime Minister bluntly told delegates that he had no sympathy for their petty racial prejudices, that he believed in one God for all, and that they could reject him if they didn't like what he was doing.

Many people in the party did not like what he was doing, particularly when it came to "power sharing" with coloureds and Indians (made party policy in August 1982). Instead of rejecting Mr Botha, these dissidents were ejected by the party, and the Conservative Party was born.

It took courage for Mr Botha to take on the right wing of his party. It is never an easy thing for a Nationalist leader to split the party.

The Prime Minister's leadership was vindicated in the referendum of 1983 when two-thirds of the whites voted in favour of sharing power with coloureds and Indians.

In his speech at the opening of Parliament this year, Mr Botha gave guidelines of what further developments for blacks would be.

He highlighted five areas for reform: extended co-operation with independent national states; increased co-operation within collective structures with self-governing national states; the inclusion of non-homeland blacks (now regarded as being permanently in white South Africa) in co-operation structures at all levels; co-operation on matters of common interest within the same overall framework with the various political entities in South Africa; and the resolution of the issue of common South African citizenship.

PFP slams silence on consumer boycott

14:08:85

30th.

Dispatch

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A "disquieting official silence" surrounded the consumer boycotts in East London and Port Elizabeth, the East London executive of the PFP said in a statement at the weekend.

While the boycotts in the two cities continued, many businesses were facing ruin and bankruptcy.

"Are businesses not sufficiently handicapped by the ravages of bungled government economic policy without having to face the present problem."

The executive noted "with concern that the exceptionally moderate demands of the consumer boycott committee have for some unknown reason not been made public.

"We further note with extreme disquiet the apparent inactivity of the local National Party public representatives, whose policies are the root cause of the problem, in attempting to find a solution to these boycotts."

The statement urged the publication of the boycotters' demands "so members of the public might decide on the issue for themselves".

In order to end the boycott, as well as the unrest sweeping the country, the following steps would have to be taken:

● The state of emergency would have to be lifted because it was viewed by blacks as a further repressive measure and not as a means of easing the unrest situation.

● All detainees held in terms of the emergency regulations or any other security legislation, must be charged or released

● The Defence Force must be seen by blacks in its proper role, as the defender of all South Africans. It must not be viewed as the tool of the Nationalist government

● An unequivocal statement must be issued abolishing all future forced removals.

● President P. W. Botha would have to issue a statement of intent, with particular reference to the constitutional position of blacks

● The government would have to seek urgent dialogue with the real leaders of the black community, with the aim of "calling a national convention to thrash out a new and just constitution for South Africa".

What are the reforms SA's blacks want and need most?

(304A) By Andrew Walker STAR 14/8/85

What do the elected representatives of 4,6 million whites have in store for 26 million unrepresented blacks?

That is the political question of the decade being asked today on the eve of President Botha's expected announcement on changes in the lot of blacks.

What are the reforms they need and want most quickly?

Research polls by various organisations over the last year show no single issue as being the grievance most in need of redress in the eyes of blacks.

In a divided black community within a divided country, no strict order of grievances for redress has emerged.

But the main issue is apartheid.

The order in which grievances have been listed by some pollsters has given rise to controversy over the polls.

One poll, which found that the greatest problem facing blacks was a lack of money, drew the wrath of several well-known black leaders.

Attitudes common to several research undertakings among the black man in the street are, although not in any order of priority:

- Strong opposition to the present political system because blacks are excluded.
- The need for better education for blacks.
- The abolition of influx control.
- The need for more employment opportunities, better pay and the scrapping of job reservation.
- The need for more housing.
- Dissatisfaction with the legal system.

The recent Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) report on race relations — compiled by more than 100 researchers over four years — called for drastic changes in the country's political, social and economic order, blaming apartheid for unrest.

The report pointed to entrenched separation, population registration, a racially-bound legal system, economic and job restrictions, and unequal education.

Education was also pointed to in a poll conducted among black youths in Pretoria.

The poll, organised by Dr Nico Smit of the Mamelodi NGK in Afrika, found that pupils pointed to "the inferior Bantu education" as their main grievance and a major cause of unrest.

A Consumer Pulse poll of 1 000 whites and 800 blacks in the main metropolitan areas found blacks suffered most from the recession.

While 20 percent of whites had suffered drastic cuts in living standards, among blacks it was 71 percent.

A poll of a different sort was conducted by the *City Press* newspaper, asking readers to list those whom they regarded as their leaders.

Published results gave ANC leaders three of the top four places, along with with Bishop Desmond Tutu.

ound the world

Pik has 'frank' talks in Lesotho

MASERU — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and Lesotho's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Desmond Sixishe, held talks in Maseru yesterday.

Mr Sixishe represented the Foreign Minister, Mr Vincent Mathele, who was away.

A statement issued after the talks said the meeting was arranged at the suggestion of the South African Foreign Minister to review "important matters of mutual concern in bilateral relations between the two countries".

The statement said the talks were frank and candid.

Mr Botha and his delegation returned to Pretoria immediately after the meeting.

Asked in an interview about the present state of relations between Lesotho and South Africa, Mr Botha said they were "normal".

He said reports of alleged threats of repatriation of Basuto workers from South Africa were not representative of the South African Government's policy.

His government did not intend repatriating Basuto workers, but because of the disinvestment campaign against South Africa, some factories might close down, forcing workers from neighbouring countries out of work.

He said disinvestment would hit both white and black. — Sapa.

MBABANE — A Swazi [illegible] was later questioned by the SA patrol.

Call for govt action

(304A) Dispatch 15:07:85

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A petition calling for the dismantling of apartheid and for the government to act immediately will be sent to the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

The aim of the petition, according to a covering letter posted with the petition forms, "is to make the voice of ordinary South Africans heard by the government and the rest of the world".

The preamble to the petition states: "I am not a revolutionary, just an ordinary citizen. I would like the system of apartheid to be dismantled now so that every South African of every colour can live together in peace.

"I want to live in a South Africa where all people are able to work, live and move freely. I want all South Africans to share equal rights. I want our government to act now."

The covering letter said the petition was "not backed by, nor affiliated to, any political or quasi-political organisation".

Blacks 'have right to take part in decision-making'

AUGUST 15 1985 30 KA

Political Staff

NP NATAL CONGRESS

DURBAN. — Urban blacks were South African citizens and as such had a right to take part in the decision-making process of the country, the Minister of Co-Operation Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, told the National Party Natal congress today.

It was not a question of whether they should take part but rather of how they should take part, he said, in reply to a request from the floor that the Cabinet should clarify the position with regard to the political future of urban blacks.

Mr Heunis said South Africa would not have arrived constitutionally unless clarity was obtained as to the future political accommodation of the black community.

He said it was the easiest thing in the world to draw up a constitution for the political participation of people. The problem was that these normally did not work.

There was no example of a political model which South Africa could use successfully in its special circumstances, he said.

Mr Heunis told the delegates that whatever the solution was, the negotiation process had to be democratic and that no solution could be successful or democratic without negotiation.

The Government's view was that there could be no white rights without extending rights to other communities while by the same token without white rights there would also be no rights for coloured, blacks and Indians.

Earlier a delegate had told Mr Heunis that "we do not want a fourth chamber and we do not want a federation. We can have city states, but other blacks must vote in their homelands. We are scared that we are on the same road as Zimbabwe and that before long we will not be masters of our own country".

Mr Heunis rejected a fourth chamber as a solution to achieve the objective of representation. He emphasised that black people were not excluded from the process of negotiation or from institutions and he urged delegates not to get entangled in terms such as confederation and federation which would hinder finding solutions.

"All black leaders who reject violence as a means of bringing about change have therefore been invited by the Government to take part in the process of negotiation," he said.

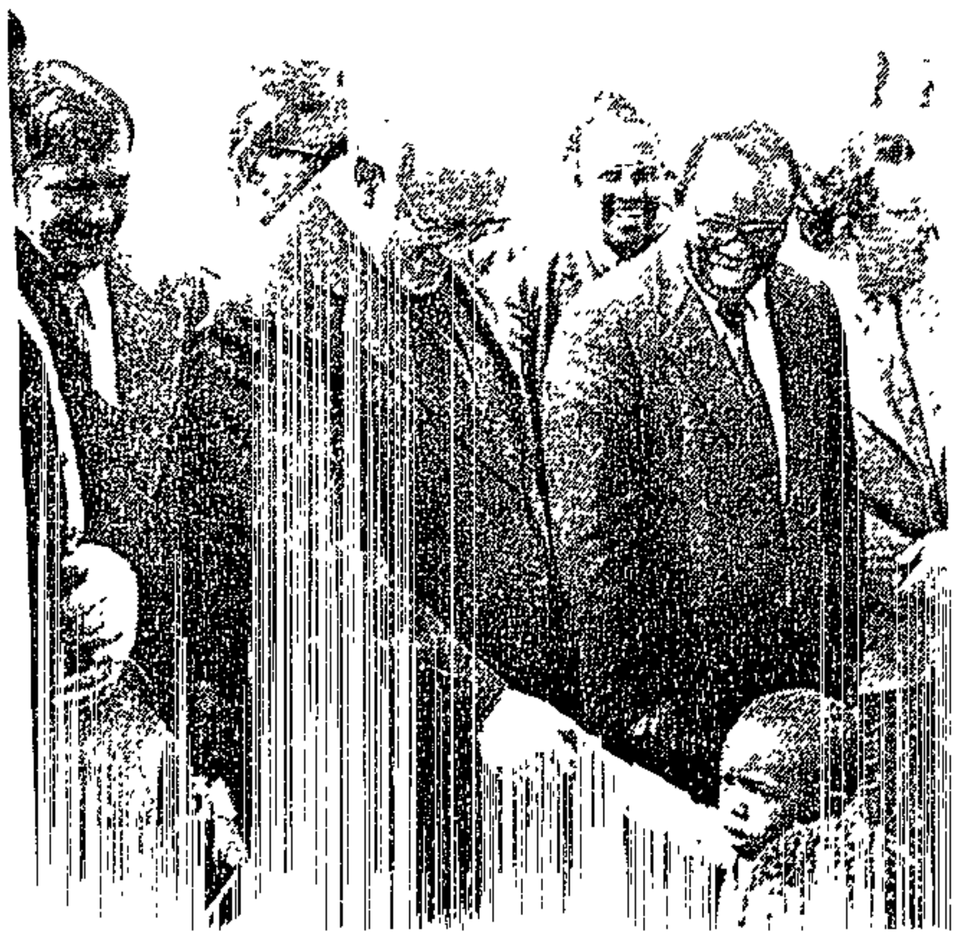
● See Pages 2 and 17.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1985 27c + 3c GST (PWV) Elsewhere 35c

Hopes high as PW gears up for key speech

DAY OF DESTINY

Sowetan STAR + 15/8/85



By JOE LATAKGOMO

THE homelands system is headed for the scrap heap.

This, according to informed sources, is one of the major announcements the State President Mr Pieter Willem Botha is to make at the Natal Congress of the National Party tonight.

Despite attempts by Government officials to dampen expectations over Mr Botha's possible announcements, it has been suggested the following could be tackled:

- Scrapping of homelands.
- Scrapping of influx control over a period.
- Granting of freehold title to blacks.
- Announcing some structure to accommodate blacks in the national political arena, and
- Introducing a unitary system of education for all the people in this country.



DESTIN

tor key speech



Mr P W BOTHA with Soweto toddlers when he visited the township in September 1979. Will he give these a brighter future when he makes his announcement tonight?

By JOE LATAKGOMO

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- Granting of freehold title to blacks
- Announcing some structure to accommodate blacks in the national political arena, and
- Introducing a unitary system of education for all the people in this country.

It is believed that the scrapping of homelands would mean common citizenship for all people in this country. The recent tours of homelands by the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, were intended to discuss this issue with the leaders of those homelands.

The existing homelands structure it is believed, would be used for some form of regional authorities in a federal system.

Tonight's statement by Mr Botha will largely determine South Africa's relations with Western countries, and already several have warned that unless there are dramatic changes, they would not be able to hold back pressures for sanctions against this country.

It is known, however, that the National Party does not wish to be seen to have bowed to international pressure, and justification for whatever he decides will have to be found right here at home.

Mandela

Black political thinking, however, is that unless black political leaders like Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Zepu Mothopeng are released unconditionally, and the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress ban lifted, no

To Page 2 ☛

Manyosi: Open verdict

By THEMBA MOLEFE

A JOHANNESBURG magistrate yesterday threw out of court the evidence of Soweto mayor Mr Edward Kunene, whom he said was unreliable, at the inquest into the death of councillor Mr Edward Manyosi.

Mr C G de Lange said he would hand his findings to the Attorney-General of Transvaal for a decision on whether anybody should be charged

The magistrate found that Mr Manyosi (72) was murdered by unknown people who fired shots at him from a car outside the Mofolo South home of a councillor, Mr Michael Gqwensa, in the early hours of December 2.

Mr de Lange described Soweto mayor Mr Edward Kunene as an unreliable witness

He said Mr Kunene's evidence was full of contradictions and unacceptable

The magistrate accepted Mr Gqwensa's evidence that Mr Manyosi was killed by unknown people travelling in a car which sped off as Mr Manyosi slumped over the steering wheel of his car.

Mr Manyosi's car had then crashed into a wall of a nearby house.

Mr de Lange ruled that Mr Manyosi was murdered by unknown people and was killed by four bullets penetrating his liver, lungs and heart.



EBONY
"Tell Me Why"


BRANDY
"Operation Love Affair"



Solution

From Page 1

political solution is possible. It is doubtful whether Mr Botha can go this far.

Already, there are strong indications that if Mr Botha forges too far ahead in the view of conservatives in his party, the National Party will split once more.

'SHARE POWER'

3047A

SOWETAN 15/8/85

Judge Steyn lists reforms

THE executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, yesterday called for reforms that would include the sharing of power at the central Government level.

He was addressing the eighth annual general meeting of the foundation.

After reviewing "the unrest and cycle of violence of the past year" he went on to recommend, among others:

- The abolition of influx control by a target date like June 1986;
- The granting of freehold title to blacks;
- The creation of one education department for all race groups;
- The termination of the state of emergency "at the earliest possible date;
- The appointment of an ombudsman in each of the districts in which the state of emergency has been proclaimed and to whom aggrieved people could complain;
- The abandonment of all forced removals;
- Blacks to enjoy the same citizenship rights as other race groups;
- The sharing of power at central government level; and
- The release of political prisoners "who have paid for their crimes in the hard coinage of punishment".

Mr Steyn, a former judge of the Supreme Court, said there was a pattern in many of the troubled townships showing that residents were under tremendous economic pressures because of the recession, high unemployment, increased food prices and transport costs.

He said there was an emergence of a body of politicised, and sometimes ideologically committed leadership with a capacity to exploit genuine and less genuine grievances.

He said there was also a lethargy on the part of the authorities in their response to the legitimacy of these grievances.

All eyes on PW Botha

304A

STAR 15/8/85

South Africa and much of the world will be listening closely to what is expected to be a landmark speech by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the official opening of the National Party Natal congress in Durban tonight.

Diplomats and foreign and local journalists are to join an expected capacity crowd in the Durban City Hall for the speech which is to start shortly after 7.30 pm.

South Africa's future relations with at least two major Western countries hinge to a great extent on the contents of Mr Botha's speech.

The United States Administration has called on the South African Government to make bold decisions and has warned that President Reagan may not be able to stave off sanctions for much longer.

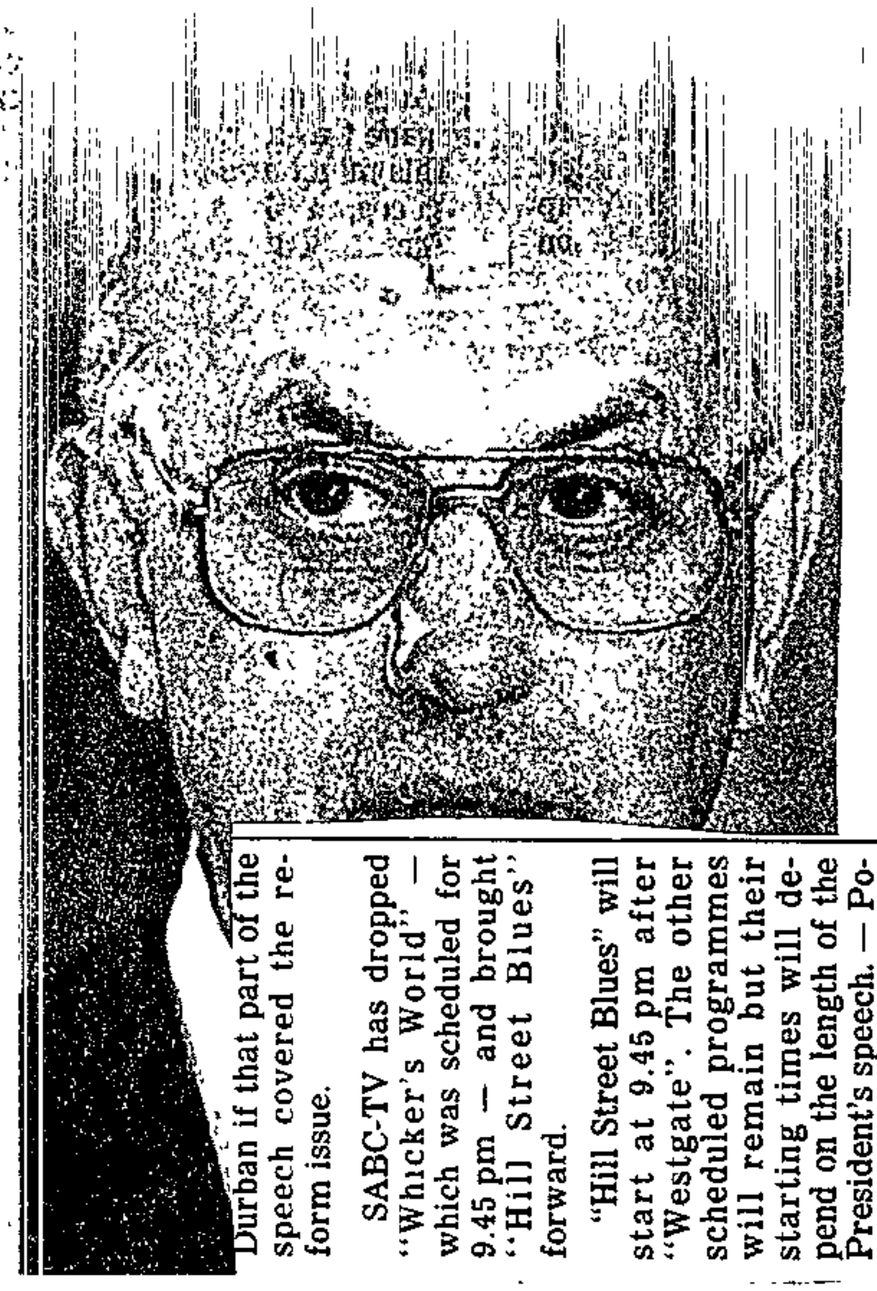
The Australian Government has said it will announce its sanctions decision after Mr Botha's speech.

The speech, which will be broadcast live in the US, has become one of the hottest political events of the week in Washington.

Behind the American officials' concern on the eve of the speech is their worry that disappointment in the reforms expected to be announced by Mr Botha will lead to new and fiercer demands to end the Reagan policy of constructive engagement and for the President not to veto economic sanctions.

Sources say President Reagan will wait for reaction to the speech from South African black and white opposition leaders before he makes a detailed comment on President Botha's announcements.

Will Mr Botha's speech tonight bring peace or further frustration? Are we going in the right direction? Tomorrow, between 9 am and 11 am, we would like your view on what he said. Note the following numbers and telephone us tomorrow for a special readers' speakout: 633-2254, 633-2250 or 633-2270.



President Botha . . . landmark speech expected.

At a meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last week, and in public comments since then, US national security adviser Mr Bud McFarlane made it clear President Reagan hoped Mr Botha's speech would contain enough reform ammunition to help him sustain a sanctions veto and to drum up more support for his embattled policy of constructive engagement.

Expectations at home and abroad have been sharply mixed in the past week and this is said to have even effected the stock market.

South African Government sources have indicated that important announcements are to be made although they have cautioned that some expectations have been too high.

Speculation on the contents of the speech has ranged from suggestions that Mr Botha is to announce the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela to the idea that a dramatic new deal for non-homeland blacks will be unveiled.

President Botha has hinted that he will deal with matters which he outlined in his speech at the opening of Parliament on January 25.

These included extended co-operation with independent national states; increased co-operation within collective structures with self-governing national states; the inclusion of non-homeland blacks in co-operation structures at all levels; co-operation on matters of common interest with the various political entities in South Africa; and the resolution of the issue of common South African citizenship.

The speech will be broadcast on television throughout the US with English translation provided when President Botha speaks in Afrikaans.

In South Africa, TV1 will present an edited version of President Botha's speech at about 10.30 tonight.

A spokesman for SABC-TV said the speech would be monitored during the 8 pm news which would switch directly to

SABC-TV has dropped "Whicker's World" — which was scheduled for 9.45 pm — and brought "Hill Street Blues" forward.

"Hill Street Blues" will start at 9.45 pm after "Westgate". The other scheduled programmes will remain but their starting times will depend on the length of the President's speech. — Political Corespondent, The Star's Washington Bureau, Staff Reporters.

Report restricted

This report has been restricted in terms of the Internal Security Act because Mrs Mandela may not be quoted in South Africa.

Top priority is elimination of red tape, says Durr

304A
STAR 15/8/85

Pretoria Bureau

South Africa's most urgent priority is deregulation and the elimination of red tape, particularly where excessive control hampers job creation and pushes up running costs.

The Deputy Minister of Finance, Trade and Industry, Mr Kent Durr, told the South African Institute for Public Administration in Pretoria yesterday the country could not afford "to stand idly by while the creation of the work opportunities we so desperately need may be smothered by red tape or outmoded regulations".

"We cannot allow high standards for the few to stand in the way of higher standards for the many. Very often the best way to help people is simply not to hinder them.

"The Government takes a serious view of the whole question of over-regulation, licensing and administrative procedures if they act as a brake on economic development."

Mr Durr said it was also vital to look into privatisation at all levels of Government.

"It is pre-eminently the private sector that creates wealth and thereby raises living standards and the more resources we can channel there the greater will be the wealth generated."

Many services provided by the Government could be handled just as well by the private sector, he said.

However, Mr Durr warned that privatisation was "no panacea" as it could involve merely exchanging one monopoly for another.

HOUSING

Mr Durr said the Government would continue to spend heavily on certain services, including education, health and housing.

Mr Durr warned that the Government's financial commitment to bringing about parity in services for all races meant white South Africans "who by and large have enjoyed a remarkably high standard of living at cut prices" would need to adjust their views to some extent.

● The Chairman of Southern Life, Dr Z J de Beer, told the conference activities such as forestry, mining, steel marketing, internal airlines, and health services could be handed over to private enterprise successfully.

However, the provision of power, posts and telecommunications and railways should be left in Government hands. The public service should continue to provide the administrative framework for businesses.

P W's three-point speech-page 1

Reforms before 2000 — Botha

BRITISH sources revealed that President Botha would tell South Africans tonight that blacks would be brought into the highest level of government, citizenship would be granted to all and reforms would be carried out within an undivided nation.

London Bureau

The sources indicated last night that Whitehall had already welcomed what it considered would amount to a statement of intent when President Botha addressed the National Party congress in Durban tonight.

The British were reacting to a preview of President Botha's speech given in outline to British, American and West German officials in Vienna and Frankfurt last week by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

Britain's only reservation was the absence of any reference to the release of Nelson Mandela in the speech preview.

British sources said the outline had indicated an emphasis on three main points.

Blacks would be brought into the highest level of government, South African citizenship would be the right of all inhabitants of the country and the Government envisaged its reforms being carried out within the political structure of an undivided South Africa.

It is believed here that the final shape of President Botha's speech will not be decided until a Cabinet meeting earlier today.

Last week's preview was reasonably well received by Washington in some discreet public statements.

The Reagan Administration saw the speech as providing reinforcement for its stand against congressional demands for economic sanctions.

By contrast, there was an absence of any public comment, favourable or unfavourable, from London and Bonn, both of whom oppose sanctions.

Our political correspondent, Ormande Pollok, writes that politicians and commentators, who have been 'demanding' reforms in South Africa, could find themselves under fire tonight.

Radically

Mr Botha is not a politician given to being told what to do, especially in his own backyard.

With the international spotlight on him he can be expected to let it be known in no uncertain terms that the Government and not outsiders will decide what changes are to be made.

Hopes of the announcement of further reforms were kept alive by statements this week from the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and South Africa's Ambassador to Washington, Mr Herbert Beukes.

Dr Viljoen told whites their future would be 'radically different' and that they should be prepared for 'many radical changes'.

This would see the

★ TURN TO PAGE 2

Treurnicht warns of 'slumbering tiger'

STAR 15/8/85

BLOEMFONTEIN — The slumbering tiger of resistance by white South Africans was being awakened by the Government's integrationist policies, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, warned last night.

At the opening of the party's third annual Orange Free State congress in Bloemfontein, Dr Treurnicht said that the State President, Mr P W Botha, was trying to achieve an impossible compromise between white self-determination and white subjection to black majority rule.

"With all respect, I want to warn you, Mr Botha, ... you will be crushed between black radical demands and whites' resistance. Whites will refuse to be co-governed by non-whites," Dr Treurnicht said.

"I warn you, you are awakening the tiger in the whites ... you underestimate the dormant objection among the whites to the path of integration."

Dr Treurnicht urged Mr Botha to reconsider before he continued with the implementation of his policy and to break loose from the liberals and power-sharers.

Describing the Government's course as "political recklessness" he said: "Don't try a political experiment that has succeeded nowhere else ... don't place a foot on the road to what will inevitably result in black majority rule."

Dr Treurnicht said the control of the whites over their own fatherland — to which they had a right — was being torn from their hands from the highest to the lowest level of government for the sake of reconciliation, consensus and good human relations.

'Historic' meeting a damp squib

Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — What was intended to have been a historic joint meeting between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party in the Nelspruit Town Hall ended up being a poorly attended gathering.

The first half started well when enthusiastic listeners cheered the HNP speaker, Mr Werner Weber of Maritzburg, during his hour-long address.

But the mood changed rapidly when Lydenburg's CP representative, Mr Dries Bruwer, spoke. Members of the obviously bored audience began to leave the hall.

Much of Mr Weber's talk was devoted to United States disinvestment. "To America I say: 'If you want to disinvest go right ahead. Close your factories, fire your staff and we will take them over at R25 each'," he said.



POLICIES

Anatomy of the unrest and ideas for reform

These are extracts from the report by Mr J H STEYN, Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation to the organisation's annual meeting yesterday

NEVER in the Urban Foundation's history of almost 10 years have we met in more troubled and troubling times

A fundamentally new dimension has entered the pattern of violence as anyone suspected of working with the authorities has potentially become the target of attack. International pressures (ranging from economic sanctions to diplomatic censure) are threatening further to isolate us

The unrest and cycle of violence of the past year have dramatically lowered the quality of life in all areas and has had a destructive impact on all local communities. It has also severely threatened the work of concerned agencies such as ourselves and has diminished our capacity to bring resources to bear upon improvements in the quality of life of all people.

There is no doubt that continued violence and counter-violence may undermine (perhaps already is undermining) the determination of the country to pursue peaceful change.

In the circumstances, no greater challenge could face all those committed to peaceful transformation of this society.

There is no doubt that the present cycle of unrest builds on a series of different but widely felt grievances. Let me list some of them.

☐ The introduction of the new tricameral constitution incorporating groups previously excluded from any political power heightened black resentment and anger at their exclusion from Parliament.

☐ A complex of educational issues

☐ An inadequate housing stock, inappropriate systems of housing delivery, inadequate access to finance and a lack of dynamism in the delivery of serviced land.

☐ The recession



Mr J H Steyn, Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation

monly associated with Third World countries, thus we have failed to confront the fact of urbanisation, we have sought to impose standards and institute controls that strangle initiatives and we have imposed political solutions which have been irreconcilable with appropriate economic development

Reform aims at achieving far-reaching changes in society Revolution presupposes that some massive alteration in society - such as an armed conflict - must occur before real change can begin. Reform, however, recognises that no such cataclysm is required,

amongst urbanised black people It is therefore imperative that this leadership should be part of the processes through which reform is generated and managed.

☐ The initiation and management of reform should be sensitive to the impact that reform has on the total South African community - not merely on the present electorate It should also be of the very high levels of distrust prevailing amongst black South Africans

Option

It is imperative that authority creates, through the clear

to the implementation of the recommendations of the de Lange Committee Of particular concern is the high symbolism accorded in black communities to the establishment of a single Ministry of Education, the articulation of an announced programme, setting realistic goals for redressing inequalities

☐ The private sector must be mobilised to achieve real progress in black advancement. A lead from Government in this respect, an announcement of its plans for such advancement in the public sector and how it will seek to monitor such progress would be a major stimulus.

☐ As a matter of urgency we need to create specific areas in which regulation in respect of small businesses are suspended with immediate effect.

☐ We would urge the termination of the State of Emergency at the earliest possible date, and that the sanctity of the rule of law be reaffirmed as a matter of urgency. It is of fundamental importance that all South Africans should be reassured that we are all entitled to the benefit of the protection of the law in its tried and tested form.

☐ To counter allegations of abuse of police powers, we should appoint a respected Ombudsman in each of the districts in which the State of Emergency has been proclaimed and to whom aggrieved persons can have recourse

☐ I would suggest the announcement that all forced removals and especially those based on ideological premises will be permanently abandoned and a respected Ombudsman to monitor this be appointed

☐ We need to reaffirm unequivocally that all current distinctions between the right to citizenship of blacks as distinguished from other race groups will be removed.

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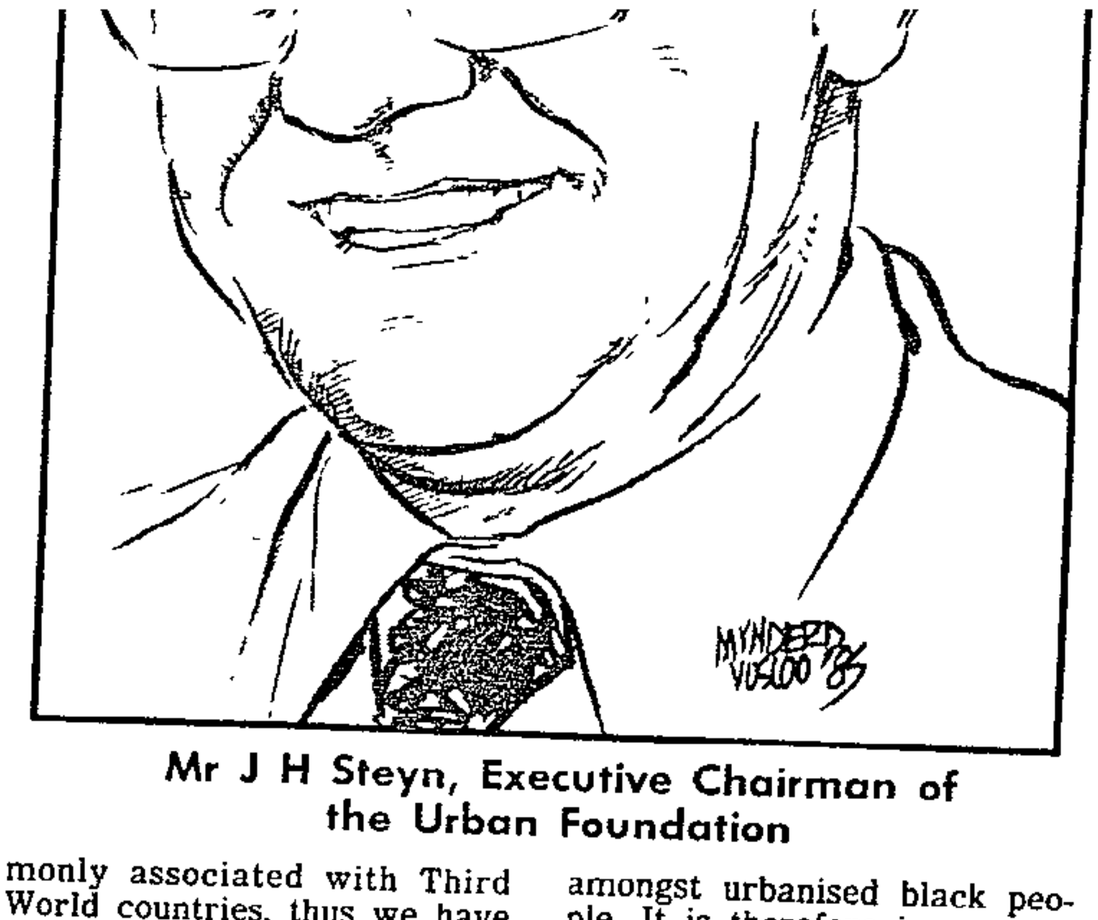

Mr J H Steyn, Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation

☐ The recession with large-scale retrenchments occurring in urban areas.

☐ Internal struggles for power between rival black political groupings, in particular the UDF, the black consciousness groups such as Azapo and the National Forum, and Inkatha.

☐ Police action and especially the absence of any mechanism to receive and monitor in a demonstrably objective manner legitimate complaints about the abuse of power which must almost inevitably occur.

☐ The failure in some key areas of the system of black local Government.

We have failed to accept the fact that South Africa is a developed society with many of the characteristics com-

monly associated with Third World countries, thus we have failed to confront the fact of urbanisation, we have sought to impose standards and institute controls that strangle initiatives and we have imposed political solutions which have been irreconcilable with appropriate economic development.

Reform aims at achieving far-reaching changes in society. Revolution presupposes that some massive alteration in society - such as an armed conflict - must occur before real change can begin. Reform, however, recognises that no such cataclysm is required, that positive change can begin in a limited and incremental way.

Vision

Reform requires a vision of the future and a clear perception of the precise changes needed, unlike revolution which merely demands that people envisage one dramatic event, after which it is naively expected that everything will be all-right.

Within a general framework of rapid, clear and fundamental reform, what specific actions are required to break the cycle I have analysed above?

☐ There is a very clear linkage between the capacity to promote reform and maintain law and order on the one hand and the absence of black leadership which is demonstrably legitimate on the other.

Leadership

There is accordingly a very real need for the initiation of a structural process through which black leadership can emerge with whom reform and law and order can be negotiated.

In the absence of such structures or the inadequancies of presently prevailing processes, we have to accept the existence of a wide range of black leadership that operates outside of formal structures. We also have to recognise that such leadership enjoys significant support, particularly amongst urbanised black people. It is therefore imperative that this leadership should be part of the processes through which reform is generated and managed.

☐ The initiation and management of reform should be sensitive to the impact that reform has on the total South African community - not merely on the present electorate. It should also be of the very high levels of distrust prevailing amongst black South Africans.

Option

It is imperative that authority creates, through the clear and unambiguous pronouncements it makes, sufficient faith in the process of reform to sustain its credibility. This will enable black leadership who see negotiation rather than violence as the clearly preferred option.

Against this backdrop we believe specific actions are required.

☐ We need to articulate a positive urbanisation strategy which includes as one of its components a clearly stated commitment to abolish influx control by a target date - say June, 1986. Such strategy would be designed to manage urbanisation not to seek to control it coercively.

Housing

☐ Housing is a major stabilising factor in any society. It creates jobs on a large scale, it develops skills, it conveys a sense of belonging.

The chronic housing shortage and the overcrowding which accompanies it, is a major contributing factor to tension. Crisis intervention is necessary to bring real dynamism into this process.

☐ The private sector should be given an opportunity to play a definitive role in this process and a commitment should be obtained from financial institutions and employers to make substantial loan finance available for this purpose.

☐ In the field of education we need a clear commitment in the public sector and how it will seek to monitor such progress would be a major stimulus.

☐ As a matter of urgency we need to create specific areas in which regulation in respect of small businesses are suspended with immediate effect.

☐ We would urge the termination of the State of Emergency at the earliest possible date, and that the sanctity of the rule of law be reaffirmed as a matter of urgency. It is of fundamental importance that all South Africans should be reassured that we are all entitled to the benefit of the protection of the law in its tried and tested form.

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☐ I would suggest the announcement that all forced removals and especially those based on ideological premises will be permanently abandoned and a respected Ombudsman to monitor this be appointed.

☐ We need to reaffirm unequivocally that all current distinctions between the right to citizenship of blacks as distinguished from other race groups will be removed.

☐ We should create a framework within which a legitimate negotiating process with blacks as equal partners can take place on an open ended agenda which would at least include the sharing of power at central government level, and the possibility of a federal component in the ultimate (probably unique) constitutional dispensation which is to emerge.

☐ The issue of local government and its legitimacy is an area of major concern. That the revitalization of this critically important instrument for black advancement is urgently necessary is self-evident.

☐ The symbolism of the release of "political" prisoners has assumed major significance. To me there is an overarching principle involved I refer to the fact that those who have paid for their crimes in the hard coinage of punishment, should, just as in the case of any other convicted offender, be released.

Much depends on how leadership acts and the South African community responds to that lead. Let me say that I am referring both to leadership with power to enforce decisions through conventional organisational structures (whether in the public or private sector) and to those who do not have that capacity, but have the ability to muster other powerful forces in our society. On both these categories of leaders rest an awesome responsibility

Botha has the world guessing

CAPE TIMES 15/8/88

3044A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Contradictory reports from South Africa about what President P W Botha will say about apartheid reform when he speaks in Durban tonight have left Western governments and the Western media confused and even irritated.

In the United States, the State Department maintains that it is still optimistic that the reforms will chart a course away from racial violence and towards increased black political rights.

British and West German officials are adopting a wait-and-see policy. They decline to speculate on what Mr Botha will say, but like the Americans they are hoping that the reforms will be significant.

Attitudes among other EEC countries vary from scepticism on the part of the Dutch and French to plain confusion among some of the others.

The British media appear to have decided that the initial excitement over Mr Botha's speech was unwarranted and they have been telling their readers, listeners and viewers that the speech may be a damp squib.

It is widely believed here now that the speech will be addressed mainly to the US, the EEC and the Commonwealth and will seek to arrest the momentum towards selective sanctions in these groupings.

Hardly anyone expects the package of reforms to make much of an impact on the black population in South Africa, and certainly not on the ANC, UDF or the black radicals in the townships. The unrest in South Africa is therefore expected to continue.

Some diplomats feel the spate of publicity over Mr Botha's speech at the weekend raised expectations which are not going to be met, and that the disappointment internationally therefore will be more pronounced than it would have been otherwise.

In an editorial entitled "How Far Can He Go?", the conservative Daily Telegraph yesterday said it was apparent now that Mr Botha was not contemplating fundamental changes in the way he wished to run South Africa.

The Telegraph concluded: "Though he (Mr Botha) may grant full citizenship to blacks, and relax (although probably not abolish) influx controls and pass laws and the Group Areas Act, and end forced removals, and pump much more money into black areas and effectively offer an unprecedented 'new deal' to the African majority, and even release Mr Nelson Mandela and open a dialogue with black leaders, he is unlikely to satisfy Washington, let alone the African National Congress which, in every sense, smells blood."

British newspapers continue to give vast publicity to Mr Nelson Mandela, and yesterday the Guardian, describing him as "the world's most famous political prisoner", said Mr Botha had a credibility problem because "the authorities are locking up every leader of African opinion they can find, thereby silencing the very people with whom they should be talking"



Foreign press headlines speculating on Mr P W Botha's reform package.

Speech 'will open a road'

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — The United States has been told to expect an ambiguous message from President P W Botha today that nevertheless will "open a road" towards common citizenship and "some black participation in government".

That was Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha's Vienna message, according to an analysis presented yesterday by influential conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.

In their "truly candid exchange", US National Security Adviser Mr Robert McFarlane told the Mr Botha that President Ronald Reagan understood President Botha's difficulties.

But he stressed that anti-apartheid moderates in South Africa must be able to "glimpse true promise" in the speech, Evans and Novak said.

The White House is warning not to expect a quick reaction to the speech and it promises no more than guarded comments until black reaction is assessed.

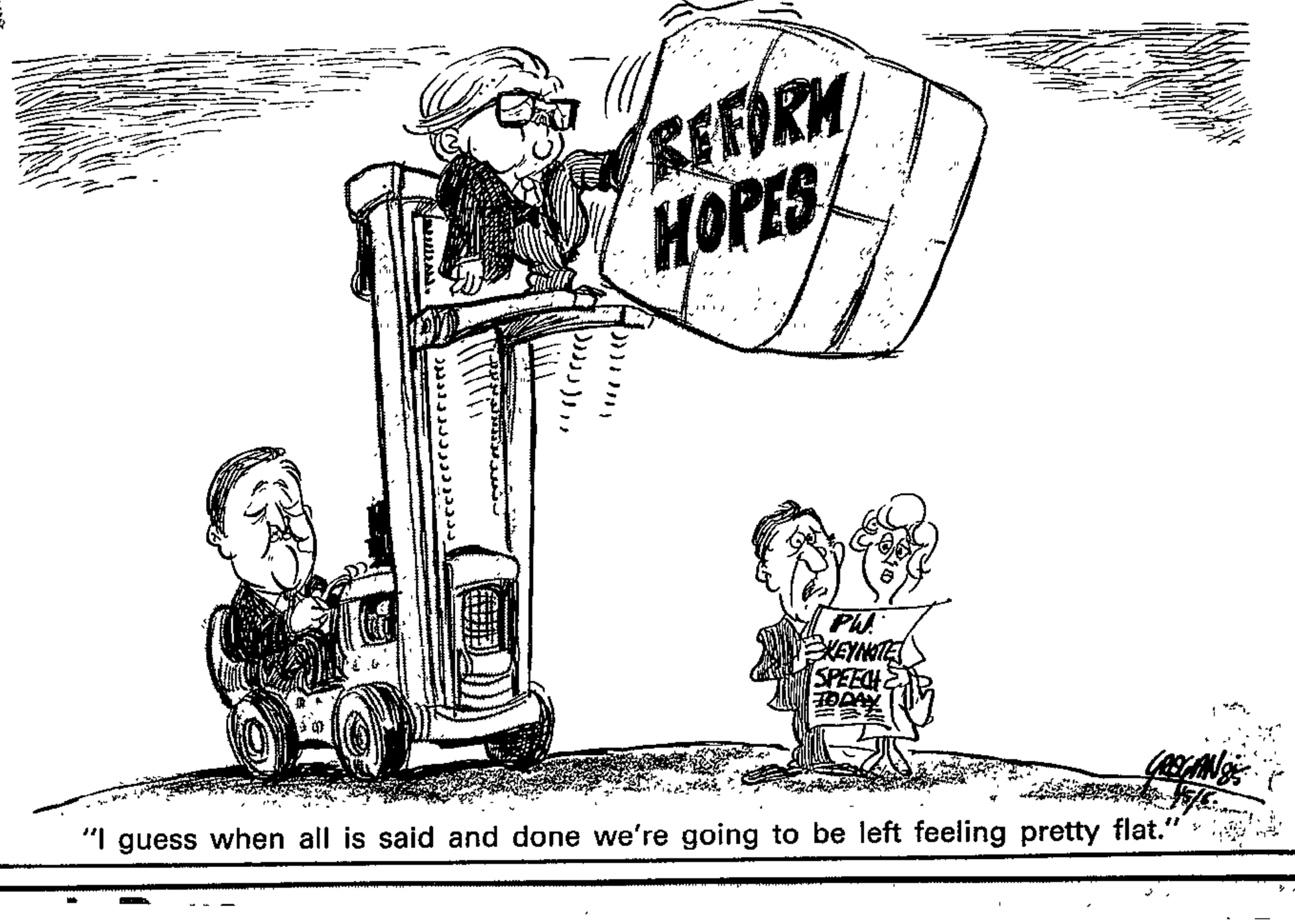
American emphasis on the eve of the speech stayed on the sanctions issue.

Mr McFarlane maintained that nothing was likely to shake Mr Reagan from "quite firm and quite strong" opposition to the sanctions bill pending before Congress — it was "bad law", Mr McFarlane said.

But according to Evans and Novak and others, Pretoria has been warned that Mr Reagan might not be able to risk vetoing the sanctions bill if faced with a certain congressional override.

Such a rebuff by Congress would not only end "constructive engagement", it could "devastate" President Reagan's powers to pursue his domestic programmes too, the South African Foreign Minister was reportedly told after he had suggested that a Reagan veto of sanctions would make him a hero with South Africans.

CART TIMES 15/8/85 30K A



"I guess when all is said and done we're going to be left feeling pretty flat."

PC approves Bill

Political Reporter

THE President's Council (PC) yesterday broke a deadlock in legislation for the second time in favour of the government by approving the Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill and referring it to the State President for approval.

The Bill had been rejected by the House of Delegates (Indian) earlier this year.

In a division of the council called by Mr Peter Marais of the People's Congress Party (PCP), the Bill was approved by 38 members, while 11 opposed it

It was supported by the National Party, Labour Party and New Republic Party and opposed by the Progressive Federal Party, Conservative Party, Solidarity Party, PCP, Democratic Workers' Party and National People's Party.

The Police Amendment Bill was the first piece of legislation to be approved by the PC earlier this year, after a deadlock had been reached in Parliament when the House of Delegates refused to approve it.

Tricameral system did not cause unrest — Rajbansi

D.D. 15/8/85

304

DURBAN — The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has rejected claims that the tricameral parliament he and the coloured leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, accepted without blacks being included, was the "real reason" for black unrest in the country.

He said he would accept a challenge made to him by the Students Representative Council of the University of Durban-Westville for a public debate on condition the debate be open only to the press at a venue acceptable to both parties.

He said his participation in the tricameral parliament was "amply justified" by the efforts and work being put in by the House of Delegates to bring relief to victims of unrest in Durban's Inanda and other areas.

Education and housing were also improved as a result of efforts by the House of Delegates, he said.

Mr Rajbansi said many Indians who professed to be against "the system" were actually making good use of it by relying on the House of Delegates for help.

The president of the University of Durban-Westville SRC, Mr Vasu Govender, said earlier the tricameral dispensation, rejected by more than 80 per cent of Indians and coloureds in the elections last year, was the root cause of problems.

He said "any amount of statements" by Mr Rajbansi that boycotts by students and protests fuelled unrest would not detract from the truth.

The UDF and its affiliate, the Natal Indian Congress, also blamed the tricameral system which excluded blacks as the main reason for unrest, frustrations and suspicions.

Dr Farouk Meer, the NIC's acting president, said "the Rajbansis and Hendrickses" had been warned of these dangers during the elections.

But they still went ahead and joined the "white oppressors" in the face of widespread rejection by the Indian and coloured communities. — Sapa

Official dies

GRAHAMSTOWN — Mrs Yvonne Bosman, 62,

Business Day

August 16 1985

PW must quit

● From Page 1

Clearly what Pik Botha had to say to US officials in Vienna and to Congressman Solarz on what reforms were to be announced in Durban were out of place. If PW had material reform in mind at that stage, he had for some reason lost his nerve by last night.

Within minutes of his speech beginning it was clear that PW was out of his depth. He patently is not in touch with the modern world of communications. Unlike Reagan he showed no sensitivity to the way news is disseminated, to the mood of the majority of people in this country and, indeed, of the views of the countries without the support of which we in South African cannot hope to see a return to prosperity reasonably soon.

Having leaked the news of the importance of his pending address in Durban, he must been extremely naive to think that this and other newspapers would not comment upon it and present a reasoned view of what we think should be done. The task of a modern newspaper is to provide stimulus to thought and enterprise that flows from fair and intelligent interpretation.

Neither we, nor any other newspaper of which we are aware, advocated measures that could in any way be equated with the encouragement of anarchy and violence. They were sound fiscal and economic meassures which we believe would be appropriate to the changing circumstances of this country. They are measures that experience abroad has shown work — reduced taxes, less government control on all the peoples of this land, deregulation and privatisation, and education equity. That is hardly a formula for revolution. Quite the contrary.

After a promising start, Botha has lapsed into the morbid torpor of John Vorster. We feared it last week. We know it now. That is not the mark of a man who is equipped to lead a modern nation.

Today, when the financial markets open, the first indications of the cost of his lack of leadership are going to be plainly evident. The bill is going to grow. For the recession now will deepen, the slide in interest rates will be delayed, hundreds of jobs will be lost and productive assets destroyed as more firms go to the wall and the desperation of the black community rises. This desperation is real and deep. It may have been exploited by those of dubious intent. But it is undoubtedly there.

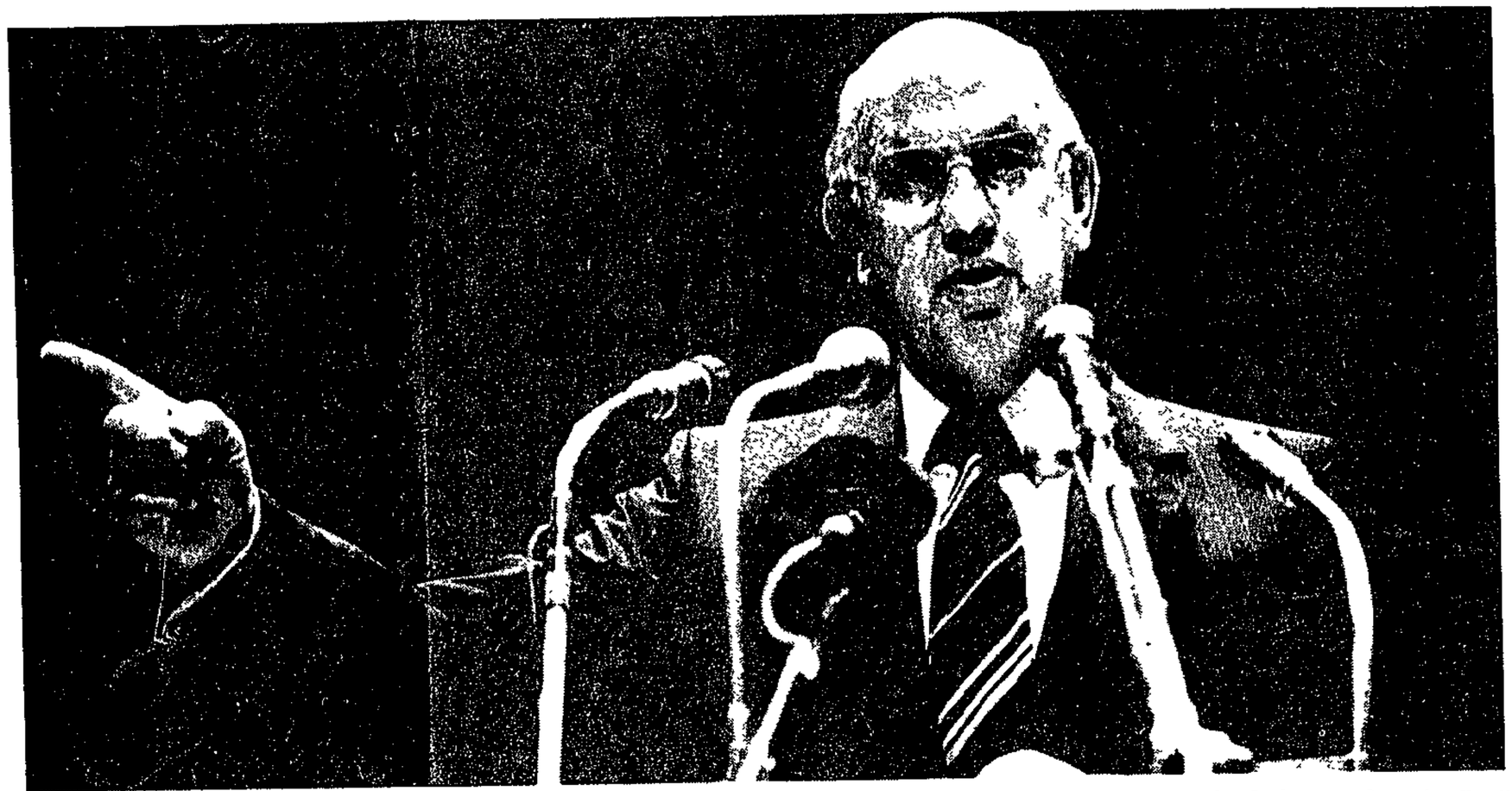
Botha has refused every reasonable appeal to consult with black leaders. His weak excuse is that they are not elected leaders. That may be so, for there is no mechanism for a black national leader to be elected. There are only his vassals in the "independent" states and some of them are a disgrace to humanity and the very democratic values that Botha professes to want to extend.

If Botha cannot perform better than this, if he cannot conduct himself as a statesman in front of the world's media, then we believe the time has come for him to depart. Let him go back to the Wilderness, the real Wilderness where he lives, and let some one more capable run the country.

Let him not delude himself. He is the leader, by

THE following is an edited text of the State President's speech opening the Natal National Party Congress in Durban last night:

Botha talks of advice and dangerous games



● P W BOTHA . . . "I have received a great deal of advice, including advice from some who want to help me from the frying pan into the fire."

"DURING recent months, and particularly the last few weeks, I have received a great deal of advice.

"Most of the persons and institutions who offered advice and still offer advice have good and well-meaning intentions. I thank them and where the advice is practical, it is considered.

"Seldom in our past has there been a party congress of the National Party for which so many expectations were raised as this congress in Natal.

"Some of the reasons for this are evident, for example the partial emergency situation in less than 14% of the magisterial districts of the Republic of South Africa. Other reasons are more sinister, such as the motives of those who have put words in my mouth in advance.

"During recent weeks there was an unparalleled scurry from different sources, within and outside South Africa, to predict and prescribe what is to be announced at this congress. It was also envisaged that, worldwide, people are going to be dissatisfied if certain things are not announced as were predicted.

"It is of course a well-known tactic in negotiations to limit the other person's freedom of movement about possible decisions, thus forcing him in a direction where his options are increasingly restricted.

Expectations

"It is called the force of rising expectations. Firstly, an expectation is raised that a particular announcement is to be made. Then an expectation is raised about what the content of the announcement should be.

"The tactic has two objectives. Firstly, the target is set so high that, even if an announcement is made, it is almost impossible to fulfil the propagated expectations.

"Secondly, it is also an attempt to force the one party into negotiations to make the expected decision. If this is not done, public opinion is already conditioned to such an extent that the result is widespread dissatisfaction. This is what has been happening over recent weeks.

"I find it unacceptable to be confronted in this manner with an accomplished fact. I think we should first reconsider the objective of a party congress.

"The National Party in each province is the highest authority of the party in each province.

"One of the major activities of the congress is to decide on party policy.

"It would thus be unwise of the leader of the party to confront the provincial congress with certain final decisions.

"Moreover, the subject of most of the speculations, namely the constitutional future of the black peoples in South Africa, is of such a nature that it must be determined in consultation with those concerned.

"We cannot confront them with certain final decisions. Over the years, that was exactly the criticism against our government: that we make decisions about people and not with them.

"I find the attempts from various sources to compromise me and the government very unfortunate. It is a very dangerous game and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa.

"Time:

"I have used a quotation from Langenhoven earlier. I want to quote him again. He wrote: 'If we are in front we can wait for time. If we are behind, it does not wait for

current account is showing a surplus of about R5bn a year — much larger than anticipated.

☐ "The banking sector and private companies have for months now been repaying substantial amounts of foreign debt.

☐ "Our net gold and foreign exchange reserves increased by R1,4bn during the second quarter of 1985.

☐ "The prime overdraft rate of the banks has been reduced four times since May from 25% to 21%. Other interests rates have also declined.

☐ "The rate of inflation is still around 16%, but should begin to decline before the end of the year.

☐ "With exports rising strongly and interest rates falling, the domestic economy should move into a new upswing in 1986.

"The so-called 'economic fundamentals' are therefore at present very favourable in South Africa. Many of the present overseas perceptions of the South African situation are, of course, quite erroneous. Nobody would deny that we face problems that demand solutions.

"But the perceptions of many overseas observers bear little relationship to the realities of the situation.

"Leading country

Africa.

"It is a fallacious belief that the government must do everything for all. We must help the people to help themselves, to build and upgrade their homes through their own efforts.

"We have decided that land should be made available where possible, and site services supplied.

"We have already accepted the principle of ownership rights for blacks in the urban areas outside the national states. Just as important is the principle of ownership rights to people in the national states.

"But the state must mainly take responsibility for the infrastructure, such as fresh drinking water, sanitation and roads. The government intends setting aside R1bn during the next five years to improve underdeveloped towns and cities, not only in metropolitan areas.

"Our policy of decentralisation will be actively continued with.

Influx

"On the question of influx control I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly. The Presid... Council w... reasonably

South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation.

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood represents a material part of the solution.

"I would, however, like to restate my government's position in this regard, namely that independence cannot be forced upon any community.

"Should any of the black national states therefore prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa.

"This does not exclude that regional considerations should be taken into account and that provision be made for participation in institutions on a regional and/or group basis.

"One-man-one-vote:

"But I know for a fact that most leaders in their own right in South Africa and reasonable South Afri-

ceas such as one-man one-vote, freedom and justice for all.

"Their actions leave no doubt that the freedoms that we already have — together with the ongoing extension of democracy in South Africa — are the true targets of their violence.

"The violence of our enemies is a warning to us. We, who are committed to peaceful negotiation, also have a warning to them.

"Our warning is that our readiness to negotiate should not be mistaken for weakness. Reform through process of negotiation is not weakness. Talking, consulting, bargaining with all our peoples' leaders is not weakness. Mutual acceptance of, and joint responsibility for, the welfare and stability of our country is not weakness. It is our strength.

"Our strength is the courage to face and accommodate the problems bequeathed to us by history. The reality of our diversity is a hard reality.

"We face it because it is there. How do we accommodate it?

"How do we build a better future out of cultures, values, languages which are demonstrably real in our heterogeneous society? We are resolved — we are committed — to do so in two fundamental ways.

People

"Firstly, by letting the people speak. By letting the people speak through their leaders. By negotiation between all these leaders; negotiation in which we will all endeavour to improve our common wellbeing.

"Negotiation in which there will be give-and-take. We will not prescribe and we will not demand — to do so would be to take only. We will give so that others can also give towards a better future for each and everyone.

"Secondly, the overriding common denominator is our mutual interest in each other's freedoms and wellbeing. Our peace and prosperity is indivisible.

"Therefore, the only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility. If we ignore the existence of minorities; if we ignore the individual's right to associate with others in the practise of his beliefs and the propagation of his values; if we deny this in favour of a simplistic 'winner-takes-all' political system, then we will diminish and not increase the freedoms of our peoples.

"Then we would deny the right of each and every one to share in the decisions which shape his destiny.

"Between the many and varied leaders in this country, there are important differences of policy.

"I recognise this, but I also know that their love of South Africa is as intense as my own. I am, therefore, in no doubt that, working together, we shall succeed in finding the way which will satisfy the reasonable economic, social and political aspirations of everyone.

country. For the rest, he is seen in another light.

the other provinces on a federal basis.

"The provincial congress is the

Rex Trueform Clothing Company Limited

("the Company")

Redemption and interest payments

– 9,4% unsecured debentures 1984/1993 of R1 each ("the 9,4% debentures")

– 11,2% unsecured debentures 1985/1994 of R1 each ("the 11,2% debentures")

UAL Merchant Bank Limited is authorised to announce that redemption payments in respect of the abovementioned debentures are due on 27 September 1985. The following are the salient details of those redemption payments and the interest due on the debentures:

	9,4% debentures	11,2% debentures
1. Proportion of debenture holders' holding to be redeemed (rounded down to the nearest 100 debentures)	One-ninth	One-tenth
2. Total amount to be redeemed	R200 000	R200 000
3. Interest due on the debentures to be redeemed calculated on a daily basis for the period 1 April 1985 to 27 September 1985, both days inclusive (cents per debenture)	4,63561	5,52328
4. Interest due on the debentures not being redeemed – six months ending 30 September 1985 (cents per debenture)		
– interest payment no 21		5,6
– interest payment no 24	4,7	

The interest payments are subject to the deduction of 10% withholding tax in the case of those debenture holders whose addresses are outside the Republic of South Africa.

Debenture holders will be informed on or about 5 September 1985 of the number of their debentures to be redeemed and the procedures relating thereto.

Closing of register

The register of debenture holders will be closed from close of business on Friday, 30 August 1985 to close of business on Friday, 6 September 1985 in order to determine those debenture holders who will participate in the redemption and receive the interest payments.

Stock exchange listing

In accordance with the requirements of The Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the Company will apply for the listing of the debentures to be redeemed to be terminated with effect from close of business on Friday, 30 August 1985.

UAL

UAL Merchant Bank Limited
(Registered Merchant Bank)
A member of the Nedbank Group

16 August 1985

A1873

"In our relationship with our fellow South Africans and in our relationship as a multi-cultural society in South Africa, no spirit of defeatism or hysterical actions will help us to be on time.

Relationships

"We must deal with our relationships and accept future challenges in a balanced way and with devotion. You will find that balance in thinking and devotion in the National Party — the only political party which is representative of the vast majority of white South Africa.

"The party stands for the just and equal treatment of all parts of South Africa, and for the impartial maintenance of the rights and privileges of every section of the population.

"We are not prepared to accept the antiquated, simplistic and racist approach that South Africa consists of a white minority and a black majority.

"We cannot ignore the fact that this country is a multi-cultural society — a country of minorities — white minorities as well as black minorities. While the National Party accepts and respects the multi-cultural and poly-ethnic nature of South Africa's population, it rejects any system of horizontal differentiation which amounts to one nation or group in our country dominating another or others.

"We believe in and uphold the principle of economic interdependence of the population groups as well as the acceptance of the properly-planned utilisation of manpower.

Modernising

"In this regard we have advanced very far through modernising our labour laws, the creation of a development bank for Southern Africa, as well as a corporation for the development of small business activities.

"We already co-operate in various ways through multi-national ministerial committees. It is true that as a result of serious world recessionary circumstances, South Africa, which was also hit by recessionary conditions and overspending in some fields, could not make progress as we would have preferred.

"Economic strategy:

"But it is common knowledge by now that the official economic strategy applied in South Africa during the past 12 months has produced excellent results:

□ "Overspending by the private and public sectors has been eliminated.

□ "The money supply is under control.

□ "Government spending is being effectively curbed and soundly financed.

□ "The balance of payments on still remains the leading country in the sub-continent of Southern Africa. If the Republic of South Africa suffers from economic setbacks the whole of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"For instance, at present 90% of the exports of Southern Africa are consigned via the transport systems of the Republic of South Africa.

"We in the Republic of South Africa as well as our neighbours will in the foreseeable future have to find solutions for our fast-growing populations and their rightful demands.

Responsibilities

"We have our responsibilities in connection with proper family planning, health services, the provision of clear and fresh water, training of young people and the creation of work opportunities.

"We have such a vast task ahead of us and such great challenges to create a better future that we can ill afford the irresponsibilities and destructive actions of barbaric communist agitators and even murderers who perpetrate the most cruel deeds against fellow South Africans because they are on the payroll of their masters far from this lovely country of ours.

"The future:

"No government in this country or elsewhere in the world can solve all the problems in its country in a given time.

"But despite our human weaknesses and our limited powers as human instruments, we can attempt to be on time. We can make serious attempts not to be behind time.

"We are suffering in some parts of South Africa from two basic problems.

"The first is the problem of unemployment — a problem of the entire Western world, with perhaps to a lesser extent the United States.

"The Small Business Corporation is of vital importance in this connection.

"I am of the opinion that there are too many rules and regulations in our country serving as stumbling blocks in the way of entrepreneurs. These stumbling blocks must be removed. We are already seriously attending to this problem.

"The underdeveloped part of the economy is mainly that of different non-white communities.

"Instead of the whites paternalistically trying to do everything for the blacks, they must rather be allowed to help themselves — in the informal as well as the formal sector.

"Consequently, I shall go out of my way to see to it that more substantial funds are made available to the Small Business Development Corporation.

"Housing:

"Secondly, I refer to the problem of housing, caused mainly by our population explosion in Southern

report... in the near future, while the government itself is also at present considering improvements.

"But of course we shall need the closest co-operation of the private sector. I hope they will stand up and be counted as they did in the past when I called upon them for their co-operation.

"Constitutional future:

"I now wish to deal with some other aspects of our national life. It is my considered opinion that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens should be negotiated.

"But let me point out at once that since South Africa freed itself from colonialism democracy has already been broadened and millions of people who never had a say in governmental affairs under the British colonial system have it today.

"Statement of intent:

"I am pressed by some who mean it well and those who wish to destroy orderly government in this country to make a statement of intent.

"I say it would be wrong to be prescriptive as to structures within which participation will have to take place in future.

"It would also be wrong to place a time limit on negotiations.

"Much in common:

"However, I believe that the majority of South Africans as well as independent states, which form our immediate neighbours, have much in common apart from our economic interests. We believe in the same almighty God and the redeeming grace of his son, Jesus Christ.

Religious

"We believe and wish to uphold religious freedom. We believe in democratic institutions of government. We believe our great wealth of divergent population groups must speak to each other through their elected leaders. We believe that our peace and prosperity is indivisible. We believe in the protection of minorities.

"We know that it is the hard fact of South African life that it will not be possible to accommodate the political aspirations of our various population groups and communities in a known, defined political system.

"We have often found that our efforts to find solutions have been impeded and frustrated because of different interpretations of the terminology that we use to describe our particular form of democratic solutions.

"Some years ago, with the best intentions on my part, I advocated a confederation of Southern African states to co-operate with one another. The idea was belittled and prejudice was created against it.

"Now let me state explicitly that I believe in participation of all the one-man one-vote in a unitary system.

"That would lead to domination of one over the others and it would lead to chaos. Consequently, I reject it as a solution.

"Secondly, a so-called fourth chamber of parliament is not a practical solution and I do not think responsible people will argue in favour of it. We must rather seek our solutions in the devolution of power.

Permanence

"But I admit that the acceptance by my government of the permanence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states means that a solution will have to be found for their legitimate rights.

"The future of these communities and their constitutional arrangements will have to be negotiated with leaders from the national states, as well as from their own ranks.

"Unreasonable demands:

"But let me be quite frank with you. You must know where you stand with me. It is the right of the party congresses to state whether they agree with their leader or not.

"I am not prepared to lead white South Africans and other minority groups on a road to abdication and suicide. Destroy white South Africa and our influence and this country will drift into factional strife, chaos and poverty.

"Manifesto:

"Together with my policy statements earlier this year in parliament, I see this speech of mine as my manifesto.

"In my policy statements in January and June of this year, I indicated that there would be further developments with regard to the rights and interests of the various population groups in Southern Africa.

"Since then we have had to contend with escalating violence within South Africa and pressure from abroad in the form of measures designed to coerce the government into giving in to various demands.

"Our enemies — both within and without — seek to divide our peoples. They seek to create unbridgeable differences between us to prevent us from negotiating peaceful solutions to our problems.

"Peaceful negotiation is their enemy. Peaceful negotiation is their enemy because it will lead to joint responsibility for the progress and prosperity of South Africa. Those whose methods are violent do not want to participate. They wish to seize and monopolise all power. Let there be no doubt about what they would do with such power.

"One has only to look at their methods and means. Violent and brutal means can only lead to totalitarian and tyrannical ends. Their actions speak louder than their words.

"Their words offer ready pana-

Cabinet

"The work of the special cabinet committee is bearing fruit. At the correct time I and other heads of governments together with other leaders of goodwill will also be able to take part more directly in this process.

"We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so. South Africa's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners.

"We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don't want to do.

"The tragedy is that hostile pressure and agitation from abroad have acted as an encouragement to the militant revolutionaries in South Africa to continue with their violence and intimidation. They have derived comfort and succour from this pressure.

"My government and I are determined to press ahead with our reform programme and to those who prefer revolution to reform, I say they will not succeed no matter how much support and encouragement they derive from outside sources.

"We can and we will resolve our problems by peaceful means. Despite the disturbances, despite the intimidation, there is more than enough goodwill among blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians to ensure that we shall jointly find solutions acceptable to us.

Violence

"I am encouraged by the growing number of black leaders who are coming forward to denounce violence. Any reduction of violence will be matched by action on the part of the government to lift the state of emergency and restore normality in the areas concerned.

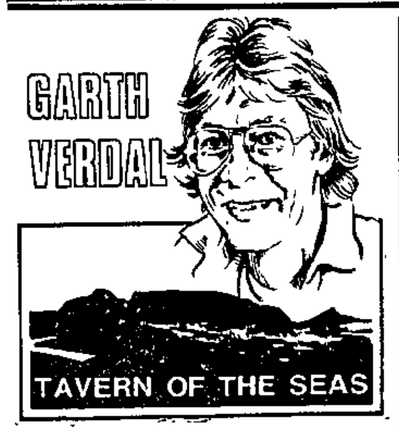
"Moreover, as violence diminishes, as criminal and terrorist activities cease, and as the process of dialogue and communication acquires greater momentum there would be little need to keep those affected in detention or prison.

"The implementation of the principles I have stated today can have far-reaching effects on us all. I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back.

"We now have a manifesto for the future of our country and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead.

"The challenges we face call for all concerned to negotiate in a spirit of give-and-take. With mutual goodwill we shall reach our destination peacefully.

"We undertake to do all that man can possibly do. In so saying, I pray that almighty God would grant us the wisdom and the strength to seek to fulfil his will." — Sapa.



SATsies and PATsies on SAA

FLY S A. . .*Aaaa*, the cut price way.

Only if you're a SATS staffer or pensioner.

SAA might think its late-night, no-frills, red-eye flights are cut price but it would seem the average member of the unsubsidised flying public considers them standard, economy fares now that an economy round trip fare to Jo'burg and back costs an up, up and away R380. Everyone's got red eyes.

SAA's summary curtailment of flights and high domestic fares have provoked considerable public comment. Quite rightly so because the public is stuck with monopolies in South Africa, both terrestrial and aerial.

Mrs Corrie Clift of Durbanville telephoned, gave her name and telephone number — "I'm not one of the anonymous ones" — made complimentary remarks about this column and then ... let rip.

"It's absolutely disgusting how we the taxpayers subsidise cheap flights for SATS employees. Talk about England being a welfare state. They could learn from us."

She apparently has a neighbour who jumps on jet planes as often as we do on buses.

Perks class

TRAVEL perks on SAA for SATS employees and pensioners are costing almost R100 million a year, apart from the concessions for other State employees which add millions more to this amount.

SATS employees can fly free inside South Africa once a year and free overseas once every five years.

An SAA spokesman declined to comment on these and other points about perks put to them. So did SATS. Both invoked the standard excuse that these were in-house, private, domestic matters not for discussion in

THE STATE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

My manifesto — P W Botha

A condensed version of the speech by the State President, Mr P W Botha, opening the Natal National Party Congress in Durban last night.

"During recent months and particularly the last few weeks, I have received a great deal of advice.

"Most of the persons and institutions who offered advice and still offer advice have good and well-meaning intentions I thank them and where the advice is practical, it is considered.

"I almost daily receive hundreds of messages and letters of goodwill and encouragement from all over the Western world and from people in our own country, as well as assurances that people are praying for me. I sincerely appreciate these gestures of goodwill.

"But I also receive advice from some people who want to help me from the frying pan into the fire. To people such as these, I would like to say: 'I grew up on a farm and we have an Afrikaans saying which goes I can recognise a skunk by its smell.'

"If you don't accept advice from these people, they slander you and your country

"Most of the media in South Africa have already informed you on what I was going to say tonight, or what I ought to say, according to their superior judgment.

"Of all the tragedies in the world I think the greatest is the fact that our electorate reframed so far to elect some of these gentlemen as their government.

"They have all the answers to all the problems. And these answers differ from day to day and from Sunday to Sunday

"Seldom in our past has there been a party congress of the National Party for which so many expectations were raised as this congress in Natal

"Some of the reasons for this are evident, for example the partial emergency situation in less than 14 percent of the magisterial districts of the RSA. Other reasons are more sinister, such as the motives of those who have put words in my mouth in advance.

"During recent weeks there was an unparalleled scurry from different sources, within and outside South Africa, to predict and prescribe what is to be announced at this congress. It was also envisaged that worldwide, people are going to be dissatisfied if certain things are not announced as were predicted.

"It is of cource a well-known tactic in negotiations to limit the other person's freedom of movement about possible decisions, thus forcing him in a direction where his options are increasingly restricted.

"It is called the force of rising expectations. Firstly, an expectation is raised that a particular announcement is to be made. Then an expectation is raised about what the content of the announcement should be.

"In this regard we have advanced very far through modernising our labour laws, the creation of a development bank for Southern Africa, as well as a corporation for the development of small business activities.

"We already co-operate in various ways through multinational ministerial committees. It is true that as a result of serious world recessionary circumstances, South Africa, which was also hit by recessionary conditions and overspending in some fields, could not make progress as we would have preferred.

"But it is common knowledge by now that the official economic strategy applied in South Africa during the past 12 months has produced excellent results:

"Overspending by the private and public sectors has been eliminated;

"The money supply is under control;

"Government spending is being effectively curbed and soundly financed;

"The balance of payments on current account is showing a surplus of about R5-billion per year — much larger than anticipated;

"The banking sector and private companies have for months now been repaying substantial amounts of foreign debt;

"Our net gold and foreign exchange reserves increased by R1,4-billion during the second quarter of 1985;

"The prime overdraft rate of the banks has been reduced four times since May, from 25 to 21 percent. Other interest rates have also declined;

"The rate of inflation is still around 16 percent but should begin to decline before the end of the year;

"With exports rising strongly and interest rates falling, the domestic economy should move into a new upswing in 1986.

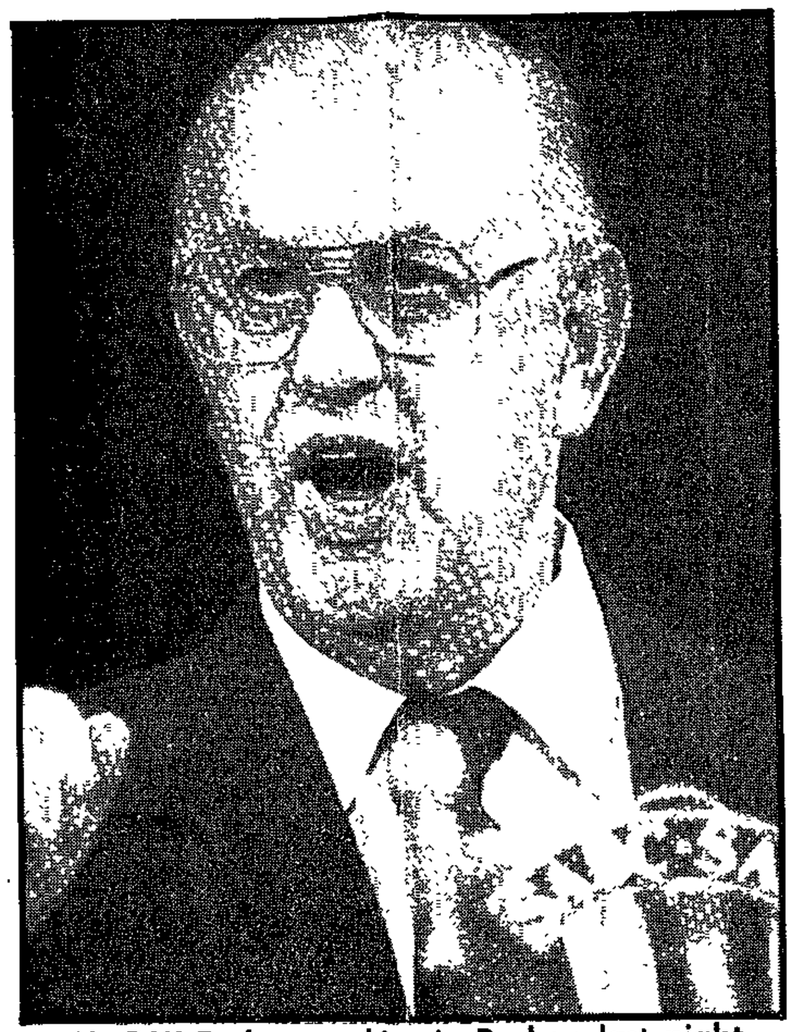
"The so-called 'economic fundamentals' are therefore at present very favourable in South Africa. Many of the present overseas perceptions of the South African situation are, of course, quite erroneous. Nobody would deny that we face problems that demand solutions.

"But the perceptions of many overseas observers bear little relationship to the realities of the situation.

"The Republic of South Africa still remains the leading country in the sub-continent of Southern Africa. If the Republic of South Africa suffers from economic setbacks the whole of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"For instance, at present 90 percent of the exports of Southern Africa are consigned via the transport systems of the Republic of South Africa.

"We in the Republic of South Africa as well as our neighbours will in the foreseeable future have to find solutions for our fast-growing populations and their rightful demands.



Mr P W Botha speaking in Durban last night

"But of course we shall need the closest co-operation of the private sector I hope they will stand up and be counted as they did in the past when I called upon them for their co-operation.

"I now wish to deal with some other aspects of our national life. It is my considered opinion that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens, should be negotiated.

"But let me point out at once that since South Africa freed itself from colonialism democracy has already been broadened and millions of people who never had a say in governmental affairs under the British colonial system have it today

"Statement of intent:

"I am pressed by some who mean it well and those who wish to destroy orderly government in this country to make a statement of intent

"I say it would be wrong to be prescriptive as to structures within which participation will have to take place in future.

"It would also be wrong to place a time limit on negotiations

"However, I believe that the majority of South Africans, as well as independent states, which form our immediate neighbours, have much in common apart from our economic interests. We believe in the same with leaders from the national states, as well as from their own ranks

"But let me be quite frank with you. You must know where you stand with me. It is the right of the party congresses to state whether they agree with their leader or not.

"I am not prepared to lead white South Africans and other minority groups on a road to abdication and suicide Destroy white South Africa and our influence and this country will drift into factional strife, chaos and poverty

"Together with my policy statements earlier this year in Parliament, I see this speech of mine as my manifesto.

"In my policy statements in January and June of this year, I indicated that there would be further developments with regard to the rights and interests of the various population groups in Southern Africa

"Since then we have had to contend with escalating violence within South Africa and pressure from abroad in the form of measures designed to coerce the government into giving in to various demands.

"Our enemies — both within and without — seek to divide our peoples. They seek to create unbridgeable differences between us to prevent us from negotiating peaceful solutions to our problems.

"A document was produced during the court case in Mandela's own handwriting in which he stated: 'We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history ... The enemy must be completely crushed and wiped out from the face of the earth before a Communist world can be realised.'

"In passing sentence at the time the judge, Mr Justice de Wet, remarked:

"'The crime of which the accused have been convicted, that is the main crime, the crime of conspiracy, is in essence one of high treason.

"The state has dicided not to charge the crime in this form. Bearing this in mind and giving the matter very serious consideration, I have decided not to impose the supreme penalty which in a case like this would usually be the proper penalty for the crime.'

"The violence of our enemies is a warning to us. We, who are committed to peaceful negotiation, also have a warning to them.

"Our warning is that our readiness to negotiate should not be mistaken for weakness. Reform through process of negotiation is not weakness. Talking, consulting, bargaining with all our peoples' leaders is not weakness. Mutual acceptance of and joint responsibility for the welfare and stability of our country is not weakness. It is our strength.

"Our strength is the courage to face and accommodate the problems bequeathed to us by history. The reality of our diversity is a hard reality.

"We face it — because it is there. How do we accommodate it?

"How do we build a better future out of cultures, values, languages which are demonstrably real in our heterogeneous society? We are resolved — we are committed — to do so in two fundamental ways.

"Firstly by letting the people speak. By letting the people speak through their leaders. By negotiation between all these leaders. Negotiation in which we will all endeavour to improve our common well-being.

"Negotiation in which there will be give and take. We will not prescribe and we will not demand — to do so would be to take only. We will give so that others can also give — towards a better future for each and everyone.

"Secondly the overriding common denominator is our mutual interest in each other's freedoms and well-being. Our peace and prosperity is indivisible

"Therefore, the only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility. If we ignore the existence of minorities, if we ignore the individual's right to associate with others in the practice of his beliefs and the propagation of his values, if

"Between the many and varied leaders in this country, there are important differences of policy.

"I recognise this — but I also know that their love of South Africa is as intense as my own. I am, therefore, in no doubt that, working together, we shall succeed in finding the way which will satisfy the reasonable economic, social and political aspirations of everyone.

"The work of the special Cabinet committee is bearing fruit. At the correct time I and other heads of governments together with other leaders of goodwill will also be able to take part more directly in this process.

"We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so. South Africa's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners.

"We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don't want to do

"The tragedy is that hostile pressure and agitation from abroad have acted as an encouragement to the militant revolutionaries in South Africa to continue with their violence and intimidation. They have derived comfort and succour from this pressure.

"My government and I are determined to press ahead with our reform programme and to those who prefer revolution to reform I say they will not succeed no matter how much support and encouragement they derive from outside sources.

"We can and we will resolve our problems by peaceful means. Despite the disturbances, despite the intimidation, there is more than enough goodwill among blacks, whites, coloured and Asians to ensure that we shall jointly find solutions acceptable to us.

"I am encouraged by the growing number of black leaders who are coming forward to denounce violence Any reduction of violence will be matched by action on the part of the government to lift the state of emergency and restore normality in the areas concerned.

"Moreover, as violence diminishes, as criminal and terrorist activities cease and as the process of dialogue and communication acquires greater momentum, there would be little need to keep those affected in detention or prison.

"The implementation of the principles I have stated today can have far-reaching effects on us all. I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back.

"We now have a manifesto for the future of our country and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead.

"The challenges we face call for all concerned to negotiate in a spirit of ive and take. With mutual good-

TELEVISION

PW keeps the world and S A expecting



Mary Robinson on last night's viewing

FIRST it was an edited version of PW's speech at the Natal congress of the National Party at 10.30pm, then I read a Sapa report saying 7.30pm live on TV from the Durban City Hall. The 6pm radio news confirmed this, said J.

The world's expectations of major reform to defuse the unrest in South Africa were enormous. "Listen to what Newsweek says," said M, taut between hope and cynicism, "...common citizenship for all SA's 30 million people...the elimination of the national states, now reincorporated into an undivided South Africa..." "Oh, yeah?" said P.

The reality, as it sometimes is, was worse than the fear. This was a regional party conference (see the church hall tables covered in white cloths, see the *blomme*) and PW kept it that way. The world, apparently, and South Africa, could wait.

TONIGHT'S TIP: Glimpses Of The Great Karoo at 5.33

What *was* offered? PW reiterated his acceptance that urban blacks be accomodated within political institutions within South Africa. No details. PW acknowledged influx control to be "outdated and too costly". No details.

The first mention of "escalating violence" came at 8.20pm, 50 minutes into the speech. ("C'mon," said an exhausted J at 8.10, searching for a focus, any focus, "let's get into escort agencies.")

What *wasn't* offered? No fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks, no one-man-one-vote, no release of Nelson Mandela.

PW believed we were "crossing the Rubicon". We felt, tragically, like we were contemplating the Sandspruit.

Really! That's what they misguidedly like to think. I don't like secretiveness or attempts to smother public discussion. SAA is a state monopoly airline and SATS employees are State employees. Taxpayers' money is involved and I, for one, don't like subsidising other people's air travel, particularly nowadays when I think twice even about SAA's cut price flights.

Now, quite a few people work and have worked for SATS so on any given day SAA flights have quite a load of SATsies on board, apart, of course, from unsubsidised air travellers (PATsies) like you and me. Leaving on jet planes is so much easier — and of course a lot more fun — when you're one of the perks class and you know the passenger next to you has had to mortgage his house to raise the fare.

"Hi, you're not a SATsie, are you? Thought not. It's the bare feet, pyjama trousers and threadbare vest you're wearing that give you away. Really! Had to auction your your luggage in the departure hall to scrape up enough for a ticket. Anyway, enjoy the flight."

A helluva lot more if those SATS perks were discontinued, SAA was run more efficiently and its fares for unsubsidised passenger (PATsies) didn't cost an arm and a leg.

Because SAA holds a monopoly in the skies of South Africa we the flying public share a common experience. SAA. But monopolies do have their disadvantages for the holders as well. At least in other countries where there are competing airlines the anger and frustration of the flying public is spread around a bit. Oh *well!* SAA and SATS asked for it.

I regret to report that I cannot spread the manure about the following story but I'll tell you about the strange allegation anyway. *Oh!* that it *was* true.

Rumour hathed it (since denied, hence the past tense) that there's even a SATS monopoly over the cattle manure swept out of SAA cargo holds.

Now, this one SAA would comment on. A spokesman didn't exactly say "what a load of old horse droppings" but he did say that even if it was true, which it isn't, there wouldn't be enough to fertilise a pot plant.

Which reminds me. Apparently SATS employees also get subsidised plants.

PS: A "patsy" is a sucker.

★★★★ ★★★

Quip from viewer after the second live televised series of House of Lords debates:

"Not much plot but lovely costumes."

"The tactic has two objectives. Firstly, the target is set so high that, even if an announcement is made, it is almost impossible to fulfil the propagated expectations.

"Secondly, it is also an attempt to force the one party into negotiations to make the expected decision. If this is not done, public opinion is already conditioned to such an extent that the result is widespread dissatisfaction. This is what has been happening over recent weeks.

"I find it unacceptable to be confronted in this manner with an accomplished fact. I think we should first reconsider the objective of a party congress.

"The National Party in each province is connected to the party in the other provinces on a federal basis.

"The provincial congress is the highest authority of the party in each province.

"One of the major activities of the congress is to decide on party policy.

"It would thus be unwise of the leader of the party to confront the provincial congress with certain final decisions.

"Moreover, the subject of most of the speculation, namely the constitutional future of the black peoples in South Africa, is of such a nature that it must be determined in consultation with those concerned.

"We cannot confront them with certain final decisions. Over the years, that was exactly the criticism against our government — that we make decisions about people and not with them.

"I find the attempts from various sources to compromise me and the government very unfortunate. It is a very dangerous game and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa

"In our relationship with our fellow South Africans and in our relationship as a multicultural society in South Africa, no spirit of defeatism or hysterical actions will help us to be on time.

"We must deal with our relationships and accept future challenges in a balanced way and with devotion. You will find that balance in thinking and devotion in the National Party — the only political party which is representative of the vast majority of white South Africa.

"The party stands for the just and equal treatment of all parts of South Africa and for the impartial maintenance of the rights and privileges of every section of the population.

"We are not prepared to accept the antiquated, simplistic and racist approach that South Africa consists of a white minority and a black majority.

"We cannot ignore the fact that this country is a multicultural society — a country of minorities — white minorities as well as black minorities. While the National Party accepts and respects the multicultural and poly-ethnic nature of South Africa's population, it rejects any system of horizontal differentiation which amounts to one nation or group in our country dominating another or others.

"We believe in and uphold the principle of economic interdependence of the population groups as well as the acceptance of the properly planned utilisation of manpower.

connect on with proper family p.anning, health services, the provision of clear and fresh water, training of young people and the creation of work opportunities.

"We have such a vast task ahead of us and such great challenges to create a better future that we can ill afford the irresponsibilities and destructive actions of barbaric communist agitators and even murderers who perpetrate the most cruel deeds against fellow South Africans because they are on the payroll of their masters far from this lovely country of ours.

"No government in this country or elsewhere in the world can solve all the problems in its country in a given time.

"But despite our human weaknesses and our limited powers as human instruments, we can attempt to be on time. We can make serious attempts not to be behind time.

"We are suffering in some parts of South Africa from two basic problems.

"The first is the problem of unemployment — a problem of the entire Western world, with perhaps to a lesser extent the United States.

"The Small Business Corporation is of vital importance in this connection

"I am of the opinion that there are too many rules and regulations in our country serving as stumbling blocks in the way of entrepreneurs. These stumbling blocks must be removed. We are already seriously attending to this problem.

"The underdeveloped part of the economy is mainly that of different non-white communities

"Instead of the whites paternalistically trying to do everything for the blacks, they must rather be allowed to help themselves — in the informal as well as the formal sector.

"Consequently, I shall go out of my way to see to it that more substantial funds are made available to the Small Business Development Corporation.

"Secondly, I refer to the problem of housing, caused mainly by our population explosion in Southern Africa.

"It is a fallacious belief that the government must do everything for all We must help the people to help themselves, to build and upgrade their homes through their own efforts

"We have decided that land should be made available where possible, and site services supplied.

"We have already accepted the principle of ownership rights for blacks in the urban areas ouside the national states Just as important is the principle of ownership rights to people in the national states.

"But the State must mainly take responsibility for the infrastructure, such as fresh drinking water, sanitation and roads. The Government intends setting aside R1-billion during the next five years to improve underdeveloped towns and cities, not only in metropolitan areas.

"Our policy of decentralisation will be actively continued with.

"On the question of influx control — I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly. The President's Council will probably report on this matter in the near future, while the Government itself is also at present considering improvements.

grace of his son, Jesus Christ.

"We believe and wish to uphold religious freedom. We believe in democratic institutions of government. We believe our great wealth of divergent population groups must speak to each other through their elected leaders. We believe that our peace and prosperity is indivisible. We believe in the protection of minorities.

"We know that it is the hard fact of South African life that it will not be possible to accommodate the political aspirations of our various population groups and communities in a known, defined political system.

"We have often found that our efforts to find solutions have been impeded and frustrated because of different interpretations of the terminology that we use to describe our particular form of democratic solutions.

"Some years ago, with the best intentions on my part, I advocated a confederation of Southern African states to cooperate with one another. The idea was belittled and prejudice was created against it.

"Now let me state explicitly that I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation.

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood represents a material part of the solution.

"I would, however, like to restate my government's position in this regard, namely that independence cannot be forced upon any community.

Independence

"Should any of the black national states therefore prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa.

"This does not exclude that regional considerations should be taken into account and that provision be made for participation in institutions on a regional and/or group basis.

"But I know for a fact that most leaders in their own right in South Africa and reasonable South Africans will not accept the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary system.

"That would lead to domination of one over the others and it would lead to chaos. Consequently, I reject it as a solution.

"Secondly, a so-called fourth chamber of Parliament is not a practical solution and I do not think responsible people will argue in favour of it. We must rather seek our solutions in the devolution of power.

"But I admit that the acceptance by my government of the permanence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states means that a solution will have to be found for their legitimate rights.

"The future of these communities and their constitutional arrangements will have to be negotiated

[illegible] negotiations their enemy because it will lead to joint responsibility for the progress and prosperity of South Africa. Those whose methods are violent do not want to participate They wish to seize and monopolise all power Let there be no doubt about what they would do with such power.

"One has only to look at their methods and means. Violent and brutal means can only lead to totalitarian and tyrannical ends. Their actions speak louder than their words.

"Their words offer ready panaceas such as one-man-one-vote, freedom and justice for all.

"Their actions leave no doubt that the freedoms that we already have — together with the ongoing extension of democracy in South Africa — are the true targets of their violence.

"I have a specific question I would like to put to the media in South Africa: how do they explain the fact that they are always present, with cameras et cetera, at places where violence takes place?

"Are there people from the revolutionary elements who inform them to be ready? Or are there perhaps representatives of the reactionary groups in the ranks of certain media?

"My question to you is this: whose interests do you serve — those of South Africa or those of the revolutionary elements?

"From certain international as well as local quarters appeals are being made to me to release Mr Nelson Mandela from jail.

"I stated in Parliament that if Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release.

"But let me remind the public of the reasons why Mr Mandela is in jail.

"Dr Yutar — the Attorney-General at the time — set out the state's case inter alia as follows:

"'As the indictment alleges, the accused deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country . .

"'The planned purpose thereof was to bring about in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil ... They (Mr Mandela and his friends) planned violent insurrection and rebellion.'

"The saboteurs had planned the manufacture of at least seven types of bombs: 48 000 anti-personnel mines, 210 000 hand-grenades, petrol bombs, pipe bombs, syringe bombs and bottle bombs.

[illegible] 'winner-takes-all' political system then we will diminish and not increase

"Then we would deny the right of each and everyone to share in the decisions which shape his destiny.

peacefully.

"We undertake to do all that man can possibly do. In so saying, I pray that almighty God would grant us the wisdom and the strength to seek to fulfil his will." — Sapa.

[illegible] the news [illegible] the graphic The Road Ahead, was Pik Botha hailing PW's speech as "the most significant address in the history of South Africa".



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ARGUS 16/8/85

Rand wavers, but gold up $6

Finance Editor

THE rand tumbled more than six US cents to a new low of $0,3900 in confused trading when the foreign exchange markets opened today, but it quickly recovered much of its loss and by mid-morning was at $0,4325.

Dealers said the amount of business transacted at $0,3900 was probably small. They attributed the low rate to buyers holding back to see what effect President Botha's speech would have on the market.

The speech was seen as a letdown but a $6 spurt in the gold price on the weak dollar to $336 an ounce — its highest point since last November — helped to reduce negative reaction.

UNCERTAINTY

On the international markets the dollar has fallen against most major currencies. This, with the higher gold price and the improvement in the balance of payments, should have led to the rand rising to around %0,55. That this has not happened can be blamed entirely on political uncertainties.

● The rand dropped 10 percent against the British pound today to a new low.

At noon Barclays Bank was buying pounds at R3,41 and selling at R3,52.

Yesterday its rate was R3,08/R3,17.

● The Argus Political Staff report from Durban that the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said today that the drop in the rand was temporary.

In an interview Mr du Plessis said the reaction was "emotional, caused by the great expectations that were created about the President's speech".

gotiate should not be mistaken for weakness. Don't push us too far, for your own sakes,' the President told a packed Durban City Hall, where more than 2 000 people attended the opening of the Natal congress of the National Party.

Mr Botha hinted broadly that one of the country's most hated laws, influx control, in its present form could be on the way out.

With the eyes of the world on him — a number of international television networks transmitted the speech live by satellite — he again ruled out universal franchise as well as a fourth chamber in the current tricameral Parliament.

And he dismissed completely the possibility of an unconditional release for Nelson Mandela.

He said the present system of influx control was outdated and too costly and he expected the President's Council to report on the matter soon, while the Government itself was also considering improvements.

Mr Botha said he believed independence for various black peoples represented a material part of South Africa's solution.

But he quickly underlined the Government position that independence could not be forced on any community.

ORIVIANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

'Should any of the black national states, therefore, prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic.'

The President was prepared to negotiate on a 'give and take' basis with no time limit but he also made it clear he was not prepared to have solutions foisted upon him from outside.

The expectations which had been created about his speech had been a dangerous exercise.

Matched

He opened the way for direct negotiation between leaders of all groups in the special Cabinet Committee, which was already making progress.

On the state of emergency, Mr Botha said any reduction in violence would be matched by action by the Government to lift the emergency and restore normality in the areas concerned.

'Moreover, as violence diminishes, as criminal and terrorist activities cease and as the process of dialogue and communication acquires greater momentum, there would be little need to keep those affected in detention or prison,' he said.

Mr Botha said the subject of most of the speculation about what he would be saying — the constitutional future of the blacks — had to be 'determined in consultation with those concerned'.

'We cannot confront them with certain final decisions,' said Mr Botha, recalling that over the years the Government had been criticised for making decisions about people and not with them.

'I find the attempts from various groups to compromise me and the Government very unfortunate. It is a very dangerous game and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa.'

The diversity of South Africa was a hard reality

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

P.T.O.

PRESIDENT Botha said last night the Government was in a give-and-take mood, ready to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation to include blacks, but he had a firm warning for those he termed the country's enemies.

'We'll go, but ...'

... say leaders

3044

Sept 1985

... as Botha speaks out

1985

R1 billion to be spent to improve towns

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha announced that the Government was to spend R1 billion over the next five years on improving underdeveloped towns and cities, not only in the metropolitan areas.

The Government's decentralisation programme would also be 'actively continued'.

On the repeated calls on him to make a 'declaration of intent', Mr Botha said it would be wrong to prescribe what structures there should be for future political participation.

'It would also be wrong to place a time limit on negotiations,' he said. However, he believed South Africa and its neighbours had much in common apart from economic interests.

'We believe and wish to uphold religious freedom.

'We believe in democratic institutions of Government.

'We believe that our peace and prosperity is indivisible.

'We believe in the protection of minorities.

'We know that it is a hard fact of South African life that it will not be possible to accommodate the political aspirations of our various population groups and communities in a known, defined political system.

'We have often found that our efforts to find solutions have been impeded and frustrated because of different interpretations of the terminology that we use to describe our particular form of democratic solutions.'

Mr Botha recalled that a few years ago he had advocated a confederation of southern African states to co-operate with one another, but he had been belittled.

'Let me state explicitly that I believe in participation of all South African communities on matters of common concern,' he said.

'I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation.'

'This does not exclude that regional considerations should be taken into account and that provision be made for participation in institutions on a regional and/or group basis.'

Mr Botha also warned that if South Africa suffered economic setbacks, the whole of southern Africa would pay a heavy price.

P W's new deal for blacks

◆ FROM PAGE 1

which would be accommodated by letting the people speak through their leaders and by give-and-take negotiation between all those leaders.

Mr Botha made it clear that the Government was in a give-and-take mood and would not prescribe or demand.

'The overriding con-

Japanese ship held in Durban

Group Areas Act to stay

DURBAN — There could be no question of the Group Areas Act being repealed in the immediate future, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said here yesterday.

At the Natal National Party congress, Mr Heunis said there could also be no question of so-called grey areas being created.

Mr Heunis was dealing with a series of resolutions on constitutional issues.

He said that in order to protect the rights of minorities from being overwhelmed by majorities it was necessary to clearly define both the minority and the majority. For this reason the Group Areas Act would have to remain but it should not be seen as a negative move but rather as an essential part of a positive situation.

DISPATCH
16:08:85

The scrapping of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act was not an instruction to start multiracial political parties, he added.

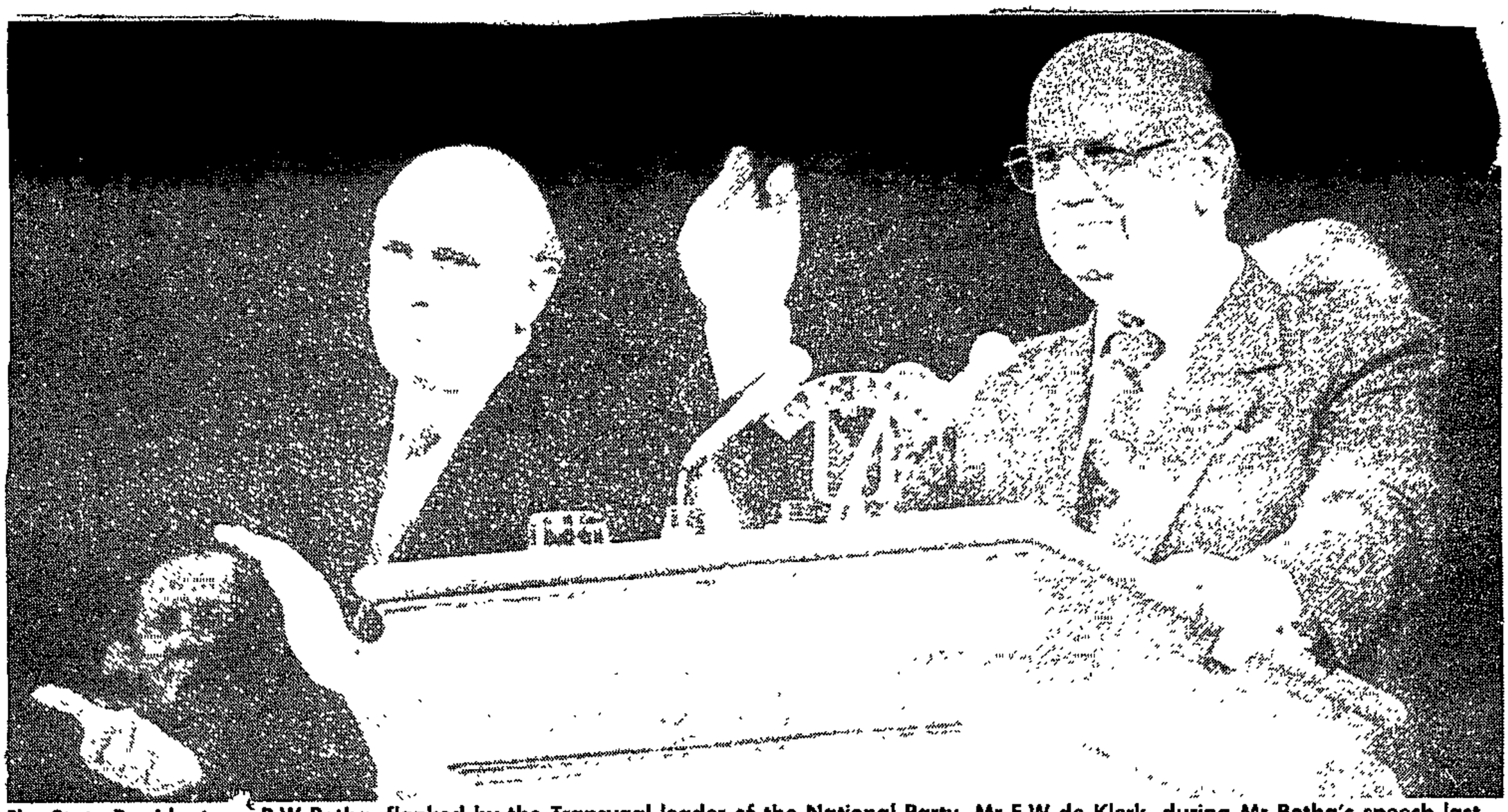
It was impractical to enlist members to a party when the constitution expressly excluded them from voting on the voters roll applicable to that party's House of Parliament.

Nothing had changed in this regard. The right to vote for a representative to any of the three Houses was strictly demarcated by the constitution and it made no sense to recruit members who could only vote on another House's voters roll.

Mr Heunis said he could not understand the resistance some people had to change.

"We cannot govern South Africa today with the platitudes of the past," he said to loud applause. — Sapa

See also P26.



The State President, P W Botha, flanked by the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, during Mr Botha's speech last night to the National Party congress in the Durban City Hall.

Botha says he's amused at reaction to speech

DURBAN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, today said he was amused at the "confusion of Babel" surrounding his speech last night.

Responding to a motion of thanks at the Natal National Party congress and clearly in a jovial mood, Mr Botha started his address by referring to reaction to his speech last night.

"It seems to me there is the confusion of Babel over my speech this morning," he said.

But he said he trusted that reason would triumph.

"Give them time to study the speech. Apparently some have slept badly last night," Mr Botha said.

"Let us hope that reason triumphs, that reasonableness prevails."

The NP had the right course towards the right goals and that was the key to success, he said.

"We have found the course of reasonableness, the course of devotion, the course of accepting other South Africans living in this country," Mr Botha said.

"It is also the course by which we tell the world that we shall not abdicate."

He appealed to all South Africans to carry a "spirit of co-operation and recognition" of everyone's rights.

"Carry this message to everyone in your vicinity and to everyone you meet," he said.

"That is my one request. The Government cannot do it alone, it needs the co-operation of every responsible institution in this country to convey that message." — Sapa

PW: we must accep

304A 16/2/85

Dangerous game to try to compromise govt

DURBAN — Opening the Natal National Party Congress in Durban last night, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said

"During recent months and particularly the last few weeks, I have received a great deal of advice.

"Most of the persons and institutions who offered advice and still offer advice have good and well-meaning intentions. I thank them and where the advice is practical, it is considered

"I almost daily receive hundreds of messages and letters of goodwill and encouragement from all over the Western world and from people in our own country, as well as assurances that people are praying for me I sincerely appreciate these gestures of goodwill.

"But I also receive advice from some people who want to help me from the frying pan into the fire. To people such as these, I would like to say 'I grew up on a farm and we have an Afrikaans saying which goes: I can recognise a skunk by its smell.'

"If you don't accept advice from these people, they slander you and your country.

"Langenhoven has justly said the following: 'Appreciate, oh defamed, the tribute of your slander. He admits that you are worth the slander. He is probably not.' (translated).

"Most of the media in South Africa have already informed you on what I was going to say tonight, or what I ought to say, according to their superior judgment.

"Of all the tragedies in the world I think the greatest is the fact that our electorate refrained so far to elect some of these gentlemen as their government.

"They have all the answers to all the problems. And these answers differ from day to day and from Sunday to Sunday.

The dilemma of rising expectations:

"Seldom in our past other provinces on a federal basis.

"The provincial congress is the highest authority of the party in each province.

"One of the major activities of the congress is to decide on party policy.

"It would thus be unwise of the leader of the party to confront the provincial congress with certain final decisions.

"Moreover, the subject of most of the speculations, namely the constitutional future of the black peoples in South Africa, is of such a nature that it must be determined in consultation with those concerned.

"We cannot confront them with certain final decisions. Over the years, that was exactly the criticism against our government — that we make decisions about people and not with them.

"I find the attempts from various sources to compromise me and the government very unfortunate It is a very dangerous game, and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa.

Time:

"I have used a quotation from Langenhoven earlier. I want to quote him again. He wrote: 'If we are in front we can wait for time. If we are behind, it does not wait for us.' (translated).

"In our relationship with our fellow South Africans and in our relationship as a multi-cultural society in South Africa, no spirit of defeatism or hysterical actions will help us to be on time.

"We must deal with our relationships and accept future challenges in a balanced way and with devotion. You will find that balance in thinking and devotion in the National Party — the only political party which is representative of the vast majority of white South Africa.

"The party stands for the just and equal treatment of all parts of

"●The balance of payments on current account is showing a surplus of about R5 billion per year — much larger than anticipated.

"●The banking sector and private companies have for months now been repaying substantial amounts of foreign debt;

"●Our net gold and foreign exchange reserves increased by R1,4 billion during the second quarter of 1985;

"●The prime overdraft rate of the banks has been reduced four times since May, from 25 to 21 per cent Other interests rates have also declined,

"●The rate of inflation is still around 16 per cent but should begin to decline before the end of the year,

"●With exports rising strongly and interest rates falling, the domestic economy should move into a new upswing in 1986.

"●The so-called 'economic fundamentals' are therefore at present very favourable in South Africa. Many of the present overseas perceptions of the South African situation are, of course, quite erroneous Nobody would deny that we face problems that demand solutions.

"But the perceptions of many overseas observers bear little relationship to the realities of the situation.

Leading country:

"The Republic of South Africa still remains the leading country in the sub-continent of Southern Africa. If the Republic of South Africa suffers from economic setbacks — the whole of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"For instance, at present 90 per cent of the exports of Southern Africa are consigned via the transport systems of the Republic of South Africa.

"We in the Republic of South Africa as well as our neighbours will in the foreseeable future have to find solutions for our fast-growing popula-



The State President, official openi

Decentrali

"Consequently, I shall go out of my way to see to it that more substantial funds are made available to the Small Business Development Corporation

Housing:

"Secondly, I refer to the problem of housing, caused mainly by our population explosion in Southern Africa

"It is a fallacious belief that the government must do everything for all. We must help the people to help themselves, to build and upgrade their homes through their own efforts.

"We have decided that

wrong to be prescriptive as to structures within which participation will have to take place in future

"It would also be wrong to place a time limit on negotiations

Much in common:

"However, I believe that the majority of South Africans as well as independent states, which form our immediate neighbours, have much in common apart from our economic interests. We believe in the same Almighty God and the redeeming grace of His son, Jesus Christ.

"We believe and wish

pt future challenges

304A DISPATCH 16:08 85.



nt, Mr P. W. Botha and Mrs Botha arrive at the Durban City Hall for the ening of the Natal congress of the National Party last night.

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"This does not exclude that regional considerations should be taken into account and that provision be made for participation in institutions on a regional and/or group basis.

One-man-one-vote:

"But I know for a fact that most leaders in their own right in South Africa and reasonable South Africans will not accept the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary system.

"That would lead to domination of one over the others and it would lead to chaos. Consequently, I reject it as a solution.

tions to our problems.

"Peaceful negotiation is their enemy. Peaceful negotiation is their enemy because it will lead to joint responsibility for the progress and prosperity of South Africa. Those whose methods are violent do not want to participate. They wish to seize and monopolize all power Let there be no doubt about what they would do with such power

"One has only to look at their methods and means Violent and brutal means can only lead to totalitarian and tyrannical ends. Their actions speak louder than their lords.

"The saboteurs had planned the manufacture of at least seven types of bombs· 48 000 anti-personnel mines, 210 000 handgrenades, petrol bombs, pipe bombs, syringe bombs and bottle bombs

"A document was produced during the court case in Mandela's own handwriting in which he stated 'We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history ... The enemy must be completely crushed and wiped out from the face of the earth before a Communist world can be realised.'

"Our strength is the courage to face and accommodate the problems bequeathed to us by history. The reality of our diversity is a hard reality

"We face it — because it is there. How do we accommodate it?

"How do we build a better future out of cultures, values, languages which are demonstrably real in our heterogeneous society? We are resolved — we are committed — to do so in two fundamental ways

"Firstly — by letting the people speak By letting the people speak through their leaders. decisions which shape his destiny

"Between the many and varied leaders in this country there are important differences of policy

"I recognise this — but I also know that their love of South Africa is as intense as my own I am, therefore, in no doubt that working together, we shall succeed in finding the way which will satisfy the reasonable economic, social and political aspirations of everyone

"The work of the special cabinet committee is bearing fruit At the correct time I and other heads of governments together with other leaders of goodwill will also be able to take part more directly in this process

"We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so South Africa's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners

"We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don't want to do

"The tragedy is that hostile pressure and agitation from abroad have acted as an encouragement to the militant revolutionaries in South Africa to continue with their violence and intimidation They have derived comfort and succour from this pressure

"My government and I are determined to press ahead with our reform programme, and to those who prefer revolution to reform, I say they will not succeed no matter how much support and encouragement they derive from outside sources.

"We can and we will resolve our problems by peaceful means. Despite the disturbances, despite the intimidation, there is more than enough goodwill among blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians to ensure that we shall jointly find solutions acceptable to us

"'I am encouraged by the growing number of black leaders who are coming forward to denounce violence. Any reduction of violence will be matched by action on the part of the government to lift the state of

government.

"They have all the answers to all the problems. And these answers differ from day to day and from Sunday to Sunday.

The dilemma of rising expectations:

"Seldom in our past has there been a party congress of the National Party for which so many expectations were raised as this congress in Natal.

"Some of the reasons for this are evident, for example the partial emergency situation in less than 14 per cent of the magisterial districts of the RSA. Other reasons are more sinister, such as the motives of those who have put words in my mouth in advance.

"During recent weeks there was an unparalleled scurry from different sources, within and outside South Africa, to predict and prescribe what is to be announced at this congress. It was also envisaged that worldwide, people are going to be dissatisfied if certain things are not announced as were predicted.

"It is of course a well-known tactic in negotiations to limit the other person's freedom of movement about possible decisions, thus forcing him in a direction where his options are increasingly restricted.

"It is called the force of rising expectations. Firstly, an expectation is raised that a particular announcement is to be made. Then an expectation is raised about what the content of the announcement should be.

"The tactic has two objectives. Firstly, the target is set so high that, even if an announcement is made, it is almost impossible to fulfil the propagated expectations.

"Secondly, it is also an attempt to force the one party into negotiations to make the expected decision. If this is not done, public opinion is already conditioned to such an extent that the result is widespread dissatisfaction. This is what has been happening over recent weeks.

"I find it unacceptable to be confronted in this manner with an accomplished fact. I think we should first reconsider the objective of a party congress.

"The National Party in each province is connected to the party in the

in a balanced way and with devotion. You will find that balance in thinking and devotion in the National Party — the only political party which is representative of the vast majority of white South Africa.

"The party stands for the just and equal treatment of all parts of South Africa, and for the impartial maintenance of the rights and privileges of every section of the population.

"We are not prepared to accept the antiquated, simplistic and racist approach that South Africa consists of a white minority and a black majority.

"We cannot ignore the fact that this country is a multi-cultural society — a country of minorities — white minorities as well as black minorities. While the National Party accepts and respects the multi-cultural and poly-ethnic nature of South Africa's population, it rejects any system of horizontal differentiation which amounts to one nation or group in our country dominating another or others.

"We believe in and uphold the principle of economic interdependence of the population groups as well as the acceptance of the properly planned utilisation of manpower.

"In this regard we have advanced very far through modernising our labour laws, the creation of a development bank for Southern Africa, as well as a corporation for the development of small business activities

"We already co-operate in various ways through multi-national ministerial committees. It is true that as a result of serious world recessionary circumstances, South Africa, which was also hit by recessionary conditions and overspending in some fields, could not make progress as we would have preferred.

Economic strategy:

"But it is common knowledge by now that the official economic strategy applied in South Africa during the past 12 months has produced excellent results:

"●Overspending by the private and public sectors has been eliminated;

"●The money supply is under control;

"●Government spending is being effectively curbed and soundly financed.

ports of Southern Africa are consigned via the transport systems of the Republic of South Africa.

"We in the Republic of South Africa as well as our neighbours will in the foreseeable future have to find solutions for our fast-growing populations and their rightful demands.

"We have our responsibilities in connection with proper family planning, health services, the provision of clear and fresh water, training of young people and the creation of work opportunities.

"We have such a vast task ahead of us and such great challenges to create a better future, that we can ill afford the irresponsibilities and destructive actions of barbaric communist agitators and even murderers who perpetrate the most cruel deeds against fellow South Africans because they are on the pay roll of their masters far from this lovely country of ours.

The future:

"No government in this country or elsewhere in the world can solve all the problems in its country in a given time.

"But despite our human weaknesses and our limited powers as human instruments, we can attempt to be on time. We can make serious attempts not to be behind time.

"We are suffering in some parts of South Africa from two basic problems.

"The first is the problem of unemployment — a problem of the entire Western world, with perhaps to a lesser extent the United States.

"The Small Business Corporation is of vital importance in this connection.

"I am of the opinion that there are too many rules and regulations in our country serving as stumbling blocks in the way of entrepreneurs. These stumbling blocks must be removed We are already seriously attending to this problem.

"The underdeveloped part of the economy is mainly that of different non-white communities.

"Instead of the whites paternalistically trying to do everything for the blacks, they must rather be allowed to help themselves — in the informal as well as the formal sector.

population explosion in Southern Africa.

"It is a fallacious belief that the government must do everything for all. We must help the people to help themselves, to build and upgrade their homes through their own efforts.

"We have decided that land should be made available where possible, and site services supplied.

"We have already accepted the principle of ownership rights for blacks in the urban areas ouside the national states. Just as important is the principle of ownership rights to people in the national states.

"But the state must mainly take responsibility for the infrastructure, such as fresh drinking water, sanitation and roads. The government intends setting aside R1 billion during the next five years to improve underdeveloped towns and cities, not only in metropolitan areas

"Our policy of decentralisation will be actively continued with.

"On the question of influx control — I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly. The President's Council will probably report on this matter in the near future, while the government itself is also at present considering improvements.

"But of course — we shall need the closest co-operation of the private sector. I hope they will stand up and be counted as they did in the past when I called upon them for their co-operation.

Constitutional future:

"I now wish to deal with some other aspects of our national life. It is my considered opinion that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens, should be negotiated.

"But let me point out at once that since South Africa freed itself from colonialism — democracy has already been broadened and millions of people who never had a say in governmental affairs under the British colonial system, have it today.

Statement of intent:

"I am pressed by some who mean it well and those who wish to destroy orderly government in this country, to make a statement of intent

"I say it would be

that the majority of South Africans as well as independent states, which form our immediate neighbours, have much in common apart from our economic interests. We believe in the same Almighty God and the redeeming grace of His son, Jesus Christ.

"We believe and wish to uphold religious freedom. We believe in democratic institutions of government. We believe our great wealth of divergent population groups must speak to each other through their elected leaders. We believe that our peace and prosperity is indivisible. We believe in the protection of minorities.

"We know that it is the hard fact of South African life, that it will not be possible to accommodate the political aspirations of our various population groups and communities in a known, defined political system.

"We have often found that our efforts to find solutions have been impeded and frustrated because of different interpretations of the terminology that we use to describe our particular form of democratic solutions.

"Some years ago, with the best intentions on my part, I advocated a confederation of Southern African states to co-operate with one another. The idea was belittled and prejudice was created against it.

"Now let me state explicitly that I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation.

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood, represents a material part of the solution.

"I would, however, like to restate my government's position in this regard, namely that independence cannot be forced upon any community.

"Should any of the black national states therefore prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa

"But I know for a fact that most leaders in their own right in South Africa and reasonable South Africans will not accept the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary system.

"That would lead to domination of one over the others and it would lead to chaos. Consequently, I reject it as a solution.

"Secondly, a so-called fourth chamber of Parliament is not a practical solution and I do not think responsible people will argue in favour of it. We must rather seek our solutions in the devolution of power.

"But I admit that the acceptance by my government of the permanence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states means that a solution will have to be found for their legitimate rights.

"The future of these communities and their constitutional arrangements will have to be negotiated with leaders from the national states, as well as from their own ranks.

Unreasonable demands:

"But let me be quite frank with you. You must know where you stand with me. It is the right of the party congresses to state whether they agree with their leader or not.

"I am not prepared to lead white South Africans and other minority groups on a road to abdication and suicide. Destroy white South Africa and our influence, and this country will drift into factional strife, chaos and poverty.

Manifesto:

"Together with my policy statements earlier this year in Parliament, I see this speech of mine as my manifesto.

"In my policy statements in January and June of this year, I indicated that there would be further developments with regard to the rights and interests of the various population groups in Southern Africa.

"Since then we have had to contend with escalating violence within South Africa, and pressure from abroad in the form of measures designed to coerce the government into giving in to various demands.

"Our enemies — both within and without — seek to divide our peoples. They seek to create unbridgeable differences between us to prevent us from negotiating peaceful solu- methods are violent do not want to participate. They wish to seize and monopolize all power. Let there be no doubt about what they would do with such power.

"One has only to look at their methods and means. Violent and brutal means can only lead to totalitarian and tyrannical ends. Their actions speak louder than their lords.

"Their words offer ready panaceas such as one-man-one-vote, freedom and justice for all.

"Their actions leave no doubt that the freedoms that we already have — together with the ongoing extension of democracy in South Africa — are the true targets of their violence.

"I have a specific question I would like to put to the media in South Africa: how do they explain the fact that they are always present, with cameras et cetera, at places where violence takes place?

"Are there people from the revolutionary elements who inform them to be ready? Or are there perhaps representatives of the reactionary groups in the ranks of certain media?

"My question to you is this: whose interests do you serve — those of South Africa or those of the revolutionary elements?

Nelson Mandela:

"From certain international as well as local quarters appeals are being made to me to release Mr Nelson Mandela from jail.

"I stated in Parliament that if Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release.

"But let me remind the public of the reasons why Mr Mandela is in jail.

"Dr Yutar — the Attorney-General at the time, set out the state's case inter alia as follows:

"'As the indictment alleges, the accused deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country.

"'The planned purpose thereof was to bring about in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil. They (Mr Mandela and his friends) planned violent insurrection and rebellion.'

A document was produced during the court case in Mandela's own handwriting in which he stated: 'We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history ... The enemy must be completely crushed and wiped out from the face of the earth before a Communist world can be realised.'

"In passing sentence at the time the judge, Mr Justice de Wet, remarked:

"'The crime of which the accused have been convicted, that is the main crime, the crime of conspiracy, is in essence one of high treason.

"The state has decided not to charge the crime in this form. Bearing this in mind and giving the matter very serious consideration, I have decided not to impose the supreme penalty which in a case like this would usually be the proper penalty for the crime.'

Warning:

"The violence of our enemies is a warning to us. We, who are committed to peaceful negotiation, also have a warning to them.

"Our warning is that our readiness to negotiate should not be mistaken for weakness. Reform through process of negotiation is not weakness. Talking, consulting, bargaining with all our peoples' leaders is not weakness. Mutual acceptance of and joint responsibility for the welfare and stability of our country is not weakness. It is our strength.

accommodate it?

"How do we build a better future out of cultures, values, languages which are demonstrably real in our heterogeneous society? We are resolved — we are committed — to do so in two fundamental ways.

"Firstly — by letting the people speak. By letting the people speak through their leaders. By negotiation between all these leaders. Negotiation in which we will all endeavour to improve our common well-being.

"Negotiation in which there will be give and take. We will not prescribe and we will not demand — to do so would be to take only. We will give so that others can also give — towards a better future for each and everyone.

"Secondly — the overriding common denominator is our mutual interest in each other's freedoms and well-being. Our peace and prosperity is indivisible.

"Therefore, the only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility. If we ignore the existence of minorities, if we ignore the individual's right to associate with others in the practice of his beliefs and the propagation of his values; if we deny this in favour of a simplistic 'winner-takes-all' political system — then we will diminish and not increase.

The freedoms of our peoples:

"Then we would deny the right of each and everyone to share in the enough goodwill among blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians to ensure that we shall jointly find solutions acceptable to us.

"'I am encouraged by the growing number of black leaders who are coming forward to denounce violence. Any reduction of violence will be matched by action on the part of the government to lift the state of emergency and restore normality in the areas concerned.

"Moreover, as violence diminishes, as criminal and terrorist activities cease, and as the process of dialogue and communication acquires greater momentum, there would be little need to keep those affected in detention or prison.

"The implementation of the principles I have stated today can have far-reaching effects on us all. I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back.

"We now have a manifesto for the future of our country and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead.

"The challenges we face call for all concerned to negotiate in a spirit of give and take. With mutual goodwill we shall reach our destination peacefully. "We undertake to do all that man can possibly do. In so saying, I pray that Almighty God would grant us the wisdom and the strength to seek to fulfil his will." — Sapa.

SA will fight alongside communists, CP is told

BLOEMFONTEIN — Young South Africans will be fighting with communist forces against anti-communists in Mozambique, the Conservative Party congress in Bloemfontein was told yesterday.

A motion expressing serious concern at South Africa's growing involvement in Mozambique and the Government's "inexplicable and contradictory actions against the Mozambican resistance movement, the MNR, was unanimously approved.

Delegates also discussed the possible involvement of the South African Defence Force in the protection of power lines from the Cabora Bassa dam to the Republic.

Mr Tom Langley, CP MP for Soutpansberg, said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had admitted that the Government had supported the MNR with between R12 million and R16 million and other logistic aid up to March 16 last year, when the Nkomati Accord was signed.



Mr Tom Langley .

Then it had turned around and started acting against the MNR.

The MNR, he said, was the Mozambican equivalent of Angola's Unita rebel movement which was still supported by the Government.

Referring to the power lines, Mr Langley said the MNR had made it clear it would continue its armed struggle.

If South African troops were used to help protect the lines, the paradoxical situation would arise where they would be fighting with communist forces, against anti-marxists.

There were 21 500 communist troops and advisers in Mozambique, consisting of Cubans, Koreans, Russians and others.

These were helping, as South Africa was, to prop up President Machel's puppet regime.

Criticising the SABC, Mr Langley said the corporation's radio and television channels were being used to condition the whites in South Africa for their total abdication from power.

Speaking on a motion condemning the "growing partnership between the SABC-TV, radio and Press against white self-determination", he described the director-general of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, as one of "Mr Pik Botha's mafia". — Sapa.

PW opens door to blacks

304A DISPATCH 16:08:85

DURBAN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said last night he was prepared to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation to include blacks in political institutions.

But he firmly ruled out one-man, one-vote or a fourth chamber in the existing tricameral Parliament.

He was prepared to negotiate on a "give and take" basis with no time limit, but also made it clear he was not prepared to have solutions foisted on him from outside.

The expectations which had been created about his speech had been a dangerous exercise, he said, but added that he regarded last night's speech as a "manifesto" and said he believed South Africa was now "crossing the Rubicon."

He opened the way for direct negotiation between leaders of all groups in the special cabinet committee which has been established and which, he said, was already making progress.

On the partial state of emergency, Mr Botha said that any reduction in violence would be matched by action by the government to lift the emergency and restore normality in the areas concerned.

"Moreover, as violence diminishes, as criminal and terrorist activities cease and as the process of dialogue and communication acquires greater momentum, there would be little need to keep those affected in detention or prison," he said.

Early in his speech Mr Botha said the subject of most of the speculation about what he would be saying — the constitutional future of the blacks — had to be "determined in consultation with those concerned."

"We cannot confront them with certain final decisions," Mr Botha said, recalling that over the years the government had been criticised for making decisions "about" people and not "with" them.

"I find the attempts from various groups to compromise me and the government very unfortunate. It is a very dangerous game and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa," he said.

From ORMANDE POLLOK

Later he said it was his "considered opinion" that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens should be negotiated.

Dealing directly with the possibility of a negotiated new road ahead, Mr Botha said the diversity of South Africa was a hard reality which would be accommodated in two fundamental ways:

"Firstly, by letting the people speak," he said.

"By letting the people speak through their leaders.

"By negotiation between all these leaders, negotiation in which we will all endeavour to improve our common well-being; negotiation in which there will be give and take.

"We will not prescribe and we will not demand — to do so would be to take only.

"We will give so that others can also give towards a better future for each and every one.

"Secondly — the overriding common denominator is our mutual interest in each other's freedom and well-being.

"Our peace and prosperity is indivisible. Therefore, the only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility."

If the existence of minorities was ignored in favour of a simplistic winner-takes-all political system, freedom would be diminished, not increased.

There were important policy differences between the various leaders in South Africa, but their love for the country was as intense as his own.

"I am, therefore, in no doubt that by working together we shall find the way to satisfy the reasonable economic, social and political aspirations of every one," he said.

"The work of the special cabinet committee is bearing fruit.

"At the correct time I and other heads of government, together with other leaders of goodwill, will also be able to take part more directly in this process.

"We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so now. South Africa's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners."

The government would press on with its reform programme and he predicted that those who "prefer revolution to reform" would never succeed.

"The implementation of the principles I have stated today can have far-reaching effects on us all," Mr Botha said.

"I believe that today we are crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back.

"We now have a manifesto for the future of our country and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead.

"The challenges we face call for all concerned to negotiate in a spirit of give and take. With mutual goodwill we shall reach our destination peacefully.

"We undertake to do all that man can possibly do. In so saying, I pray that Almighty God will grant us the wisdom and the strength to seek to fulfil His will."

Editorial opinion P18; Botha speech in full P19.

CAPE Times
iday, August 16, 1985

Warning for Boesak, students

DURBAN. — There were people in South Africa at present who wished to wear their clerical robes as battledress, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at the Natal National Party congress he warned these people that their actions could not be tolerated for much longer.

He said South Africa faced a serious and sophisticated unrest situation in which millions of rands damage had been caused. The situation was leaving a serious mark on South Africa's economy, its financial position and its image.

The government knew who was behind it and he wished to give the assurance that serious attention was being given to introducing more stringent measures to avoid any further escalation.

There were organizations such as the UDF and people such as the Rev Allan Boesak who would have to take upon themselves the responsiblity for the many unrest deaths.

He called on the public to remain calm and to exercise patience and gave the assurance that in due course reasonableness would prevail.

A small percentage of students were in a position to create fertile breeding spots for unrest, out of proportion to their numbers.

He wanted to warn them that the government intended taking action to curtail this manifestation, both on and off the campus. — Sapa

Heunis: Group Areas to stay

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — One of the cornerstones of Nationalist race policies, the Group Areas Act, would not be scrapped, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Nor was there any talk of mixed residential areas, he said at the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban.

Mr Heunis said the Group Areas Act should not be applied to the advantage of any particular group or to the detriment of any group, because if this was the case it was not justified.

Entitled

He stressed that the aim of the law was to protect group interests.

"We say we accept the existence of groups and those groups are entitled to self-determination, although they are also entitled to a say in general affairs.

"The grouping of people is, and was, the standpoint of the government," Mr Heunis said.

He also criticised the delays in the issuing of Group Areas Act permits, after a delegate said an Indian businessman in Newcastle had not received a reply to his application after 14 months.

The refusal of a permit should not cause too much disruption and the issue of a permit should be in the interests of the group for whom the group area had been created.

'Grey areas'

Regional offices of his department had been instructed to take cognisance of the sensitivity of these applications.

Mr Heunis stressed, however: "There is no talk that the government is considering introducing grey areas. There is no talk that the government is considering scrapping the law."

He also said that community self-government could in fact be attained at the highest level and would in future be "the most important place where people will have self-determination rights".



Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Stoffel Botha

● The question facing South Africa was not whether blacks had the right to political participation, but how this would be achieved, Mr Heunis said.

Mr Heunis rejected a one-man-one-vote system as well as a fourth chamber of Parliament for black people.

The government accepted there had to be co-operation on representative levels and this had to be negotiated. But it had to be understood that this objective would not be found in a fourth chamber of Parliament.

"The constitutional solution will have to reflect the plurality of South Africa. That is the only basis by which elements of democracy can be obtained in South Africa."

Permanence

He also criticised those right wing people who thought they could shoot their way out of the situation.

The government accepted the permanence of blacks in the urban these councils at the risk of their property and lives."

The solution for black political rights did not lie in the Union Building in Pretoria, but in the homes, streets, factories and offices of South Africa.

"No government will be acceptable unless the people are acceptable to each other."

Hinted

● Influx control in its present form — one of the most hated laws in South Africa — appears to be on the way out.

This was broadly hinted at by the State President, Mr P W Botha, last night in his speech to the Natal National Party congress.

He also announced that the government was to spend one billion rand over the next five years on improving under-developed towns and cities, not only in the metropolitan areas.

The government's decentralisation programme would also be "actively continued".

"On the question of influx control I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly," said Mr Botha.

● The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, admitted yesterday that University of Cape Town students were "indeed hit hard" by police when they marched through the streets of Rondebosch last week.

Mr Le Grange said student activists would not be given any room to move off their campuses.

He gave this tough line against student demonstrations after a delegate had complained that students were abusing state subsidies by their actions.

'Moving space'

"I can assure you the small group which received blows in Cape Town were indeed hit hard. That you can accept from me," Mr Le Grange said to the applause of the Congress delegates.

"You can also accept from me that they will not get any moving space in any way, on or off the campuses."

● The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, was yesterday re-

not be scrapped, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Nor was there any talk of mixed residential areas, he said at the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban.

Mr Heunis said the Group Areas Act should not be applied to the advantage of any particular group or to the detriment of any group, because if this was the case it was not justified.

Entitled

He stressed that the aim of the law was to protect group interests.

"We say we accept the existence of groups and those groups are entitled to self-determination, although they are also entitled to a say in general affairs.

"The grouping of people is, and was, the standpoint of the government," Mr Heunis said.

He also criticised the delays in the issuing of Group Areas Act permits, after a delegate said an Indian businessman in Newcastle had not received a reply to his application after 14 months.

The refusal of a permit should not cause too much disruption and the issue of a permit should be in the interests of the group for whom the group area had been created.

'Grey areas'

Regional offices of his department had been instructed to take cognisance of the sensitivity of these applications.

Mr Heunis stressed, however: "There is no talk that the government is considering introducing grey areas. There is no talk that the government is considering scrapping the law."

He also said that community self-government could in fact be attained at the highest level and would in future be "the most important place where people will have self-determination rights".



Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Stoffel Botha

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"The constitutional solution will have to reflect the plurality of South Africa. That is the only basis by which elements of democracy can be obtained in South Africa."

Permanence

He also criticised those right wing people who thought they could shoot their way out of the situation.

The government accepted the permanence of blacks in the urban areas and the political system would have to be adapted so that everyone could participate in decision-making, he said.

Mr Heunis rejected claims that local authority in the black residential areas had collapsed and said more than 80 percent of the black local authorities were functioning well.

"South Africa owes a debt of gratitude to those black leaders who are prepared to serve in the Union Building in Pretoria, but in the homes, streets, factories and offices of South Africa.

"No government will be acceptable unless the people are acceptable to each other."

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● The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, was yesterday re-elected Natal leader of the NP at the congress.

He is the NP candidate in the coming Port Natal by-election.

The previous vice-chairman, Mr Tino Volker, MP (Klip River) was elected chairman. He replaces the former Port Natal MP, Mr Pierre Cronje.

The new vice-chairmen are Mr Jurie Mentz, MP (Vryheid) and Mrs Emma Klopper, the wife of President's Councillor Mr Hendrik Klopper.

CP leader Dr Treurnicht hits at PW

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SOWETAN

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16/8/85

THE "slumbering tiger" of white South Africans' resistance was being awakened by the Government's integration policies, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, warned this week.

Opening the party's third annual Orange Free State congress in Bloemfontein, he said the State President, Mr P W Botha, was attempting to achieve an impossible compromise between white self-determination and white subjection to black majority rule in a unitary state.

Over 1 000 CP supporters filled the Bloemfontein City Hall to listen to Dr Treurnicht.

"With all respect, I want to warn you (Mr Botha), you will be crushed between black radical demands and whites' resistance which will refuse to be co-governed by non-whites," Dr Treurnicht said.

Warning

"No nation can be great if it seeks to be all things to all people.

"I warn you, you are awakening the tiger in the whites . . . you underestimate the dormant objection among the whites to the path of integration."

Dr Treurnicht urged Mr Botha to reconsider before he continued with the implementation of his policy, and to break loose from the liberals and power-sharers.

Describing the Government's present course as "political recklessness" he said: "Don't try a political experiment that has succeeded nowhere else . . . don't place a foot on the road to what will inevitably result in black majority rule."

Reject

The longer the experiment continued, the more it would be rejected by white voters.

Dr Treurnicht said whites' control over their own fatherland — to which they had a right — was being torn from their hands from the highest to the lowest level of government for the sake of reconciliation, consensus and good human relations.

The whites of South Africa were entitled to their own sovereignty, parliament, white government, education systems; judiciary, civil service and security forces. — Sapa.

Cape Times, Friday, August 16, 1985

State President's speech

Botha seeks solution to

PRETORIA. — The following is the text released here of the State President's speech opening the Natal National Party Congress in Durban last night:

"During recent months and particularly the last few weeks, I have received a great deal of advice.

"Most of the persons and institutions who offered advice and still offer advice have good and well-meaning intentions. I thank them and where the advice is practical, it is considered.

"I almost daily receive hundreds of messages and letters of goodwill and encouragement from all over the Western world and from people in our own country, as well as assurances that people are praying for me. I sincerely appreciate these gestures of goodwill.

"But I also receive advice from some people who want to help me from the frying pan into the fire. To people such as these, I would like to say I grew up on a farm and we have an Afrikaans saying which goes: 'I can recognise a skunk by its smell.'

"If you don't accept advice from these people, they slander you and your country.

"Langenhoven has justly said the following: 'Appreciate, oh defamed, the tribute of your slander. He admits that you are worth the slander. He is probably not.'

"Most of the media in South Africa have already informed you on what I was going to say tonight, or what I ought to say, according to their superior judgment.

"Of all the tragedies in the world I think the greatest is the fact that our electorate refrained so far to elect some of these gentlemen as their government.

"They have all the answers to all the problems. And these answers differ from day to day and from Sunday to Sunday.

"Seldom in our past has there been a party congress of the National Party for which so many expectations were raised as this congress in Natal.

"Some of the reasons for this are evident, for example the partial emergency situation in less than 14 percent of the magisterial districts of the RSA. Other reasons are more sinister, such as the motives of those who have put words in my mouth in advance.

"During recent weeks there was an unparalleled scurry from different sources, within and outside South Africa, to predict and prescribe what is to be announced at this congress. It was also envisaged that worldwide, people are going to be dissatisfied if certain things are not announced as were predicted.

"It is of course a well-known tactic in negotiations to limit the other person's freedom of movement about possible decisions, thus forcing him in a direction where his options are increasingly restricted

"It is called the force of rising expectations Firstly, an expectation is raised that a particular announcement is to be made. Then an expectation is raised about what the content of the announcement should be.

"The tactic has two objectives. Firstly, the target is set so high that, even if an announcement is made, it is almost impossible to fulfil the propagated expectations.

"Secondly, it is also an attempt to force the one party into negotiations to make the expected decision. If this is not done, public opinion is already conditioned to such an extent that the result is widespread dissatisfaction. This is what has been happening over recent weeks.

"I find it unacceptable to be confronted in this manner with an accomplished fact. I think we should first reconsider the objective of a party congress.

"The National Party in each province is connected to the party in the other provinces on a federal basis.

"The provincial congress is the highest authority of the party in each province.

"One of the major activities of the congress is to decide on party policy.

"It would thus be unwise of the leader of the party to confront the provincial congress with certain final decisions.

"Moreover, the subject of most of the speculations, namely the constitutional future of the black peoples in South Africa, is of such a nature that it must be determined in consultation with those concerned.

"We cannot confront them with certain final decisions. Over the years, that was exactly the criticism against our government — that we make decisions about people and not with them.

"I find the attempts from various sources to compromise me and the government very unfortunate. It is a very dangerous game, and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa.

"I want to quote Langenhoven again. He wrote: 'If we are in front we can wait for time. If we are behind, it does not wait for us.'

"In our relationship with our fellow South Africans and in our relationship as a

CONT->

urban blacks' 'legitimate rights'

lti-cultural society in South Africa, no spirit of defeatism or hysterical actions will help us to be on time.

"We must deal with our relationships and accept future challenges in a balanced way and with devotion. You will find that balance in thinking and devotion in the National Party — the only political party which is representative of the vast majority of white South Africa.

'Impartial'

"The party stands for the just and equal treatment of all parts of South Africa, and for the impartial maintenance of the rights and privileges of every section of the population.

"We are not prepared to accept the antiquated, simplistic and racist approach that South Africa consists of a white minority and a black majority.

"We cannot ignore the fact that this country is a multicultural society — a country of minorities — white minorities as well as black minorities. While the National Party accepts and respects the multi-cultural and polyethnic nature of South Africa's population, it rejects any system of horizontal differentiation which amounts to one nation or group in our country dominating another or others.

"We believe in and uphold the principle of economic interdependence of the population groups as well as the acceptance of the properly planned utilization of manpower.

"In this regard we have advanced very far through modernising our labour laws, the creation of a development bank for Southern Africa, as well as a corporation for the development of small business activities

"We already cooperate in various ways through multinational ministerial committees. It is true that as a result of serious world recessionary circumstances, South Africa, which was also hit by recessionary conditions and overspending in some fields, could not make progress as we would have preferred.

"But it is common knowledge by now that the official economic strategy applied in South Africa during the past 12 months has produced excellent results:

"● Overspending by the private and public sectors has been eliminated.

"● The money supply is under control.

"● Government spending is being effectively curbed and soundly financed.

"● The balance of payments on current account is showing a surplus of about R5 billion per year.

"● The banking sector and private companies have for months now been repaying substantial amounts of foreign debt.

"● Our net gold and foreign exchange reserves increased by R1,4 billion during the second quarter of 1985.

continent of Southern Africa. If the Republic of South Africa suffers from economic setbacks — the whole of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.

"For instance, at present 90 percent of the exports of Southern Africa are consigned via the transport systems of the Republic of South Africa.

"We in the Republic of South Africa as well as our neighbours will in the foreseeable future have to find solutions for our fast-growing populations and their rightful demands.

"We have our responsibilities in connection with proper family planning, health services, the provision of clear and fresh water, training of young people and the creation of work opportunities.

"We have such a vast task ahead of us and such great challenges to create a better future, that we can ill afford the irresponsibilities and destructive actions of barbaric communist agitators and even murderers who perpetrate the most cruel deeds against fellow South Africans because they are on the pay roll of their masters far from this lovely country of ours.

"No government in this country or elsewhere in the world can solve all the problems in its country in a given time.

"But despite our human weaknesses and our limited powers as human instruments, we can attempt to be on time. We can make serious attempts not to be behind time.

"We are suffering in some parts of South Africa from two basic problems.

"The first is the problem of unemployment — a problem of the entire Western world, with perhaps to a lesser extent the United States.

'Too many rules'

"The Small Business Corporation is of vital importance in this connection.

"I am of the opinion that there are too many rules and regulations in our country serving as stumbling blocks in the way of entrepreneurs. These stumbling blocks must be removed. We are already seriously attending to this problem.

"The underdeveloped part of the economy is mainly that of different non-white communities.

"Instead of the whites paternalistically trying to do everything for the blacks, they must rather be allowed to help themselves — in the informal as well as the formal sector.

"Consequently, I shall go out of my way to see to it that more substantial funds are made available to the Small Business Development Corporation.

"Secondly, I refer to the problem of housing, caused mainly by our population explosion in Southern Africa.

"It is a fallacious belief that the government must do

uphold religious freedom. We believe in democratic institutions of government. We believe our great wealth of divergent population groups must speak to each other through their elected leaders. We believe that our peace and prosperity is indivisible. We believe in the protection of minorities.

"We know that it is the hard fact of South African life, that it will not be possible to accommodate the political aspirations of our various population groups and communities in a known, defined political system.

Terminology

"We have often found that our efforts to find solutions have been impeded and frustrated because of different interpretations of the terminology that we use to describe our particular form of democratic solutions.

"Some years ago, with the best intentions on my part, I advocated a confederation of Southern African states to co-operate with one another. The idea was belittled and prejudice was created against it.

"Now let me state explicitly that I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of coresponsibility and participation.

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood, represents a material part of the solution.

"I would, however, like to restate my government's position in this regard, namely that independence cannot be forced upon any community.

"Should any of the black national states therefore prefer not to accept independence, such states or communities will remain a part of the South African nation, are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa.

"But I know for a fact that most leaders in their own right in South Africa and reasonable South Africans will not accept the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary system.

"That would lead to domination of one over the others and it would lead to chaos. Consequently, I reject it as a solution.

"Secondly, a so-called fourth chamber of Parliament is not a practical solution and I do not think responsible people will argue in favour of it. We must rather seek our solutions in the devolution of power.

"But I admit that the acceptance by my government of the permanence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states means that a solution will have to be found for their places where violence takes place?

"Are there people from the revolutionary elements who inform them to be ready? Or are there perhaps representatives of the reactionary groups in the ranks of certain media?

"My question to you is this: whose interests do you serve — those of South Africa or those of the revolutionary elements?

Mandela

"From certain international as well as local quarters appeals are being made to me to release Mr Nelson Mandela from jail.

"I stated in Parliament that if Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives, I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release.

"But let me remind the public of the reasons why Mr Mandela is in jail.

"Dr Yutar — the Attorney-General at the time, set out the State's case inter alia as follows:

"'As the indictment alleges, the accused deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country ...

"'The planned purpose thereof was to bring about in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil . They (Mr Mandela and his friends) planned violent insurrection and rebellion.'

"The saboteurs had planned the manufacture of at least seven types of bombs: 48 000 anti-personnel mines, 210 000 handgrenades, petrol bombs, pipe bombs, syringe bombs and bottle bombs.

"A document was produced during the court case in Mandela's own handwriting in which he stated: 'We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history .. The enemy must be completely crushed and wiped out from the face of the earth before a Communist world can be realized.'

"In passing sentence at the time the judge, Mr Justice de Wet, remarked

'High treason'

"'The crime of which the accused have been convicted, that is the main crime, the crime of conspiracy, is in essence one of high treason

"'The State has decided not to charge the crime in this form. Bearing this in mind and giving the matter very serious consideration, I have decided not to impose the supreme penalty which in a case like this would usually be the proper penalty for the crime.'

"The violence of our enemies is a warning to us. We, who are committed to peaceful negotiation, also have a warning to them

"Our warning is that our readiness to negotiate should not be mistaken for weakness. Reform through process of negotiation is not weakness. Talking, consulting, bargaining with all our peoples' leaders is not weakness. Mutual acceptance of and joint responsibility for the welfare and stability of our country is not weakness. It is our strength.

"Our strength is the courage to face and accommodate the problems bequeathed to us by history. The reality of our diversity is a hard reality

"How do we build a better future out of cultures, values, languages which are demonstrably real in our heterogeneous society? We are resolved — we are committed — to do so in two fundamental ways.

"Firstly — by letting the people speak. By letting the people speak through their leaders. By negotiation between all these leaders. Negotiation in which we will all endeavour to improve our common well-being.

"Negotiation in which there will be give and take. We will not prescribe and we will not demand — to do so would be to take only. We will give so that others can also give — towards a better future for each and everyone.

"Secondly — the overriding common denominator is our mutual interest in each other's freedoms and well-being. Our peace and prosperity is indivisible

"Therefore, the only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility. If we ignore the existence of minorities, if we ignore the individual's right to associate with others in the practice of his beliefs and the propagation of his values, if we deny this in favour of a simplistic 'winner-takes-all' political system — then we will diminish and not increase

Destiny

"Then we would deny the right of each and everyone to share in the decisions which shape his destiny

"Between the many and varied leaders in this country, there are important differences of policy.

"I recognise this — but I also know that their love of South Africa is as intense as my own. I am, therefore, in no doubt that, working together, we shall succeed in finding the way which will satisfy the reasonable economic, social and political aspirations of everyone

"The work of the special Cabinet committee is bearing fruit. At the correct time I and other heads of governments together with other leaders of goodwill will also be able to take part more directly in this process.

"We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so South Africa's problems will be solved by South Africans and not by foreigners.

"We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don't want to do.

"The tragedy is that hostile pressure and agitation from abroad have acted as an encouragement to the militant revolutionaries in South Africa to continue with their violence and intimidation They have derived comfort and succour from this pressure.

Revolution

"My government and I are determined to press ahead with our reform programme, and to those who prefer revolution to reform, I say they will not succeed no matter how much support and encouragement they derive from outside sources.

"We can and we will resolve our problems by peaceful means Despite the disturbances, despite the intimidation, there is more than enough goodwill among blacks, whites, coloureds and Asians to ensure that we shall jointly find solutions acceptable to us

"I am encouraged by the growing number of black leaders who are coming forward to denounce violence. Any reduction of violence will be matched by action on the part of the government to lift the state of emergency and restore normality in the areas concerned

"Moreover, as violence diminishes, as criminal and terrorist activities cease, and as the process of dialogue and communication acquires greater momentum, there would be little need to keep those affected in detention or prison

"The implementation of the principles I have stated today can have far-reaching effects on us all I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back.

"We now have a manifesto for the future of our country and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead.

"The challenges we face call for all concerned to negotiate in a spirit of give and take. With mutual goodwill we shall reach our destination peacefully.

"We undertake to do all that man can possibly do. In so saying, I pray that almighty God would grant us the wisdom and the strength to seek to fulfil his will." — Sapa

rate of the banks has been reduced four times since May, from 25 to 21 percent. Other interests rates have also declined.

"● The rate of inflation is still around 16 percent but should begin to decline before the end of the year.

"● With exports rising strongly and interest rates falling, the domestic economy should move into a new upswing in 1986.

Problems

"The so-called 'economic fundamentals' are therefore at present very favourable in South Africa. Many of the present overseas perceptions of the South African situation are, of course, quite erroneous. Nobody would deny that we face problems that demand solutions.

"But the perceptions of many overseas observers bear little relationship to the realities of the situation.

"The Republic of South Africa still remains the leading country in the sub-

[illegible] help the people to help themselves, to build and upgrade their homes through their own efforts.

"We have decided that land should be made available where possible, and site services supplied.

"We have already accepted the principle of ownership rights for blacks in the urban areas ouside the national states. Just as important is the principle of ownership rights to people in the national states.

"But the State must mainly take responsibility for the infrastructure, such as fresh drinking water, sanitation and roads. The government intends setting aside R1 billion during the next five years to improve underdeveloped towns and cities, not only in metropolitan areas.

"Our policy of decentralization will be actively continued with.

"On the question of influx control — I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly. The President's Council will probably report on this matter in the near future, while the government itself is also at present considering improvements.

"But of course — we shall need the closest co-operation of the private sector. I hope they will stand up and be counted as they did in the past when I called upon them for their co-operation.

"I now wish to deal with some other aspects of our national life. It is my considered opinion that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens, should be negotiated.

Colonialism

"But let me point out at once that since South Africa freed itself from colonialism — democracy has already been broadened and millions of people who never had a say in governmental affairs under the British colonial system, have it today.

"I am pressed by some who mean it well and those who wish to destroy orderly government in this country, to make a statement of intent.

"I say it would be wrong to be prescriptive as to structures within which participation will have to take place in future.

"It would also be wrong to place a time limit on negotiations.

"However, I believe that the majority of South Africans as well as independent states, which form our immediate neighbours, have much in common apart from our economic interests. We believe in the same almighty God and the redeeming grace of his son, Jesus Christ.

"We believe and wish to

legitimate rights.

"The future of these communities and their constitutional arrangements will have to be negotiated with leaders from the national states, as well as from their own ranks.

"But let me be quite frank with you. You must know where you stand with me. It is the right of the party congresses to state whether they agree with their leader or not.

"I am not prepared to lead white South Africans and other minority groups on a road to abdication and suicide. Destroy white South Africa and our influence, and this country will drift into factional strife, chaos and poverty.

'Manifesto'

"Together with my policy statements earlier this year in Parliament, I see this speech of mine as my manifesto.

"In my policy statements in January and June of this year, I indicated that there would be further developments with regard to the rights and interests of the various population groups in Southern Africa.

"Since then we have had to contend with escalating violence within South Africa, and pressure from abroad in the form of measures designed to coerce the government into giving in to various demands.

"Our enemies — both within and without — seek to divide our peoples. They seek to create unbridgeable differences between us to prevent us from negotiating peaceful solutions to our problems.

"Peaceful negotiation is their enemy. Peaceful negotiation is their enemy because it will lead to joint responsibility for the progress and prosperity of South Africa. Those whose methods are violent do not want to participate. They wish to seize and monopolize all power. Let there be no doubt about what they would do with such power.

"One has only to look at their methods and means. Violent and brutal means can only lead to totalitarian and tyrannical ends. Their actions speak louder than their words.

"Their words offer ready panaceas such as one-man-one-vote, freedom and justice for all.

"Their actions leave no doubt that the freedoms that we already have — together with the ongoing extension of democracy in South Africa — are the true targets of their violence.

"I have a specific question I would like to put to the media in South Africa: How do they explain the fact that they are always present, with cameras et cetera, at

PW to deliver speech for renewed challenge

PRESIDENT P W Botha faces renewed local and foreign demands to accelerate the process of internal negotiation, following his commitment last night to hold open-ended "give-and-take" talks with the leaders of all the country's people.

General reaction to his speech at the opening of the National Party Natal congress has been one of disappointment that Mr Botha failed to make significant announcements of reform.

The US Government said Mr Botha's speech was important and it wished to study it carefully. It expressed the hope that steps to end apartheid would be outlined.

British reaction was also muted, although Mrs Margaret Thatcher's government was disappointed that Mr Botha had rejected the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

Diplomats who attended last night's meeting said it was significant that the President had neatly reversed the position and had committed South Africa to an open-ended negotiated future.

More pressure on Reagan

Previously, they said, the South African Government was criticised for making decisions on behalf of other population groups. Mr Botha last night said that no solution would be forced or prescribed for other groups. Any solution had to be negotiated with all the people concerned.

In Washington, opponents of constructive engagement predicted that President Botha's speech would result in increased pressure on President Reagan to sign a Bill calling for economic sanctions against South Africa rather than help him veto the measure.

Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Africa sub-committee, said President Botha had presented vitally important issues in an unclear manner. "I fear it will only add more fuel to the fire of those who wish to use violence as a solution."

Democratic Senator Alan Cranston, one of South Africa's fiercest critics, said: "This was not enough. Just to promise to talk does not mean any results and there is no visible action taken by the Government to begin to get rid of apartheid."

The Rev Jesse Jackson took an apparently softer line on the speech than some of the congressmen. He described president Botha as "defensive but not hostile." But pressure had to be maintained on South Africa, Mr Jackson said.

Buthelezi's condition

President Reagan's national security adviser, Mr Robert McFarlane, told reporters the President's attitude towards sanctions had not changed.

"He will study the speech further and examine the contents of the sanctions Bill when it arrives at the White House. He has not yet reached a decision," Mr McFarlane said.

In London, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthalezi, in a TV interview conducted by satellite from Israel, said he would only help formulate new political structures in South Africa if Nelson Mandela and other jailed political leaders were also free to participate.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu said: "My condition is that those who are in jail like Nelson Mandela; and those who have been in jail since a state of emergency was declared, should also be at large so they can participate. I can't see myself participating while there are people incarcerated."

In Cape Town, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today President Botha's speech gave some hope for positive developments in that it reconfirmed the Government's commitment to negotiation.

"One had hoped that at last greater clarity would be forthcoming on the key elements hinted at in his earlier speeches, such as a common constitution, a common citizenship and power sharing.

"These aspects have not been totally denied in the speech, but they certainly have not been stated clearly and unambiguously."

Mandela issue

P.T.O.

Botha dashes hopes for major r

Pledge on partici

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN.— President P W Botha last night pledged his government to negotiate a constitutional system in which all South Africans, including blacks, would have the right to participate — but dashed speculation that he would announce major reforms.

"Let me state explicitly that I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern," he told a crowd of more than 2 000 people in a packed Durban City Hall at the opening of the Natal congress of the National Party.

Mr Botha also said he accepted that blacks in the "national states" which preferred not to accept independence "are South African citizens and should be accommodated within political institutions within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa".

Citizenship

But, beyond stressing that these constitutional structures would have to be negotiated, he did not spell out any further details — and he specifically rejected a one-man-one-vote system as that the present system of influx control was "outdated and too costly".

The President's Council would report "in the near future" about influx control and the government was itself



Mr P W Botha

"considering improvements".

committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives".

As Mr Mandela has already rejected this condition, it seems highly unlikely that he will be released from jail in the near future.

Mr Botha also said the "unparalleled scurry" of what he would announce at the congress had raised expectations and that he found the attempts from various sources to compromise him and the government "very unfortunate".

This was "a very dangerous game and it definitely does not serve the interests of negotiation and reform in South Africa".

Intent

He said that although he had been pressed by some people "who mean it well" to make a statement of intent, "I am not prepared to make it, not



Pall-bearers carry the body of Rashaad Witten into the Doringhoogte cemetery in Rylands Estate yesterday.

Pictures: Dan Bosman



The grieving Witt
Anwar Witten, A

Father tells of race

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MORTALLY wounded, Mitchells Plain grenade-blast victim Rashaad Witten, 16, stumbled blindly past his terrified host to fall down a

Wayne, 9, Quinton, 14, and Eugene, 15, were all injured in the 2am blast which wrecked the second-storey bedroom in which they were sleeping at the Kronendal

A subdued and exhausted Mr Fisher, who is also an executive member of the Labour Party, said later that after the grenade exploded he had heard screaming and

arm, Quinton was
from wounds to his
back, and Eugene h
injured in his butt
leg

Mr Witten said

From page 1

mate rights," Mr Botha said.

The enemies of South Africa, both within and without, wanted to divide the people.

"They seek to prevent us from negotiating peaceful solutions to our problems. Peaceful negotiation is their enemy ... because it will lead to joint responsibility for the progress and prosperity of South Africa.

"Those whose methods are violent do not want to participate. They wish to seize and monopolize all power.

Mr Botha warned "our enemies", whose violence was also a warning, that "our readiness to negotiate should not be mistaken for weakness. Reform through process of negotiation is not weakness".

"Talking, consulting, bargaining with all our peoples' leaders is not weakness. Mutual acceptance of and joint responsibility for the welfare and stability of our country is not our weakness. It is our strength."

Mr Botha also said South Africa's problems would be solved by South Africans, and not by foreigners.

"We are not going to be deterred from doing what we think best, nor will we be forced into doing what we don't want to do."

He said the implementation of the principles he had stated in his speech could have "far-reaching effects on us all".

"I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back.

"We have a manifesto for the future of our country, and we must embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lie ahead.

"The challenges we face call for all concerned to negotiate in a spirit of give and take. With mutual goodwill, we shall reach our destination peacefully," Mr Botha said.

Citizenship

But, beyond stressing that these constitutional structures would have to be negotiated, he did not spell out any further details — and he specifically rejected a one-man-one-vote system as well as a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks.

In spite of widespread expectations, particularly overseas, about the contents of his speech, Mr Botha made no announcements about the restoration of citizenship to blacks who had lost their South African citizenship.

He did however say



Mr P W Botha

"considering improvements".

Mr Botha also made no new announcement about the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, apart from confirming his offer in Parliament earlier this year to consider Mr Mandela's release if given a committment "that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating and

Africa".

Intent

He said that although he had been pressed by some people "who mean it well" to make a statement of intent, "I am not prepared to make it, not now and not tomorrow. I say it would be wrong to be prescriptive as to structures within which participation will have to take place in future".

"It would also be wrong to place a time limit on negotiations. I am not going to walk into this trap."

The major emphasis of his speech was on a negotiated constitutional system.

"We know that it is the hard fact of South African life, that it will not be possible to accommodate the political aspirations of our various population groups and communities in a known defined political system."

One-man-one-vote would lead to domination of one group over others and would lead to chaos, he said.

A fourth chamber of Parliament was "not a practical solution and I do not think responsible people will argue in favour of it. We must rather seek our solutions in the devolution of power".

"But I admit that the acceptance by my government of the permanence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states means that a solution will have to be found for their legiti-

To page 2

IT COSTS LESS at
Grand
Bazaars AND Ultramarkets
Frozen
CHICKENS
Grade A Halaal
139
per kg

Many SA leaders are unhappy with P W Botha's speech

Reaction today to President P.W Botha's speech included:

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party: The clear intention to move away from remaining discriminatory legislation, such as the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act and aspects of the Population Registration Act, was missing from the speech.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party: The speech would do little to restore stability. Mr Botha did not address the urgent question of the restoration of law and order in black townships.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party: The statements, particularly on influx control and the national states, were fatal political moves. The recognition of black permanence outside the national states in white areas had to lead to black majority rule in the long run.

Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches: The manifesto was deeply disappointing and distressing and would increase black anger and overseas pressure.

Owen Cardinal McCann, former Archbishop of Cape Town: Mr Botha should sit down with Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the African National Congress, and other black leaders to seek a solution to South Africa's problems.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, president of the Azanian People's Organisation: He spoke to assure his followers, the business commmunity and other agents of control and repression of the country's might.

Dr Farouk Meer, acting-president of the Natal Indian Congress: I see no shift from apartheid in the address, and the chances are the country will slide further into chaos and disaster.

Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash: I do not think the State President said anything at all. People's expectations were raised only to be dashed once again. This is a very unhealthy and very unwise thing to do, particularly in prevailing circumstances.

Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of Kangwane: Mr Mabuza welcomed the announcement that all population groups would have a common South African citizenship. But Pretoria must move quickly to repeal the citizenship, influx control and pass laws.

Paramount Chief Patrick Mphephu, the President of Venda: Mr Botha's directives were the result of successful discussions between the states and population groups involved.

Mr Desmond Sixishe, Lesotho Minister of Information and Broadcasting: It was a disappointment because of the great expectations of change. — Argus Correspondents, Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

We made no false promises, says Pi

304A 17/8/85 MERCURY

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha had not told Western governments to expect anything more from the State President's speech in Durban on Thursday than actually emerged.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

This was disclosed last night not only by the minister himself, who spoke in a number of major television interviews, but was corroborated by sources directly involved in the various meetings held in Vienna a week ago

There was speculation yesterday that the minister had misled representatives of the United States, Britain and West Germany into believing that the President would announce more than he did

Mr Botha denied this in an SABC interview last night and said that in fact the President had gone further in his speech than the West had been led to believe he would.

The minister reiterated his position in a BBC television interview which was rescreened on the Zulu service of SABC last night

He drew attention to the fact that the three governments involved in the Vienna meetings had not suggested, in response to the President's factors in the speech which could be interpreted as positive efforts to tackle South Africa's problems effectively.

There was also speculation in Durban yesterday that tension had developed in the Cabinet between two factions, one of which thought the President should have gone further in his speech.

Briefing

It was fuelled by the Foreign Minister's absence from the stage of the Durban City Hall when the President opened the Natal congress of the National Party on Thursday night.

However, it was learned last night that the minister was in Pretoria at the time briefing 38 foreign journalists and 12 diplomats on the content and significance of the speech which was broadcast [illegible] hour later.

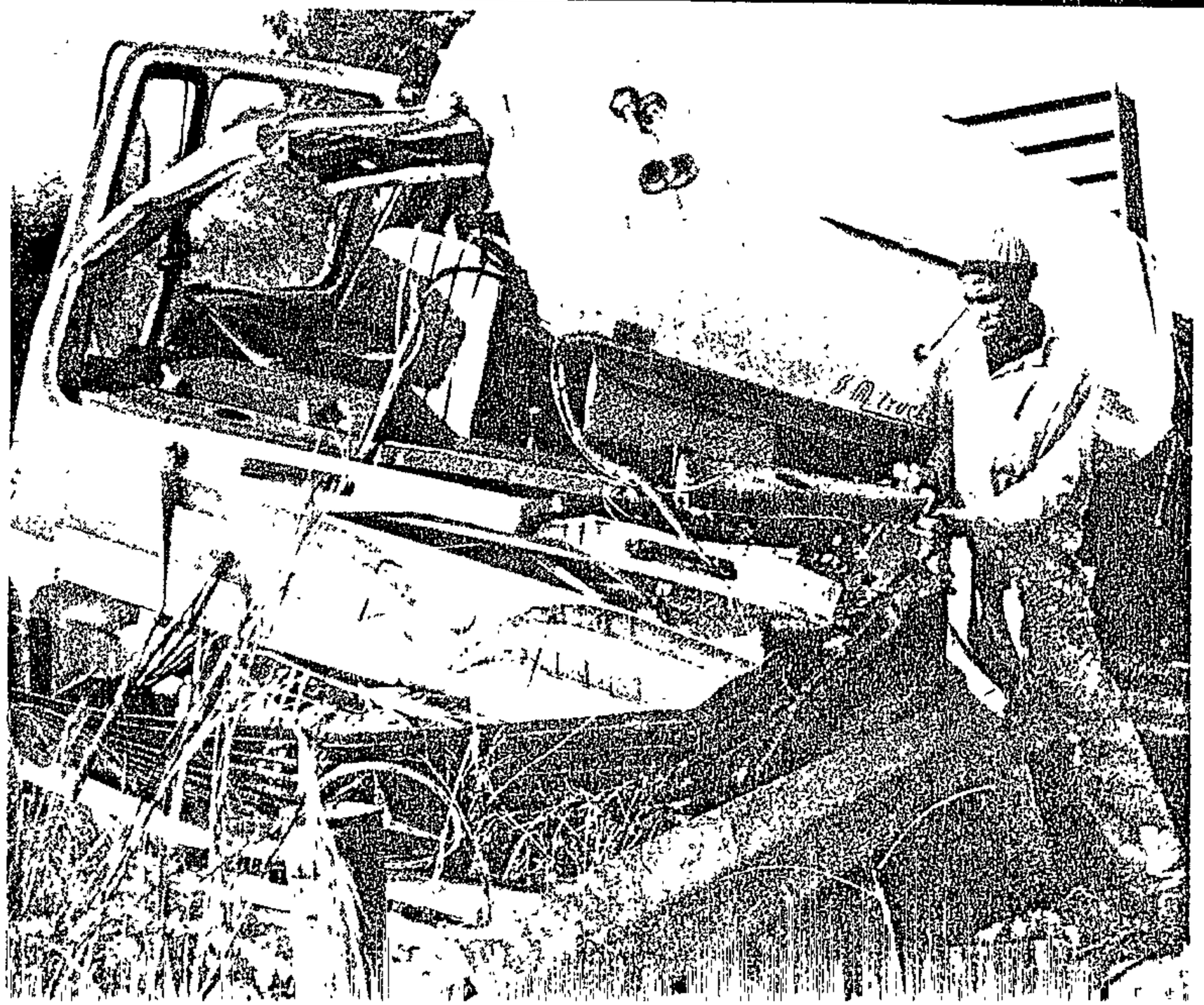
While rumours were recording the television interviews in which he staunchly defended the President's speech.

In the American response to the President's speech, the U S National Security Adviser, Mr Robert McFarlane, told reporters it should be only 'a matter of days, surely within weeks, certainly not months, before we see tangible evidence of the commitments implied today'.

Mr McFarlane chose to emphasise the positive nature of Mr Botha's renewed commitment to negotiations with elected black leaders, saying there were some new ideas in the speech, some of which Washington had not anticipated.

The British Foreign Office yesterday gave cautious welcome to the speech and said it was further evidence that the South African Government had embarked on a

Truck and trailer wrecked in Town Hill smash



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The minister reiterated his position in a BBC television interview which was rescreened on the Zulu service of SABC last night.

He drew attention to the fact that the three governments involved in the Vienna meetings had not suggested, in response to the President's speech, that they had been misled.

Indeed the speech had been cautiously welcomed by Washington, London and Bonn, from whose governments statements had acknowledged factors in the speech which could be interpreted as positive efforts to tackle South Africa's problems effectively.

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However, it was learned last night that the minister was in Pretoria at the time briefing 38 foreign journalists and 12 diplomats on the content and significance of the speech which was broadcast live about an hour later.

While rumours were circulating among media representatives at the congress in Durban that the minister had tendered his resignation because of his disappointment in the speech, he was in Johannesburg recording the television interviews in which he staunchly defended the President's speech.

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The British Foreign Office yesterday gave cautious welcome to the speech and said it was further evidence that the South African Government had embarked on a process of reform.

It deserved further careful study and required clarification.

'There are a number of positive features,' the statement said. 'Mr Botha has emphasised his willingness to negotiate with black leaders. He has called for co-operation and co-responsibility and for the participation of all South African communities on matters of common concern

'He has confirmed that his Government is reviewing the influx control system and that a solution will have to be found for the legitimate rights of urban blacks.

'He has said that if there was a reduction in violence, he would match that by an ending of the state of emergency.'

The Foreign Office went on: 'President Botha described his speech as a

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

Today's sport on TV

THIS afternoon's *Sport '85*: **3 04**: cricket — draw for the Nissan Shield; **3 09**: horseracing — R100 000 Natal Flying Championships from Clairwood; **3 17**: rugby — 'Try of the Month' competition; **3 28**: rugby — Springboks v Cape Barbarians from Newlands; **5 06**: athletics — JSE Marathon Johannesburg to Pretoria; **5 27**: motorsport — German Grand Prix from Nurburgring.

DEEP THROAT
That's what the new Baracuda "G" Pool



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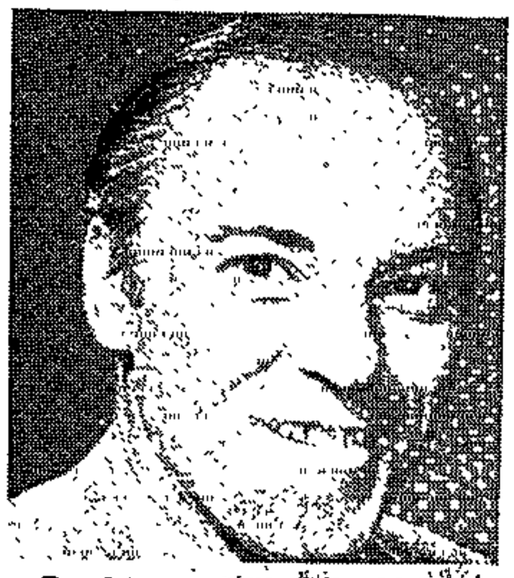
Matie rector urges Afrikaners to forget past and admit to errors

Let's make new start

Weekend Argus Tygerberg Bureau

AFRIKANERS must forget the past and start again. They must have the courage to admit they have erred and that freedom of association is a prerequisite for the development of South Africa, says Professor Mike de Vries, rector of the University of Stellenbosch.



Professor Mike de Vries

He was addressing a student leadership conference at the university last night attended by about 100 student leaders.

He warned young Afrikaner leaders to accept there would be no short cut to a solution for South Africa's problems, but that the Afrikaner "should get rid of his selective conscience, which has led to our begrudging equal opportunities to our fellow-Christians".

He sees the role of the university changing from that of raising Afrikaner youth to one in which the urban Afrikaner strives for international recognition: of his language, culture and his achievements in Africa.

"I would like to see us recognised for what we have achieved and what we are, not only to the Afrikaner's credit but to the advantage of Southern Africa and its peoples."

"Rattlesnakes"

Freedom of association with other individuals and groups — which included the freedom of non-association — must be seen as an important prerequisite.

"I, as Afrikaner, must also admit that we have selective consciences. We strive for recognition and acceptance, refuse to be avoided like rattlesnakes, but refuse also to admit to our faults, however well meant," he continued.

"We must have the courage to admit that we erred in the past. We must accept that these mistakes will be dissected by the Western world.

"The Afrikaner does not carry the fault for everything which has gone wrong in our country, but we cannot escape blame for a part of it.

Errors

"You may not, must not, have selective consciences, and we must now forget the past and start anew. While I refuse to be humbled, I am prepared to leave the past behind, a past with all its errors and my own selective conscience," he said.

Referring to accommodation for students of other races — a subject raised this month by Matie students who launched a petition to allow blacks into residences — he said: "I strive to have the Group Areas Act applied differently on university campuses.

"The handling of students, also their housing, should be placed entirely in the hands of the University Council.

"Stellenbosch has enlarged its entire base over the years.

"We may not draw different lines for students who have been accepted at this university."

● The university is expected to open a residence to students of all races in January next year. Professor de Vries issued an appeal in March to the private sector to help finance the building of a residence.

Afrikaners must admit they have erred — prof

Own Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH — Afrikaners must forget the past and start again. 3044

They must have the courage to admit they have erred in the past and that freedom of association is a pre-requisite for the future development of South Africa, according to Professor Mike de Vries, rector of the University of Stellenbosch.

He was addressing a student leadership conference attended by about 100 student leaders last night. 17/8/85 STAR

He warned young Afrikaner leaders to accept that there would be no easy short-cut solution to South Africa's problems, but that the Afrikaner "should get rid of his selective conscience, which has led to our begrudging equal opportunities to our fellow Christians," he said.

"I would like to see that we will be recognised for what we have achieved and what we are, not only to the Afrikaners' credit but to the advantage of Southern Africa and its peoples," he said.

"We must have the courage to admit that we erred in the past. We must accept that these mistakes will be disected by the Western world.

"The Afrikaner does not carry the fault for everything which has gone wrong in our country, but we cannot escape blame for a part of it."

He said one of the educational tasks ahead for the youth leaders he was addressing was that they should always "recognise the human beings' worthiness on all levels.

"You may not, must not, have selective consciences, and we must now forget the past and start anew, as one of our educational tasks.

"However, while as dedicated Afrikaner I refuse to be broken or humbled, I am also prepared to leave the past behind, a past with all its errors and my own selective conscience," he said.

Rumours claim threat of rift stopped President saying more in speech

Did P W Botha back down a deal?

Botha to announce reforms in Durban

by

David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Durban

The Government faces a new international credibility crisis — with increasing suspicions that its own representatives deliberately or ineptly sent out this week's confused and misleading signals of reform.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said last night that it was essential that the Government clarified the apparent confusion that had arisen from President Botha's controversial speech on Thursday.

"There is no doubt that some people were given more than enough reason to expect that the President was going to say much more than he actually did.

"What happened? Were they misled, or did they simply misunderstand what they were told."

Dr Slabbert warned that, if certain people believed they were misled, they would question South Africa's credibility.

Rumours and speculation that there was a rift between members of the Government over the contents of the President's speech were rife at the National Party Natal congress yesterday.

But Cabinet Ministers assured journalists privately that there was no truth in reports of a dispute between the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha over briefings given to Western government officials in Austria last week.

Nor had there been any suggestion that Mr Pik Botha was asked to resign or offered to.

Several diplomats and foreign journalists said they remained convinced that Mr Pik Botha did give details of substantial reforms which did not materialise in the President's speech.

Meanwhile, President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei yesterday accused President Botha of "betrayal" in an emotional speech in Bisho.

He said the Government had misled him on reforms to be announced in Durban.

He said Mr Pik Botha had come to his office to raise expectations.

"What was said to me was not even mentioned in Mr P W Botha's speech."

President Sebe said he had been led to believe that an announcement would be made about common citizenship.

Mr Pik Botha could not be reached for comment.

P W takes a dig at his critics

304A 17/8/85 MERCURY

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha has brushed aside the wave of international criticism of his Durban speech and said he is sure opinions will change once people have had time to study it properly.

Speaking at the National Party's Natal congress yesterday morning, Mr Botha drew a round of laughs by referring to the international reaction to his speech and said it appeared as though some poeple had had a bad night.

He had been through many turbulent periods in his nearly 50 years of public life and had seen South Africa move through one crisis after another.

'We have always come through because of the inherent strength of South Africans,' he said to loud applause.

The country was in one of those periods once again because of the reaction to his speech, but he believed the critics should have time to study his speech properly.

He hoped reason and reasonableness would prevail.

Choosing the correct course and the correct goal was the road to success, and the National Party was on it.

'It is a course of reasonableness and devotion, accepting that there are other South Africans in this country,' said Mr Botha.

'It is also a course in which we tell the world we will not abdicate.'

He repeated his warning that if South Africa was brought to its knees, Southern Africa would pay the highest price.

He appealed to everyone to adopt a spirit of cooperation and recognition of the rights of others.

Mr Botha appealed to voters in the Port Natal and other coming by-elections to show, as they had done in the referendum, that they were behind the process of change.

BETRAYED!

8/17/89

Biased' book angers the townfolk

A tiny Boland town has come under an unwelcome international spotlight and been riven by the publication of an American anopologist's book.



The Rev Willie van Zyl... "rude remarks directed at him."



Mrs Marieta Hugo and Mr Pieter Hugo... "there's no bad feeling between us.



Dominee Douglas Lawrie... "a very good book."



Builder Mr Jan Roux... "it's a lot of tripe."

Man behind the book

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE short American rode into Franschhoek four years ago and made many friends.

He stayed with a local farmer, who later described him as "the best mannered house guest I have ever had".

He, Vincent Crapanzano, Professor of Anthropology and Comparative Literature at the City University of New York, told them he was doing anthropological research for a book on white South Africans.

He joined families at braais, church services and dinners and was welcomed into the community.

Almost everyone thought of him as a friend and, in the course of long interviews and

...ne book ...s called Waiting; The Whites of outh Africa. It is set in a mall town near Cape own called "Wyndal" nd features extensive interviews with local community members.

The names of these people ave been changed to "protect ie identity of those people ith whom I worked in South frica".

In fact the town is easily dentifiable as Franschhoek nd the townsfolk have had no rouble identifying the various haracters.

Reaction

Their reaction has general- been little short of outrage.

The author is American anhropologist Vincent Crapanano, a Professor of Anthroology and Comparative iterature at the City Univerity of New York.

He tells how he came to ranschhoek to "study the effect of domination on the dominating. I had discovered hat even in their research on omination most anthropololists had never bothered to udy the dominant".

"They had only studied the minated and from that perective described the structe of domination."

The book has been seriaed in an American newspar and reviewed by Time agazine.

But almost all the inhabitnts of the beautiful Huguenot llage feel the book is unreresentative, often inaccurate nd, at least, biased.

The most common comlaint is that he included "dinr-table" talk in what was neant to be a serious study. his includes personal details hat have caused some fairly erious disruptions within the ommunity and individual amilies.

"Enemies"

The Afrikaans-speaking Hugo family, for example, appear in the book as the Rossouws, a family torn apart by their son's marriage to an English woman.

But the Hugos claim this is untrue and that Mr Crapanzano took their remarks out of context.

"According to this book we are enemies. He makes a big thing about the naming of our son and daughter-in-law's baby, saying we wanted an Afrikaans name for it," said Mr Koos Hugo.

"But there was never any problem with that and the only time it was mentioned in front of him was when we joked about it at a braai."

"Things couldn't be better between my parents and us," said their son, Mr Pieter Hugo.

Another resident who features extensively in the book said "sensitive and personal family details" had been revealed. "We talked for hours and, as a result of his probings, I told him things I would not normally reveal. I had no idea they would end up in this book, with my identity only very thinly disguised."

The townsfolk generally also feel the book does not present an accurate and balanced picture of the people of Franschhoek.

He has certainly dwelt on the bigoted, finding one Afrikaner who explains how black people "came from baboons"; an Afrikaner woman who tells him that Coloured people are "like children — we are like parents".

He quotes Afrikaners still burning over the Boer War and English-speaking residents who despise them for this.

And he hauls out all the hoary old South African cliches: "One particularly malicious member of Hennie's congregation ('Of course I haven't been to the church since HE asked us to embrace each other') said that she found Rose a bit sallow and added that there was a 'a touch of the tarbrush in every Afrikaner'," he reveals.

The voices of the people of Franschhoek are naive and unsure, his comes across as the only voice of logic.

He lays a heavy emphasisis on the charismatic church movement in the town, which surfaced at the time of his visit but has now apparently died down.

Dominee Douglas Lawrie, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church who features as Dominee Pieter Kotze in the book, is one of the few people in Franschhoek who thinks it is a good book.

He thought the book reflected fairly accurately what he had said.

"Focused"

"I don't think he really added any words, but he certainly focussed heavily on some aspects."

He agreed that the charismatic movement was "not very representative now", but agreed with the emphasis on bigots: "The village is pretty bigoted, it has a more-or-less solidly Conservative Party town council".

"But many people did say they were treated very unfairly," he said.

Others felt he had bent statements and invented incidents to fit a preconceived idea of South African whites.

Farmer Dr Jack Freeling, who is in fact Dr Donald Brink, is portrayed as carrying a gun as he does his rounds on the farm.

Friends of Dr Brink said the man had never carried a gun and had, in fact, seperated workers fighting with knives and never been threatened.

Dr Brink, who hosted Mr Crapanzano during his first visit, said he refused to have anything to do with the book and would not discuss it with Weekend Argus.

Strained

The Whites of the village are depicted as afraid to go out on Friday and Saturday nights for fear of rampaging, drunk workers.

"Like other whites I was inordinately terrified of Friday and Saturday nights," writes Mr Crapanzano. Not one person interviewed by Weekend Argus indicated an inordinate fear of Friday and Saturday night.

Several thought relationships between Afrikaans and English had been strained by the book.

"He is terribly biased against the Afrikaans community and gives a very wrong impression of the English community," said Mr Pieter Hugo.

Mr Crapanzano tells how Afrikaans farmers despised the English for coming into the valley and bringing new wine-farming technology with them. He says the Afrikaans farmers were not as wealthy and could not afford the new technology.

However, farmers this week said the arrival of the English had simply coincided with the arrival of the new technology and now everybody — English or Afrikaans — was using it.

"I suppose there has always been a slight suspicion between the English and the Afrikaans farmers although we have always worked together on things," said one English farmer, "but this book has certainly widened differences".

Deeply hurt

Reverend Hennie van der Merwe, in reality Reverend Willie van Zyl, features prominently in the book.

He is an Anglican priest of Afrikaner descent and, according to his family, has been deeply hurt by the book.

"He says I ignore the blacks because of language problems. The truth is that we have a Xhosa priest who is responsibility for the black people in the area," said Reverend van Zyl.

The book is spiced with uncomplimentary remarks made about Rev van Zyl by the whites of Franschhoek. He now laughs at the remarks but many feel their inclusion unnecessary in an anthropological study.

Lillian Braun, who features in the book as Catherine Fox, "by far the most 'cultured' person there", refused to discuss the book: "I am not going to say a thing about it, I don't want anything more to do with it," she said.

Inevitably they ask what Mr Crapanzano set out to do with the book.

"He has written it to find acceptability in the academic community he finds himself in," said John van Zyl. "And to feather his nest," he added.

"Sensational"

An English farmer thought he was "just jumping on the anti-South African bandwagon — it's just cheap journalism and we thought he was an academic".

Another thought he had set out to write a good book — in fact the opening pages are among the most readable in the entire book — and eventually succumbed to writing a "sensational story that will obviously sell at the moment".

Dominee Lawrie thought the book "very, very well written and its literary interest is quite obvious".

"But it is hard to fit it into any conventional slot academically, and that is where questions are raised on the whole method of doing anthropology — to what extent is he actually writing a novel?"

An English man with an academic background said Mr Crapanzano had "come under false pretences and had written a sordid tale about a small town ... he could have done it in any village in the world".

● The University of Cape Town's anthropology department is to take a look at the "academic, anthropological and moral" issues raised by Vincent Crapanzano's book.

Professor Martin West, head of the department said: "We don't plan to do research on Crapanzano's research but we are concerned about the import of the book and will be compiling an academic report".

...nou... ...ng casua...y, some told him things they would never discuss publicly.

"Fly on wall"

Dominee Douglas Lawrie, who still likes Professor Crapanzano, described him as a "very quiet person and a very highly-educated person".

"He is short and wears these very thick glasses and looks vague and absolutely harmless. He was far too mild to dislike and I think that was what caused people to divulge personal details to him ... he would be perfect as a fly on the wall."

Another man in the town, who has an academic background and who spent hours helping with the book, said he began to doubt Mr Crapanzano's intellect after a while. "He seemed to be chasing after and getting involved in the wrong things," he said.

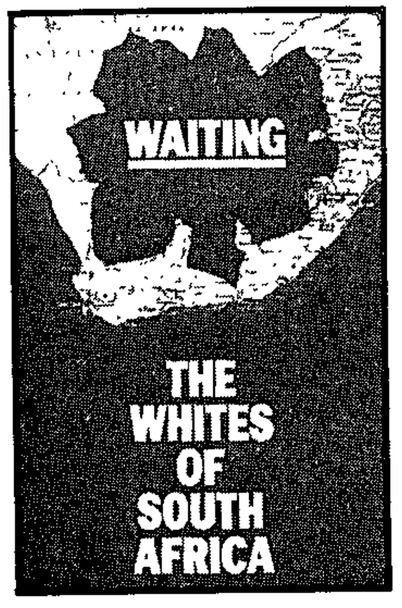
The American came to Franschoek twice in three years, spending a total of about four months researching for his book, which he has called Waiting. It is sub-titled The Whites of South Africa.

Stunned

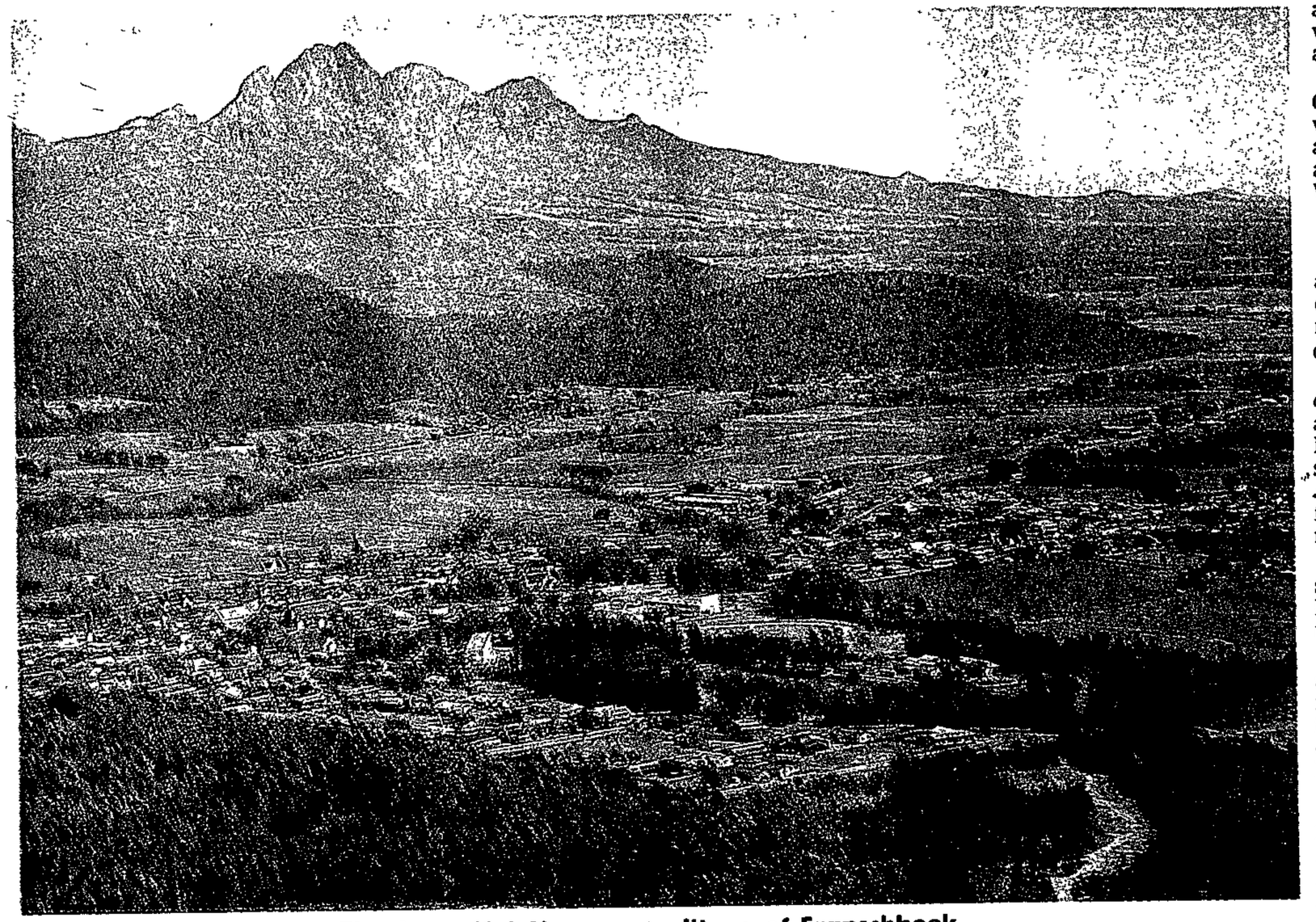
The book was released in South Africa this week, but advance copies have been doing the rounds in Franschhoek for several weeks.

The book has stunned the people who got to know Mr Crapanzano, and hurt several of those who thought of him as a friend.

One man thought the book "immoral". Another described it as "like undressing people in public, except he has undressed the wrong people".



The book that has caused an uproar in the Huguenot village.



The beautiful Huguenot village of Franschhoek.

Report by CHRIS WHITFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter



SA business 'disappointed' President must quit, says paper

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — The vice-chairman of Anglo American, the country's largest private corporation, yesterday expressed "disappointment" at the State President's address in Durban on Thursday night, "if only because the circumstances of the country seemed to call for new initiatives".

Mr Julian Ogilvie-Thomson said they were nevertheless pleased to note the improvements in the economy and hear a reaffirmation of reform as set out in Mr P W Botha's addresses to Parliament.

Organized commerce and industry were guardedly critical of the speech as the country's key economic indicator, the rand's exchange value, dropped to below 42c to the dollar.

After dropping to 38,5c early yesterday morning, the rand rallied to almost 42c after Reserve Bank buying to firm the value.

Responses from individual business leaders were of general disappointment, with Mr Tony Bloom, the chief executive of the giant Premier Group, saying that Mr Botha had "missed an opportunity with destiny".

Mr Michael Weir, the president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, welcomed the "several positive features" of the speech.

He said, though, that Assocom would have liked to see "much more emphasis on the urgent need for visibly effective dialogue between government and black leaders".

A joint statement by the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said it was a matter of regret that Mr Botha was not more specific in "pointing the nation more positively in the direction of reform and national reconstruction". They nevertheless welcomed the "reaffirmation of the basic principle of negotiation and commitment to a positive urbanization and deregulation programme to supersede the negative elements of influx control.

"They also welcome the option of a common citizenship accessible to all South Africa's people."

However, Mr Bloom disagreed with the FCI's interpretation of the speech and said there had been only a commitment to "improve" influx control and little relief for citizens of homelands who had already taken independence.

"Mr Botha missed the opportunity to spell out to the people of South Africa what he has in mind in specific terms and an opportunity to convey a sense of reasonableness to the rest of the world.

"In both of these he missed badly."

The National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) described Mr Botha's "anxiously-awaited speech" as a "profound disappointment to all freedom-loving South Africans".

Nafcoc, the chief black business association, said there was nothing in the speech to indicate that South Africa had "crossed the Rubicon" and Mr Botha had missed a glorious opportunity to show South Africa in a better light to the world.

PRESIDENT P W Botha's Durban speech has elicited little enthusiasm among South Africans, while black leaders have warned of rising anger at the prospect of delayed reforms.

One newspaper, **Business Day**, yesterday called in a front-page editorial for Mr Botha to resign and "let someone more capable run the country".

Nobel Peace Prize winner **Bishop Desmond Tutu**, fighting back tears, called for immediate punitive sanctions against South Africa.

Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said Mr Botha planned to "bludgeon blacks into total submission" and the prospects for peaceful change were "virtually nil".

He did not believe there was much point in him joining an Anglican delegation to meet Mr Botha, Bishop Tutu told a press conference in Johannesburg.

'No grounds for amusement'

● The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, **Dr Van Zyl Slabbert**, said Mr Botha had no grounds for the amusement he showed yesterday at the confusion following his speech.

"Given what has happened since, given the state we are now in and the urgency of the expectations about the future, the content and delivery of the speech showed a government completely out of touch with the demands of the moment."

● Mr Botha's speech was a "declaration of war" and an "ultimatum" to the opponents of apartheid, the president of the Azanian People's Organization, **Mr Ishmael Mkhabela**, said.

"If there is anything the speech has achieved, it was to inflame anger and fuel the conflict and crisis in the country," he said.

● It was a pity Mr Botha tried mainly to justify existing policies instead of opening up new perspectives, **Professor Pieter Potgieter**, lecturer in

'Cautious' reaction from US, UK

THERE was a mixed and often disappointed and hostile international reaction to President P W Botha's speech on Thursday

The British and American governments were cautious.

Other nations around the world expressed disappointment in the speech and France, implement specific reforms."

Opposition Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock said the British Government had no sensible choice now but to impose sanctions on South Africa.

In the Reagan administration's only public reaction so far, the National Security Advis-



A collage of yesterday's front pages of London newspapers after President Botha's speech.

... civil-rights leader ... B. Hayden said

16,67 percent.

London bullion dealers said there was a wave of buying last night which led to gold spurting more than $8 — pushing prices to five-month highs.

An increase in operating profit — from R2,2m to R3,4m — for the year ended June was announced yesterday by Mercedes Datakor, supplier of data-processing systems.

31,9 percent increase in sales in the year, the managing director, Mr Nic Frangos, said.

He estimates the South African data-processing industry, dominated by foreign suppli- to be worth R1,4 billion, with local manufacturers accounting for only 4,2 percent (R60m) of this.

In the past 10 years Mercedes Datakor had shifted emphasis from processing and office automation. It had increasingly built its turnover on local products to the point where they now accounted for 60 percent of turnover.

reaction" to the State President's speech on Thursday night, which he thought due to the fact that "uninformed people could not quite grasp the subtleties".

Financial Reporter

ANY sanctions against South Africa will offer export replacement opportunities to entrepreneurs starting their own businesses in the Western Cape, Mr T de Coning, head of the Stellenbosch University unit for small business and entrepreneurship, said yesterday.

Mr De Coning said he had been delighted to hear, in the State President's speech, that R1 billion was to be made available to the Small Business Development Corporation.

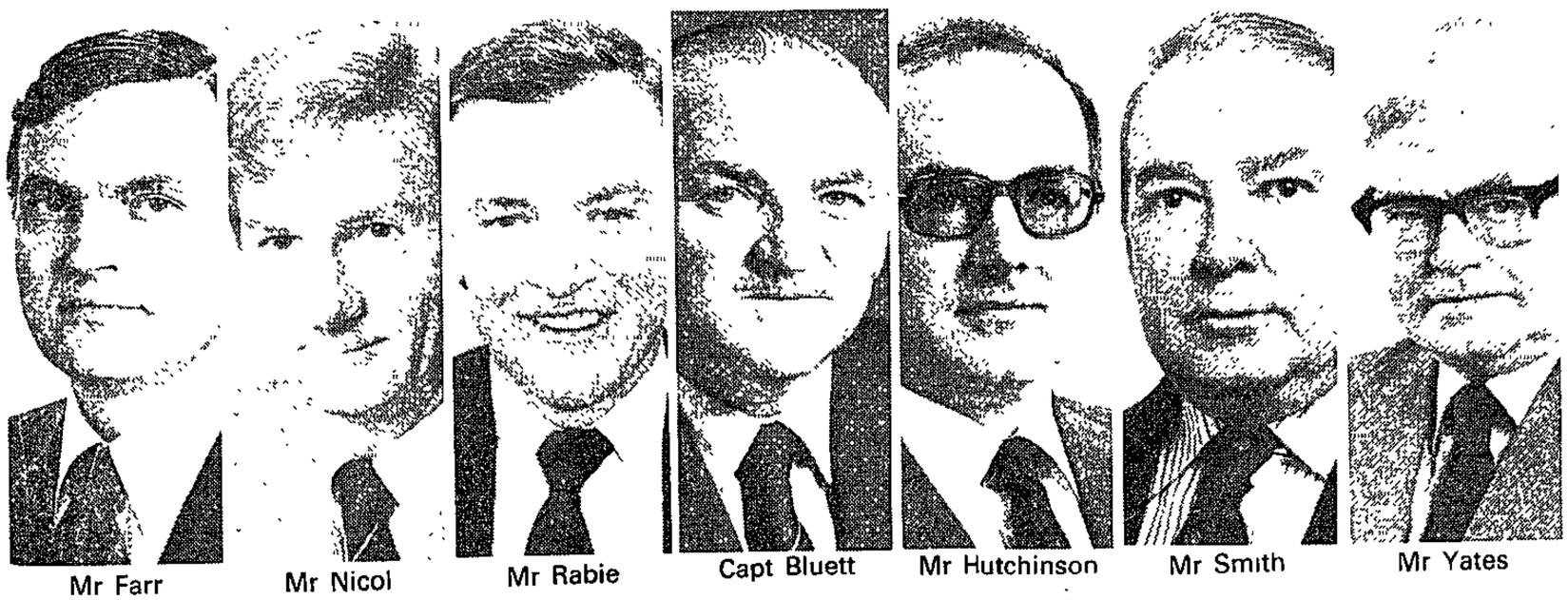
Closing gold

(In $ an ounce)
LONDON:
338,90-339,40
Fixing am: 335,40
Fixing pm: 335,35
ZURICH:
334,00-337,00
(334,00-337,00)

Austria

VIENNA. — Austria's national bank will cut its discount rate to four from 4,5 percent with effect from next monday, a bank spokesman said. — Reuter

London stocks after hours: Blyvoors 5¼, Bracken 175, Driefontein 18¾, E Rand Prop 5½, FS Geduld 18⅝, Grootvlei 5⅝, Harmony Gold 10¾, Leslie Gold 220, Randfont 78½, SA Land Exp 200, Southvaal 31¾, Stilfont 6¾, Venters 7⅛, W Rand Cons 3½, Zandpan 71. — Reuter



Mr Farr | Mr Nicol | Mr Rabie | Capt Bluett | Mr Hutchinson | Mr Smith | Mr Yates

Safmarine has announced changes to its board of directors. New appointees are Mr A Z Farr, Mr G R Nicol and Mr J S Rabie, while former alternate directors, Captain A W Bluett, Mr D E Hutchinson, Mr F H Smith (London) and Mr J H Yates, also become full dire

$ eases against major currencies

LONDON. — The dollar fell against all other major investment currencies in thin, choppy European trading yesterday.

Gold prices rose in response to the dollar's weakness and fears of continued civil unrest in South Africa, bullion dealers said.

The dollar received a modest boost in the day in what dealers said was a mild technical reaction, but dropped back later.

Late in the afternoon, the United States currency was quoted at lower levels across the board. It was also down from last Friday's levels against all other major units.

Dealers in Frankfurt, West Germany, said the market disregarded Thursday's United States economic reports on housing starts and industrial capacity utilization.

Overall, market sentiment for the dollar remains bearish, they said.

Late dollar rates compared with levels in Europe late yesterday, with last Friday's rates in parenthesis:

2,7555 West German marks, down from 2,7680 (2,8375).

2,2615 Swiss francs, down from 2,2755 (2,3480).

8,4350 French francs, down from 8,4475 (8,6725).

3,1085 Dutch guilders, down from 3,1140 (3,1905).

1848,50 Italian lire, down from 1854,50 (1899,50).

1,3530 Canadian dollars, down from 1,3546 (1,3590). — Sapa-Reuter

Slight decline in UK inflation

LONDON. — Britain's annual inflation rate declined by a tenth of a percentage point in July to 6,9 percent, the government announced yesterday.

The figure defied government predictions of a rise for July.

And, coming a day after a 1,25 percent cut in the mortgage interest rate, it spelled good news for Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's publicly expressed hope of trimming inflation to five percent by the end of the year.

The Employment Secretary, Mr Tom King, said. "The turning point has come even earlier than expected, and the annual rate of inflation is now firmly downwards again."

The Employment Department said its retail price index had dropped by 0,2 percent in July, the biggest drop in prices in any month since December 1982.

The main factors were sharp falls in the prices of petrol and fresh vegetables.

Mr King said he expected the effect of the mortgage reductions to feed through quickly to the price index

Printing firm closes Durban operations

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Printing company, Keartlands Nasionale-Litho, is to close its Durban operations at the end of August a spokesman for the company, Mr F Ravenscroft, said yesterday.

He said the company would be closing its Durban plant at the end of August."

Asked about the staff, believed to be about 50 people, Mr Ravenscroft declined to comment.

Robinson & Co sold part of its printing operations in Congella Road

BRIAN PORTER

17/8/85

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Relly demands reforms

Rupert says don't blow last chance

GOVERNMENT must implement genuine and meaningful reforms now or it will lose the chance forever, was yesterday's demand from two of the country's most powerful businessmen — Anglo American's Gavin Relly and Rembrandt's Anton Rupert.

Relly called for power-sharing to be worked out through "genuine negotiations with representatives of all groups", and Rupert told newsmen in Stellenbosch:

"Time has run out. This is government's final opportunity to correct past

PETER HONEY and CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

wrongs and introduce the sort of reforms the country is strongly signalling it needs so urgently."

The millionaire industrialist said government had ignored the warnings of Sharpeville and the Soweto riots in 1976. It could not afford to do the same with the current unrest. A "man of vision" was needed to take the country out of its predicament.

Relly said government should consider altering its basis of support if the present basis precluded negotiations for power-sharing.

The temporary closure of the foreign exchange and stock markets was regrettable, and he wished the authorities success in restoring normality and resuming the move towards freer financial markets.

But the present run on currency was caused by political and not economic factors.

"Any economic measures that the authorities may introduce will have no more than a short to medium-term effect unless they are also accompanied by a new political dispensation," Relly declared.

The reform programme had to be ac-

● To Page 3

celerated — particularly regarding citizenship, influx control, a positive urbanisation policy and the development of a unitary education system, he added.

Rupert earlier told Rembrandt Group's AGM that SA was in the van of a crisis caused mainly by growing unemployment.

"Irrespective of which government is in power in SA, the problem of unemployment will prevail. Stability is only possible once this problem has been solved."

He noted unemployment went hand-in-hand with regulation and he called for the rapid dismantling of the mountain of regulatory controls that were taking their toll in diverting precious time and energy that could have been better used generating products, services, sales and, in the end, jobs.

Rupert observed that unemployment provided an accurate barometer of economic deterioration, and noted that statistics from the Department of Manpower revealed unemployment in SA had increased by 100% within a year.

"In the first seven months of this year SA lost job opportunities at a rate of 8 000 a month. According to official estimates, about 750 000 of the economically-active population is now unemployed," Rupert said.

He subscribed to the unofficial estimates, which put this figure up to about two million.

Rupert said that what was especially disturbing was that there had been no net rise in black employment over the past nine years; yet about 250 000 blacks were entering the labour market annually without hope of finding jobs.

● From Page 1

"Breaking SA free from the cycle of chronic unemployment will take a special effort; a unique challenge which now demands our urgent attention.

"Creating employment should be a primary objective, not merely a by-product of economic growth," Rupert said.

He welcomed the R100m in emergency aid the state put up earlier this year to combat unemployment, but warned that more deep-seated causes of unemployment demanded attention.

Rupert said the founding of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) represented a major development in job creation and the promotion of entrepreneurship in SA.

He observed that the provision of housing for blacks, in particular, was still being hampered by a number of obstacles.

Rupert said he believed the answer to the problems facing Southern Africa still lay in "industrial partnership" — or prosperity shared between the developed and the developing — between the white and other population groups in Southern Africa.

The policy of partnership should not be one of domination, but one which put a high premium on co-operation, regardless of race or colour, and on autonomous development.

"Future prosperity cannot be created by separateness, but indeed by sensible togetherness," Rupert concluded.

A spokesman for the State President's Office said P W Botha had "no comment to make" on the statement last night.

Business urges talks with *all* black leaders

PETER WALLINGTON

ORGANISED commerce and industry yesterday called on government to negotiate with accepted black leaders — including those in jail — to abolish apartheid and to create a common citizenship for all South Africans.

In a hardhitting statement, the leaders committed themselves to "serious negotiation between partners of equal status" and offered a three-point plan for negotiation.

A source close to the initiative said the reference to jailed leaders included negotiating with Nelson Mandela.

The business leaders also said no negotiation was possible "without normalising the security situation through lifting the partial state of emergency".

The statement was issued by the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industries (Nafcoc) and the Urban Foundation (UF).

The organisations say to get credible negotiations with accepted black leaders off the ground, "a formula must be found to allow these leaders to participate in the essential agenda-setting process".

They say the following approach could help break the stalemate:

☐ Prior to formal negotiation, an agenda must be determined. Unless leaders are assured that vital issues will be discussed, they are unlikely to come to the negotiating table.

☐ An effective dialogue aimed at agenda setting can occur only if government accepts an open-ended agenda.

☐ Once the essential agenda points have been cleared, the negotiation process can begin.

'SA is desperate', Slabbert tells UK

From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. —'The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, told the BBC in a telephone interview from Durban yesterday that the situation in South Africa was "desperate" and that he hoped the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, who has arrived here on a rescue mission, had been mandated by President P W Botha to offer international bankers acceptable apartheid reforms.

Dr Slabbert said the whole world had waited for Mr Botha in his Durban speech to give a message that would restore confidence in South Africa, "and unless Dr De Kock has a new message and a promise of substantial reforms, I don't know how he is going to accomplish his mission. I am sure Dr De Kock must have had some kind of brief from the government before he left and I certainly hope will be successful in persuading people that there are going to be fundamental changes.

"But the point is it is not going to help us if Dr De Kock persuades other people that there are going to be fundamental changes. The government has to be able to persuade people in South Africa who want effective reform that they are serious and are going to do something about it."

Business and other pressures on the government were mounting, and "from my party's position we want to see if we can't get organizations, movements and interest groups together and consolidate the pressure on the government to make dramatic changes.

"It is clear to me, as never before, that people who in the past have been fairly low-key in their reaction to government policies are becoming more and more upset and angry."

The violence seen in South Africa could be attributed largely to economic factors, but increasingly the violence was acquiring a political overtone, "and if this escalates we will have a situation of repression from the government and counter-violence from those reacting to the repression."

Industry in bid to settle crisis

JOHANNESBURG. — Organized commerce and industry have put forward a major plan aimed at settling the current economic and political crisis through negotiations with all accepted black leaders — including those in jail.

Assocom, FCI, Nafcoc and the Urban Foundation combined to issue a statement expressing "deep concern" about the current state of affairs.

"No real negotiation is possible without normalizing the security situation through lifting the partial state of emergency as soon as circumstances permit," the statement said.

"Equally essential is a commitment by government that it will deal even-handedly with the accepted leaders of the black community, even if some of these are currently in detention.

"The organizations wish to emphasize that normalizing the South African situation can only come about if all the country's people recognize that they have a shared destiny to be arrived at through serious negotiation between partners of equal negotiating status."

They offered a three-step plan for negotiations, suggesting that:

- The government should state publicly a clear acceptance of an open-ended agenda;
- An agenda be determined before formal negotiation;
- Effective dialogue should begin after cerain basic assurances from the government are given — for instance doing away with racial discrimination.

The statement said South Africa's problems could not be solved by retreating into economic isolation and a controlled economy.

'Survival'

"Our survival depends on making the necessary structural changes to uphold the political, social and economic values pursued by our major trading partners which represent, in essence, the great democracies of the world.

"Should we fail to do so, investors and traders will increasingly shy away from South Africa without any formal laws forcing them to do so."

Of major concern to investors, both foreign and domestic, is political stability coupled with reasonable after-tax returns.

Meanwhile, a further call for an acceleration of the political reform programme Africa was made yesterday by the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly.

Commenting on the current temporary closure of the foreign exchange and stock markets, he expressed the hope that the financial authorities would be successful in restoring normality and in resuming their move to freer financial markets.

'New dispensation'

"However, as the causes for the run on the currency were not economic but political any economic measures that the authorities may introduce will have no more than a short- to medium-term effect unless they are also accompanied by a new political dispensation," he said.

"What is needed for the short-, medium- and long-term health of the country is an acceleration of the reform programme, in particular in regard to citizenship, influx control, a positive urbanization policy and the development of a unitary education system." — Sapa

STATE OF THE NATION

Confrontation grows

Conflict potential deepened this week. UDF patron Allan Boesak was detained under the Internal Security Act, but this seemed unlikely to avert a planned illegal mass protest march to Pollsmoor Prison. As unrest continued, the rand fell to an all-time low of US$0,34 and a confrontation loomed between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his three EEC counterparts who want to visit SA.

But there were two small rays of light: PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's ambitious plan to launch a non-racial "convention alliance" of moderate anti-apartheid groups backed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and some influential businessmen; and Co-operation, Development and Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen's clear statements on government's plans for influx control and black citizenship (see *Face to Face*).

Boesak's arrest may well have unpredictable consequences, despite evidence that, by his defiant attitude, he sought it. Although he was the prime mover behind the planned march to Pollsmoor Prison where Nelson Mandela is held, by the time of going to press it appeared that the march would go ahead against Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's explicit orders. If Boesak was courting arrest in front of the world's media, government has simply obliged by locking him up a day early.

State President P W Botha last weekend warned his opponents "for the last time" that government would brook no further provocation.

The main anti-government groups, including the outlawed ANC, the UDF and Azapo have given Slabbert's ambitious new plan short shrift. Without their participation it seems futile. Yet there was a time, not long ago, when they supported the notion of a convention.

Slabbert is undaunted. He makes the point that the purpose of a national convention is "precisely to differentiate" between those who do not want to renounce violence and those who are prepared to search for peaceful solutions.

But positions have hardened, as Mandela's recent uncompromising rejection of the idea demonstrates.

The UDF's Boesak has also rejected participation in Slabbert's forum so long as Mandela remains imprisoned.

Oddly enough, Slabbert's plan seems to have had the effect of bringing arch-rivals Azapo and UDF closer together. Azapo has consistently rejected the notion of a national convention.

The outcome of this weekend's PFP federal congress in Durban could be crucial to the party's role in helping resolve SA's political crisis. It remains to be seen, however, whether the PFP can overcome internal squabbling and emerge strong enough to regain the rapidly eroding political middle ground.

The main issue facing the PFP congress probably remains participation in the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament now that the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has been scrapped. But debates on at least three other issues will be watched with considerable interest: military conscription and the role of the SADF in the townships; Mandela's rejection of a national convention in favour of an armed struggle; and the PFP's role in the national convention alliance.

Increasing racial polarisation due to continuing unrest and President Botha's failure to commit himself to real reform, have undoubtedly made the PFP's task much harder. Harry Schwarz of Yeoville is again expected to lead a group of conservative members in opposing the ratification of a PFP federal council resolution calling for an end to compulsory military service.

Meanwhile, Pick 'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman has embarked on the creation of a business task force to dispel some of the gloom left by P W Botha's Durban speech.

Ackerman tells the *FM* he feels there are sufficient bodies such as the Urban Foundation, doing their jobs well and he has no intention of creating yet another, but he believes business must do more.

"To my mind there is a State of Emergency in the minds of people, not the one declared by government, but something born out of extreme concern over where we are going," says Ackerman who emphasises that he does not want to assume a political profile.

"I've had so many calls for somebody to show some leadership from business. We are all being lumped together as part of the so-called system."

Ackerman says he is having uphill in getting businessmen to agree on a concerted action programme. He believes, however, that the programme could serve as a useful adjunct to the Buthelezi/Slabbert initiative for a national convention, and reform programmes advocated by organised commerce ■

WHAT YOU DON'T SEE O

With intensive television coverage of conflict in black townships being screened all ov world, SATV has decided it is best that South Africans be protected from such scenes explanation from Auckland Park is that it is in line with their code of ethics and i national interest. White South Africans who rely only on the SABC for the news m forgiven for believing that all is returning to normal. Here are just two instances of wh are missing. Below are some of the 800 Soweto children after their release from p custody. They had been arrested by security forces in raids on schools last week, and ar ing transported back to Diepkloof where they were arrested. On the right is a street sce Duduza near Nigel.



received their prizes at a coronation ball held in a Johanesburg hotel last night.

Botha, Mangope have talks

— by —
Colleen Ryan,
Pretoria Bureau

STAR
31/8/85

The State President, Mr P W Botha, paid a "working visit" to the President of Bophuthatswana, Mr Lucas Mangope, yesterday where the issue of land consolidation was apparently discussed.

At a lunchtime banquet given in his honour after the meeting in Mmabatho, President Botha gave no clue to the outcome of the talks, but stressed the positive relationship which existed between the two states.

The State President thanked Mr Mangope for the warm welcome he had received, but made no mention of the student demonstration outside the government buildings in Mmabatho where the talks were held.

Between 800 and 1 000 students, mainly from the University of Bophuthatswana, and a group of school pupils staged a peaceful demonstration against the visit, waving anti-apartheid banners and singing freedom songs.

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The importance of land consolidation was stressed earlier in the day at a Press conference attended by Bophuthatswana's Foreign Minister, Mr T M Molathwa.

In his address to Mr Mangope, Mr Botha defended Bophuthatswana's right to independence.

"It is only right for your people to be independent," he said.

Referring to calls for an end to apartheid, Mr Botha said he had long rejected any policy which deprived people of their rights.

In his address, President Mangope said Mr Botha was the first leader in South Africa capable of bringing about reform. He urged him to speed up the reform process and to dismantle apartheid.

The two leaders then exchanged gifts — Mr Mangope presented the State President with a grandfather clock made in Bophuthatswana and Mr Botha presented his counterpart with a South African painting.

Mr Botha also announced the gift of 34 tons of milk powder and 20 tons of potatoes to the people of Bophuthatswana

Mr Botha was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, Mr Ben Wilkens.

Earlier the student protest apparently disrupted plans for a pupil guard of honour and drum majorettes to welcome the State President whose helicopter landed away from the protesters, avoiding a possible confrontation.

Students interviewed by *The Star* said they strongly objected to the meeting between the two presidents.

"We don't want him (Mr Botha) to talk to homeland leaders, but to talk to our legitimate leaders like Mandela," said one student.

TS COURTS COURTS COURTS COURTS COURTS COURTS COUR

In 1908 enemies sat down to talk

STAR 31/8/85

by

David Braun,
Political Correspondent

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The hottest topics in political conversations in recent weeks have been negotiation and/or a national convention.

On the one side we have had the Government committing itself to open-ended negotiations with any leaders who reject violence as a means to political ends. Then we heard that Nelson Mandela was reported to have said from his cell in Pollsmoor Prison that it was too late for a national convention or negotiation.

"There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle," he was reported to have told the *Washington Times*.

Both the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the National Forum (NF), the umbrella body for all Black Consciousness organisations, welcomed his view that it was too late for a national convention. They have rejected such a notion on the basis that it would entrench capitalist interests in South Africa.

Then again the Progressive Federal Party, which for years has had the concept of a national convention at the core of its policy, joined forces with kwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to call on all other political groups in the country to form a national convention alliance.

At midweek, when the rand plunged to a new record low and the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was obliged to suspend trading in the currency and on the stock market because of the crippling impact of the country's deteriorating political situation, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert renewed his call for an alliance as being the only realistic way to pull the country out of its "desperate situation".

He and others this week harked back to this country's first national convention which also brought together bitterly opposed enemies.

The convention, which first sat in 1908, had been preceded by a devastating war. This had left a great many Afrikaners in the Transvaal and the Free State virtually destitute, 26 000 Boer women and children had perished in concentration camps and 6 000 Boer men and boys had been killed in action. On the British side, there were close on 22 000 war dead.

In spite of this and major cultural and political differences, emotions had cooled sufficiently in the few years after the war for growing support to unite the four geographical entities into a union of South Africa.

Delegates at a conference of railways and customs decided unanimously that they would request their individual governments to send representatives to a national convention, whose duty it would be to discuss the form the unification should take and to draw up a draft constitution.

English speakers, Afrikaners and different political groups, including government and opposition leaders, were represented among the 33 delegates which gathered for the first meeting of the convention at the Durban City Hall on October 12 1908.

It was unanimously resolved that all the proceedings should be absolutely secret and that no record of any speeches would be made, but that only minutes would be kept.

The National Convention which went on to meet in Cape Town and in Bloemfontein in 1909 is considered by historians to be a remarkable achievement in view of the nature of the issues involved and the often very divergent positions represented by the delegates.

A contentious issue, for example, was the question of franchise for non-whites. The Transvaal and the Free State were implacably opposed to extending the vote to blacks, while the Cape threatened to withdraw from the proceedings if it was not allowed to retain its limited voting rights for people of colour.

The compromise reached was that the existing laws in each colony would remain unchanged until the Union Parliament decided otherwise.

The Cape's non-white franchise was entrenched in the Union Constitution, requiring a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting together to change it.

Another fundamental issue on which compromise was reached was the question of whether the united South Africa should take the form of a union or a federation. The smaller colonies (Free State and Natal) were particularly concerned that they would be dominated by the Transvaal and the Cape in a union.

It was decided to opt for union, but with the compromise that each colony would have a strong provincial government.

The issues and personalities involved in the National Convention of 1908 were naturally completely different to those who would be at such a gathering today.

Nonetheless, the principle of secret bargaining and consensus agreement among the country's various leaders is probably the only peaceful solution left to South Africa.

One thing that is inevitable in this country, to quote a senior Government leader, is peace. Asked if war had not become inevitable, he said that peace was inevitable. The people will talk to each other. Before or after any fighting they will talk.

PFP out to wreck a 'shabby structure'

304A 31/8/85 STAR

by
David Braun,
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The Progressive Federal Party has opted to take part in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament as part of a no-holds-barred strategy to wreck "the shabby structure" from within.

The watershed decision came after an emotional and stormy three-hour debate at the party's federal congress here yesterday.

It places the party at odds with the major extra-parliamentary groups which are opposed to participation in apartheid structures, while many delegates fear the PFP will lose credibility in the black, coloured and Indian population groups as a result.

Fears have also been expressed that PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's call for a national convention alliance may now be in jeopardy as certain groups distance themselves from the decision.

However, PFP leaders, including Dr Slabbert, emphasise the party's decision to take part in the white House of the tricameral Parliament in 1983 has never implied support for the system. Taking part in the "minority houses" of Parliament would not change that stance.

WRECK SYSTEM

The PFP is committed to doing everything at its disposal constitutionally to wreck the system and to scrap the tricameral Parliament. That includes using the available structures with due consideration for the sensitivity of the various population groups which are largely opposed to the system.

The resolution passed by the congress recorded the view that the tricameral Parliament was totally inadequate for the constitutional aspirations of all South Africans, but it reaffirmed the commitment of the party to the strategy of using Parliament as a base from which to fight for:

- The promotion of its principles and policies.
- The elimination of racial discrimination.
- The convening of a national convention.
- The enactment of a new Constitution based on one citizenship for all South Africans free of racial discrimination and domination.

The resolution further charged the leadership of the party to be sensitive to and to take into account practical problems rising from the use of the political structures as well as the duty of the PFP to play a mediating role in politics.

An amendment restricting participation only once substantial support of the communities concerned had been achieved was defeated.

'Bury your differences for alliance'

Political Reporter

DR SLABBERT yesterday repeated his call to people accross the social spectrum to support a 'Convention Alliance' to show there was a tangible and constructive alternative to armed struggle and violent repression.

Dr Slabbert said the country was in crisis and President Botha was 'not up to the challenge of the time'.

'That is why we urgently need a new initiative, an initiative outside of Government,' he said.

The initiative was not just to oppose the Government but to show an alternative between the options of repression and revolution.

He called on businessmen, church leaders, university principals, SRCs, student movements, leaders and spokesman to transcend their differences if they believed in 'a convention where a new constitution for all South Africa's people on a common citizenship, in one country, can be negotiated'.

'When I make that appeal I am not excluding anybody. I direct it to the UDF, churches, universities, political parties — yes, even those in the ANC who still believe there is an alternative to armed violence.'

Dr Slabbert's call was supported by Inkatha secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who was present at the congress yesterday.

The Convention Alliance was announced by Dr Slabbert at an Inkatha youth rally in Ulundi last week.

Condemned

'We will participate in the alliance without any preconditions,' Dr Dhlomo said.

'We will bury whatever political differences we might have had with other participants in the alliance.

'We call on all other groups in South Africa to participate in it. When our future is at stake, we must all stand and be counted.'

He condemned the detention of UDF leaders and the banning of the Congress of South African Students.

'The solution lies in talking to people instead of banning them.'

ANC, business 'to talk'

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress said yesterday it was planning to hold talks soon with a group of South African businessmen on prospects of dismantling apartheid.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said the planned meeting reflected the organization's policy of holding a dialogue with all sections of South African society that favoured the abolition of apartheid.

He declined to name companies or individuals who would be attending the meeting, or say when or where it would be held. But he said it would take place "in the very near future", and that some of the businessmen wanted it to be held in Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

"We are prepared to talk to anyone in South Africa from the business community or any other community if they think by talking to the ANC they will be contributing to dismantling apartheid in South Africa," he said.

Mr Sebina said many South African businessmen now regarded apartheid as an intolerable burden that could lead to economic disaster. The financial turmoil of the past few days, with the rand falling to record lows, strengthened this feeling, he added.

Major South African business organisations yesterday urged the government to talk with black leaders, including those in jail, to resolve the crisis. — Sapa-Reuter

Rand plunges in wake of PW speech

304A

STAR 16/8/85

The rand plummeted to 38,5 United States cents in early trading on the Johannesburg foreign exchange market today — reflecting the bitter disappointment in South Africa and abroad at President Botha's speech last night.

But by noon — after fluctuating during the morning - it had picked up slightly to 40,50. It closed yesterday at 44,50.

While there was little actual trading early today at the 38,5 level, there is no doubt the uncertainty reflected the general sense of confusion in the country.

Against sterling, the rand fell to R3,47. But gold continued to firm and was $335,25 at noon.

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis said the rand drop was temporary emotional reaction to the President's speech. Based on purely economic factors, its strength had to improve, and political considerations would not interfere once the full impact of Mr Botha's speech was understood.

London reacts coolly

President Botha faces renewed local and foreign demands to accelerate the process of internal negotiation in the wake of his commitment last night to hold "give-and-take" talks with the leaders of all South Africa's people.

The United States Government said Mr Botha's speech was important and it wished to study it carefully.

Diplomats at the meeting last night said it was significant that the President had neatly reversed the position and had committed South Africa to an open-ended negotiated future.

Previously, they said, the Government had been criticised for making decisions on behalf of other race groups. Last night Mr Botha said no solution would be forced or prescribed for other groups — any solution had to be negotiated with all people concerned.

Reaction in London ranged from cool to dismissive — with only Mrs Thatcher's government trying to sound vaguely optimistic about what was widely considered to be a crucial moment in South Africa's history.

Calling on the international community to withdraw all support for the apartheid regime and throw their lot in with the people's struggle, the United Democratic Front said Mr Botha had shown himself to be bankrupt of creativity and totally unwilling to address fundamental problems.

Ultimatum

"His speech does not even try to rehabilitate apartheid, as many reformists had hoped," said acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe. "What he ... undertook was to intensify the brutality of the system should this be necessary for its continuation."

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said: "Botha's speech was a naked declaration of war and an ultimatum to the opponents of white racist rule. If there is anything which the speech achieved, it was to inflame and anger and fuel the conflict and crisis in the country. — Political Correspondent, staff reporters, Sapa-Reuter-AP.

● More reaction — See page 13.

ABOUT TURN

304A

SOWETAN

16/8/85

Botha's key speech quashes high hopes

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, copped out of announcing the scrapping of the homelands system following pressure from within the Cabinet, The SOWETAN can reveal.

Mr Botha had widely been expected to announce the scrapping of the whole homelands policy — and foreign governments had even been briefed to that extent.

At the same time, Mr Botha gave no indication yesterday of his intention to release the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, Sapa reported.



PRESIDENT BOTHA

He said that appeals had been made to him from certain international as well as local quarters to release Nelson Mandela from jail.

"I stated in Parliament that if Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objections, I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release."

Mr Botha said the violence of South Africa's enemies was a warning.

"We will not prescribe and we will not demand — to do so would be to take only.

"We will give so that others can also give — towards a better future for each and everyone.

"Secondly — the overriding common denominator is our mutual interest in each other's freedoms and well-being. Our peace and prosperity is indivisible.

"Therefore, the only way forward is through co-operation and co-responsibility," Mr Botha said.

The present systen of influx control was outdated and too costly, Mr Botha said last night.

He said that the Government was considering improvements to the influx system and that the President's Council would report on the matter in the near future.

Influx

"On the question of influx control — I can only say that the present system is outdated and too costly," Mr Botha said.

"As regarded improvements, the Government would need the closer co-operation of the private sector.

"I hope they will stand up and be counted as they did in the past when I called upon them for their co-operation," Mr Botha said.

"But I admit that the acceptance by my gov-

To Page 7 ➔

Curfew in Soweto

3 AUG

STAR

A 10pm to 4am curfew was imposed on Eastern Cape townships and in Soweto, near Johannesburg, from yesterday, SABC radio news reports.

Other stricter control measures, relating to school boycotts and the transportation of petrol, were also extended to Soweto and Alexandra and to several black townships in the Vaal Triangle and the Eastern Cape.

The measures were published in an extraordinary Government Gazette.

They ban all activities on school premises not related to school work.

In the townships concerned no one may transport petrol in a container or tap petrol from any fuel tank. — Sapa.

SOWETAN

16/8/85

Botha

← From Page 1

ernment of the permanence of black communities in urban areas outside the national states means that a solution will have to be found for their legitimate rights.

"The future of these communities and their constitutional arrangements will have to be negotiated with leaders from the national states, as well as from their own ranks.

"I am not prepared to lead white South Africans and other minority groups on a road to abdication and suicide. Destroy white South Africa and our influence, and this country will drift into factional strife, chaos and poverty."

Housing

On housing Mr Botha said: "We have already accepted the principle of ownership rights for blacks in the urban areas outside the national states, just as important is the principle of ownership rights to people in the national states.

"But the State must mainly take responsibility for the infrastructure, such as fresh drinking water, sanitation and roads. The Government intends setting aside R1-billion during the next five years to improve undeveloping towns and cities, not only in metropolitan areas.

"It is my considered opinion that any future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens, should be negotiated.

"But let me point out at once that since South Africa freed itself from colonialism — democracy has already been broadened and millions of people who never had a say in governmental affairs under the British colonial system, have it today.

"I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-



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"But let me point out at once that since South Africa freed itself from colonialism — democracy has already been broadened and millions of people who never had a say in governmental affairs under the British colonial system, have it today.

"I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation.

"I firmly believe that the granting and acceptance of independence by various black peoples within the context of their own statehood, represents a material part of the solution."

He added: "A so-called fourth chamber of parliament is not a practical solution and I do not think responsible people will argue in favour of it. We must rather seek our solutions in the devolution of power."

Reactions from people at a Soweto shebeen were of incredulity. One patron said he still wanted to know what P W had said. Another said he was disappointed and disgusted. The mood of expectation changed to one of disappointment.





Slabbert

'Come together and find the middle ground between repression and revolution'



Russell

'Negotiate with the recognised political leaders for a democratic constitution'



Rupert

'We have to learn from our mistakes and join forces to build a new South Africa'

304A

STAR 30/8/85

Plea for talks

Act immediately to save SA from crisis, Govt urged

Political Staff

Business leaders, churchmen and Opposition politicians are calling on the Government to act immediately to save South Africa from the political, economic and unrest crises.

Calls for negotiated change are coming from a wide spectrum of leading South Africans.

The message is that South Africans of all races and languages must get together now — before it is too late.

The cry for negotiations has been taken up by organised commerce and industry; clergymen from the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, including the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell; and the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert today made a powerful appeal to all elements of South African society to come together and find the middle ground between repression and revolution.

Transcend diff[illegible]

He c[illegible] university teachers and stu[illegible]e ANC, and people of all langu[illegible]urs to transce[illegible]eir differences and unite if they all believed in a national convention where a new constitution for all the country's people on a common citizenship, in one country, could be negotiated.

In Cape Town a statement released following a meeting of church leaders to discuss church unity called on the Government to lift the state of emergency and for all leaders to negotiate for a more just dispensation for South Africa.

And a statement released yesterday by organised commerce and industry bodies and the Urban Foundation put foward a major plan aimed at settling the economic and political crisis through negotiations with all accepted black leaders — including those in jail.



The calls for negotiation and eforms have been added to in eparate addresses by two of the ountry's leading businessmen – Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly and Rembrandt hairman Mr Anton Rupert.

Mr Relly called for acceleration of the political reform programme. "Above all, it is necesary for the Government to nter into genuine negotiations ith representatives of all roups in South Africa for a new olitical system of genuine ower sharing," he said.

Dr Rupert said at his company's annual meeting in Stelenbosch that unemployment as the main cause of South frica's ills.

ound wanting

He said that in the process negotiation now engaging aders in virtually every field South Africa, practices of the ast might readily be weighed nd found wanting.

"Mistakes there certainly ere. We have to learn from ose mistakes and join forces build a new South Africa."

In Durban, opening the bianial federal congress of the FP, Dr Slabbert, in an extraornarily stinging attack on Present Botha, said the man was t up to the challenge of the ne.

Mr Botha was out of touch th his own country and the rnational community. He was t up to the task – and he did t understand the problem.

● See pages 4 and 13.

Garbage, furniture and burnt tyres are strewn across a road in the Cape Peninsula township of Guguletu after sporadic outbreaks of violence this week.

Death toll in riot-torn Cape now stands at 20

CAPE TOWN — Uneasy calm seemed to have settled on Cape Town's troubled townships early today after two days of violent confrontation between police and residents that left at least 20 people dead.

Hundreds more have been hurt — including an estimated 19 policemen — and many buildings and cars have been damaged by fire and gunfire.

Today, security forces barred everyone but residents from entering Guguletu, Manenberg and Mitchell's Plain. At least 110 casualties have been taken to Peninsula hospitals by ambulance and many more by private transport.

A Crossroads clinic reported treating more than 90 injured people.

A correspondent reported that Mitchell's Plain streets were deserted and quiet as dawn broke today, but some residents felt it was "just a lull".

This seemed an accurate assessment as burning tyre barricades sprang up in Manenberg and parts of Mitchell's Plain again this morning and police Casspirs chased groups of people in Kasselsvlei, Bellville South.

In Lansdowne, hundreds of school pupils and students from three teachers' training colleges gathered at about 11 am for a meeting and police were reported to have arrived. Students told a reporter police had said they would take no action if people left the meeting in small groups.

Many incidents were reported in Bellville South and Elsie's River during the night. Police said that in the past two days they had made 66 arrests on various charges including arson and public violence.

Among the incidents reported were:

- An attack on a library in Sabi Road, Manenberg, in which windows were smashed.
- An arson attack at welfare offices in Mitchell's Plain at about 3.30 am. Damage was estimated at R2 000.
- An attack on a school in Manenberg shortly before 4 am.
- Local reporters said the Goodwood fire department was called out twice last night to douse burning tyres and rubbish in Halt Road, Elsies' River.

36 CALLS IN 18 HOURS

The fire tenders were accompanied by police and soldiers to ensure their safety.

A spokesman for Cape Town's central fire station said this morning that when the situation had finally calmed in black and coloured areas last night, the brigade had answered a total of 36 calls in the previous 18 hours.

"Most of the calls were answered by the Mitchell's Plain, Epping and Wynberg fire stations and numerous burning tyres put out."

Staff at the clinic in Crossroads said today they had treated 93 people since the unrest started two days ago. Most had birdshot wounds, but others received treatment after being hit by rubber bullets and batons.

One of the main medical risks found by the staff was internal bleeding caused by the penetration of kidneys and livers by birdshot pellets.

There was chaos on the University of Cape Town's campus at about 5.50 pm yesterday when police firing teargas stormed about 75 students after peak hour picketing on De Waal Drive. Stones were thrown as students fled into nearby university buildings.

Shortly before the heavy police contingent moved in, UCT's principal, Dr Stuart Saunders, informed the picket by megaphone that the police had given them a 15-minute warning to disperse and had threatened to use rifles if they refused to obey. He said police had told him that they had information that some of the students had stones and petrol bombs.

One unseen danger emerged: barbed wire is being strung across roads at neck-level in an attempt to injure the security forces. — Sapa.

Inkatha ready to 'bury differences'

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha would take part in the national convention alliance without preconditions, the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, told the Progressive Federal Party's federal congress here today.

He was reading a message to the congress from the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was in Pretoria for a meeting with European Economic Community ministers.

Dr Dhlomo said Inkatha was prepared to bury whatever political differences it had with other participants in the alliance.

The organisation called on all groups and individuals to take part in it, at a time when the future of the country was at stake. He called on President P W Botha to speed the process of negotiation and deliver a statement of intent.

"At the time when the Government should be negotiating it is detaining people and banning organisations. The solution lies in talking to people instead of banning them."

● Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was unanimously re-elected PFP leader at the congress today. Mr Colin Eglin was unanimously re-elected chairman.

● See Page 17.

Anglo American chief calls for faster political reform

304A 30/8/85 STAR



Mr Gavin Relly . . . economic measures not enough.

A further call for acceleration of the political reform programme in South Africa was made yesterday by Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation.

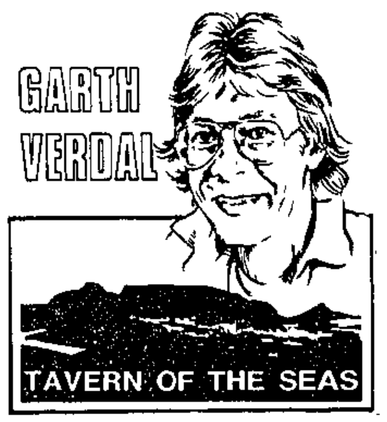
Commenting on the temperory closure of the foreign exchange and stock markets, he expressed the hope that the financial authorities would be successful in restoring normality and in resuming their move to freer financial markets.

"However, as the causes for the run on the currency were not economic but political any economic measures that the authorities may introduce will have no more than a short to medium-term effect unless they are also accompanied by a new political dispensation," he said.

"What is needed for the short, medium and long-term health of the country is an acceleration of the reform programme, in particular in regard to citizenship, influx control, a positive urbanisation policy and the development of a unitary education system.

"Above all, it is necessary for the Government to enter into genuine negotiations with representatives of all groups in South Africa for a new political system of genuine power sharing.

"If the Government's present basis of support precludes such action it will have to secure a wider and different basis of support." — Sapa.



Moby Dick says its Spring

IT must be spring — the whales are back.

I know the usual harbingers are blossoming orchards, fields of daisies, lengthening days and that romantic frisson in the air that makes one feel like a spring hare but I always await the arrival of the whales as the true sign.

That old rhyme, "Spring is sprung, the grass is riz, I wonder where the birdies is" should be re-written for local circumstances to read, "Spring is sprung, the grass is riz, the whales are back about their biz."

Their biz being, of course, having baby whales.

It's calving time and for the next few weeks there are likely to be marvellous sights of whales cruising close to shore, flapping their tails in the air, smacking them into the water and sending water spouts into the air.

You can cry, "That she blows" in the best Moby Dick tradition as you sight your first whale of the new Spring season.

Whale spotting at this time of the year is one of the joys of living in the Cape Peninsula. Their annual return to our shores gives a sense of continuity to life just as other phenomena of Nature do. We might not have cuckoos to herald Spring in these climes but we do have whales.

One Spring night in Llandudno I lay awake anxiously, listening to the smack-smack of a whale tail in the shallows. I knew what was happening in the dark, cold water under the stars and I almost felt like a midwife. Mother whale was delivering her baby.

On another Spring occasion some friends and I were cruising off Simon's Town in their yatch. They were practising for the Cape to Uruguay race, I

PFP CONGRESS

'Let us come together'

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, addressed the party's congress in Durban this morning. This is an extract from his speech.

"IS constitutional reform towards the non-racial democracy which the PFP believes in still possible in South Africa?"

In the light of what this country has been going through and what some have said and predicted about the future of South Africa, this is not a rhetorical question.

International condemnation and scrutiny has never been stronger; for many in the outside world South Africa has become an angry black township surrounded by white police. It is a picture that does not lend itself to rational debate, to considering constitutional initiatives and socio-economic reforms.

And, if one experiences first-hand the anger, frustration and hatred of the present system in those townships, it is not difficult to become sceptical about reform and constitutional politics.

Some talk of us being in a "state of civil war", of the "start of a revolution"; of violence being the only way in which the status quo can be maintained or changed.

Pressures

If any one of these statements is correct, then constitutional reform towards a non-racial democracy is impossible.

If that is so, then change is going to come about in some other way in which a party like the PFP certainly cannot play the role it has tried to play thus far or hopes to continue to do.

Constitutional reform does not mean there will be no violence at all, that extra-parliamentary pressure does not exist, and does not exclude boycotts, strikes, demonstrations and protest.

But it does mean that all the pressures for change can somehow be mediated or channelled through some existing and new institutions to bring about reform which would undercut a violent transformation of the situation in our country.

By definition, constitutional reform needs a constitution to happen, no matter how inadequate. To say that democracy is no longer possible, is to say that negotiation and convention politics in South Africa are dead.

I do not believe or accept this. I say this not out of false optimism or because I wish to delude myself. Like you, I have seen the violence in the townships, from the State as well as the inhabitants; I have heard the angry rhetoric at funerals and protest meetings; I have listened to the demands from countless black spokesmen and experienced first-hand how out of touch some in government are to such pleas.

But it is because and not despite this that I believe constitutional reform has become more possible and urgent than ever before.

The Human Sciences Research Council report, opinion surveys from newspapers and research institutes show that the ideas which we have stood and fought for: freedom of association, one constitution, one citizenship, negotiation for powersharing, have become more not less acceptable amongst whites. Their acceptability among black has never been in question.

It is not coincidental that at a time when what we believe in is becoming more possible, there should be more unrest and instability. The likelihood of reform generates expectations, escalates demands and intensifies frustrations.

Repression

Constitutional reform is not the only thing that has become more possible. So has greater repressive and revolutionary violence. The one can lead to more violent repression of the status quo, the other to more violent attempts at its transformation.

The PFP, at a time when the need for constitutional reform is more urgent and likely, cannot abandon its role in bringing it about when the likelihood of repression and revolution have increased as well.

Repression, revolution or reform — those are the options.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... We need more than protests against apartheid ... We need something tangible and constructive to demonstrate an alternative to show that there is another way.

change. The Government itself encourages contempt for laws by passing, or refusing to repeal, laws which bring "the law" into disrepute.

We must be careful, though, to encourage respect for the law, despite individual laws which fly in the face of any notion of natural justice. We object to laws without justice, but we accept that no justice can be seen to be done without law.

It is this role that I see for the PFP in Parliament. We are not the only ones who say these things in South Africa or outside of its borders, but we are the only ones saying so clearly, consistently and continuously in Parliament.

We must continue to do so and to the extent that our message is heard and accepted in that form, the likelihood for constitutional reform towards a non-racial democracy will increase.

I fail to see how we can make much of a contribution towards such constitutional reform if at the same time we insist on abandoning the instru-

Only Bob Geldof with Live Aid had a greater media hookup internationally.

Presidents and prime ministers were listening to him, cabinets were awaiting his message before they took final decisions on South Africa. And there stood our President waving his finger at a heckler and defiantly shouting "We will not be pushed around". That was the message of hope.

Do we need any clearer demonstration of the fact that this man is not up to the challenge of the time. Is there any clearer demonstration of how out of touch the head of state can be with his own country, and with the international community?

If I said this out of a feeling of personal animosity or hostility, I could be blamed for being just another politician attacking his opponent. The time is too urgent for me to indulge in such pettiness.

I say to you, and to the country the Presi-

It is an alliance which does not compromise any party, individual, or personality in terms of his policies, or principles, except that they all agree that one constitution, based on one citizenship, in one country has to be negotiated at a convention.

It is an alliance that must demonstrate to Government that there are people and organisations of consequence in this country who can negotiate and are willing to negotiate a new South Africa, free of discrimination and domination.

It is an alliance that can demonstrate to those who have decided that the armed struggle is the only way, that people can still negotiate in such a manner as to dismantle apartheid completely, and to create a just society.

Therefore, I want to say to businessmen, who in the past have said that "apartheid must go, but only PW can do it!" Forget about it. Come and support this Alliance so that we show him how it has to be done.

I want to say to church leaders, who in the past have said we need peace, and we need to support this force of peace, and we need a national convention, come and support an alliance like this, let us put our resources together and demonstrate how peace can be achieved in this land.

I want to say to university principals, to SRCs, to student movements, the time to hold seminars about alternatives and options and strategies and tactics is running out. Come and support this Alliance.

I want to say to leaders and spokesmen who have stood hostile towards one another out of personal dislike, personal differences and animosities, an alliance like this does not say you must love one nanother, or even like another. But, it does say the time has come to transcend your differences, if you all believe in a convention where a new constitution for all South Africa's people on a common citizenship, in one country, can be negotiated.

I urge this with all the sincerity and seriousness I can muster.

If those of us who believe in negotiation, if those of us who abhor violence and would like to see it end, if we, at this time, in the history of our country, when the options of repression and violence are jelling at an alarming ate, are found to be sitting on our hands, or wringing them in anguish, without doing anything, if we do not move and show that there is a viable centre that can promote change to dismantle apartheid, we will hand our country to the profiteers of violence and irrationality on a plate. And future generations can then curse us with justification.

When I make this appeal I am not excluding anybody. I direct it to the UDF, to churches, to universities, to political parties, yes, even to those in the ANC, who still believe that there is an alternative to armed violence.

I appeal to black and white, to Afrikaans and English, to all who love this country and would not see its people and its resources destroyed in senseless violence.

Let us come together. We need more than protests against apartheid, declamations and demonstrations of solidarity. Yes, this is also necessary. We need something tangible and constructive to demonstrate an alternative to show that there is another way.

A Convention Alliance does not only say, we oppose apartheid, it also demonstrates what can be done in that opposition. How we can find another way, a way away from it, other than violence or repression.

TELEVISION

Loads of schmaltz for Ol' Blue Eyes

FRANK Sinatra has produced some crashing discords in his career, but at his birthday party of some years ago all was harmony and love.

The Variety Club bash was an extravaganza of schmaltz, laughter and entertainment. Carol Burnett confessed to being the original bobby-soxer and paid warm tribute to Ol' Blue Eyes. She then raised the hem of her elegant black dress to reveal white socks and brown and white lace-ups.

Steve Lawrence and Vic Damone sang a medley of songs that have been Sinatra hits over the past forty years. At the end he said: "Did I really sing all that stuff?".

TONIGHT'S TIP:
Airworlf at 7.09, TV1

Most dramatic tribute came from Richard Burton — the party took place in 1983 — who was in fine voice: "Frank is a giant among the givers of this world and has more than paid rent for the space he occupied on this earth".

For the past several weeks I have tried to watch Whicker's World, but each time the man has been the problem. The subjects he covers and the facts he discovers are fascinating, but I find his presentation a real switch-off.

Once again SABC boobed with their schedules. This time it was not only the official guide which was at fault. After the main news bulletin a list of programmes for the evening appeared on the screen.

First was the weather forecast — it said — at 20.26. Trouble was it was already 20.27 and there were still any number of advertisements to roll before weather man John Earl appeared at 20.30.

If they can't get it right minutes before broadcast, then I don't know when they will.

Suddenly out of the deep a grey whale exploded like a torpedo across our bows, sailed through the air with the greatest of ease and then slowly fell back on its tail with a great splash. It was a magnificent sight, both thrilling and frightening.

A reader phoned from Table View yesterday to report her first sighting of a whale this year and my spirits soared. Spring, at last.

Bumper booze-up

TO stigmatise or not to stigmatise — that is the question.

Sorry, Hamlet, but I didn't think you would mind a little plagiarisation.

A friend has sent me a cutting from an American newspaper showing a rear view photograph of a car in the Midwest city, Oklahoma.

So what, you might say.

It has a bumper sticker on it.

So what, again, bumper stickers abound.

Indeed they do but this one carries a stigma, not some folky greeting or rallying call.

"I Am A Convicted DWI/DUI Driver. Report Any Erratic Driving To The MidWest City Police."

DWI means driving while intoxicated, DUI driving under the influence.

Social crimes such as drunken driving are stigmatised in other countries such as America and one wonders if it wouldn't be a good idea to do the same here — particularly with our appalling drunk-driving statistics.

Whether or not stigmatising crime in this way is a deterrent is open to debate, but I doubt if many people would like to have their falls from sobriety displayed on a bumper sticker for all the world to see.

I have had the most delightful invitation from a female reader "to deviate from my usual route through the Gardens and have a glass of wine" with her one day. Delightful because she hastens to add she has no "ulterior motive", is "pretty long in the tooth", has "an affinity with journalists" and enjoys talking to "intelligent people." Now there's irresistible, gentlewomanly charm for you.

I am escaping from the rat race for a while, to sit and stare into the middle distance on a farm, and colleague Peter Fabricius will be writing this column. Happy reading.

... that constitution appears to be ...

Response

That constitution is the response of those who govern and of those who participate in the structures of government to cope with the pressures of change in our society.

The declaration of a state of emergency; the scale and intensity of unrest in the townships; the statements of credible black leadership is a devastating indictment to the adequacy of that response.

We in the PFP have made it quite clear that given the pressures and demands for reform, the Government's response has been not only inadequate but in fact, counter-productive in many cases — none more so than in the implementation of the new tricameral constitution. Events have completely vindicated our stand in the 1983 referendum.

Does that vindication mean we now no longer have a role to play in bringing about constitutional reform and particularly that the present Government has no capacity for it whatsoever? Does the inadequacy of past attempts at reform make any further attempts futile? This is the tough and fundamental question we have to answer.

If we say "Yes" we must draw a line through our agenda, pull out of Parliament altogether, disband or redefine whatever role we think we can play.

Power base

The PFP is not a movement, alliance, pressure group, protest organisation or single issue campaign.

It is a political party campaigning for electoral support to gain seats in Parliament. Its goal is to use its power base to become the government or to put pressure on the government to call a national convention so that a new constitution for all South Africans can be negotiated free of racism and racial domination.

The very act of calling a convention is a constitutional act performed by the government of the day. Obviously a vast array of different kinds of pressure will be acting on such a government to call a convention and they can come from inside or outside Parliament, or even inside or outside the country.

But if the PFP were that government, it would certainly call such a convention and now that we are not, we have always been determined to bring pressure to bear on the Government to call a convention. To say that constitutional reform towards a non-racial democracy ... choice about which one it has, and continues to pursue. That is why we have been and continue to stay in Parliament.

It is important that the PFP has clarity about its role in Parliament.

● We are there to make it clear that the existing constitution is unacceptable and has to be replaced by a new one negotiated and accepted by the people of this country. If there is to be peace and stability, the tri-cameral Parliament must go! It must be replaced by one constitution, based on one citizenship, in one country.

● The PFP is uncompromisingly committed to voluntary association. We reject the spurious government argument that the existence of ethnic groups is an inescapable reality which constitutional plans have to accommodate, and which control access to resources.

● The PFP is implacably opposed to the use of violence whether from the State or its opponents. We must continue to oppose repressive violence or brutality from any official sources; expose it where it occurs and confront Government with its consequences. But equally, we must unambiguously condemn the violence of the mob; the repulsive and brutal burning and killing of those who disagree with you; indiscriminate acts of terror and intimidation against civilians.

We acknowledge that it is the duty of the State to maintain law and order and to provide stability in times of transition. But if it is done in terms of laws from which no justice can be expected and in terms of extraordinary powers which no-one can call to account, then the very acts of maintaining law and order and stability will generate the violence it is supposed to quell.

The PFP must continue to condemn the one and discourage the other. In the past we have not been afraid of being unpopular with those who govern in condemning violence; so also now we must not be afraid of being unpopular with those who use violence in order to get rid of their opponents.

● The PFP is totally committed to the rule of law. It implies that we believe that the ordinary courts of the land are the best judges of the criminality of actions by citizens. That is why detention without trial, banning, arbitrary arrests and any measure which deliberately circumvents the authority of the courts we regard as a curse upon the peaceful future of us all and a contradiction of civilised government.

Secondly, it implies a respect for laws and the repeal of laws as a means of bringing about ...

Of course the Government can by escalating repression make the instrument completely useless, and those who wish a violent overthrow can likewise neutralise it as well, but I have never understood it to be the role of the PFP to contribute to either process of increasing repression or violence.

If history should show that we were not successful in what we hope to achieve, then at least let it not find the explanation in our own self-destruction.

Is constitutional reform towards a non-racial democracy still possible in South Africa? Yes, I say, it is, must be and will be if violence and bloodshed is not to be the order to the day, and the PFP is determined to do its share in bringing it about.

Let us make no mistake, this crisis we find ourselves in has a central actor, with a supporting cast and an overall director. I am talking about the Nationalist Government.

For decade after decade, from every conceivable quarter, both sympathetic and hostile, the message has been hammered home, time and time again. Apartheid is going to kill the future of everyone in this land, churches, universities, business leaders, politicians, friendly governments, all of them have repeatedly made this point. And they have not listened. Even now, they do not listen.

Bankrupt

Businesses are going bankrupt, people are leaving the country whom we can ill afford to lose, the rand is sliding into oblivion, there is unrest in the townships escalating by the day, and we have yet to hear one cabinet minister from the State President down to the last one, get up on television and clearly say, "We have been wrong. We have to change fundamentally. We have to reach out and talk and negotiate a new future for this country."

Instead, we are treated to gobbledygook and nonsense, which not even they themselves can understand. And nobody epitomises it more clearly and more vividly than the State President himself.

I cannot imagine any time in the history of any country where one individual had such a fantastic opportunity to change the course of his own country and grab the sympathy and the support of the international community as well as the support of the majority of the people over whom he was governing, than when he had to make that speech on that fateful night.

... not up to the task, he does not understand the nature of the problem, and he is out of touch with the demands of the situation. This is a stark, simple fact.

I say this with a deep sense of apprehension and concern at the state of our country.

New initiative

That is why we urgently and desperately need a new initiative. An initiative outside of government; not to just oppose it, not to shout and protest against it.

Yes, that is also necessary, but an initiative which can show an alternative between the two options that are beginning to polarise at an alarming rate.

On the one hand, there are those who are saying there is nothing else to support but the armed struggle and anybody who does not support the armed struggle supports the apartheid Government.

On the other hand, there is the Government itself, who say anybody who does not support the Government must be of necessity supporting the armed struggle.

In other words, one form of violence versus another form of violence. Repression versus revolution. Those are the options being forced upon us by the present circumstances.

I say this is a false choice and we must see to it that it remains one. It is a choice which will be the destruction of everything we hold dear in this land, for both black and white.

It is a choice, if it comes to be the only one, which will destroy both human and physical resources on a scale never imagined before.

We must show that there is a third option. An option in the middle away from violence to change the status quo and away from repression to maintain it.

This is what I have in mind with a Convention Alliance.

It is an alliance of organisations and movements, or personalities and leaders who believe that we can negotiate an alternative to repression and revolution.

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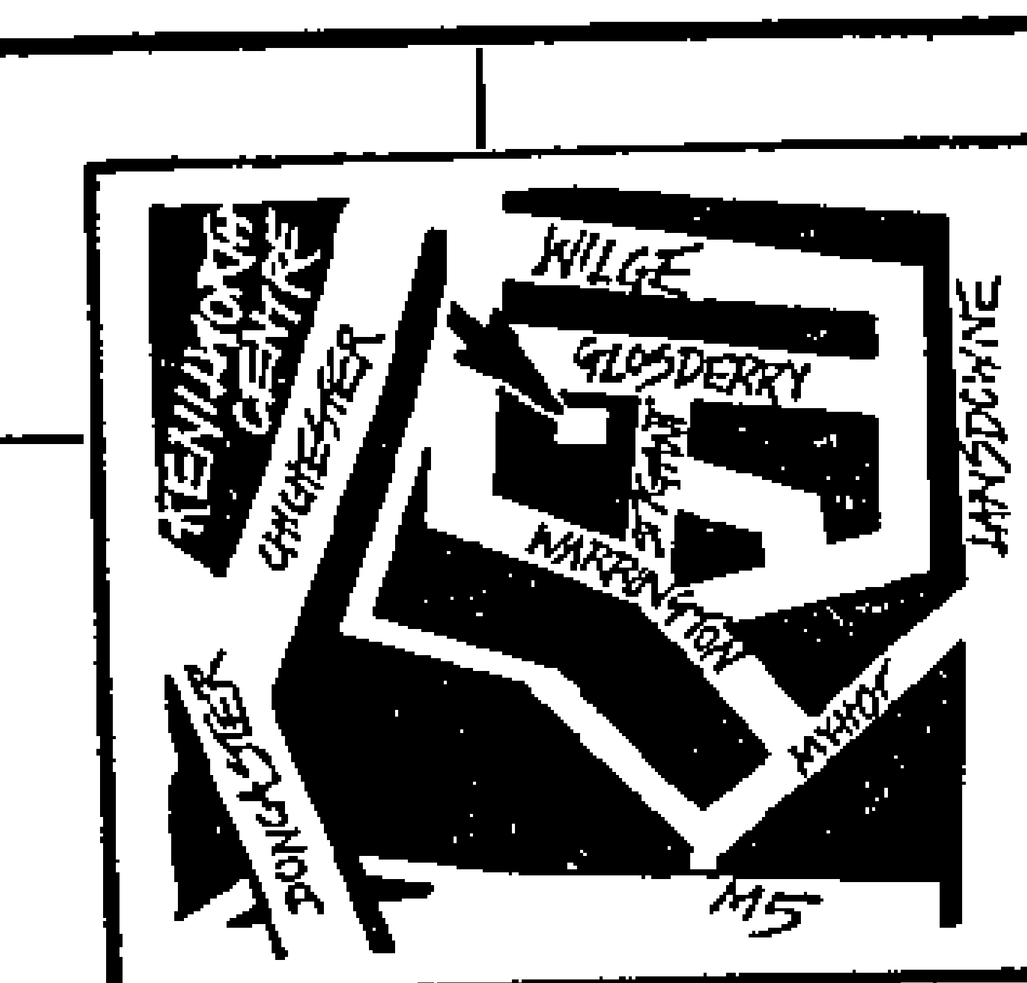

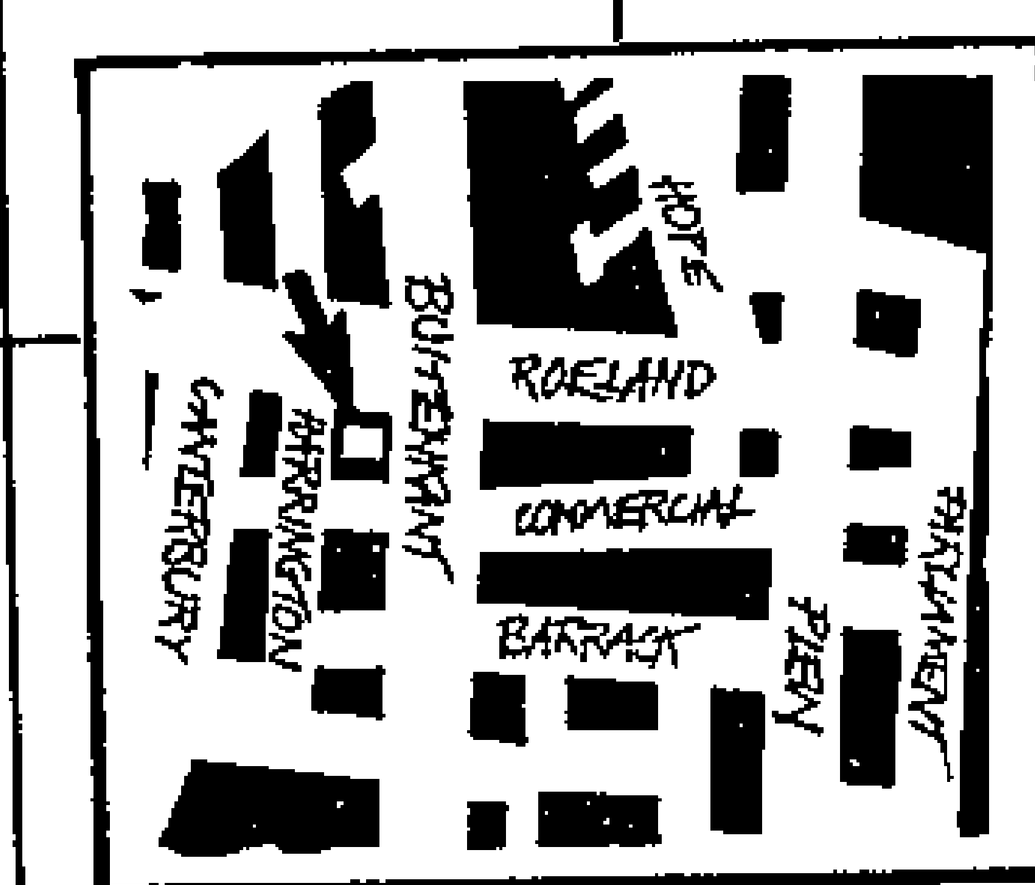

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Struggle surrounds the boy who would be king

3/2 STAR 29/8/85

Beneath the tranquil surface of daily life in pastoral Swaziland, a ruthless struggle is being waged for control of the country's political power. At the hub of it all is a young man, who, between holidays at home, is still a schoolboy in England. GERALD L'ANGE of *The Star's* Africa News Service, reports on the intrigue behind the scenes which any day now is expected to resolve itself.

A ruthless battle for political control of Swaziland that has been fought behind the scenes over the past few years is approaching a decisive point.

The next moves, which could be dramatic, revolve around the enthronement of a schoolboy who now holds Swaziland's future in his hands.

Just when Crown Prince Makhosetive is to be installed as king is the dominant question in Swaziland today, overshadowing the whole political spectrum.

The country is looking to his enthronement to end the power struggle and restore the stability that reigned under his father, the late King Sobhuza II. Some hope he will stamp out the high-level corruption that is alleged to have begun in Sobhuza's ailing last years, without his knowledge.

Many Swazis expect the young king to end the rule of the clique that is alleged to have run the country through the shadowy supreme council of state, the Liqoqo, since Sobhuza's death in 1982. Another scenario is that the clique is working to gain influence over the future king, thereby ensuring its continued control of the government.

Thus the battle is between the clique and those who are anxious to end its hold over the country.

The latter are said to be led by members of the inner circle of the royal family, mainly sons and wives of Sobhuza.

Their aims are said to include the reinstatement as queen regent of Dzeliwe, Sobhuza's senior wife, and the reinstatement of the deposed prime minister, Prince Mabandla. Both are alleged to have been ousted by the clique in its seizure of power after Sobhuza died.

The reformists also want the release of the former police and army commanders and their deputies, as well as the former finance minister, all of whom have been jailed for months without trial on unspecified allegations of treason.

According to sources linked to the royal family, the battle has already been won. They claim that arrangements have already been made for the reinstatement of Prince Mabandla, now in self-imposed exile in Bophuthatswana. It is claimed that he will return to Mbabane in the next few weeks if not days to reclaim the premiership from Prince Bekhimpi.

It is also claimed that agreement has been reached for Makhosetive's mother, Queen Ntombi, to relinquish the queen regency to allow the reinstatement of Queen Dzeliwe.

According to these sources, Prince Makhosetive has insisted on the reinstatement of Queen Dzeliwe and Prince Mabandla before he takes the throne. The same sources support reports of a confrontation at the parliament building last June between Prime Minister Bekhimpi and a large group of Sobhuza's wives and sons.

Declaring that those who dared to oppose the ruling clique had been arrested, the wives are said to have challenged the prime minister to have them arrested too. He did not do so.

The confrontation is seen as the most dramatic manifestation yet of what is said to be growing impatience with the dictatorial rule of the clique.

Swazis are now waiting to see whether the crown prince returns to his exclusive boarding school in England at the end of the school holidays. If he remains in Swaziland it will be taken as a sign that his enthronement is imminent.

If he goes back to school it will mean that those who are predicting an early enthronement and the imminent demise of the ruling clique are either wrong or premature in their forecasting.

One recognised authority on Swazi tradition, Dr J S M Matsebula, former secretary to King Sobhuza, said in an interview in Mbabane that there was no chance of Makhosetive being enthroned in the near future. The crown prince would definitely return to school in England, he said.

Other sources insist, however, that political pressures may well force an early enthronement.

According to some versions of tribal tradition, the crown prince must marry before he can be enthroned. He will have an opportunity to look over the possible candidates for marriage at the annual reed dance on Sunday, when nubile maidens dance in the royal kraal wearing only the briefest of bead skirts.

Like much Swazi tradition, the rules and rituals that dictate the selection and enthronement of the king are buried in lore stored only in the memory of tribal elders. It is not considered necessary for commoners to know about, let alone challenge, these details.

There is no challenge, however, to the choice of Makhosetive as Sobhuza's successor. The old king, who was 83 on his deathbed, is said to have chosen Makhosetive from among his scores of sons to take over the throne and to have communicated his choice to trusted tribal elders.

Speculation about an early enthronement was rife before the crown prince returned home for the school holidays at the beginning of August. It was fuelled by reports of him taking part in a number of rituals that lead up to enthronement.

One was the building of a new royal kraal by the nation's warrior regiments. More dramatic, in imagery if not in fact, was the lion hunt last week to get a ceremonial skin for the new king.

More than any other sign, opponents of the so-called clique are looking for the appointment of a new Liqoqo.

Under tribal tradition the Liqoqo is a strictly advisory body whose function is to help the king make decisions. The present Liqoqo is alleged to have assumed unwarranted powers and to have come under the domination of a small group headed by Prince Mfanasibili and Dr George Msibi. They are said to have a close association with the Liqoqo secretary, Mr Robert Mabila, and Mr Yusuf Patel, a South African-trained lawyer who lives in Swaziland.

Fierce though it might be, the power struggle is being fought largely beneath the tranquil surface of daily life in Swaziland. If it has affected overseas investment or other aspects of the economy the damage is hard to detect.

Politically, however, it overshadows the country.

New alliance backers to be named soon

304A Mercury 29/8/85

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

NEW supporters of the Convention Alliance launched last weekend by the Opposition Leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, are expected to be announced soon.

Who they are is being kept a closely guarded secret at present.

As the first delegates to the Progressive Federal Party's national congress started arriving in Durban last night, there were indications that the names would be announced in the next day or two.

It is understood that the intitial intention was that the plan would be announced during the congress.

Though the Convention Alliance has been denounced by the Government and the ANC, it is clear that its sponsors are determined to press ahead with it.

Dr Slabbert has said that in spite of their opposition, he will work to involve both the Government and the ANC.

The concept has been widely welcomed by extra-parliamentary groups and independent church leaders who have urged the Government to join in multilateral negotiations with recognised black leaders to solve the growing unrest and political future of the country.

The alliance will be an important part of the congress disucssions tomorrow and on Saturday, along with resolutions calling on the PFP to broaden its base and contests seats in the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

The party's federal executive meets today.

Our African Affairs Correspondent writes that the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, has expressed support for Dr Slabbert's initiative.

Mrs Duncan said the Black Sash had maintained for many years that the only solution to South Africa's problems would be the holding of a national convention.

She said Dr Slabbert had called for a resolution to the problem based on one constitution and one citizenship in one country.

This was exactly what was being demanded by blacks.

The call for a convention alliance has attracted strong editorial support from English-language newspapers.

Peaceful change being questioned

Political Reporter

COMMITTED Christians increasingly questioned whether non-violent change in South Africa was possible, Dr Beyers Naude, the secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference in the City about the clashes yesterday, Dr Naude said:

"My deep concern is that if not even peaceful protest is admissable and allowed — then what remains?"

Dr Naude condemned the banning of the black student body — Cosas. This was "a sign to young blacks that very little was left for them".

Churches and religious bodies faced a challenge and had a major responsibility to respond to the people's cries for liberation, he said.

This responsibility had become more onerous than before since many other organizations had been silenced by the government. If they failed to respond they would "become irrelevant".

Message to Mandela

Mrs Dorothy Boesak, wife of the detained president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, read out the message which was to be given to the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, at Pollsmoor Prison yesterday.

The message read in part:

"You and other political leaders are in prison, and the people are not free. While the people are oppressed South Africa will remain in the grip of an escalating cycle of frustration, anger and violence ...

"You and others were imprisoned with a view to stemming the tide of black protest and resistance. This resistance is today more sustained, more intense and more widespread than ever before. The walls of oppression are beginning to crumble.

● Mrs Boesak yesterday said that phone calls of support from actor Bill Cosby and politician Rev Jesse Jackson from America had "made her day".

"Bill Cosby called me at 8am to tell me that he supports our action," she said.

Boesak arrest: 'Govt lost nerve'

LONDON. — The South African crisis dominated television and radio newscasts in Britain and many European countries yesterday with governments strongly condemning the detention of Dr Allan Boesak.

The British Foreign Office said his detention would only complicate opportunities for dialogue with black opposition leaders.

The leading BBC television current-affairs programme, Newsnight, described Dr Boesak's arrest as a provocative action which suggested that the government had lost its nerve on the eve of the planned Pollsmoor march.

The British Government yesterday expressed regret at the decision by the South African authorities to detain Dr Boesak, who is the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We regret the detention of Dr Boesak. We believe that the detention will only make more difficult the dialogue with leaders of the black opposition which we have urged on the South African Government."

'Challenge'

In Paris the French Foreign Ministry said it was viewing the latest developments with deep concern.

The Quay d'Orsay regarded the arrest of Dr Boesak as a "challenge to the international community" which would aggravate tension in South Africa.

A statement said that through the arrest of Dr Boesak the government was "attacking all who fight for a solution to South Africa's problems".

Anti-apartheid action was reported to be spreading dramatically throughout France and included a pro-sanctions march through Paris yesterday.

'Brutal'

● By arresting Dr Boesak and other UDF officials and activists the government had taken "yet another step in the suicidal direction" of eroding peace prospects, the UDF said yesterday.

"We have always stated that apartheid or the preservation thereof in whatever form is and will always be synonymous with violence and the brutal repression of forces opposed to it," the statement issued by its Johannesburg headquarters said.

"The UDF in particular is presently the main target of State repression.

"The South African Government has with the latest arrests of about 27 UDF officials and activists, including the Rev Allan Boesak, taken yet another step in the suicidal direction of eroding any prospects for peace in this country.

"The crisis of the South African state is so deep that detaining leading UDF members and activists only serves to exacerbate rather than ease the situation."

'Turning point'

● The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa said it wished to voice its "strong protest" against the detention of Dr Boesak.

In a statement, the church said Dr Boesak's detention "marks another turning point in the history of South Africa".

"Detaining leaders in order to uphold an unjust situation does not assist in tackling the real issues in our country.

"We call upon the authorities to release Dr Boesak immediately. We can only foresee an escalation of violence and as a church we cannot accept these violent outbreaks in which our people are being killed."

● The detention of Dr Boesak was a matter of deep concern, the Rev Peter Storey, president of the Methodist Church of South Africa, said.

Legal option

Mr Storey said the MCSA had consistently supported the right of aggrieved people to peaceful protest.

"With every legal option closed to them, it is not surprising that the community decided on a non-violent protest march."

He said he feared that the arrest of Dr Boesak would create a more tense situation in the Cape.

On the arrest of the Rev Abel Hendricks, arrested in Cape Town yesterday morning as protesters gathered for an illegal march, Mr Storey said: "I must further protest most strongly at the arrest this morning of the leader of the MCSA in the Cape, Rev Abel Hendricks.

"I understand that Mr Hendricks and other clergy went to the Athlone Stadium with the intention of easing tensions between the security forces and young people who were gathering there. He was arrested on his arrival in the vicinity."

'Very angry'

Mr Storey said the community needed the mature leadership which people like Mr Hendricks could exercise. "If leaders like this are arrested, who is going to give guidance to a very angry people?"

● The Alliance of Black Reformed Clerics of South Africa has condemned the detention of its president, Dr Boesak.

In a statement yesterday, the Alliance said the alliance called upon the authorities to release him and all other political detainees — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

IN MY OPINION

MARTIN LEGASSICK

The way out for whites

Martin Legassick is a leading SA historian currently working in London. This is an abridged version of an article he wrote for the Winter 1985 edition of *Die Suid-Afrikaan*.

History sometimes has a dramatic way of hammering home reality.

Recent events — the township disturbances, the economic crisis and strikes — totally refute the myth that the "threat" to SA is some external Soviet-backed "terrorist" plot. The real issue is the inability of the SA ruling class and its profit system to satisfy the economic and political demands of the black majority. Everywhere there are signs of the growing confidence and power of the organised black working class.

Black workers and youth, because they are the most oppressed and exploited, are in the forefront of responding to this crisis. But white workers and the white middle class will also be confronted with its effects on their lives. The way forward for themselves and their children will become an increasingly urgent question for them too How will they respond?

Endemic inflation, mounting unemployment, and a rising tax burden hit blacks hardest, but are eroding white privilege too. White workers are now increasingly suffering redundancies and short-time working. Inflation and high interest rates are impoverishing the white middle class.

The SA monopolies can export their capital; the upper layers of the white middle class have the resources to emigrate if they choose. But these are not the options for most whites, who have no other home, and whc will have to choose between alternatives posed within SA itself.

In the end, these alternatives will be very stark for lower-class whites: a virtually suicidal course of clinging to privileges based on a bankrupt capitalist system — or, on the other hand, joining with the struggle of the majority for democracy and socialism.

The government, the capitalists and their spokesmen are peddling the belief that there is an alternative: a stable political system under capitalism that represents "black and white interests", but does not base itself on one-person one-vote in a unitary SA.

This is presented to the whites (and to the black middle class) in terms of the "problems of democracy" in a "plural society", and of the "swamping" of existing "identities" and "minority interests" by implementing majority rule.

But the real issue underlying this is that capitalism in SA cannot afford the economic costs of democracy.

The black majority demand democracy. They will not rest content with less But universal (non-racial) franchise can "work" (be stable) on a capitalist basis only when capitalism can offer to a working-class electorate a future of improvement for themselves and their children. Capitalism cannot provide this in SA (and is increasingly unable to do so even in advanced industrial countries).

The same capitalists who appear to be urging on the government to a faster pace of "reform" are those who are criticising the government for "over-spending." But they are much more quiet about where precisely they envisage that cuts could be imposed which could simultaneously satisfy their cry for lower taxes and less government debt *and* alleviate the problems of the poor.

The perspective for the SA economy under capitalism is for increasingly volatile lurches — each one, far from controlling inflation or the unemployment level, adding a new spur to one or the other. This dooms working people, even the most privileged, to a continued relentless assault on living standards, only temporarily interrupted. None of the nostrums of the "monetarists" or the "neo-Keynesians" will halt this.

The only way out lies in the working class organising to take the commanding heights of production into the ownership of the State, under their own democratic control and management, and with a democratic plan for producing on the basis of need, not of profit — and at the same time joining together with workers in a struggle against capitalism internationally.

The insoluble economic contradictions ensure the opening up of a stormy period for white ruling class politics, of confusion, division, splits, and lurches in one direction and another, of which as yet only the beginning has been seen. This has vital implications not only for the black majority in seeking a clear way forward, but for the mass of the whites too.

Especially since the discovery of gold, the capitalists have reinforced racial divisions and have conceded privileges to the whites in SA not, at root, because of a common "sense of identity" (in its search for profits capitalism knows no colour or national boundaries), *but to use whites to defend and maintain the cheap labour system.*

Now, in respect of the whites, the ruling class (big business and the NP government) is faced with a contradiction. In reality, white economic privilege is being steadily eroded — by the limited resources of the capitalist system. But, because the ruling class bases itself on conscripting the whites to the defence of its system of profit, it must disguise this reality in one way or another.

There has been an "academic debate" over whether or not racialism served and is serving interests of capitalism in SA In present conditions the reality is that a racial consciousness constitutes for the white working class a terrible blindfold precluding it from seeing the real source of its problems. It is the system of monopoly capitalism which is strangling the future of SA.

Over the longer term the perspectives which unfold are either the recovery — or, more correctly, the *dis*covery — by the white working class of a class consciousness, of its common interests with the black majority of the working class against the monopolies and those who serve them, or, alternatively, the nightmare of a racial civil war.

On this score no-one could afford illusions. The fostering of white privilege, (even in disguised "pluralist" or "federalist" forms that fool nobody) offers no hope whatever of lasting accommodations but only, in the end, of the mass of the whites ending up in the camp of the most desperate reaction, seeing no way out. And, under the conditions that are unfolding in SA, the unleashing of a racial civil war would consume millions of lives, destroy the production base, and leave a smouldering rubble.

No-one could claim that the emergence of a real class consciousness among the whites will be an easy transition. Yet there exists for white workers the beginnings of an alternative pole of attraction to the misleading promises of the capitalist politicians — lying first and foremost in the independent trade union movement of black workers, now approaching half a million strong, and fiercely committed to non-racialism and to democratic control of their own organisations.

"Reform faster!" say the liberals to Botha, in invoking the spectre of a Treurnicht government. But, in conditions of mounting crisis, it is reformists who have the blindest perspectives. The mass of whites will not be held indefinitely away from, or won back from, Treurnicht (or even worse ultra-right alternatives) by the prospect of more verligte "constitutional schemes."

But contained within the independent trade union movement, and the rallying of the black youth to the movement of the working class, is the possibility of a different answer. It says to whites: "Join with us in the struggle for a new society in which the economic well-being of *all* sections of working people without discrimination can be guaranteed Such a society will be possible only under the democratic rule of the working class, with ownership of the means of production in the hands of the people as a whole. Our ranks are open to you. We welcome you as co-strugglers, just as we shall oppose remorselessly your defence of the bosses, their government, or your special privilege."

Only with a non-racial mass movement for democracy, and majority rule clearly proclaiming this aim, will it be possible to hold off the whites from consolidating, in the end, around a pole of extreme reaction. ■

Call for national forum

W/E ARGUS 17/8/85 B04A

SYBRAND MOSTERT, Weekend Argus reporter

STELLENBOSCH student leaders and the Inkatha Youth Brigade have called for a "national forum" in which all the people of South Africa participate in decisions on structural reform.

"There are more points of agreement between black and white on a peaceful future in this country than differences of opinion," says the chairman of the Stellenbosch Student's Representative Council, Mr Le Roux van der Westhuizen, who jointly chaired the two-day Matie-Inkatha symposium with the leader of the Inkatha delegation, Mr Ntwe Mafole.

"The young Afrikaner must dissect the given facts of the present South Africa and each must decide what values are the most important. From there we must negotiate — that is the only way out."

In the third meeting between the two bodies the following points were agreed on:

- One common citizenship should be granted to all South Africans in one constitution, which must include a bill of rights to protect the civil liberties of minority groups.

- Influx control must be abolished. Positive, orderly urbanisation must be introduced on a non-racial basis.

- The homelands policy is not viable and is unworkable. The physical existence of the homelands, the administrative structures and infrastructure already created through the policy should be utilised for regional administration in a federal state.

- They proposed that the whole decision-making process on structural reform should be done with the joint participation of all people in South Africa within a national forum.

Phlegmatic

Mr van der Westhuizen, a fourth-year student in psychology, is a dour, phlegmatic student leader who looks as though he would be more at home next to the psychologist's couch than on a quasi-political platform.

But his views are perhaps representative of a new stream of thought in Stellenbosch.

"Contact with Inkatha has opened a door for us as Afrikaners to grasp the aspirations of blacks. We have broken the stereotype that each had of the other."

He maintans that apartheid is a failure. 'The young Afrikaner must dissect the given facts of the present South Africa, and each must decide what values are the most important. From there we must negotiate — that is the only way out."

Not tested

He says that his views, and the conclusions reached by fellow members of the SRC in discussion with Inkatha, would be accepted by the majority of students at Stellenbosch — although this is untested.

According to Mr van der Westhuizen, Stellenbosch students, in contrast to those at UCT and UWC who boycotted classes last week in protest against the emergency situation, did not "even think of boycotts" but were are "not apathetic".

"The students are aware of the situation and are concerned. What did UCT and UWC gain by their actions?

'There are alternative strategies reform within the system and our discussions with Inkatha can be seen as an example

'It was Pik' who raised hopes'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Eyebrows have been raised in Western capitals over President P W Botha's accusation that "different sources" deliberately raised expectations about his Durban speech which they knew would not be fulfilled.

President Botha made the accusation in his address in Durban on Thursday night.

Diplomats said yesterday that the principal "source" in raising expectations was the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

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They said that Mr Botha was particularly enthusiastic when he met US, British and West German officials in Vienna last weekend.

In the words of one of them, Mr Botha indicated that President Botha's speech to the Natal congress of the NP would be the most important speech made in South Africa since Union in 1910.

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"I am prepared to prove that the State President said more in his speech than I told those three governments," Mr Botha said.

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"I told those governments, for example, there would be no announcement on influx control. In fact, the President said influx control was antiquated — he made a positive announcement."

The President had formulated "better and clearer" the question of possible black participation in decisions affecting the country.

He agreed "100 per cent" with President Botha's view of the speech as "one of the most important historical occasions" which "lay in the concentration on co-operation between black and white".

Moderate leaders betrayed — Sebe

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Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — President Lennox Sebe yesterday accused State President P W Botha of "betraying" moderate black leaders in Southern Africa.

Speaking at a press conference here he said the South African Government would create problems if they made the moderates become radicals.

"The troubles we have had in the past will seem like a Sunday picnic if they do this," he said.

In a strongly-worded attack on Mr Botha's speech at the National Party congress in Durban on Thursday night, he said the State President had accused the news media of creating expectations he was not prepared to meet

"But for once I have to defend the media. It was not them that created the expectations. It was Mr Botha's government that created expectations."

President Sebe said that after his recent meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, he confidently expected President Botha to deal with the issue of citizenship for blacks.

Briefing mission

"He sent his foreign minister all over the world, including my own office, on a briefing mission to raise expectations. When the moment of truth arrived not even one of the most moderate expectations were met.

"I have been betrayed.

"When Mr Pik Botha visited my office we discussed the citizenship



Chief Lennox Sebe

led to believe were going to emerge from the speech were even raised by President Botha.

"So far did this creation of expectations go that the South African Department of Foreign Affairs arranged the most intensive media follow-up ever for this speech, and the department had itself intervened to make it possible for the SABC to get follow-up reaction from everybody concerned.

"What was called for was a speech from a true statesman. Instead he chose to dabble in party politics, continuously looking over his right shoulder to make sure he had outdated South African thinking behind him."

He accused members of the government of playing "ducks and drakes" while the rest of the country was left in the dark.

"But please note that I say genuine attempts."

He appealed to Mr P W Botha and Mr Pik Botha not to "play games with us".

"Do not play games with the lives of people, because while you are indulging in your political fun and games other people are engaged in a struggle for life and death."

● Meanwhile the Prime Minister of Transkei, Mr George Mantanzima, yesterday said Transkei had no intention of accepting South African citizenship under South Africa's present political dispensation.

Sovereignty

Reacting to Mr Botha's speech on Thursday night, Mr Matanzima said Mr Botha had hinted, among other things, at the possibility of extending South African citizenship to citizens of the independent states, including Transkei.

Mr Matanzima said he must make Transkei's position clear on the issue.

"At our own initiative we sought and obtained independence for Transkei in 1976.

"We have no intention of sacrificing that sovereignty at the altar of political expediency occasioned by the unrest situation in South Africa.

"We encourage Mr P W Botha to proceed with

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"I have been betrayed.

"When Mr Pik Botha visited my office we discussed the citizenship matter and I told my cabinet the question had been raised.

"Ciskei is getting a spill-over from South Africa. The problems have been created in South Africa. But not one of the items we were



Chief Lennox Sebe

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He accused members of the government of playing "ducks and drakes" while the rest of the country was left in the dark.

There were black leaders in Southern Africa who were willing to co-operate with the government in "genuine" attempts to find peaceful solutions for the serious problems facing the subcontinent.

"But please note that I say genuine attempts."

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"We have no intention of sacrificing that sovereignty at the altar of political expediency occasioned by the unrest situation in South Africa.

"We encourage Mr P W Botha to proceed with the determination of the reform process and we are more than willing to participate in negotiations that are geared to scrapping apartheid and bringing about meaningful power sharing," Mr Matanzima said.

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COMMENT

Cape Times 17/8/85 (304A)

...ill grasp the peace baton?

By The Editor

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What can be done? There is no use wringing hands and uttering those futile words: "Something must be done." This is the time for individuals, groups and institutions to prepare for the inevitable national convention that the government refuses to hold. Historian Robin Hallett expresses some stimulating views on this, on a regional basis at least, on page 6 today. We believe others are working, at national level, towards such an end.

What is needed is a great push by ordinary South Africans to get the convention idea under way with the aim of designing an acceptable constitution in which all will share. This initiative need not in any way usurp the function of government. But it cannot be confined to newspaper columns. Action on the ground is needed, not only words.

Someone, somewhere must, without delay, fund and organize an embryonic gathering which will grow into something really powerful, to help fill the vacuum created by government inaction. At present that vacuum is being filled by the merchants of violence, with the case for peace going by default.

The prospect of an on-going convention movement, meeting perfectly legally even if frowned upon by officialdom until the government comes to its senses, and addressing major issues, is an exciting and creative one. In many ways it could up-stage a Parliament that is unable to address reality. It could exercise the government's mind wonderfully, and give people hope. Invitations to attend would, we believe, be readily accepted across the spectrum of South African opinion.

● Who will come forward to take the baton of peace and move South Africa towards a convention? Universities, churches, the Institute of Race Relations, the opposition, the UDF, Inkatha? All of them combined? The need is to get something started. Quickly. This is particularly so after Mr Botha's Durban let-down.

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COMMENT

Cape Times 17/8/85

Who will grasp the peace b

By The Editor

SOUTH AFRICA is bigger than its rulers, and it is time to show it.

While government leaders stand transfixed like rabbits in the beam of an oncoming car, unable effectively to address the affairs of a torn nation, this truth needs stressing.

President Botha failed, in his speech on Thursday night, to break with the basic confines of political separateness. He showed himself, intentions notwithstanding, to be a captive of the past. He let pass the most publicized opportunity given to a South African leader to address the world. Apart from making his foreign minister's overblown expectations look foolish, President Botha undermined the position of moderate blacks by giving them little, if anything, to grasp in these near-desperate times.

Speaking in a city where 65 people had just died in political violence, Mr Botha showed no sense of urgency. His speech was defensive, defiant, uninspired, lightweight. There were some grudging crumbs of reform, such as "improvement" in influx control laws, and vague terms like "participation of all" and "negotiation".

The practical essentials that the country and the world were waiting for — a clear statement of intent on the right to full citizenship for all, including those denied it by Nationalist ideology, meaningful negotiations with authentic black leaders, an end to group areas and the pass laws and the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela — were absent. Mr Botha did not deliver on ANY of these.

What can be done? There is no use wringing hands and uttering those futile words: "Something must be done." This is the time for individuals, groups and institutions to prepare for the inevitable national convention that the government refuses to hold. Historian Robin Hallett expresses some stimulating views on this, on a regional basis at least, on page 6 today. We believe others are working, at national level, towards such an end.

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Heunis: P W gave 'clear and specific direction' on decision-making, citizenship

'Basis of black rights may differ'

304A
STAR
19/8/85



Mr Chris Heunis . . . interpreting the President's speech.

South African citizenship rights for blacks of homelands that did not accept independence would not necessarily be accommodated in the same way as those of other groups, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said last night.

He was commenting in an SABC-TV interview on the State President's statement last week that the nationals of homelands which rejected independence would retain South African citizenship.

Mr Heunis said there was only one kind of citizenship.

Structures

"But that does not imply that the rights of citizenship of all South Africa's citizens will necessarily be accommodated in the same way.

"It might be possible to confer the same rights but the structures and the basis (of those rights) might be different and that is what we have to negotiate."

Mr Heunis said he believed the President, Mr P W Botha, had made "certain very important statements as to future progress in the field of reformation and reform" in his address to the Natal National Party congress in Durban last week.

However, expectations had been raised beforehand which bore no relation to what Mr Botha had said in the past or what he had intended to say in Durban.

Asked what announcements Mr Botha had made in his speech, Mr Heunis said the President had:

- Answered demands for a statement of intent on reform.
- Dealt with the issue of citizenship for black communities.
- Spelled out policy regarding black participation in decision-making affecting their lives and those of other people.
- Addressed the issue of "South Africa divided or undivided".

On the future participation of black communities in decision-making, Mr Heunis said Mr Botha had given "a clear and specific direction that these communities will also be entitled to participate in the decision-making".

Asked if this affected all black people "within the broader boundaries of South Africa", Mr Heunis said: "I'm talking about the people who live within the boundaries of South Africa."

Mr Heunis was asked what the South African Government's attitude would be if independent homelands asked to renounce independence and once more become part of the Republic.

"There is no indication in this specific regard," the Minister replied.

On power-sharing with blacks, Mr Heunis said they were entitled "to take co-responsibility for decision-making affecting their lives — in other words, self-determination — and also in respect of those matters common to all".

This applied not only to the "own" affairs of blacks but to "general affairs" that would affect them, the Minister said.

Asked if the Government's view of power-sharing was the same as that envisaged by the kwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, as a basis for a future constitution, Mr Heunis said he believed Mr Botha's statement would satisfy the chief.

Mr Heunis was also questioned on what aspects of any new dispensation the Government viewed as negotiable and non-negotiable in talks with black leaders.

He said he would rather not comment on what should be excluded from such negotiations but added: "I believe we should work on the concept of open negotiation. The Government has repeatedly stated its position . . . that we do not believe we can maintain stability in South Africa on the basis of a system of one man, one vote on a constitutional basis within a unitary or single-state concept.

"We believe that a constitutional dispensation must reflect the plurality of society. So therefore any options must be within these approaches."

Asked to comment on Mr Botha's rejection of a fourth Chamber of Parliament for blacks and of a one man, one vote system of government, Mr Heunis said not only the Government took this approach. Most political parties and many black leaders accepted that such a system could not be successfully implemented in South Africa.

On speculation about an amalgamation of the Natal and kwaZulu administrations, Mr Heunis said no specific proposals had been put to the Government on a Natal-kwa Zulu plan "acceptable to all communities".

Asked if such a plan could take the form of a federal or confederal system, he said the Natal provincial executive and the kwaZulu Cabinet had proposed to co-operate in the administrative, economic and executive fields.A working group had been formed to discuss the matter.

Mr Heunis was also asked whether the Government would consider including organisations such as the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress, Azapo or the Pan Africanist Congress in talks on a new dispensation.

He said the Government had issued an invitation to all people who renounced violence to join the negotiations.

This invitation "doesn't exclude anybody provided that precondition is met".

He did not agree that negotiations over South Africa's political future had reached a "hiatus." The Government was involved in continuing negotiations with different leaders.

Such talks, which were being held not only with elected leaders, could not take place in the open and had to be kept confidential until consensus was reached. The talks had started "a long time ago" and had gained momentum recently. Mr Heunis said the reform announcements in Mr Botha's speech opening Parliament last January had stemmed from such talks with political, business and other leaders.

Apartheid

Asked if the Government was prepared to give up apartheid, Mr Heunis said Pretoria "accepts the reality of the population structure of South Africa".

Mr Heunis said the Government did not believe in domination by one group of another. "The whole concept of reform is to move away from domination.

"Nobody can seriously think that in bringing about changes we are prepared to exchange one position that is unacceptable for one that's worse," the Minister said.

On unrest and the state of emergency, Mr Heunis said reform was always accompanied by volatile and dangerous conditions as it created rising expectations that could not be met, he said.

However, this did not mean the state of emergency would not be lifted. — Sapa.

SA concedes apartheid must end, Pik tells the Americans

By Ramsay Milne,
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Americans yesterday that South Africa has conceded that apartheid must end and added that President Botha's speech on Thursday had not got the credit it deserved because public expectations had been improperly raised.

But President Reagan's National Security Adviser, Mr Robert McFarlane who met Mr Botha in Vienna in the days leading up to the speech, said he had been led to believe that the address would contain more concessions to blacks.

"The (South African) Government has laboured and produced a cloud," Mr McFarlane said.

"I think the spectrum of possibilities discussed in Vienna included more than was announced last Thursday," Mr McFarlane said. Asked if he was disappointed in the speech, he said: "As long as there's apartheid, we're going to be disappointed."

In what was seen as an effort by both governments to engage in "electronic diplomacy", both Mr Botha and Mr McFarlane, who acted as President Reagan's spokesman in providing the first official United States reaction to President Botha's speech, appeared on the main US TV programmes.

Mr Botha, denying that he had been responsible for the heightened expectations, said that in his view President Botha had gone further than expected.

And Mr McFarlane, despite his expressed disappointment with the speech, said President Botha's call for negotiations on a new constitutional structure was a positive sign.

"I do think it's possible, only possible, that a second-level reflection after a couple of more days may lead these leaders on both sides who are looking into the abyss of massive violence to simply say: 'Does it cost us that much to sit down, challenge this Government, ask them to put their money where their mouth is, turn the rhetoric into reality?'" Mr McFarlane said.

But Mr Botha assured viewers that the South African Government was moving away from apartheid.

"We have accepted that there won't be first-class and second-class citizenship ... we have conceded that ... what more can we do?" Mr Botha asked.

Mr McFarlane said President Reagan still supported "constructive engagement" with South Africa, but added that the Reagan administration was not "cozying up" to the South african Government. Instead it was trying to turn it away from apartheid.

PFP gets set to come out fighting

304A

Mercury 19/8/85

Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party is preparing to embark on an aggressive new role in South African politics at its Federal Congress in Durban next week.

From the congress agenda, it appears the most controversial issues are likely to be the party's participation in the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament, and conscription, which has caused serious tensions in the party.

Last year PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert issued a compromise statement that while the party wanted conscription to be phased out, it also wanted the SADF to be strengthened on a non-racial, professional basis.

One of the most forceful arguments of those wanting an immediate end to conscription will be the Government's use of the SADF in the townships.

An aggressive recruitment and information campaign, along with a drive to raise R10 million in the next three years, are to be officially launched at the congress.

But the issue of whether the party should fight seats in the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament will be hotly debated in the light of the lack of credibility of the tricameral parliament among coloureds and Indians.

Recruiting

Some members argue that since the PFP already participates in the system, it has nothing to lose by expanding into the other houses.

Others believe the party should not go ahead with the move without significant support from the coloured and Indian communities and other groups opposed to apartheid.

The party has started recruiting coloured and Indian members since the abolition of the Political Interference Act and it claims significant success, especially in the Cape.

While the PFP has ruled out mergers with other parties, one resolution calls for negotiations with other parties with constitutions similar to that of its own with a view to forming a political alliance to achieve common objectives.

The party's unofficial contact with extra-parliamentary groups up to now, and possibly in the future, will also be discussed.

And the congress is expected to try to devise initiatives to deal with the unrest.

The economy, the Government's education policies and its manipulation of news are also on the agenda.

The congress will be held at the Royal Hotel on August 30 and 31. About 400 delegates are expected.

We can start right away, Pik tells U S

MERCURY 19/8/85

304A

NEW YORK—Talks with black leaders in South Africa over the implementation of joint responsibility could start immediately, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said here yesterday.

Appearing on a current affairs television programme, *Face the Nation*, Mr Botha said the objective of the talks would be 'to iron out our difficulties, to put our blueprints on the table, to negotiate structures so that we can implement the concept of joint responsibility'.

The Foreign Minister said President Botha's speech at the opening of the Natal congress of the National Party in Durban last week had contained far-reaching, crucial implications for southern Africa.

'Because of expectations which were heightened beyond the realities in this country, my President's statement was not given the credit it should have been.'

Mr Botha continued: 'I appeal to our friends in the Senate and House of Representatives to analyse the speech and see clearly for themselves that we have moved away from a policy that we have followed for many decades; that we have come to accept black participation, and that this must constitute a major change.'

Also interviewed on the programme was Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican [illegible] Johannesburg, Dr Chester [illegible] U S Assistant Secretary [illegible] African Affairs, Senator R[illegible] Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Congressman William Gray III, House of Representatives who has long been in the forefront of the anti-South African campaign in the U S.

Mr Botha angrily rejected a suggestion from the programme's presenter, Fred Graham, that he had 'presided over one of the great governmental public relations fiascos of all time' because of what he told American, British and West German officials in Vienna in advance of the President's statement.

The minister insisted there was far more in the President's statement than he had conveyed to officials in Vienna.

No doubt

Asked at the beginning of the programme about the fact that American sanctions against South Africa now appeared inevitable, Mr Botha responded: 'We will be left with no choice.

'But I have no doubt that, just as in the past, Congress has enacted legislation that it regretted in later years, it will come to regret this legislation.

'It is clearly not in the interests of the U S, it is clearly not in the interests of the people of South Africa, black or white, and it is not in the interests of the neighbouring states.'

Mr Botha added that he did not think it was 'too late for Congress to think again'.

Asked by Mr Graham about a timetable for talks with black leaders, Mr Botha said: 'They can start immediately. They have been invited. There is no time limit. There is no time set. We have said: "Come along and discuss your participation".'

Despair

When Mr Graham said Bishop Tutu was 'in despair' about the President's speech, the Foreign Minister replied: 'That is his opinion and he is entitled to it.

'I am very glad that we live in this country where opposition leaders have the freedom to express disagreement. In the rest of Africa you would not find it at all.

'And if those elements that perpetrate violence in this country were allowed to come to power, Bishop Tutu would not be able to express opinions like that either.'

Durban boardsailors revel in rough, windy conditio

Mr Botha challenged Mr Graham to give the opinions, for example, of President Matanzima. 'He is the leader of 3 000 000

■ FROM PAGE 1

P.T. 8

Tell it to the birds, PW

304A

SOWETIAN 19/8/85

OPINION BY JOE THLOLOE

WHAT a damp squib was Mr P W Botha's speech to the Natal congress of the National Party last Thursday.

The media had predicted a major statement on the future of blacks in this country, and whatever his protestation, Mr Botha also saw this as a major speech. Note his remarks at the end: "I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon. There can be no turning back."

What Rubicon?

He rejected one-man-one-vote as a "simplistic winner-takes-all" political system.

He rejected a fourth chamber in his already tricameral Parliament.

"We must rather seek our solution in the devolution of power," he said.

Negotiate

Mr Botha said he would negotiate with black "leaders" on a "future constitutional dispensation providing for participation by all South African citizens".

The "leaders" he has in mind are "leaders from the national states" and "leaders" of urban communities.

What Mr Botha was saying in very fancy language was that he was going to negotiate with his own creations, members of the black local authorities as well as homeland leaders.

Mr Botha and his government have already prescribed who the leaders of the black community are, and they have already set the boundaries of the negotiations' no one-man-one-vote, and no fourth chamber.

The irony of this is that earlier in his speech he said: "The constitutional future of the black people in South Africa is of such a nature that it must be determined in consultation with those concerened.

"We cannot confirm them with certain final decisions."

Power

The clear implications from Mr Botha's speech are that the Government is going to set up some more "dummy" institutions that appear to give blacks some share in power actually wielded by whites.

The two junior chambers of Parliament, the "coloured" and the "Indian" Chambers, are such dummy institutions.

All that Mr Botha needed to do was to ask himself how many blacks had voted the various homeland governments into office and how many had voted for the members of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa.

It would have been obvious to him that these leaders he wants to negotiate with have no credibility in the black community.

At the congress Mr Botha also announced that in future any homeland that did not want independence would be allowed to remain part of South Africa.

The Government has not turned its back on the idea of "independent" homelands; it is merely accommodating those like KwaZulu that have been baulking at the idea of Pretoria's independence.

The problem with this solution is that many of the small men who head the homeland governments see power and glory in "independence" and they will still continue dragging their people into this state.



President Botha . . . his speech was a damp squib.

Finally, Mr Botha said the present system of influx control is outdated and costly: "The President's Council will probably report on this matter in the near future, while the Government itself is also present considering improvements."

Improvements, really?

No talk of trying to solve the present violent crisis in the country.

A damp squib.

And the Government will continue to blame agitators and the media for the people's anger.

Some Rubicon.

Old-style Nats in a new mood

Cape Times 19/8/85

304A

By BARRY STREEK

IN SPITE of a new mood of realism at last week's Natal congress of the National Party, the basic tenets of racial separation, grand apartheid, remain unchanged.

The government is still explicitly committed to racially separate residential areas and facilities — and there is no suggestion that the official acceptance that black South Africans have a right to political participation will mean a vote for Parliament.

Indeed, the two-day meeting, the first of four provincial Nationalist congresses this year, provided a clear indication of the government's reform programme — and its limits.

The mood of the congress, with delegates enthusiastically applauding the principle of negotiation with all race groups, surprised many observers and journalists.

Just three years previously, the same delegates had backed the government's rejection of the Buthelezi Report, particularly its suggestion that a joint administration of Natal/KwaZulu be instituted.

Yet, last week they clapped when the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, gave his stamp of approval to the plans for negotiating joint structures on joint "economic, administrative and executive levels" for the region.

'Successful reform'

With the Durban bread strike, which affected everyone in the area, just ended and the continuing conflict in the Howick area over the dismissal of BTR Sarmcol workers, as well as the threat of black consumer boycotts, it might well have been popular among conservative white people to attack trade unions, as one delegate, Mr Koos van der Merwe, in fact did.

But the delegates applauded the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, when he said the government's labour policies had been "one of the quickest and most successful reforms" in South Africa and defended the rights of unions to organize workers.

This new mood was perhaps symbolized by the fact that an Anglican priest, the Rev Bill Deeble, opened the congress with prayers, only weeks after the Anglican Synod in Maritzburg had take a strong stand against government race policies.

But, for all the change in mood, the government is not moving away from its basic policies of racial separation — and these preconditions could in fact rule out any meaningful negotiation in South Africa, despite the public commitments of President P W Botha and Mr Heunis.

The Group Areas Act is going to stay. This law, Mr Heunis said, was "an important cornerstone for the acceptance of the concept of self-determination of communities or groups".

The grouping of people "is, and was, always the standpoint of the government".

The Population Registration Act, which racially classifies every South African, was also going to stay, Mr Heunis said.

Indeed, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Badenhorst, told delegates to lay charges with the police if racially-mixed couples were living together in contravention of the Group Areas Act.

And Mr Heunis said there was no talk of the government considering "grey" racially mixed residential areas

Racially separate residential areas are clearly not on the agenda for negotiation, as far as the government is concerned.

Nor is a black vote in Parliament, not even in a fourth chamber, in spite of the official acceptance by President Botha that black South Africans have a right to participate politically on all levels.

Botha 'did cross Rubicon'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has said that last week's speech by President P W Botha was historic for black-white co-operation in South Africa.

In the SATV "News Focus" programme on Friday, Mr Botha said President Botha had described the speech as his manifesto.

"He considers the speech as one of the most important historical occasions — I agree 100 percent with this, it is."

This historical occasion lay in the concentration on co-operation between black and white, Mr Botha said.

"The impression that the President left, what he called his manifesto, namely the basis for co-operation, was this principle, that we accept the permanence of blacks in urban areas.

"You know that for years we thought the flow of blacks to urban areas could be held back. It did not work out like that. It does not help to have illusions and dreams about it," Mr Botha said.

Value

"I'm trying to give you the value, perspective and impact of the President's reason.

"He indicated that we are not forcing the national states to accept independence and that their citizens therefore remain South African citizens.

"He went further to say that the acceptance of South African citizenship and the acceptance of the permanence of urban blacks in South Africa brings you to the next step — and this is their political rights."

The President had said he wanted by means of negotiations to define, with the blacks, these political rights.

"He accepts the important principle, the outstanding principle, something we did not accept before — but is a logical consequence of his announcements in January and April — what he categorically described last night as 'the crossing of the Rubicon', namely that they will participate in decision-making which affects the country as a whole," the Foreign Minister said.

"If you look back in our history, not since Jan van Riebeeck has there been a government south of the Limpopo which accepts this, and the President accepted this.

"This is, in my opinion, a historic step. How it must be done is a case for negotiation," Mr Botha said.

"Let's be honest with each other. The position of the urban black was a major dilemma. We said he could go on to municipal status, and maybe a little more than municipal status.

"But until recently we had it all worked out where the political aspirations could be exercised of this community, which we acknowledge is permanently in our midst, and our President comes and offers participation."

Leaks

Q: Mr Botha also said so in January, and used the words "tot op die hoogste vlak oor sake wat hulle raak". What is new?

A: You must read his speech as a whole and add the impression left by all the facets of this one principle. It is clear he now offers a basis for negotiation, and he said he's crossing the Rubicon, there's no turning back, it's an invitation to participate on this important new basis.

Mr Botha was asked about "leaks" of his discussions overseas, one of which alleged that he said that the "independent" black states could relinquish their independence and return to South African citizenship.

The South African Government was "very careful" not to involve itself in the internal affairs of states it recognized as independent, Mr Botha replied. It also did not make public statements on their citizenship, which was an internal affair.

However, he said, the door was "open for negotiations" if any of the governments approached South Africa on such an issue. South Africa would listen sympathetically.

If these governments said they were in favour of South African citizenship instead of independence, this was "negotiable".

"If we say we cannot force states which are not yet independent to accept independence then, logically, we cannot refuse a state which we have granted independence to give this up."

Consensus

Mr Botha said it was correct to say that those blacks in South Africa who were not yet citizens of an independent national state were full and permanent South African citizens.

Asked what this citizenship meant, the Foreign Minister said this had to be negotiated.

"There will not be first-class and second-class citizenship. On a community basis there will be equal exercising of rights," he said.

"This is not to say that one community will have more rights than another, but if all communities, through their leaders, participate and are represented in decisions which affect each community and the country as a whole, then you have achieved consensus."

Mr Botha said that with a little goodwill and a spirit of give and take, blacks, whites, coloured people and Indians would reach a point of broad consensus on the exercising of political power "in a way in which everyone's political aspirations will be satisfied".

"But naturally, if you have decided you are not interested in sharing with the whites, but in taking away the participation of the whites, then there's no alternative except conflict."

Referring to the difficulty of speaking to the country's black leaders, Mr Botha said: "The whole world speaks of the leaders. Bishop Tutu has his own concept of leaders ... President Matanzima has his concept. The government also finds itself in the unenviable position that we have a tendency to speak to certain leaders, while others refuse to speak with us.

'Destruction'

"I invite the critics to assemble a corps of leaders for a change. We don't say it's impossible, we do do it on a bilateral basis. I and colleagues informally and confidentially meet black leaders to exchange ideas and hold discussions.

"If everyone agrees with one man, one vote, this can only bring destruction," he said.

Important black leaders agreed that they wanted to participate in decision-making, and felt that the fact that whites, Indians and coloured people were sitting together and formulating laws for the country was "an insult".

"It was not meant as an insult. Now we say we will all participate, how do we negotiate? If this is not recognition of a person's humanity, then I don't know what is recognition," he said.

Asked whether the government had time, Mr Botha replied: "Philosophically speaking, time is a neutral concept. That's a fact.

"You buy time and you make it. We have made time with the President's announcement and with the proposals we made." — Sapa

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PW's Natal speech: Ministers elaborate

ARG 45 19/8/85 (3042)

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

TWO ministers have tried to "flesh out" President P W Botha's Durban speech with more details following worldwide disappointment.

Following the disappointment, partly caused by high expectations about the speech, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, have elaborated.

In an American television programme Mr Botha indicated that negotiations with black leaders about the principle of "joint responsibility" could start soon.

DISMISSED

He dismissed suggestions about a bloody revolution in South Africa and said there were enough leaders in the country who realised that this would be disastrous.

Mr Botha said the principle of common citizenship for all South Africans had been accepted. No black homeland would be forced to accept independence and there would not be first-class and second-class citizens.

Mr Heunis said in an SATV interview that South African citizenship rights for homeland blacks would not necessarily be handled in the same way, although there was only one kind of citizenship.

Mr Heunis also referred to four things the President had dealt with in his Durban speech:

- He answered demands that he should make a declaration of intent about citizenship rights;
- He spelt out the question of citizenship rights for black communities;
- He spelt out policy on black participation in decision-making on matters affecting their own lives and those of others;
- He dealt with the question of a divided or an undivided South Africa.

President Botha may give further details of the Government's reform plans when he makes another speech this week.

He will open a conference of the National Party's Transvaal youth movement in Pretoria on Friday.

According to Nationalist sources it was never Mr Botha's intention to spell out a whole reform package in his Durban speech last week.

Weekend speculation that President Botha had backed off unveiling a dramatic plan for an undivided South Africa following pressure from conservative quarters was firmly dismissed today.

According to one minister there had been no dissent about the speech in the Cabinet. The detailed speech was not discussed in the Cabinet.

One constitution and one citizenship is theme

PFP congress will focus on change to multiracial party

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party's intention to broaden its base — now that the prohibition on multiracial parties has been scrapped — and sharp criticism of the present constitutional system will be among the main features of the party's biennial federal congress.

Special attention will also be given to the continuing unrest and the state of emergency.

The congress, to be held in Durban on August 30 and 31, has as its theme "One country, one constitution, one citizenship".

In a resolution submitted by the party's federal executive it is urged to continually broaden its base in all sections of the South African community without merging with any other political party.

ALLIANCE

Instead negotiations with other parties with constitutions similar to that of the PFP with a view to forming a political alliance on common aims is advised.

Other resolutions describe the present tricameral Parliament as "totally inadequate" and pledge the PFP's commitment to use Parliament to fight for the convening of a national convention and a new constitution based on one citizenship for all.

The congress will be asked to call on the Government to lift the state of emergency and immediately address the causes of the unrest through negotiation.

The Government will be asked to appoint an independent commission to investigate mysterious deaths and disappearances related to the unrest and the alleged presence of sinister forces promoting violence.

Black 'value system' different'

WASHINGTON. — South Africa's Ambassador-designate to the United States, Mr Herbert Beukes, said yesterday that whites would not give the black majority one-man, one-vote status in South Africa because blacks have a different "value system".

In an interview, Mr Beukes insisted blacks could attain political equality. He said the South African Government had made a firm commitment to dismantle apartheid laws, and "one after the other they have fallen like dominoes".

"We are committed to political equality, to justice and to a system that will be as fair as we can possibly develop in that country within that diversity that we have," he said.

"Whether we find that system, I don't know."

He agreed that granting of political rights was the remaining big issue — and the most fundamental to ending apartheid — but said it should come as no surprise that the President, Mr P W Botha, ruled out one-man, one-vote for the 24 million blacks in South Africa, even though the five million whites enjoy that privilege. — Sapa-AP

Ministers can 'kick back' at reform — Treurnicht

ANDRE MEYEROWITZ
Political Staff

PRETORIA — Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, has hinted at divisions in the Cabinet by publicly inviting Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Louis le Grange and Mr Hendrik Schoeman to "kick back against" President P W Botha's reform policies.

Dr Treurnicht mentioned the three senior ministers by name at the opening of the CP's Transvaal congress last night, virtually asking them to join the Conservative Party in fighting for a return of old-style apartheid.

By doing so he highlighted speculation in political circles in recent days that the ministers had restrained Mr Botha from announcing more substantive reforms in his "manifesto" speech in Durban last week.



Mr F W de Klerk



Mr Louis le Grange



Mr Hendrik Schoeman

The three have said they back Mr Botha and his reform ideas to the hilt. Other Government sources also dismiss talk of Cabinet dissension as nonsense.

But the three are regarded by observers, correctly or not, as being clearly to the right of such reformists as Mr Pik Botha and Mr Chris Heunis — and speculation about divisions persist.

Dr Treurnicht, addressing a packed Pretoria City Hall, extended his invitation also to rank-and-file Nationalist MPs who might not like the idea of power-sharing or "joint responsibility".

He said the hour of choice for white South Africans was at hand. The "disastrous" course of the National Party had to be changed if whites were to avoid either succumbing or seeing the most serious confrontation in the country's history.

The CP offered an alternative of political partition on a territorial basis which, Dr Treurnicht said, was the foundation for sound group relations and "healthy nation-building".

Whites need not have doubts about their future — the battle to restore white self-determination had only just begun.

"We will not allow the Oppenheimers and American pressure groups to create a pot pourri of people or to establish a non-racial economic empire on the ruins of a white Christian culture," he said.

"WHITE FATHERLAND"

Dr Treurnicht, who delivered an unusually large part of his address in English, said he preferred to talk about a white fatherland rather than an exclusive "boerestaat", which ignored the rights of English-speaking South Africans and would "hamper the necessary co-operation for an unfettered white future".

The CP leader said the Herstigte Nasionale Party had rejected another overture for unity between the right-wing parties.

Wide gap between Government and people, say Church leaders

The Argus, Tuesday August 20 1985

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three church delegations have expressed widely different reactions to their meetings with the State President to discuss the situation in South Africa.

The dominating view of the delegation headed by Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell, was that there was a wide gap between the perceptions of the Government and those of the black community.

While President Botha clearly believed he was leading the country on the road to reform, the people in the townships felt no real change was taking place, members of the delegation said.

Message

Archbishop Russell was accompanied by the president of the Methodist Church, the Rev Peter Storey, the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, the moderator of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev Alan Maker, the Rev Stanley Mogoba and the Rev Ernest Baartman of the Methodist Church, Catholic Bishop Peter Buthelezi and the Rev E du Plessis and the Rev B K Dludla of the Congregational Church.

The delegation hoped Mr Botha heard the message that there was a desperate need for action but Mr Storey said: "We are not sure he did."

A Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) delegation, however, left its meeting with Mr Botha feeling that the Government was in control of the situation.

The NGK was worried about the violence, intimidation and destruction of property in the townships and approached the President to gain "first-hand knowledge" of what was going on in the country, said the Moderator of the NGK, the Rev Kobus Potgieter.

The President promised his delegation that "Christian principles will be upheld" when the Government needs to take action in the unrest.

Making video

The United States Baptist minister, the Rev Jerry Falwell, and his delegation were also satisfied with the outcome of their discussions with Mr Botha.

Mr Falwell said he was convinced the South African Government was making progress and reform was taking place.

Mr Falwell and his team are making two hour-long video programmes of interviews with people in South Africa opposed to disinvestment. He said they would be broadcast on religious television channels before the US Senate voted on sanctions.

He would also launch a campaign for reinvestment in South Africa.

Mr Falwell said he was told by Mr Botha that apartheid was not the Government policy — apartheid was a social reality. The Government's policy was reform.

Mr Storey said Mr Falwell's perception of the situation in South Africa was wrong

Ill-treatment

"He hasn't the slightest idea of what goes on in the hearts and minds of South Africa's people," he said.

● Allegations of ill-treatment of people by members of the security forces are to be thoroughly investigated, President Botha said last night.

In a short statement released after the meetings with church leaders, Mr Botha said a few allegations of ill-treatment of people by members of the security forces had been brought to his attention.

"I have already given instructions to the Minister of Justice and steps are under way to thoroughly investigate the few allegations so that a report can be submitted to me soon," he said.

A choice of new roles for divisional councils — Louw

Staff Reporter

DIVISIONAL councils could either disappear or take over "own affairs" for whites in their areas when regional services councils came into effect.

The Administrator, Mr Gene Louw, stated this at the opening of new Swartland Divisional Council buildings in Moorreesburg today.

"General affairs" functions of RSCs would clash with existing divisional councils' functions, especially in the important area of road construction and maintenance, said Mr Louw.



Mr Louw

But the most important aspect of RSCs was that they were designed to include and represent all population groups.

"One of two things could happen to divisional councils. They could disappear and be absorbed into RSCs which looked after 'general affairs' of all population groups in their jurisdiction, or divisional councils could remain local authorities for the interests of whites' 'own affairs'.

"The good news is that I can hardly foresee divisional councils just vanishing," said Mr Louw.

Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, had announced that the first five or six RSCs should be operating by January 1 next year or soon after that, said Mr Louw.

Two would be in the Cape — in the metropolitain areas of the Peninsula and the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage districts.

"The ideal would naturally be to have RSCs cover the whole province, although such a process could obviously take some time," Mr Louw said.

'Apartheid must end'

SOWETAN 20/8/85

NEW YORK — The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told Americans on Sunday that South Africa has conceded that apartheid must end and added that President Botha's speech last Thursday did not get the credit it deserved because public expectations had been improperly raised.

SOWETAN Correspondent

But President Reagan's National Security Adviser, Mr Robert C McFarlane, who met Mr Botha in Vienna in the day leading up to the speech, said he had been led to believe that the address would contain more concessions to South Africa's blacks.

I think the spectrum of possibilities discussed in Vienna included more than was announced last Thursday," Mr McFarlane said. Asked if he was disappointed in the speech, he said, as long as there's apartheid, we're going to be disappointed.

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Issues 'not addressed by Botha'

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG — A high-powered nine-man delegation of clergymen who held a two-hour meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha, and senior cabinet ministers in Pretoria yesterday, emerged uncheered by Mr Botha's response.

Delegates told a press conference after the meeting that Mr Botha had failed to address any of the issues raised by the delegation in a memorandum.

Sapa reports that last night Mr Botha said he would be holding further talks with the leaders.

A number of allegations of ill-treatment of people by members of the security forces had also been brought to his attention during the meetings, and he had already given instructions to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, for these to be investigated and for a report to be submitted "soon".

Perceptions of reality

The Rev Peter Storey, president of the Methodist Conference, said it was clear from the meeting that there were two clocks in South Africa — "one at five past midnight and one long before midnight".

However, said the Most Rev Denis Hurley, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the two perceptions of South African reality were so different that they hardly started to communicate at all.

The Most Rev Philip Russell, Archbishop of Cape Town, said that while the State President believed he was leading the country on the road to change, this was not the perception of the black community.

The delegation met Mr Botha without Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, who pulled out at the last minute after Mr Botha's speech on Thursday.

The clerics' four demands were: That the government announce its intention to dismantle apartheid, that a national convention be called, the right of the black people to select their own leaders for negotiation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Political leaders in detention should be released and others in exile be invited to return and they had recommended the unconditional release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

They were convinced the political risks would be outweighed "by the measure of goodwill and support you would find flowing from quarters who have been implacably opposed to your policies".

Million-dollar campaign

The meeting followed an earlier meeting between Mr Botha and the right-wing Moral Majority Christian Movement, led by Dr Jerry Falwell.

Dr Falwell announced that he would return to the United States to mount a million-dollar campaign to fight disinvestment legislation.

Mr Storey said he did not believe Mr Falwell had "done a service to the cause of justice and change in this country by taking the stand he has".

● Sapa reports that the Moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Syndod, Ds Kobus Potgieter, said he and his executive received an assurance from Mr Botha that the state of emergency would not continue longer than was necessary.

He expressed his satisfaction with the meeting yesterday and said the government appeared to be fully in control of the emergency situation.



Senior churchmen leave the Union Buildings in Pretoria after meeting Mr P W Botha, yesterday. From left are the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Archbishop of Durban, the Rev Peter Storey, president of the Methodist Rev Allan Maker, moderator of the Presbyterian church, and the Most Archbishop of Cape Town.

Major changes could alter course of party

PFP is divided on its role in the three Chambers

304A

STAR 21/8/85

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Progressive Federal Party is considering major changes to its constitution which could alter the future course of the party.

Since the scrapping of the Prohibition on Political Interference Act, the PFP has been recruiting members of other race groups and will have to decide at its federal congress in Durban at the end of the month whether it will contest elections for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

On the congress agenda, released yesterday, eight resolutions deal with issues reflecting the debate under way in the party on whether it should become involved in all three houses of Parliament.

In a number of the resolutions the congress is asked to resolve that elections will not be fought in the other two houses until there is substantial support from the Indian and coloured communities.

The resolutions reflect the differing opinions on the issue, with some members wanting to contest elections without qualification on the grounds that if the PFP were in the system already it would make no difference if it contested all seats.

Another group feels the PFP could do itself tremendous damage if it went ahead in contesting seats in the other two houses if there was not substantial support from the Indian and coloured communities.

This would include approval from organisations such as the United Democratic Front, which has so far been vociferous in its opposition to PFP participation in elections for the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

Another group, which includes party leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert, feels the congress should take a decision in principle to participate, but should investigate the issue further before going ahead.

The issue of links with other political parties is another point of debate that will have to be settled.

The party's federal executive has submitted a resolution saying it should broaden its base by recruiting new members and not by merging with other parties.

But the Florida constituency council calls for negotiations with parties with constitutions similar to that of the PFP "with a view to forming a political alliance to achieve their common aims and objectives".

The Johannesburg North constituency has also submitted a resolution asking the party leadership to meet not only representatives of parties represented within Parliament, but "also groups who oppose the tricameral system and are outside the present constitutional framework".

PFP draft row likely to blow up again

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The on-going row in the Progressive Federal Party over military conscription is likely to blow up again at its federal congress at the end of the month because of the use of troops to control the current unrest.

Resolutions have been submitted to the congress, which is to meet in Durban at the end of the month, calling for an immediate end to military conscription.

SUPPRESS

The Western Cape Young Progressives base their call on the Government's use of troops to suppress "civil action against apartheid" which had resulted in the majority of South Africans seeing the South African Defence Force as an "oppressive military extension of the Nationalists' apartheid system."

The Pretoria East constituency has asked for the PFP caucus to submit a private Member's Bill to Parliament which would offer alternatives to military service.

The PFP Federal Council has submitted a resolution restating PFP policy that compulsory military conscription should be ended by maintaining a professional army.

Numerous resolutions have been submitted to the congress dealing with the current unrest, including a call for a Government-appointed commission of inquiry into the "mysterious deaths and disappearances related to the unrest and the alleged presence of sinister forces promoting violence."

Commissions of inquiry are also sought into all aspects of the current unrest as well as police accountability for their actions and into the contradictory statements issued by the police.

Urban Foundation's agenda for reform

PETER HONEY

THE Urban Foundation has put forward a "reform agenda" which it believes is a prerequisite for orderly political, social and economic change in South Africa.

It places the foundation squarely in the camp of business-orientated organisations which favour negotiations for power-sharing with black leaders and a federal constitution.

The foundation's executive chairman, Jan Steyn, urges government to take the lead, but concludes that the private sector shares the need "to go far beyond its present views of social responsibility" in helping to bring about a new order in the country.

"All South Africans should be reassured that we are not embarking on a course of action which will end in seige and repression," he says.

The agenda calls for:

- Government to end the state of emergency as soon as possible;
- The interim appointment of respected ombudsmen in each of the 36 emergency districts to handle allegations of Security Force malpractices;
- The creation of a framework for legitimate negotiation with black leaders, and an open-ended agenda which would include the principle of power-sharing at central government level, and the possibility of a federal element in a future constitutional dispensation for all people in the country;

Deregulation

- A commitment to abolish influx control by a fixed date — possibly June 1986 — as part of a vigorous urban development policy;
- The establishment of a single education ministry and a clear commitment to implementing the recommendations of the De Lange Committee;
- Deregulation of small businesses "with immediate effect";
- An end to forced removals;
- The right to common citizenship for all South Africans; and
- The introduction of remission of sentences for "political" prisoners.

There was a serious need for a structural process through which black leadership could negotiate the process of reform and law and order, Steyn said. In the absence of these structures "we have to accept the existence of a wide range of black leadership that exists outside of formal structures," he said.

It was imperative that authority created enough faith in the reform process to enable the black leadership, who favoured negotiation rather than violence, to respond positively to negotiation, he added.

The present cycle of unrest had built on several widely-felt grievances. These included:

- Black resentment at their exclusion from a parliament based on a tricameral constitution incorporating other population groups previously excluded from political power;
- A complex of educational issues;
- Inadequate housing, poor access to finance and a lack of serviced land;
- Power struggles between rival black political groups, such as the UDF, Azapo, the National Forum and Inkatha;
- The failure, in key areas, of the system of black local government.



● JAN STEYN

"It is our contention that structural defects in the society at large underlie many of the specific problems that face us today," Steyn said.

"We have failed to accept the fact that South Africa is a developing society with many of the characteristics commonly associated with Third World countries.

"Thus we have failed to confront the fact of urbanisation; we have sought to impose standards and institute controls that strangle initiatives, and we have imposed political solutions which have been irreconcilable with appropriate economic development."

But there remained much to be positive about: people had proven their entrepreneurial drive by organising themselves into effective community groups, making decisions, managing their affairs and developing informal businesses.

"All that is required is to encourage it by a rational set of policy incentives for a dynamic of a very positive nature to occur," he said.

Possible

The core structures of South African society had to be reformed if the quality of life was to be improved.

Rapid change without violent reaction is possible, Steyn says. For example, the granting of property rights and recognition of the permanence of blacks, desegregation of sport, trade union rights and scrapping of prohibition against inter-racial marriage had not provoked intense antipathy on the part of whites.

While State President P W Botha referred to some of these issues when he addressed the Natal NP's congress in Durban last Thursday, it is clear why the Urban Foundation was disappointed at his failure to commit government to bold action.

Is P W now one of yesterday's men?

21/8/85

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Mercury

MR PIK BOTHA'S visit to Vienna to prepare the US, British and West German governments for President Botha's 'watershed' speech was meant to be a spectacular public-relations exercise; it turned out to be the fiasco of the decade.

Stanley Uys
LONDON BUREAU

Mr Botha gave the representatives tantalising glimpses of the speech's likely contents, and by the time he had finished his dance of the seven veils the representatives were suitably impressed. Mr Botha regaled the Press with similar leaks.

No doubt we will discover one day why President Botha's speech failed so monumentally to live up to the expectations raised by Foreign Minister Botha, but it was not the Press who were to blame.

Pik is not popular in Western capitals these days. If he tries to call another Vienna meeting to blow another trumpet for South African reform the Americans, particularly, are likely to reply: We've heard that one before.

Pik's summoning of South Africa's UK Ambassador, the indefatigable Dr Worrall, to Pretoria this week for consultations suggests that a salvage operation is on the way, but it will be interesting to see how far Pik will get in the present climate of international hostility. President Botha should have listened to his Western ambassadors before he made his speech, not after.

An explanation that is being given some credence in Western capitals for President Botha failing to meet his date with destiny is that Pik was attacked in Cabinet by Chris Heunis and F W de Klerk for going too far in heralding the possibility of all the homelands, whether dependent or independent, being reintegrated in South Africa.

According to this version, President Botha took Heunis's advice and deleted the relevant reference from his speech.

Why? Diplomats here have been told that President Botha has been complaining lately that he has done more for apartheid reform in two years than John Vorster did in 12 — and the only thanks he has had for it has been a kick in the teeth.

Is this what happened — that the State President has become all bitter and twisted; that, fed-up with sniping from both Left and Right and under intolerable pressure to live up to impossible expectations, he simply withdrew into his bunker and pulled down the shutters? History sometimes turns on personal aberrations like this.

Complex

It has the elements of a complex psychological situation. One view from afar is that at the heart of President Botha's behaviour is a realisation, either conscious or subconscious, that he has gone as far as he can for the present towards reconciling the irreconcilable demands of black demonstrators and white voters, and that this is why he backed off, recklessly telling South Africa's friends in the West to get lost.

Certainly, if the 'verligte' Heunis is urging progress at the pace of the ox at this crisis point in South Africa's history then President Botha is up against the frontiers of opinion in his party. It suggests, too, a loss of nerve by the President.

The explanation must lie somewhere in this region, because everything that Botha said in his speech had been said before — in three major has come to the end of his personal contribution to apartheid reform. Has he become one of yesterday's men? Will the rumours begin now over the state of his health and whether he will retire in one year or two?

Or does he still have sufficient residual emotional resources to try again?

If Botha goes who would take his place? Pik, at least, has emerged from the débâcle as the Cabinet's leading reformist (two other reformist contenders, Gerrit Viljoen and Chris Heunis, came out of the storm looking pretty wet), but might not a non-reformist or even an anti-reformist step in?

Many South Africa-watchers here are wondering whether President Botha and some of his ministers realise just how desperate South Africa's position has become, and their anxieties were confirmed when the church delegation emerged from President Botha's office this week to say that the State President 'appeared to be living in a different country from the one we know'. Does President Botha's government know what it is doing — are its crisis-management skills adequate for the occasion?

Mr Louis le Grange's 'first stun, then talk' approach to the black unrest strikes them as being unbelievably crude. As they appraise the situation, there will be no credible black leader left to talk to once everyone has been stunned.

Their perception of the situation is that the refusal to release Nelson Mandela has created a new situation in South Africa in which black leaders will find it increasingly difficult to talk to President Botha because of the risk of being branded as collaborators. Already Bishop Tutu, the Rev Boesak and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (the last in a British television interview) have said they cannot talk to President Botha while Mandela is in jail. Buthelezi's stand is particularly interesting because, in a sense, his hour has come — after snubbing him for years the Government now needs his participation urgently. But dare he negotiate with Botha?

A chasm is opening up, too, over what is meant by talks. Black (and PFP) leaders want a national convention — something definitive, with a deadline — but all that President Botha appears to be offering is ongoing (i e endless) talks in a vague 'national forum', in which black leaders will feel they are becoming entrapped in 'the system'.

One hears that the PFP, Chief Buthelezi and others may issue a joint appeal for a national convention soon. Already one can hear President Botha turning it down.

So, who exactly is President Botha going to talk to? The black councillors who have fled to guarded compounds for their protection? Here is an absolutely fundamental long-term problem.

Also, after President Botha's Durban speech, the prospects of Nelson Mandela being released seem to be more remote than ever. In spite of Pik Botha's protestations that there are people in the Government who would like to see Mandela free, is there anyone in the Cabinet prepared to grant an unconditional release to the main resistance figure in South Africa while the country is in a state of emergency?

No structures

Mandela is going to be released only if he helps to pacify South Africa's blacks, not stir them up further, and this is remotely possible only if on his release the Government is able to absorb him into acceptable negotiating structures. No such structures exist, and to judge by President Botha's Durban speech no such structures are contemplated.

So where does President Botha go from here? The verdict of the international community (confirmed by the SABC) is that the introduction of the state of emergency has made very little difference to the unrest in the townships. And if the remedy of talking to credible black leaders and getting them to pacify the townships is not an option then all that South Africans can look forward to are endless vistas of black unrest.

Stop reform moves and save white SA, says impassioned CP

304A

21/8/85 STAR

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

The concepts of power sharing and integration dominated day two of the Conservative Party Transvaal Congress in the Pretoria City Hall yesterday.

Speaker after speaker condemned Government reform moves.

By the end of the day the ap- accepted half a dozen resolutions condemning Government actions and calling on the CP to take preventive steps to "ensure white survival in South Africa".

Almost without exception they dealt either with power sharing among race groups or with Government moves to integrate the races.

ROARS OF APPROVAL

"P W Botha's Rubicon speech proved that the National Party has finally rejected separate development as a policy. It has turned its back on white South Africans," one delegate said to roars of approval from the floor.

A key resolution was one calling on the Conservative Party to establish a committee to study ways and means of "restoring white sovereignty".

The Government's present course would lead to disaster and it was the task of the Conservative Party first to take power and then "repair" the damage done by State President P W Botha's Government.

"We must make it quite clear that the task of this committee will not be to formulate a policy for the CP; we have that already. We will be looking at methods of dismantling the structures of integration and power sharing which the Nationalist Government has already created," said Dr Servaas Latsky, CP leader in the Provincial Council.

Addressing a resolution condemning the Government for deciding to include black South Africans in the decision-making process in a unitary state, a delegate said the current unrest was a direct result of the Government making promises it could not meet.

"We were the first nation in Africa to fight for our freedom (against the British)," Dr Connie Mulder, deputy leader of the CP, said in supporting the resolution. "We were the first *uhuru* nation in Africa."

Dr Mulder added that 13 nations (white, coloured, Indian and 10 black) lived in South Africa and that the only solution was to create 13 nations with 13 different but equal freedoms.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said that the "Rubicon Speech" had obviously caused a rumpus in National Party ranks.

The CP leader later distanced himself from some of the comments coming from the congress floor. One delegate said that black culture revolved around sex while another said black South Africans were "children who had to be shown what to do".

The congress ends today.

Speed up war on apartheid – ILO

SOWETAN

THE International Labour Organisation has called on employers and workers' organisations to intensify their support for political and economic sanctions against South Africa.

ILO's director-general, Mr Francis Blanchard, said in Lusaka this week that his organisation has recommended that sanctions be imposed on South Africa during its June 1985 session.

He was reacting to the State President, Mr P W Botha's address at the opening of the National Party's congress in Durban last week. The address was expected to secure fundemental changes in the apartheid structures.

" In a statement Mr Blanchard said Mr Botha's speech had indicated nothing to show that he was prepared to bring about changes in the apartheid regime.

He said "The granting of South African citizenship to urban blacks and to these so-called non-independent homelands will not affect the black workers until it is accompanied with basic political rights and so long as the constraints remain on black trade union activity.

21/8/85

30 FA

Pass

"Yet another promise to review influx control and the pass laws appears primarily to be another attempt to buy time.

"It follows on the Riekert Commission review of the same subject in 1977 and the frequent debates within Parliament, none of which have brought change to the system so far," he said.

Mr Blanchard said what the international community had hoped would be a positive speech providing prospects of fundamental change within a defined time table has merely turned out to be a reiteration of "vague promise" which have been made on numerous other occasions.

"What is needed is increased international pressure by governments' employers and workers organisations in support of political and economic sanctions as recommended by the international labour conference during its June 1985 session," Mr Blanchard said.

Meanwhile several black organisations have also come out strongly against the President's speech which has been described as "very vague".

Action call, but Viljoen won't follow his own lead

Dr Gerrit Viljoen regards steps that might lessen racial prejudice and suspicion from a youthful age a "necessity". But don't expect any action on this statement from the Minister of Co—operation, Development and Education.

When he said last week, "It is time that we systematically plan opportunities where young people of different races can meet each other", he had no intention of following up the statement with a plan of action.

Dr Viljoen said afterwards that his speech was only intended "to improve the climate".

When he said, "Our youth should of necessity be prepared for a future society of more deliberation, co-operation and even co-decision making", he was not inferring that he would launch concrete initiatives.

No, he was not planning "to force the issue", he said.

If this is starting to sound a bit puzzling, here's the full story:

Dr Viljoen was addressing the annual congress of the Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweg-vrouefederasie in Esselen Park.

He said, among other things, that mutual ignorance, suspicion and prejudice between race groups had resulted from a "too rigorous separation between people of different race groups".

And added: "I believe it is time that we systematically plan opportunities where young people of different races can meet each other. If we let our youth grow up in total isolation we are not equipping them to fulfil a responsible role in a multiracial South Africa."

Dr Viljoen didn't elaborate on how contact between young people of different races could be improved in practice or who was going to initiate this.

So *The Star* asked Dr Viljoen, through his Press officer, to elaborate.

● Who was he (Dr Viljoen) referring to when he said: "It is time that we systematically plan opportunities"?

● Had he taken any steps towards this end or was he planning such steps?

Dr Viljoen's answer was: "I'm not planning to force this issue, but to improve the climate for local initiatives to take the matter further."

When asked what Dr Viljoen meant by "local initiatives", his Press secretary said that he was not sure.

"The Minister didn't want to say anything more."

So *The Star* approached those people who might want to start "local initiatives" — principals of white schools.

But not much luck. Most of them clammed up at the mere mention of the subject. Others referred the paper to the Department of Education — "because this was a question of policy".

So *The Star* approached the Director of Education in Transvaal, Mr J D V Terblanche.

Was the Department of Education doing or planning anything to create interracial contact between young people?

"My Department supports the principle of meaningful contact between groups and is presently involved in planning in this regard," Mr Terblanche replied through his Press officer.

When asked what kind of planning and when it would be converted into action, the Press officer said that Mr Terblanche didn't want to elaborate.

It was not even clear that Mr Terblanche was talking about contact between different race groups. He only referred to "meaningful contact between groups".

Maybe the comments of the only school principal (out of 12) who was prepared to talk to *The Star*, provide an explanation for all the official reluctance to explain the new initiative.

Mr C J B Geyser, headmaster of the J G Strijdom High School, said that contact between different race groups at school level was virtually impossible.

"We are in different schools and live in different residential areas. In the normal course of events pupils of different races simply don't come into contact."

But something could be done, Mr Geyser said.

"One could organise special visits by prefects. Sport is another possible area for contact.

"I don't think white pupils would be unwilling to meet young people from black schools. My impression is that they would be favourably disposed to the idea."

Mr Geyser added that a headmaster couldn't just go ahead and start organising this kind of contact on his own. It was naturally up to school boards, the Department of Education or higher authorities to determine policy in this regard.

Naturally.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, recently called for young people of different race groups to have contact. It seems, however, that he didn't quite mean what he said. Or was it that he didn't quite say what he meant? In search of some clarity, HANNES DE WET reports.



Gerrit Viljoen ... a bit of a forked tongue?

Slabbert asks to see Mandela

Cape Times 21/8/85

By BARRY STREEK

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday asked the government to give him permission to speak to the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela

Dr Slabbert said this in reaction to reports that Mr Mandela had indicated through his lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, that the time was past for a national convention and all that was needed was talk about the mechanics of handing over power to the people of South Africa.

The holding of a national convention has been a traditional policy for the banned ANC.

'Important'

Dr Slabbert said in a statement yesterday: "The issue raised by the reports of Mr Nelson Mandela's statement on a national convention are so important that I am not prepared to comment on them without at least having had the opportunity to discuss them with Mr Mandela himself.

"If the government invites me to discuss constitutional matters with it concerning blacks, then it should not have any objection to me discussing the possibility of negotiation politics with every prominent black leader in the country," Dr Slabbert said.

He also said: "As far as I am concerned whether the government enables me to talk to Mr Mandela or not, I and the PFP are determined to do everything we can do to promote the politics of negotiation to bring about a representative national convention."

It was also reported that Mr Mandela had challenged President Botha to met him in jail.

The announcement of the challenge was welcomed by the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, who said it would "do much to defuse the tension in South Africa"

Mr Ayob also said that the speculation that he would be released made no difference to Mr Mandela as "the government is the only one who has to speculate".

However, in Durban President P W Botha repeated his offer to consider the release of Mr Mandela only if he renounced violence, a condition which Mr Mandela has rejected.

The reported rejection by Mr Mandela of a national convention, which has also been a key policy of the PFP, could present problems for the concept of a negotiated settlement between black and white leaders in South Africa, particularly if the ANC refuses to participate.

Concept

The government has also persistently rejected the concept of a national convention, regardless of whether the ANC was a participant or not. The concept has also been rejected by black consciousness groups.

Yesterday the official mouthpiece of the National Party in the Cape, the Burger, claimed that Mr Mandela's rejection of a national convention had placed "greater pressure than ever" on critics of the government's policies of negotiation "clarify what their alternative is, and how it can work".

...convention without

ANC possible — PFP

21/8/85

STAR

Political Correspondent

The Progressive Federal Party says a national convention could go ahead without the African National Congress if its leaders did not want to attend.

The PFP believes that a convention offers the best hope of solving South Africa's constitutional problems.

The leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has written to the State President asking for a meeting with the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

Dr Slabbert declined to release the text of the letter.

He wants to talk to Mandela to sort out exactly what the congress's views are.

According to one version — featured prominently in the Nationalist Press as a "shock" for the PFP — Mandela told his attorney that he rejected a convention and negotiation with the Government.

Another version is that he mentioned that the time might arrive when it would no longer be possible to negotiate.

Mandela's daughter Zinzi said the time for a national convention was already past (the ANC called for one more than 23 years ago). She said this was the position of the ANC "at this point".

"My father and the leadership believe that after 23 years it would be futile to resume (the idea of a) national convention," she said, adding that this did not represent a shift of policy in the ANC, but merely an acknowledgment of the passing of time.

MECHANICS

She said the ANC leadership was now concerned only with discussing the mechanics of handing over power to the majority of South Africans.

Dr Slabbert has declined to comment directly on what views Mr Mandela might hold.

Other PFP leaders said it remained a pillar of PFP policy to seek a national convention.

Sources say Dr Slabbert has tried several times without success to see Mr Mandela.

He said: "The issues raised are so important that I am not prepared to comment on them without at least having had the opportunity to discuss them with Mr Mandela.

"If the Government invites me to discuss constitutional matters with it concerning blacks, then it should not have any objection to me discussing the possibilities of negotiation politics with any prominent black leader.

"As far as I am concerned — whether the Government enables me to talk to Mr Mandela or not — I and the PFP are determined to do everything we can to promote the politics of negotiation and bring about a representative national convention."

New bid to solve SA crisis

CAPE TIMES 21/8/85

304A

By CHRIS ERASMUS

MR RAYMOND ACKERMAN, chairman of one of the country's largest retail chains, is to join forces with other leading figures in the business world to try to "fill the void" left in the wake of the President's address last week.

From Margate in Natal last night Mr Ackerman said the time had come for leading figures in South Africa's commercial, industrial and financial spheres to show they were "not only willing to talk but to do something constructive".

He said he had been galvanized into action by Saturday's editorial on the front page of the Cape Times which, he said, had crystallized his feelings about South Africa.

"I've always felt the role of the business community was important in the country's public life, but in the wake of President Botha's disappointing address last week, I feel it is now crucial.

"I and two or three others are urgently trying to get together a group of top businessmen, not just to talk, but to draw up a four or five-point policy statement dealing with citizenship rights for blacks, the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the abolition of influx control and the abolition of all the other organs of apartheid.



Mr Raymond Ackerman

"We feel there is the most urgent need to get together all the leaders of this country, the elected and unelected and those inside and outside the country, to seek peaceful means to solve the crisis we are in.

"I am doing this not for any personal glory or merely to circumvent any possible harm which the boycott of white businesses might do, but because I am a concerned citizen and because we in the business community want it known that someone — if not the government — is seriously going to try to take up the burden and deal with it."

Mr Ackerman said the first phase of the initiative, which is still in a very early stage, was to get together perhaps 10 or 20 leading business figures — something which he hoped could be achieved by early next week.

Thereafter the group would be expanded to include as many other senior business leaders as possible and perhaps also leading academics and community figures.

It was too early to say who might be involved in the group as only a few had so far been invited to participate,

"We need to show the young people especially, as well as the country's leaders on both sides of the fence that we are an important force for change and that we are prepared to act.

Taxes

"We businessmen pay a large portion of the country's taxes and we owe it the country to do something about the situation. We feel strongly that President Botha's speech in Natal let everyone and every side down.

"We want to put together a policy statement and let everyone know that policy so that it can be seen, particularly by the country's young people who seem to be in a state of hopelessness, that there are thinking, feeling, people trying to do something constructive."



Call for election of black leaders

Cape Times 22/8/85 3004

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday called for the immediate appointment of a judicial commission to formulate fair and free machinery for the election of black leaders in a bid to negotiate the constitutional future of South Africa.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the PFP Federal Executive, said at a report-back meeting in Pinelands last night that the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, was "a leader who dare not be ignored".

"There can be no return to stability and security as long as Mandela and other political prisoners remain behind bars ... there can be no genuine and significant negotiation unless it involves the ANC

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A From page 1

as one of the credible partners in such negotiation," he said.

Homeland leaders were not the only negotiating partners, while urban black community councillors were "totally discredited".

He fully agreed with a recent Cape Times editorial, which called for united action by groups and leaders across the spectrum to find a solution to the national crisis after the government had failed.

Dr Boraine said the PFP had been prepared to meet all those who were "implacably opposed to the status quo" but were also ready to plan and work for constructive and realistic alternatives.

The task ahead could not be resolved by business, churches, Parliament and extra-parliamentary organizations working in isolation.

"I want to state as clearly as I can, that those leaders and organizations and groups who declare themselves against apartheid and for a just society and yet constantly focus on historic differences and spend a great deal of their time criticizing each other because of different strategies — paralysing reform initiatives and inhibiting peaceful change — will stand condemned not only by this generation, but by generations to come."

The press had a virtually impossible task to report incidents of unrest under current emergency regulations, he said.

"If ever there was a time for the press to throw caution to the winds, that time is now."

The white community was totally isolated from the daily confrontation of armed police supported by the army with township residents, he said.

'Inadequate'

He described the response of the State President, Mr P W Botha, last week in Durban to the deteriorating situation in the country as a "Black Thursday night" and a golden oppurtunity which he had lost.

"His style and the heavy baggage of the past indicated with blinding clarity that he and his party are inadequate for the demands of our time."

CP congress slates Govt on integration

22/8/85 STAR 3041A

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Power sharing and integration once again dominated proceedings at the Conservative Party's Transvaal congress which ended in Pretoria yesterday with a string of anti-Government resolutions being approved.

The congress approved motions condemning the Government for integrating the public service and for repealing the Political Interference Act.

"There are white people being kept out of jobs while brown people are given preference," a delegate said. "In many cases brown people are being promoted above whites just for the sake of integrating certain departments," he added.

Another delegate said that white nursing posts had been frozen while black nursing staff were being hired to work in white hospitals.

"This sort of thing is pure discrimination against whites."

MP Dr Frans van Staden said that there were 25 government departments which were considered to be "general affairs" and people of any race could hold any position.

"There is nothing to prevent the Chief of either the Defence Force or the South African Police being a non-white," he warned.

POLICE PRAISED

The congress expressed its support for what the police were doing in the troubled townships and attacked the Government for not standing by them.

"The police do an exceptional job under difficult and dangerous circumstances, but instead of support from the Government they are continually being questioned," a delegate told the congress.

The congress also adopted a motion condemning the repeal of the Political Interference Act and said that as soon as the CP came to power it would be restored and restated its opposition to the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and section 16 of the Immorality Act.

TAXATION

The Government's economic policies came under heavy fire with delegate after delegate attacking the high rate of inflation, soaring interest rates and the high taxation of whites.

"White South African's pay about 90 percent of the tax but do not receive anything near 90 percent of the benefits," one delegate said.

● Congress felt any attempt to integrate education must be fought tooth and nail.

"The standards of white education are much higher than other races and any attempt at integration can result only in the white child suffering through being held back," congress was told.

● The CP is to step up the pressure for compulsory military service for coloureds and Indians.

"The coloureds and Indians were quick enough to take part in the sharing of power, and they should now be quick to enlist for military service," one delegate said. A resolution called for military service to be carried out in separate units.

● Feeding schemes at all white schools in the Transvaal should be reintroduced. "White children are going to school hungry," Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, CP education spokesman, told congress.

All-race talks on power-sharing now the priority, says Pik

Political Staff

3049

The Government is making all-race talks a top priority in an effort to give effect to assurances of power-sharing with blacks made by President Botha in his Durban speech last week.

This emerges from an exclusive interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who has been at the centre of claims that the speech was over-sold.

Mr Botha said it was vital for the future of South Africa that all-race talks start immediately.

He indicated the Government wanted early results to help defuse the current unrest and relieve international pressure.

Mr Botha said the President had removed any obstructions to negotiations in his speech in Durban.

This included a commitment to citizenship for all South Africans, joint participation of all groups at all levels of government, a revision of influx control and an open agenda for negotiations.

Defending the rejection by President Botha of a one man, one vote system in a unitary state, Mr Botha said the Government was not prepared to sacrifice white participation in government in giving blacks participation and joint responsibility.

He flatly rejected speculation that there was discord in the Cabinet which forced President Botha to tone down his speech. As far as he was concerned there had been unanimity in the Cabinet over the speech.

STAR

The speech provided an open invitation to leaders to hold talks with the Government.

22/8/85

Mr Botha said the South African Government had accepted it could no longer make laws for people but had to make them with people.

Talks had already started with some black leaders whom he was not prepared to name, but no agendas had been drawn up as yet.

Mr Botha said black leaders had to realise that they were dependent on the same economy and the same future.

It would be easier to reach agreement internally than it had been to reach the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique because everyone had a closer interest in the success of the talks.

"The realities of the situation between Mozambique and South Africa were stark and awesome but we succeeded."

As had happened with the Nkomati Accord, it would be easier first to find agreement in quiet, closed-door, bilateral talks.

Mr Botha repeated his assertions that he had not misled officials of the United States, Britain and Germany in his talks with them in Europe before last week's speech.

● South African officials told high-ranking Reagan aides at a meeting in Vienna that their Government was prepared to make political changes that were more significant than the steps ultimately announced by President Botha, including the sharing of power with blacks, the *New York Times* reported yesterday in an interview with a senior Administration official.

The sharing of power was to come through some form of political participation for blacks and in how the South African Government would relate to other internal Government entities, said the official, who was involved in the meeting.

Though a participant in the Vienna meeting, the official refused to be identified because of the sensitive foreign policy position he holds in the Administration.

Mr Pik Botha has said, however, that the speech went further than what the American officials had been led to believe in Vienna.

In challenging that view, the Administration official said: "They did say a lot of things in Vienna that were not in his (the State President's speech."

The Star Thursday Aug

Indians, coloureds interested in PFP

Mercury 304A

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party reports a 'steady stream' of inquiries from coloureds and Indians to join the party.

This was revealed yesterday by its national director, Mr Neil Ross, on the eve of the party's national congress in Durban where the PFP's future participation in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives is expected to be hotly debated.

While a majority of the party is expected to plump for an all out attempt to take control of the two chambers following the scrapping of the Improper Political Interference Act, others are said to be opposed to immediate participation or participation at all in the Indian and coloured chambers.

Mr Ross indicated that the party was not counting new members on an ethnic basis but said that its campaign to broaden its base would really get into full swing after the party congress when a number of resolutions affecting the matter and participation in all three Houses had been settled.

The campaign was at 'various stages' in different parts of the country at present because of a variety of circumstances such as the absence abroad of certain members and the involvement of more in other projects at present.

Mr Ross said there had been a steady stream of inquiries from all around the country and the reaction had been 'very good in the Cape. 22/8/85

It had been a bit slower in Natal due to the absence of the provincial leader, Mr Ray Swart, and other key members.

However, a large number of house meetings were being held in different parts of the country.

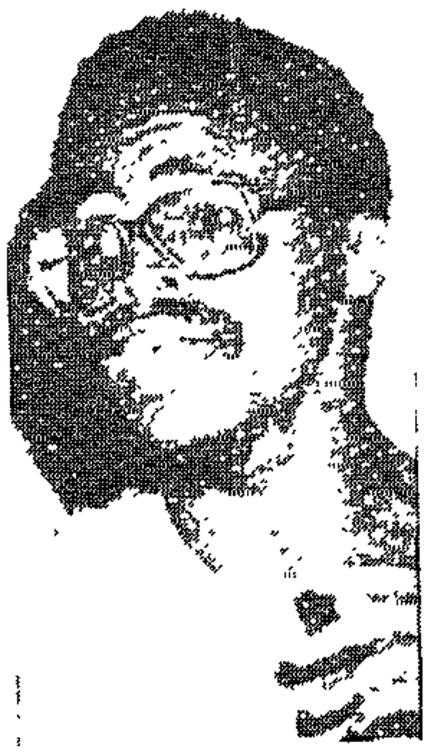
Mr Ross said he expected about 350 delegates at the congress. The number of delegates was worked on a formula relating to the number of members in different areas.



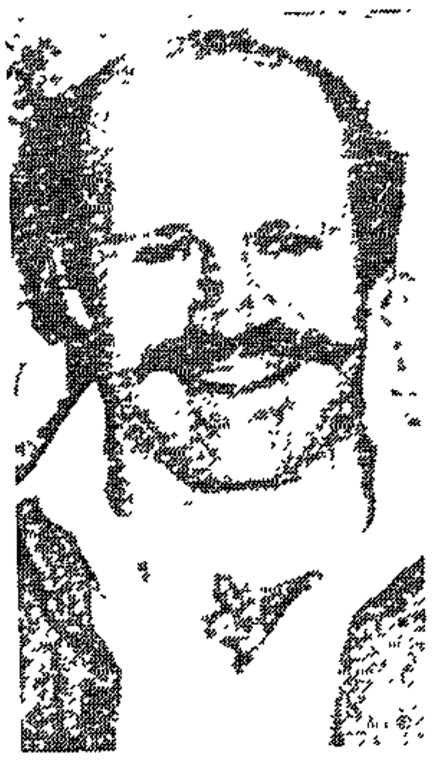
Victoria Mxenge



Rick Turner



Matthew Goniwe



Robert Smit



Jeanne-Cora Smit

SA's rising toll of dead and missing 'politicians'

STEPHEN WROTTESLEY reports on the alarming number of politically active South Africans who have been murdered or who have disappeared

THE LONG list of unsolved cases in which politically-active people in South Africa have been murdered or have disappeared continues to grow.

Some of the crimes number among the most sensational of the past decade, yet the South African Police have made little progress with their investigations.

Substantial rewards have been offered and frequent appeals have been made by concerned people and organisations for information — all to no avail.

One of the first unsolved murders with political undertones was the stabbing and shooting to death of the then Springs National Party candidate in the 1977 general election, Dr Robert Smit, and his wife Jeanne-Cora.

When their bodies were found in their Springs home on November 23 that year, the letters "RAU TEM" were found sprayed on a wall. Subsequent allegations of an overseas hit team flown in for the job were never proved and the investigation appears to have stagnated.

Asked this week whether police were still actively investigating the murders or whether the docket would remain closed until further information was available, a spokesman said: "All we can tell you is that the case is still being investigated."

Less than a year later — on January 8, 1978 — Dr Rick Turner, a banned University of Natal politics lecturer, was shot dead at his Durban home. In a right-wing terror trial some years later, it was hinted that a member of a right-wing group might have been responsible, but this too was never proved.

Police say the matter is still being investigated.

On November 19, 1981, Mr Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge, a prominent civil rights lawyer in Durban, was found dead near the Umlazi Cycle Stadium. He had been repeatedly stabbed. His car was found two days later near the Swaziland border.

Recently allegations were made that when Mr Mxenge was last seen, he was being followed by white men in a car. Asked if police were aware of the allegation, a police spokesman said: "The information will be passed onto the investigating officer."

Five months later — on April 14, 1982 — Mr Siphiwo Mtimkulu, a 21-year-old student leader and an ex-detainee who was suing the Minister of Law and Order for R150 000, disappeared from the Livingstone Hospital, Port Elizabeth. Mr Mtimkulu had instituted the law suit after alleging that he had been poisoned and tortured while in detention.

He was treated at the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town and later returned to Port Elizabeth. He was due for a three-monthly checkup at Groote Schuur when he vanished. Subsequently a R1 000 reward was offered for information but nothing has come to light.

Asked about Mr Mtimkulu, a police spokesman said that police had no information as to his present whereabouts.

Between March 21 — the time of the Langa shootings at Uitenhage — and April 20 this year, nine people disappeared from Langa and nearby Kwanobuhle township.

They were Mr Mvuleni Sithole, Mr Goodwill Rubuxa, Mr Patrick Batyi, Mr Tongas Jantjies, Mr Jerry Goliath, Mr Livingstone Lutweyi, Mr Grahamstown Langbooi, Lulama Xangati, and Mr Abraham Tyulu.

Originally it was thought that some of them at least had died during police action on March 21 but this was later discounted.

Police say they have no information as to the men's whereabouts.

On May 8 this year, Mr Sipho Hashe, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozi and Mr Champion Galela, all senior members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), disappeared while on their way to the airport at Port Elizabeth to meet an unknown person on arrival there.

Since then there has been no sign of the men or their vehicle. A reward of R1 000 has been offered for information.

Less than a month later — on June 27 this year — Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Sparrow Mkonto, Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli and Mr Fort Calata disappeared while returning by road from Port Elizabeth to Cradock. The gutted wreck of Mr Goniwe's car was later found on the Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown road and in the course of the next few days, the bodies of the four men were also found.

Friends say that when the four left, the car was driven by Mr Mkonto, a small man. However, when the wreck was found the seat had been pushed back indicating a much taller person had been driving before it was set alight.

Asked about this, a police spokesman said: "Obviously the SAP cannot go into detail for publication purposes of their investigations. However we will relay this information to the investigating officer."

Public outrage reached flashpoint on August 1 with the killing of Mrs Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge, a United Democratic Front treason trial lawyer and widow of the murdered Mr Griffiths Mxenge.

She was shot and hacked to death in front of her children and other witnesses in the driveway of her Umlazi home, less than four years after her husband was found murdered outside the cycle stadium at Umlazi.

Investigators are apparently as baffled by this murder as they are by the dozen or so politically-motivated murders and kidnappings in the decade before.

CP and HNP pledge to honour election pact

Pretoria Correspondent

Despite their battle over Vryburg, both the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party say they will honour their election pact regarding four of the five forthcoming parliamentary by-elections.

Whether the pact will in the long run survive the hostility created between the parties by their refusal to withdraw their respective candidates from the field is an open question.

Supporters of both parties have pointed out that the shaky pact must remain standing for another month of strained relations between the parties before nomination day on September 23, when candidates for the five by-elections are officially nominated.

If not, the two right-wing parties will fight each other in some of the other constituencies which will go to the polls at the end of October, particularly Sasolburg and Bethlehem.

The HNP has not expressed interest in the other by-elections that will take place in Port Natal and Springs, where the CP has already fielded candidates.

The HNP's administrative secretary, Mr Louis van der Schyff, today said the HNP would continue the battle for Vryburg but would honour the pact with regard to the other by-elections.

The CP's Transvaal secretary, Mr Hendrik van Wyk, gave the same assurance.

"At this stage there is still co-operation between the parties with regard to the by-elections other than Vryburg," he said.

● See page 21.

AFTERMATH OF MEETING

Argus 23/9/85

Who will Botha listen to, Archbishop Russell asks

Religion Reporter KAREN STANDER spoke to Arhbishop Philip Russell, who this week led a church delegation for talks with the State President, Mr P W Botha

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell, who headed a multichurch delegation to President P W Botha this week, appears pessimistic that the meeting will have much effect.

"I think the State President believes he should hear what church leaders have to say," he said of the meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria which inluded several senior Cabinet Ministers.

Interviewed afterwards at his sprawling residence, Bishop's Court, the Archbishop smiled a trifle ironically.

"He had a very religious — that awful word — day on Monday, seeing the various church groups.

"But to whom he is going to listen? That is not easy to say.

"If we managed to convey to the State President and the Minister of Law and Order (Mr Louis le Grange) some little appreciation of alleged irregularities by membefs of the South African Defence Force and Police during the present unrest — even if we did nothing else, if this one fact contributes to an easing of the situation and the claims are investigated, the visit will have been worthwhile.

"And if they heard what we said about the general situation, that is even better," he said.

Could he see a way for peaceful change?

"Spiritually I'm an optimist. God always finds a way to work in any situation. I don't know how. But I'm a political pessimist and always have been. Politically we're at a very low ebb indeed.

But was there any way to avoid violence and bloodshed?

"If only the State would do the other half. They say they will consult with black leaders, but who is going to appoint those leaders? If they are only going to consult with leaders who are congenial to their ideas, they are going to get nowhere.



Archbishop Russell

"Political prisoners must be released to participate in the process.

"One can hardly say the Church is at one on the issue. The things that we brought up were vastly different from the stand taken by some of the other churches."

Archbishop Russell said he believed that because the delegation, representing leaders of the Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian and United Congregation churches, was multiracial, it was able to give President Botha and the Ministers an appreciation of the situation as experienced by black people. This was of the utmost importance.

About half were black and coloured clergymen who themselves lived in the townships.

They had tried to convey some of the feeling of hopelessness being experienced.

'Distress'

"Whatever the State President's own perception of his speech in Durban last week might have been, he should be aware that it was a source of distress to others and did not offer the hope which people had hoped it might"

The delegation would like to believe the Government was distressed at what they had to tell them of alleged atrocities. But it would be unreal to expect President Botha to know all the details.

"People in the townships are unlikely to complain to the police.

"They are all policemen after all It is a matter of perceptions and the people perceive the police as one."

He believed that it was a good thing that a magistrate would be appointed to look into allegations of atrocities

This was better than a departmental inquiry. He preferred the idea of a judicial inquiry however.

The Archbishop expressed a hope that the inquiry would be held in public and not in camera.

Asked about a statement Mr Nelson Mandela was reported as having made this week, dismissing the idea of a national convention, Archbishop Russell said it was very difficult to form a picture of exactly what had been said and he was still attempting to put the picture together.

"We must talk about the conditions of a national convention," he said.

"As I understand it, Mr Mandela refused to sign a document denouncing violence because he sees South Africa as a violent state. He is not prepared to do this unless the State plays its part in denouncing violence too.

"A national convention would have to be open-ended and not an end in itself. But we still stand for a national convention.

What was his reaction to criticism by the Ned Geref Kerk of certain ministers who made "inciting" speeches and called for consumer boycotts?

"Because the Church is incarnate, in any circumstances it finds itself — in the 1980s in the present situation — it must concern itself with politics and with economics.

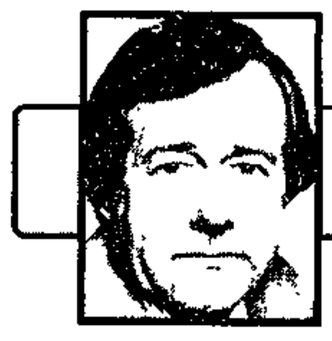
"I don't like the word 'incite' because it's a judgment. What they call 'inciting' very likely wouldn't be seen as such by others.

"As far as the consumer boycott is concerned, whether any particular remedy if right or wrong is secondary to the issue. What is important is that it is our duty to speak into the situation. Silence is also a way of speaking into the situation. Silence means everything is okay. This is often forgotten.

"I can say without a doubt that many of the ministers who have been taken into detention in the Eastern Cape have been a restraining influence on people in whom feeling is running high."

There were elements within the Anglican Church which believed that the church should not be actively involved in politics, but Christianity was not only "me and God" but also "me and my neighbour".

Botha fiasco leaves little hope for SA



London Dateline
By STANLEY UYS

MR PIK BOTHA'S visit to Vienna to prepare the United States, British and West German governments for President Botha's "watershed" speech was meant to be a spectacular public relations exercise. It turned out to be the fiasco of the decade.

Mr Botha gave the representatives tantalizing glimpses of the speech's likely contents and, by the time he had finished his dance of the seven veils, the representatives were suitably impressed. Mr Botha regaled the press with with similar leaks.

No doubt we will discover one day why President Botha's speech failed so monumentally to live up to the expectations raised by Foreign Minister Botha, but it was not the press who were to blame.

Salvage operations

Pik is not popular in Western capitals these days. If he tries to call another Vienna meeting to blow another trumpet for South African reform, the Americans particularly are likely to reply: We've heard that one before.

Pik's summoning of South Africa's UK Ambassador,the indefatigable Dr Worrall, to Pretoria this week for discussions suggests that a salvage operation is on the way, but it will be interesting to see how far Pik will get in the present climate of international hostility. President Botha should have listened to his Western ambassadors before he made his speech, not after.

An explanation which is being given some credence in Western capitals for President Botha failing to meet his date with destiny is that Pik was attacked in cabinet by Mr Chris Heunis and Mr F W de Klerk for going too far in heralding the possibility of all the homelands, whether dependent or independent, being reintegrated in South Africa.

According to this version, President Botha took Mr Heunis's advice and deleted the relevant reference from his speech.

Why? Diplomats here have been told that President Botha has been complaining lately that he has done more for apartheid reform in two years than John Vorster did in 12 — and the only thanks he has had for it has been a kick in the teeth.

Is this what happened — that the State President has become all bitter and twisted, that fed up with sniping from both left and right and under intolerable pressure to live up to impossible expectations, he simply withdrew into his bunker and pulled down the shutters? History sometimes turns on personal aberrations like this.

Loss of nerve

It has the elements of a complex psychological situation. One view from afar is that at the heart of President Botha's behaviour is a realization, either conscious or sub-conscious, that he has gone as far as he can for the present towards reconciling the irreconciliable demands of black demonstrators and white voters, and that this is why he backed off, recklessly telling South Africa's friends in the West to get lost.

Certainly, if the "verligte" Mr Heunis is urging progress at the pace of the ox at this crisis point in South Africa's history, then President Botha is up against the frontiers of opinion in his party. It suggests, too, a loss of nerve by the President.

The explanation must lie somewhere in this region, because everything that President Botha said in his speech had been said before — in three major policy speeches he made earlier this year. The idea was that this trilogy of speeches should be read in conjunction with the Durban speech and that the whole package would then lift apartheid reform into an entirely new dimension.

The question Western governments are asking is why President Botha felt he could not do this — why he could add absolutely nothing new to the existing policy statements, even with South Africa in flames and the whole world waiting for action.

The chilling answer that has suggested itself, at least to some of these governments, is that President Botha has gone as far as he can for the present with apartheid reform and still retain his Afrikaner power base.

If this is true then people will soon be asking whether President Botha has come to the end of his personal contribution to apartheid reform. Has he become one of yesterday's men? Will the rumours begin now over the state of his health and whether he will retire in one year or two?

Or does he still have sufficient residual emotional resources to try again?

If President Botha goes, who would take his place? Pik at least has emerged from the debacle as the cabinet's leading reformist (two other reformist contenders, Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Chris Heunis, came out of the storm looking pretty wet), but might not a non-reformist or even an anti-reformist step in?

Many South Africa-watchers here are wondering whether President Botha and some of his ministers realize just how desperate South Africa's position has become, and their anxieties were confirmed when the church delegation emerged from President Botha's office this week to say that the State President "appeared to be living in a different country from the one we know". Does President Botha's government know what it is doing — are its crisis management skills adequate for the occasion?

Mr Louis le Grange's "first stun then talk" approach to the black unrest strikes them as being unbelievably crude. As they appraise the situation, there will be no credible black leader left to talk to once everyone has been stunned.

Hour has come

Their perception of the situation is that the refusal to release Mr Nelson Mandela has created a new situation in South Africa in which black leaders will find it increasingly difficult to talk to President Botha, because of the risk of being branded as collaborators.

Already Bishop Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (the last in a British television interview) have said they cannot talk to President Botha while Mr Mandela is in jail. Chief Buthelezi's stand is particularly interesting because in a sense his hour has come — after snubbing him for years the government now needs his participation urgently But dare he negotiate with President Botha?

A chasm is opening up too over what is meant by talks. Black (and PFP leaders) want a national convention — something definitive, with a deadline — but all that President Botha appears to be offering is ongoing (i.e. endless) talks in a vague "national forum", in which black leaders will feel they are becoming entrapped in "the system".

One hears that the PFP, Chief Buthelezi and others may issue a joint appeal for a national convention soon. Already one can hear President Botha turning it down.

So who exactly is President Botha going to talk to? The black councillors who have fled to guarded compounds for their protection? Here is an absolutely fundamental long-term problem.

Also, after President Botha's Durban speech, the prospects of Mr Mandela being released seem to be more remote than ever. In spite of Mr Pik Botha's protestations that there are people in the government who would like to see Mr Mandela free, is there anyone in the cabinet prepared to grant an unconditional release to the main resistance figure in South Africa while the country is in a state of emergency?

Mr Mandela is going to be released only if he helps to pacify South Africa's blacks, not stir them up further, and this is remotely possible only if on his release the government is able to absorb him into acceptable negotiating structures. No such structures exist and to judge by President Botha's Durban speech no such structures are contemplated.

So where does President Botha go from here? The verdict of the international community (confirmed by the SABC) is that the introduction of the state of emergency has made very little difference to the unrest in the townships. And if the remedy of talking to credible black leaders and getting them to pacify the townships is not an option, then all that South Africans can look forward to are endless vistas of black unrest.

The Western community may be naive in its approach, but this is how it sees President Botha's Durban speech:

The speech was wholly negative in its short-term implications, both in policy terms and in ending the unrest, with the possible exception that Natal may be given a green light to proceed with some kind of racial experiment of its own.

In a long-term sense, the speech admittedly adds to the demolition of the ideology of apartheid, and this is welcome. This is causing widespread ideological confusion among President Botha's followers and weakening the cohesiveness of his party, but it is also causing confusion at the upper decision-making levels of government, because white supremacy is being left suspended in mid-air without any buttressing and legitimizing theories — and with diminishing political guidelines for the police and army in the townships.

This creates an impression of government drift — an impression confirmed by a recent opinion poll which indicated that the number of people who think the government is handling the situation in the country adequately has declined from 40 to 25 percent. President Botha is starting to make mistakes and is not giving his followers strong and clear leadership.

Other reformist ministers, like Dr Viljoen and Mr Heunis, have weighed in with reassurances that apartheid cornerstones, like the Group Areas Act, race classification, segregated education and separate political institutions will not be shifted. In this context the whole reformist programme has become thoroughly ambiguous.

In his speech President Botha fudged the question of black citizenship, indicated that the homelands were still the cornerstone of his policy on black political rights, and announced that the President's Council would examine the whole question of reforming influx control — a council which is under the chairmanship of Dr Piet Koornhof, who for seven years was responsible for the debacle over black urbanization.

Western governments cannot understand either why President Botha went out of his way to refuse so emphatically to make a declaration of intent As they see it, he could easily have made a declaration of intent to reform apartheid, in language that would be comprehensible to Western democrats, well within the limits of existing policy speeches which have already been approved by his party.

Some South Africa-watchers here cannot understand why President Botha does not go for broke. For every vote he loses on his right he can recruit two on his left — among verligte English and Afrikaans-speakers alike, in the business community and even among PFP supporters.

His Afrikaner power base will shrink (but not disappear), and he can continue to govern perfectly successfully with a smaller majority in Parliament. Mr Ian Smith in Rhodesia was unable to survive even with a 100-percent majority.

Can President Botha and his advisers make this quantum leap in their minds — and in their emotions, too, because what they will have to do is to give up, once and for all, the idea that the whites in South Africa will be safe only if the country is ruled exclusively by Afrikaners?

If President Botha and his advisers cannot make this quantum leap then South Africa is a goner anyway. The idea that only Afrikaners can be trusted with the government of the country has been revealed for the myth it is. The country is in a political and economic mess and the main responsibility for this mess lies squarely with the Afrikaner politicians who have ruled as an exclusive clique for the past 37 years.

If President Botha went for broke he would have the prestige and influence of the state presidency on his side and, in broad terms, the support of a wide section of the white opposition. He would have nothing to lose, except a tribal hang-up.

Tide of revulsion

If he balks at doing this, the prospects for South Africa are dismal.

Western governments will be warning Pretoria that they will be very severely restricted in the protection they can continue to offer South Africa against sanctions. An entirely new situation has arisen with a moral tide of revulsion against apartheid rolling over the world and carrying governments with it.

The whole rational debate on whether sanctions against South Africa would be productive or counter-productive is being swept aside. The United States is the classic example: the Reagan administration is utterly opposed to sanctions, but the betting is that President Reagan will sign the sanctions Bill when it lands on his desk next month.

He could veto the Bill, but then Congress could override the veto, because it appears to have the votes to do so. For President Reagan to be defeated by his own Congress on such an emotive issue as apartheid, in the present climate of opinion in the United States, would be devastating for him.

President Botha's government should observe and digest what is happening in the United States, because similar moral pressures are building up in the EEC and Commonwealth. The US sanctions are not particularly significant, but — and this *is* the point — they are setting a precedent. This is the dreaded "slippery slope" of sanctions.

Sanctions vista

The control that President Reagan, Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl are able to exercise over this situation — where the moral crusade swamps rational debate — is diminishing rapidly. The dilemma in which South Africa's major trading partners find themselves is reflected, for example, in the jumble of statements which the Foreign Office here issued in commenting on President Botha's speech.

The point is not that a threat of trade sanctions is looming, but that a whole vista of selective sanctions, with the accompanying political and diplomatic isolation of South Africa, is opening up.

And then the individual actions which private business enterprises with interests in South Africa might take are of crucial importance. Of these the most important are the banks, which are worried about South Africa's huge external debt, now around $16,2 billion (R39 billion), and which are continually being harassed by anti-apartheid pressure groups

If in this deteriorating situation — what the Economist calls the degenerative process — President Botha cannot do better than his Durban speech, then what hope is there for South Africa?

Cheers at 'Botha resign' call

CAPE TIMES 23/8/85

304A

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — Two Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leaders and Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, were cheered by a multiracial audience of more than 1 000 yesterday when they called for the resignation of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, veteran civil rights campaigner and MP for Houghton, and Mr Colin Eglin, former leader of the Opposition and MP for Sea Point, both criticized the State President's address in Durban last week.

Mrs Suzman said the speech was a "feeble repetition of the broad generalities which the State President announced when he opened Parliament this year".

Cheers

She said a statesman would have declared that the country was in a state of crisis and that it was not merely agitators who were responsible for the condition of unrest in the townships.

"A statesman would have said we will unconditionally release Nelson Mandela," Mrs Suzman said to cheers from the crowd.

"A statesman would have restored South African citizenship to the eight million people who lost their citizenship when the four independent black states took their citizenship.

"A statesman would have abolished the pass laws, abandoned forced removals, set up one system of education and lifted the state of emergency and released all detainees.

"As it was, the speech was dangerous because great expectations were raised. That they weren't met could only excacerbate the unrest.

"The State President has failed South Africa and he should resign."

Dr Motlana said negotiation in South Africa would not begin until Mr Mandela was unconditionally released, other leaders in exile returned, prisoners of conscience released and all apartheid laws repealed.

"We are citizens of South Africa and we demand that those children in prison must be released forthwith."

Abuse

Mr Eglin told the meeting that they were gathered to express their "anger and resentment" about the way the government was treating South Africa.

Describing the state of emergency as futile, he said once again the "agents of the state" had been put above the law.

"If you leave your society without hope of peaceful change, inevitably you're going to get violence. Violence is the most damning evidence of the complete collapse of the government's policies."

The world at large was getting tired of Mr Botha "crossing and recrossing the Rubicon".

New approach for national convention

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

STRONG calls for the holding of a national convention were made today in spite of the African National Congress's apparent shift of policy on the issue.

The appeals followed the statements reportedly made by jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela that the time for a national convention was over and that he saw no alternative to violence.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said: "Quite apart from what the official position of the African National Congress is on a national convention, I want to make it quite clear that the PFP and I reject violence to achieve political ends by either the State or those who oppose it.

"We will continue to promote the politics of negotiation and work for a national convention of all the representative leaders in South Africa."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who returned today from a 12-day visit to Israel, said he still wanted Mr Mandela released.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu said:

"Ridiculous"

"It's ridiculous for the Government to fear a man like Mandela. Unless he leaves the country, what can he do? You need tools to fight a strong army and Mandela doesn't have those tools."

He said Mr Mandela was more dangerous as a prisoner than as a free man.

"I don't understand this Government. Wasn't former Prime Minister John Vorster instrumental in the release of Mr Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo? It was this Government which pressured Mr Ian Smith to let them go unconditionally.

"As long as Mr Mandela is in prison the hands of other black leaders are tied. If in these circumstances we went to the conference table, people would say, 'How can you talk to the Government while real leaders are still in jail?' "

Chief Buthelezi said he would take part in a national convention even if Mr Mandela refused to take part.

"I have a mandate from my people to try to find peaceful solutions."

He was prepared to talk to the Government on two conditions — that Mr Mandela be released and that President P W Botha declare his intention to share power with black people.

Alternative

Earlier the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said Inkatha remained convinced that a national convention was a vital step in dismantling apartheid.

In the United States a spokesman for the White House, Mr Larry Speakes, said the US could not condone Mr Mandela's view as expressed in an interview published in the Washington Times yesterday.

"We cannot support violent change. There is, and must remain, an alternative to violence," he said.

Dr Slabbert said he found it "quite remarkable" that foreign journalists (from the Washington Times) were given permission to interview Mr Mandela while South Africans battled to see him.

Dr Slabbert has written to Mr Botha asking for permission to see Mr Mandela.

Reform: Big business urges Govt to press on

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

BIG business has urged the Government to press ahead with reform.

The call was made by the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday with the special Cabinet committee investigating the political future of urban blacks.

Assocom emphasised that firm action was particularly important on matters like common citizenship, influx control and deregulation of business.

The Assocom delegation also told the committee it was necessary to formulate principles and guidelines for negotiations on black participation in the political system.

It presented the committee with an extensive memorandum entitled The Removal Of Discrimination Against Blacks In The Political Economy Of The Republic of South Africa.

Vital stake

Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of Assocom, said today that the discussions were "far-reaching and constructive and dealt with various constitutional options".

Business had a vital stake in South Africa's political future.

The delegation emphasised the following aspects of future constitutional development which were of concern to the business community:

- It was imperative for the Government to undertake meaningful dialogue with effective black leaders across a broad political spectrum to initiate a process of constitutional negotiation.
- In this process Assocom wanted to see economic freedom and the private enterprise ethic, as well as the norms with which they were associated, entrenched in any future political system.
- In order to give all race groups a bigger stake in the private enterprise system to uphold and defend it was also necessary for any future political system to provide for stability.
- This should be done through the necessary checks and balances, the safeguarding of basic human rights and the protection of minority rights against domination.

Assocom submitted that this could well involve a future constitution with federal or confederal elements.

Plan black elections now, says Boraine

A JUDICIAL commission should be set up now to formulate free and fair machinery for the election of black leaders. Then the constitutional future of South Africa could be negotiated, said PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine this week.

Speaking at a report-back meeting on Wednesday night, Boraine, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the PFP's federal executive, said the growing conflict in South Africa could not be resolved without true negotiation between leaders of the "total" community.

He said jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was "a leader who dare not be ignored".

"There can be no return to stability and security as long as Mandela and other political prisoners remain behind bars.

"There can be no genuine and significant negotiation unless it involves the ANC as one of the credible partners in such negotiation."

Homeland leaders were not the only negotiating partners, he said, adding that urban black community councillors had been "totally discredited".

He said the PFP was prepared to meet all those implacably opposed to the status quo but ready to plan and work for constructive and realistic alternatives.

He said the unrest had begun after the constitution had been implemented.

Boraine described State President P W Botha's response to the unrest as a "black Thursday night".

He said Botha and his party were "inadequate for the demands of our time". — Sapa.

The peacemakers

How they worked to get a solution in Port Alfred

By Michael Valpy of the Toronto Globe and Mail

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Twenty kilometres past the turn-off to Kaffir's Drift on the East Cape Indian Ocean highway is the town of Port Alfred, population: whites 4 000, blacks 13 000.

Late yesterday afternoon at No. 56 Van der Riet Street, Charles de Bruin, 43, was sitting in his office at Kowie Marine Services with 36-year-old Gugile Nkwinti. A small town, white Afrikaner businessman with a very politicised black community worker turned law student.

They were on a high, laughing over cokes, asking each other in mutually congratulatory rhetoric if what they have created in this fishing and holiday community can be taken to towns and cities across their country.

What they have created is so near to being revolutionary in racist, violent, angry South Africa that even Mr De Bruin, head of the local Chamber of Commerce, is not really surprised at having been visited profesionally — for the first time in his life — by the South African Security Police.

What they did was to recognise that their two racial solitudes in Port Alfred are part of a single, communal whole. To understand the gulf they had to bridge it to understand what is happening in this country today.

Other communities in the Eastern Cape are experiencing black boycotts of white stores, black school boycotts, nightly riots, violence, arson, murder in black townships, savage black confrontations with white police, black work stoppages.

In Port Alfred, there are no boycotts. A joint black and white community committee is drawing up public works projects to make use of an anticipated one million rand government grant to combat the town's 70 per cent unemployment rate.

The white business community has made unofficial representations to the local police commander and his staff about police behaviour in Port Alfred's black township — including meetings with the police after Mr Nkwinti was arrested (and more or less quickly released) under South Africa's current state of emergency.

The same white business community has endorsed the black community's proposal that Port Alfred become a single, non-racial, fully democratic municipality — something absolutely unheard of in South Africa

Within the space of 48 hours, separate entrances for blacks and whites in Port Alfred's stores were abolished. "And the moon didn't fall in," said Mr Nkwinti . "I must say, it's very, very nice, and I like Mr De Bruin for that."

The black community's voiced concern that its white employers treat them as nothing more than (in Mr Nkwinti's words) "work entities" has led to some surprising changes in white attitude.

Mr Nkwinti yesterday spoke of one black worker describing his employer, previously rude and aggressive, as behaving "like a lamb." He quoted a kitchen maid as telling him: "Now I can sit there and talk to my madam about problems in the black township."

Most significant of all, in terms of the racial politics of not just Port Alfred but all of South Africa, when the white business leaders went looking for Port Alfred's black leaders to talk to about the town's situation, they went to what Mr De Bruin called the "acknowledged" and "accepted" black leaders — members of the United Democratic Front, not people whom the black community had rejected as government puppets and collaborators.

The debate is cosmic in South Africa about whom the government will deal with if it ever sits down to negotiate a political future for blacks. In Port Alfred, the debate is past history.

How did it begin? And why here?

It began at the beginning of June when the government announced it was going to make available about R5 million for employment projects in the economically bleak Eastern Cape. The money was to be given to white municipalities which, in conjunction with local chambers of commerce, would propose projects — something very much like winter works in Canada.

Mr De Bruin and other Port Alfred white leaders went looking for black leaders to consult on what projects should be proposed. It is the 20160300blacks whom unemployment affects the hardest.

And it is a statement about South Africa's racial solitudes in a small town like Port Alfred that the white leaders did not know who the black leaders were —living apart in their separate township, their "location," described as one of the worst and most impoverished in the region. There was no government-established black local authority; the community had kicked it out nearly a year before. The white group assumed the township's clergy would be the de facto leaders and arranged a meeting with them. The clergy explained that they were not the accepted leaders

"We found ourselves with a dilemma," Mr De Bruin said. "We didn't know who to talk to."

Eventually, Delys Sparg, a white trader and farmer with links to the black township, suggested names: Mr Nkwinti's and a few others, all members of the UDF — an organisation the government considers to be a front for the banned African National Congress.

But before the white leaders — who by this time had formed themselves into a joint business and municipal government group called the Employers' Federation — could meet the black leaders, the black community declared a boycott of white businesses.

The reasons for the boycott were many: discontent with black education, black living standards, black political rights, white attitudes. Mr Nkwinti's summary: "It was part of our struggle for liberation."

The arithmetic of a black boycott of white business in Port Alfred is simple: 13 000 blacks; 4 000 whites As Mr De Bruin said yesterday: "A lot of us started caring when we started hurting."

It took eight days from the formation of the Employers' Federation to the identification of "acknowledged" black leaders to the first meeting between the two groups.

Mr Nkwinti's group called itself the Civic Organisation. It had representatives of black students, black industrial and domestic workers, black pensioners and farmers. It presented the Employers' Federation with a list of 20 grievances or demands relating to the boycott

The list was a catalogue of the detritus of apartheid: demands for a new school; demands that the police and troops get out of the township; demands for the release of several young people and students held in detention; demands that a beer hall in the township be closed down and the building turned over to the community for a combination community hall, creche and vegetable shop; demands for an end to separate entrances in white shops; for a more humane attitude toward black workers by white employers; for a single, non-racial municipality; for a forgiveness of rent arrears on the government houses in which blacks live.

The list was presented at a town hall meeting — in itself newsworthy. The white group had to go to the local magistrate to get permission to meet black leaders.

The whites took the list, went out of the hall for half-an-hour, studied it, came back with their reply. They had separated the demands into three groups: moral and socio-economic issues; government-administrative issues, and political issues.

On the moral and socio-economic issues — such as the beer hall, white attitudes, separate shop entrances, job creation — the whites pledged immediate support and action.

On the administrative issues — such as the new school, the rent arrears — they said they would make representations and set up meetings with the appropriate government agencies.

On the political issues — police activities, detentions, an amalgamated, non-racial democratic municipality — they used careful wording to say they wouldn't reject what the black community was asking for but neither would they speak on the black community's behalf.

They also pledged to work with the black community for a better joint community life, a pledge that was to carry beyond the lifting of the shops boycott.

Mr Nkwinti's group took the white reply back to the township. More than 6 500 (of the 13 000 total men, women, children) turned up for a community meeting. The boycott was lifted.

It is possible the boycott was lifted as much because of the white response to the black grievances as because of something else Mr De Bruin told the black leaders at their first meeting:

"I told them that I admitted with shame that we knew what conditions were like in the black township.

"One of the leading businessmen from Queenstown telephoned me this morning and asked me what it is that we were doing right and they were not.

"I said: 'Look, you've got to eat humble pie at this stage. Because if you tell me as a businessman in Queenstown that you were unaware of what was going on in your black township where you get most of your income from your bottle shop, then I'll tell you you're a liar. That is the first thing you say: that you're bloody ashamed'."

Mr De Bruin said: "And that unfortunately is it. We admitted that at our first meeting."

The results since then have been impressive.

There has been the end of racially separate shop entrances; the reports of a changed attitude among white employers.

Mr De Bruin's group arranged for a joint black-white community meeting with the top regional official of the government official who administers black affairs. The junior primary school is to be built this year. The scrapping of rent arrears and a rental ceiling for black pensioners of five rand has been accepted by the government official in principle. The amalgamated municipality has been proposed.

The police issue has been the most fascinating. The whites refused to make formal representations to the police about their activities in the township.

What they did was "network." They talked to their friends, brothers, sons who were in the local police detachment. They had discussion meetings with the local commander. "What I and others did behind the scenes," Mr De Bruin said, "was basically try to create goodwill and understanding."

Members of the black community under detention were released on bail. After the state of emergency was declared in July, and Mr Nkwinti and another member of his committee immediately were arrested, the whites held two meetings with police. Mr Nkwinti and his colleague were released a week later.

"The police now are very friendly in the township," Mr Nkwinti said. "There has been a sudden change of attitude from the police side."

What is to be said about Port Alfred?

On the white side, businessmen and municipal politicians from other communities are calling Mr De Bruin for advice. He laughs when he tells the story about the security policeman, visiting him in June to ask what exactly he was up to.

He also talks about Port Alfred's whites being proud of the attention their town suddenly is receiving.

On the black side, Mr Nkwinti said his community is not going to be compromised on its goal for black liberation "simply because we have established some good rapport with whites."

But he adds this: "Port Alfred is not an island in South Africa." He means that what painstakingly, step by step, is being attempted here, 20km from a place called Kaffir's Drift, is going to be noted across the country. "The Government keeps saying things can't change easily. We've shown how easy it can be."

'I'll talk to ANC'

Ackerman wants to meet exiles

MR RAYMOND Ackerman, founder of the "Group of Ten" of South Africa's top businessmen formed to lobby for change in South Africa says he would be happy to negotiate with the UDF or the ANC either inside or outside the country.

The group "will go much further in its efforts to transform the country than existing representatives of organised commerce."

Mr Ackerman added that although he could not speak for the whole group as policy had not yet been agreed, he would be happy to negotiate with the UDF and the ANC, either inside and outside the country.

Too many in exile

"There are far too many South Africans living in exile in neighbouring states on ANC camps. We must bring these people into consultations," he said.

While he respects the work of organisations such as Assocom and the Federated Chamber of Industries, he says they are ill-equipped to deal directly with immediate political crises.

"They are restrained from taking urgent and direct action because they must speak for so many diverse and often contradictory interests."

Must remain small

"We will avoid becoming an unwieldy organisation. We must remain small so we can move swiftly and flexibly."

Mr Ackerman felt that organised commerce and industry had not done enough in the past to lobby for the end of apartheid.

"In particular, I feel we have not stood up firmly enough on issues such as black citizenship and influx control."

CAPE Times 24/8/85

'Business cartel' call for SA

304A

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN businessmen have been urged to form an anti-apartheid cartel — not only to promote change aggressively at home, but also to counter disinvestment moves abroad.

Professor James Dean, professor of economics at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, made the call on Thursday at a disinvestment seminar at the UCT graduate business school, where he is a visiting professor.

He welcomed the move by Mr Raymond Ackerman to help form a group of businessmen to promote political change. But he believed the action should extend abroad, including the establishment of a high-powered Washington lobby to explain these actions to the American public.

Mobilized

"The common economic interests of English, Afrikaner and black South Africans can and should be mobilized to overcome the present climate of political interia in South Africa and political malevolence abroad," he said.

Professor Dean believed local businessmen could do much more to influence the government and black anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa as well as reaching foreign businessmen and a foreign public which did not appreciate the reality of recent progress against apartheid.

He said South African business was largely depoliticized but knew that apartheid laws were, on balance, not in its best interest.

"South African business should form an aggressive anti-apartheid cartel. This cartel should have both executive and public relations functions."

The business cartel should:

● Develop a feasibl agenda for acceleratir the erosion of apartheic outside of legislativ change.

● Co-operate witl foreign businessmen or funding black appren ticeship, training an education programmes.

● Draw up a politica agenda for change to fil the void left by the government.

● Negotiate "visibly and openly" the devel opment of these points with black economic, po litical and religious leaders.

"Finally, the cartel should communicate with foreign anti-apartheid voters. It should hire the best public relations firm available in Washington DC.

"It should put in place the fanciest little lobby Washington has ever seen in order to publicize and promote the measures being taken in co-operation with black leaders and with foreign business."

Professor Dean said the foreign lobby emphasis should be positive, not negative, and should neither denigrate the South African Government nor make excuses for apartheid.

Opportunities

"The opportunities for constructive change, constructive investment, constructive cultural exchange, constructive international negotiation should be emphasized.

"Flows of people across the Atlantic ought to be vigorously promoted. Tourism and cultural exchange ought to be pushed.

"American public opinion has shown us time and time again that it responds in the end to accurate information and cogent argument. It can and will be persuaded by facts and the opportunity for positive rather than punitive ac- on ' be said.

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SA will not be moved to panic — PW

304A

24/8/85 STAR 20/8/85

by

David Braun
Political Correspondent

South Africa will not be stampeded into a situation of panic by irresponsible elements for opportunistic reasons, President P W Botha said last night.

Opening the National Party Transvaal Youth Congress at the University of Pretoria, Mr Botha said the country's enemies and critics were urging the Government to announce practical results after recent discussions.

"Let me tell them, reform does not come overnight," he said.

"Real stability and development cannot be achieved by the stroke of a pen.

"We shall not be stampeded into a situation of panic by irresponsible elements for opportunistic reasons."

Mr Botha told a crowd of about 3 000 the country would not be forced to sell out its proud heritage built up over decades.

"We shall continue with the process of peaceful deliberations and consultation to find solutions for our unsolved problems. We shall not deviate from the princples of devolution of power and co-responsibilty on matters of common concern," Mr Botha said.

Addressing Conservative Party supporters, Mr Botha said the National Party as the party of renewal and freedom had only one alternative and that was to move boldly ahead. The party dared not allow fear and doubt to hold it back from developing the future of the country.

He said that constitutional proposals which were to be formulated would be referred to the congresses of the National Party for approval.

● Mr Botha took a tough stance against what he termed the radical Communist forces which were trying to place the country in the hands of a power clique.

He said that he was giving last warning to these forces that the government would fight and defeat them with all the lawful means at its disposal.

PFP call on govt for urgent action

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DISPATCH
24:08:85

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The government was urged yesterday to take urgent steps to defuse and depolarise what was fast becoming an explosive situation.

The call came in a statement from the regional chairman of the Progressive Federal Party in the Border, Mr Sandy Stretton.

He said South Africa was in the midst of probably the greatest crisis in its history and the steps would require great courage as well as a major change of heart by the government

"A climate of mutual trust and goodwill must be created if any meaningful dialogue between government and the real leaders of the black community is to take place," he said.

Mr Stretton said some of the conditions to achieve this were:

The state of emergency should be lifted as it was viewed by the majority of blacks as another repressive measure;

A judicial commission of inquiry must be appointed to investigate allegations of police and security force misconduct to clear their names or to bring to court those allegedly guilty of misconduct;

The sooner the SADF and SAP were withdrawn from the townships the better, as their presence was in many cases intimidatory;

All forced removals must be abolished and the permanancy of places such as Duncan Village, Mooiplaas and Kwelera must be confirmed;

President P. W. Botha must issue a statement of intent on black political rights and the phasing out of all apartheid laws;

All political detainees must be charged or released; and

The government must convene a national convention to thrash out a new constitution acceptable to all South Africans.

"No matter how long it takes and how tough the negotiations are, it is far preferable to live in a South Africa locked in deliberation and negotiation than one locked in violent conflict," Mr Stretton said.

He appealed to the opponents of the government to demonstrate a willingness to enter discussions and negotiation.

"The PFP is willing to play a mediatory role in this regard."

Plant not hit by disput

Chief Buthelezi 'won't have people mown down'

JOHANNESBURG — There were many people in the police and defence forces 'whose fingers are itching to shoot the "kaffirs"', the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He told reporters he could not see how unarmed blacks could take on South Africa militarily and he could not expect them to give up their lives

'I have never criticised my brothers (in the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress) for taking up violence,' Chief Buthelezi said at a Press conference on his return from a 12-day visit to Israel.

He said he had been asked whether, because of President Botha's 'disappointing' speech in Durban last week, violence should not be used to liberate the country.

He thought it was wrong to ask this, 'as if people haven't been using violence all the time'.

'Purely on a basis of logistics, I can't see how to take on South Africa militarily.'

Neither violence nor non-violence had yet succeeded in liberating South Africa, although he believed in non-violence



Chief Buthelezi

'as a noble cause'.

'Time is on our side. I have no doubt whatsoever that this country will be liberated,' he said.

'There are many people in the police and defence forces whose fingers are itching to shoot the "kaffirs". I will not have my people mown down by the SADF and the S A P.'

He said the SADF had behaved 'like a rogue elephant' in Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique and Angola.

Chief Buthelezi said jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela should be released 'in spite of his talk that violence is the only alternative'.

The Government should not be afraid 'to release one unarmed man'.

'With the dynamics of the situation ... I don't see what he can do unless he goes out of the country.

'Mandela is not a legend. He is a brother who was in the ANC with me. He's more dangerous in jail. There is more danger of violence escalating because people will say their leader is incarcerated.'

Asked about Mandela's rejection of a national convention, the Chief Minister said that eventually Mandela would have to end up at the conference table.

Oliver Tambo, Mandela and other organisations would have to be present at a national convention.

However, Chief Buthelezi said, if Mandela were released and the Government issued a clear statement of intent, he would be willing to negotiate with the Government — even if Mandela refused to.

'I'm not trying to belittle other organisations — the question is: What kind of political clout do I have? I have a mandate. I practice democratic leadership.'

Asked for his views on sanctions, Chief Buthelezi said that while they had forced the Government to introduce many reforms, he could not support them because of his concern for his people's suffering. — (Sapa)

Slabbert wants to see Mandela

STAR 24/8/85

304A

Political Staff

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday he found it "quite remarkable" that foreign journalists were given permission to interview Mr Nelson Mandela while South Africans with a vital interest in the future of the country battled to get to see him.

He was reacting to the fact that the *Washington Times* yesterday published an interview with Mr Mandela after two of its columnists saw him in Pollsmoor prison.

Asking permission

Dr Slabbert has written to President P W Botha asking for permission to see Mr Mandela.

"I certainly will reserve judgment on what Mr Mandela is supposed to have said or not until I have had the opportunity to talk to him.

"I have formally asked the Government to provide me with such an opportunity if Mr Mandela is prepared to see me.

"Quite apart from what the official position of the African National Congress is on a national convention, I want to make it quite clear that the PFP and I reject violence to achieve political ends by either the State or those who oppose it.

"'We will continue to promote the politics of negotiation to the best of our ability and work for a national convention of all the representative leaders in South Africa," Dr Slabbert said.

In the *Washington Times* interview Mr Mandela is reported to have said he saw no alternative to violent revolution in South Africa. The Pretoria Government, he said, was "crawling on crutches out of the Middle Ages".

He refused to renounce violence and predicted that, if released, he would probably be back in custody in a matter of hours.

It appeared that the lot of black South Africans had not improved during the more than two decades he had spent behind bars.

Mr Mandela, who was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of sabotage and consipracy to overthrow the Government, said he considered himself a political prisoner.

A guide to the State President's 'manifesto'

STAR 24/8/85

304A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

When President Botha delivered his famous "Rubicon" speech in Durban last week he said that, seen with his policy statements earlier this year in Parliament, he saw it as his "manifesto".

The Government regards the President's "manifesto" as a major change in National Party policy. It believes it creates a climate for genuine negotiations with all moderate leaders in the country. The "manifesto" sets out in broad terms Mr Botha's vision of the future. He spelt it out in a series of major speeches this year.

But to understand how it has evolved, it is important to take into account certain Government views and interpretations.

First, the reason why the original speeches may have appeared fuzzy is that Mr Botha deliberately conveyed his message in a low-key manner in order to minimise the impact on the white electorate.

The Government fears white right-wing resistance and is trying to reform the country almost by stealth.

The reason why Mr Botha resisted the temptation to make a dramatic political gesture, particularly in his highly publicised "Rubicon" speech, is that he needs every bargaining card he can get his hands on when he sits down at the negotiating table — and he has committed himself to that.

Government sources point out that although there was some agonising over whether a concession should be made in Durban, it was decided that if this were done pressure would start immediately for another gesture. In this way the Government could give away its bargaining strength until it had little or nothing left with which to negotiate.

A further point made by Government leaders is that specific reforms cannot be spelt out because that would mean whites were again telling blacks what they should be satisfied with.

The "manifesto" is the President's personal commitment to undertake open-ended negotiations with all moderate black leaders who would be prepared to sit down with him.

In his January 25 speech, at the opening of Parliament, Mr Botha acknowledged that there were certain problems that led to frustration in black communities. The elimination of these problems was "receiving urgent attention so as to create better prospects for all", he said.

In the August 15 speech, Government leaders say, the President removed the four major problems. He conceded that blacks were entitled to South African citizenship; he announced that blacks were to be given political participation at the highest level; he hinted broadly that influx control was on the way out; and he said that the Government would not prescribe solutions for black communities.

Back in January, Mr Botha said that the general constitutional goal was, while maintaining security, stability and self-determination for each group, to give all the country's people a say in decision-making that affected their interests.

However, the Government's point of departure was that, because of the diversity of the South African society, it was neither desirable nor practicable to accommodate all the communities in the same way.

Different structures by no means implied that the right of black people to take part in democratic processes was not recognised. Neither would the structures set up for them be inferior or less effective.

Co-operative co-existence which recognised the diversity of the country's people was possible only within a system in which there was no domination of one population group over another, which in turn required self-determination for each group over its own affairs and joint responsibility for and co-operation on common interests.

Mr Botha listed several areas of reform during the January speech:

- All government bodies were to ensure that black communities were involved in decision-making that affected them in the socio-economic sphere, through their participation in investigations affecting their position and through their appointment to statutory and other bodies.
- The Government understood the significance of property rights and the importance of such rights in the development of local government. (Mr Botha announced in his April speech that full property rights would be granted to blacks who qualified for 99-year leasehold).
- Steps to promote orderly urbanisation and to eliminate negative and discriminatory aspects of influx control were receiving urgent attention. (In the August speech, he said influx control was outdated and too expensive.)
- Problems relating to the resettlement of communities should be given attention and resolved to the greater satisfaction of all concerned.
- Self-governing national states would be given maximum autonomy and there would be increased co-operation with them within collective structures.
- The permanence of the black population outside the homelands was accepted. Local government for these communities would be promoted and made more credible, while the various black communities would be treated as entities which in their own right had to be given political participation and a say at the highest levels.
- The Government intended to reach clarity on the question of citizenship for black communities.
- The activities of the Special Cabinet Committee (SCC) investigating the constitutional development of blacks would be supplemented by an informal, non-statutory forum in which interest groups and government bodies concerned would openly discuss a wide range of constitutional and related matters.

In his April 19 speech, during the discussion of his budget Vote in Parliament, Mr Botha said that devolution of power was the cornerstone of future constitutional development.

He rejected a one-party state, and a one man, one vote system in a unitary state. They would lead to serious danger and to threats to minority rights, he said.

On the other hand, it was right that the State should as far as possible avoid discriminatory practices in legislation and administration, he said, and he announced steps to improve the public administration in this regard.

Also in this speech (April 19), he said that the Government did not regard the loss of South African citizenship to be the inevitable result of a national state becoming independent. There could be negotiation on this. He revealed some flexibility on the matter of consolidation.

Mr Botha, also in April, converted the SCC into the broad forum he had announced in January, and he invited all parliamentary party leaders to take part in its proceedings.

The "Rubicon" speech of last week contained much of what he had said in January and April, except that on certain key issues he was more specific.

Mr Botha was a lot more positive on the issues of political participation and citizenship.

"I believe in participation of all the South African communities on matters of common concern. I believe there should exist structures to reach this goal of co-responsibility and participation," he said.

Those communities which wished not to accept independence would remain part of the South African nation. They should be accommodated in political institutions within the boundaries of South Africa.

The citizenship issue, probably the most controversial aspect of the "Rubicon" speech, has since been modified by Government leaders. In a nutshell, it would seem that the Government is willing to grant South African citizenship to any black person, even a citizen of an independent homeland if the relevant national state requests it. Different categories of citizenship for different purposes may be considered.

The citizenship issue is flexibile and may be negotiated according to particular needs.

Mr Botha said in his Durban speech that South Africa would build a future out of various cultures, values and languages in two fundamental ways:

- By letting the people speak through their leaders (there would be give-and-take negotiation with all these leaders).
- By co-operation and co-responsibility, with the overriding common denominator being mutual interest in each other's freedoms and well-being.

There could be no turning back, the President said. The country had to embark on a programme of positive action in the months and years that lay ahead.

Botha: Reform 'not overnight'

Cape Times 24/8/85 — 30CA

PRETORIA. — The government would not be "stampeded" into panic over reform, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night

"We shall continue with peaceful deliberations and consultations to find solutions for our unsolved problems," he said in an opening address to the Transvaal National Party's youth congress at the University of Pretoria.

Mr Botha said South Africa's enemies and critics were urging the government to announce "practical results following our discussions and deliberations"

"Let me tell them, reform does not come overnight Real stability and development cannot be achieved by the stroke of a pen. We shall not be stampeded into a situation of panic by irresponsible elements for opportunistic reasons."

Progress

Good progress had been made in the field of regional development and "multilateral communication".

Meetings between various government institutions were taking place at a rate of 15 to 20 a month, while the Special Cabinet Committee dealing with constitutional matters had already held 45 meetings since its appointment.

Mr Botha said progress towards "a new Republic of South Africa" was being hampered by "radical communist forces" and "radical liberals".

The communists wanted to deliver South Africa into the hands of a "power clique" which would result in starvation and misery among the masses, as had happened in other African states.

Some of the "radical liberals" had called for his resignation, "but I think those who shout at me do so, while at the same time they pray that I do not throw them at the mercy of the electorate"

There were also a few "foolish" conservative elements who did not realize their extremism was becoming all the more ridiculous.

He said a recent Conservative Party resolution calling for only white soldiers to serve in the operational area played into the hands of "communistic terrorism".

The National Party did not dare allow fears or doubts to prevent it building the future of South Africa.

Mr Botha said he had been "encouraged" by his recent frank talks with church leaders, saying they represented a majority among all population groups, and rejected violence.

Mr Botha also said history had proved that sanctions did not work but their imposition on South Africa "must necessarily prejudice our ability to provide the jobs we and our neighbours need".

Noting that some 14 countries in the region depended to an extent on the South African economy, and that some 1,5 million workers from neighbouring black states were employed in South Africa, he warned supporters of sanctions that they would be responsible for any ensuing hardship. — Sapa

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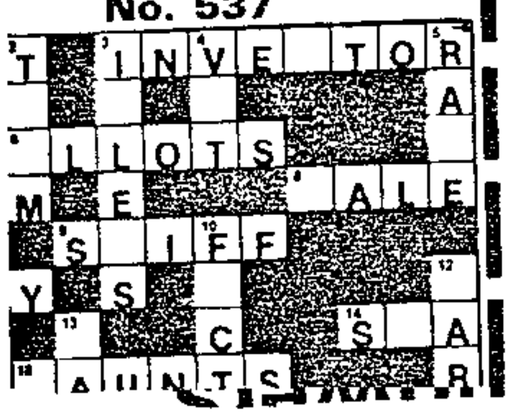

TODAY

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Govt dragging feet — Slabbert

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26/8/85

ALL people who cared about South Africa should tell the government clearly that the minimum basis for internal negotiation was one constitution, one citizenship and one country, the leader of the opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said in Ulundi yesterday.

Speaking at the Inkatha youth conference, he said the Government was talking to South Africans in a language that only it understood.

The Government said it wanted reform, but could give no clear answers when asked what this meant.

When asked if it would scrap influx control, the Government said it would try to improve it because it was too costly.

On black citizenship, the Government said there was no second and first class citizenship, but that blacks would not be accommodated as citizens in the same way as whites, coloureds and Asians.

Those who asked if there would be one constitution for all South Africa's peoples were told by the Government that there was no model in the world it accepted for South Africa, that there could never be one state for all its people, but that somehow everyone should be part of the decisions that affected their lives.

Dr Slabbert said the time had come for people to tell the Government that they could hear its responses but could not understand them.

All who cared about South Africa, whatever their constitutional wishes for the future, should declare that there could only be peace if there was one constitution, one citizenship and one country. This was the minimum basis for negotiation. — Sapa.



convention

26/8/85

Paving the way for national

304A

Mercury

African Affairs Correspondent

DR F. van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of Inkatha, yesterday publicly backed the idea of an alliance to pave the way for a national convention.

Dr Slabbert, addressing a crowd of 5 000 at an Inkatha Youth Conference in Ulundi, proposed that the launching of a 'convention alliance or movement', embracing all who support the national convention idea, should be explored.

It could include Inkatha, the Progressive Federal Party, the United Democratic Front, the churches, commerce and industry and youth movements.

Chief Buthelezi replied: 'I will work with Dr Slabbert and Inkatha will work with the PFP to establish a movement towards a national convention.'

Chief Buthelezi added, amid applause: 'In this call we hear the echoes of things we believe in.'

Include

Dr Slabbert said it was important to demonstrate to the South African Government and to the world that an alliance for a national convention could be formed, committed to one constitution for all South Africans, and based on a common citizenship in one undivided country.

He said such an alliance should not exclude any loyal movement or organisation 'committed to a national convention.'

'For example, it can include Inkatha, the PFP, the UDF, the churches, commerce and industry as well as student and youth movements,' he said.

Dr Slabbert was enthusiastically applauded when he said the people of South Africa wanted to something positive to support away from violence and repression.

He said that, when making this appeal, he was aware of deep differ

■ TURN TO PAGE 2

Backing for alliance

304A

26/8/85

Mercury

■ FROM PAGE 1

ences, suspicions and even hostilities between organisations, movements and personalities.

'I believe our commitment to a convention and to our country should transcend those differences,' he said.

'A convention does not bring together those who agree with one another, but precisely those who have to talk about their differences.'

Dr Slabbert said he would be presenting his proposal to next weekend's congress of the PFP in Durban and expected delegates to back it. Thereafter he would be in touch with a wide range of organisations and bodies to gauge their feelings on the subject.

In his reply Chief Buthelezi said the vast majority of all the race groups in the country were waiting anxiously to be led out of the politics of violence.

'If the Government cannot do so, then we must do so on their behalf,' he said.

'If the Government refuses to negotiate with us, we must negotiate among ourselves and show the world that we can succeed where the Government fails.'

The Chief Minister lashed out at the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress for 'hiding behind mobs descending on ordinary South Africans'.

The Inkatha president said that 'an unholy duet of violence had been played by the South African Government and by the ANC's mission-in-exile, aided and abetted by the UDF'.

'The ANC's mission-in-exile must be told bluntly that, after 25 years of endeavour, which is almost a whole generation, they have failed to put a liberation army together which has even the vaguest hope of destroying apartheid'.

Turning to the UDF, he said he had stepped in to order the end to senseless killing which broke out in Durban three weeks ago.

'But I will be blamed across the length and breadth of the world by my political enemies for employing violence.

The Inkatha president revealed that R2 191 750 damage was caused to buildings and vehicles owned by the KwaZulu Government in Umlazi, Kwa Mashu and Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale during the recent unrest.

Referring to the current boycott of white businesses in Pietermaritzburg, Chief Buthelezi said it was 'tragic' to use consumer power without preparation.

It was not a wise thing if blacks were going to use their consumer power to destroy black shops in the townships.

The youth brigade passed a resolution condemning the 'black-on-black' violence which dominated black politics during the past year.

It further resolved to redouble its efforts to make its 'reassuring presence' in every township felt by every member of the community.

Slabbert has plans for 'Convention Alliance'

304A

STAR 26/8/85

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday unveiled plans for the launch of a "Convention Alliance" that would aim at holding a national convention between groups opposed to apartheid as soon as possible.

And the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said he would be willing to work with the PFP to establish such an alliance.

At the eighth Inkatha Youth Brigade conference in Ulundi yesterday, the PFP leader said he believed the time had come for the PFP to go further than merely calling for a national convention.

Dr Slabbert told the crowd of about 5 000 that it was time to explore the launching of a Convention Alliance or Movement.

"Let us show the Government and the world that an alliance for a national convention can be formed, committed to one citizenship for all South Africans, based on a common citizenship in one undivided country."

POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS

Such an alliance, he said, must not exclude any body, movement or organisation committed to a national convention and could include Inkatha, the PFP, the UDF, the churches, commerce and industry, as well as student and youth movements.

In reply to a question, he said he was willing to talk to the African National Congress and any other group in order to persuade them to take part.

"That is why I have asked the State President to allow me to talk to Nelson Mandela — to find out exactly what he believes in."

He said he would put the idea to the PFP congress in Durban this weekend.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed it was time for preparatory steps to be taken towards a national convention.

"If the Government refuses to negotiate with us, we must negotiate among ourselves and show the world that we can succeed where the Government fails," he said.

Brian Baronet ● Full report, back page | PAGE | Niki Lauda He is only two wins short of average speed just short of fifth place. Nigel Mans

Slabbert, Buthelezi in major ne

Call for convention

304A

CAPE Times 26/5/85

R450 000



IN WHAT could be the
leader of the Opposition,

LONDON. — A former junior government

ajor new initiative

tion alliance

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306A

CAPE Times 26/8/85

From The Cape Times Special Representative at Ulundi

IN WHAT could be the most important opposition initiative since 1948, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday publicly backed the idea of a wide-ranging alliance to pave the way for a national convention.

Dr Slabbert, addressing thousands at an Inkatha Youth Conference in the Kwazulu capital, proposed that the launching of a "convention alliance or movement", embracing all who support the national convention idea, should be explored.

It could include Inkatha, the Progressive Federal Party, the United Democratic Front, the churches, commerce and industry and youth movements.

'Fresh air'

Chief Buthelezi responded with immediate enthusiasm. "I will work with Dr Slabbert and Inkatha will work with the PFP to establish a movement towards a national convention."

Chief Buthelezi added amid applause: "In this call we hear the echoes of things we believe in." He described the initiative as a breath of fresh air.

The initiative comes at a time of unprecedented violence in the country which has led to urgent calls by other non-government leaders for a national convention

President P W Botha's failure to raise hopes in his recent Durban speech is seen as a major reason for moves to bypass the government and get the idea of a national convention moving.

The Cape Times suggested such a move in a front-page editorial ten days ago

Request

Imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has reportedly rejected the idea of a national convention from Pollsmoor Prison but Dr Slabbert has asked for permission to see him to clarify his views

So far the government has not responded to the request which has been put in writing.

The pro-government press has recently shown great sensitivity and hostility to the national convention idea.

'Unholy duet' by govt and ANC/UDF

CAPE Times 26/8/85

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has lashed out at the United Democratic Front and the banned African National Congress.

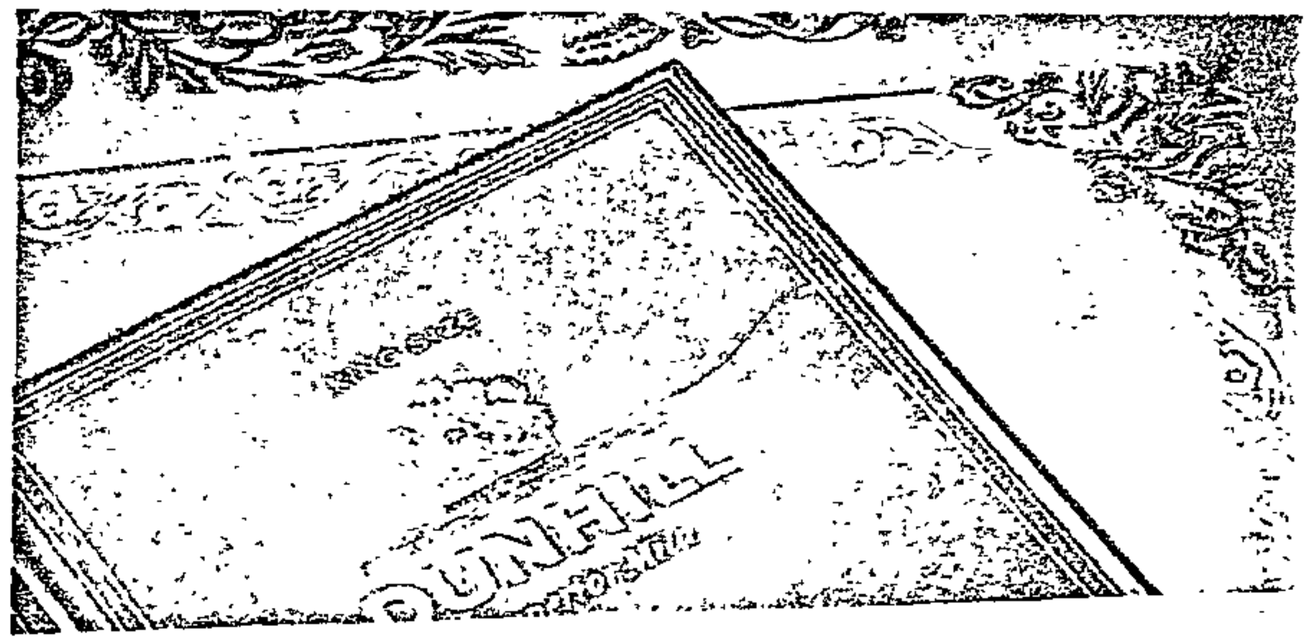
In a three-hour speech to the 10th annual conference of the Inkatha Youth Brigade here, Chief Buthelezi said the two organizations were "hiding behind the mobs" to kill black South Africans.

"An unholy duet of violence has been played by the South African Government and by the ANC's mission-in-exile, aided and abetted by the UDF.

"The ANC's mission-in-exile must be told bluntly that, after 25 years of endeavour . . . they have failed to put a liberation army together which has even the vaguest hope of destroying apartheid." he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would never use its "real" power against blacks for political purposes.

The youth brigade passed a resolution condemning the "black-against-black" violence which dominated black politics during the past year, resolving to redouble its efforts to make its "reassuring presence" in every township felt.



South African Irish reject accusations of supporting apartheid

304A STAR 26/8/85

Members of South Africa's Irish community are up in arms about claims of racism made against them from their home country.

A report in the *Irish Times* has raised the Irish ire and brought strong denials that most of those of Emerald Isle descent living in the Republic are staunch supporters of apartheid.

Most upset is the Irish Businessmen's Association, accused of banning blacks from its ranks and its functions.

The secretary of the association, Mr Mike Allen, said today that claims in the *Irish Times* as reported from Dublin by The Star's Foreign News Service were "biased and untrue".

A report from South Africa by an *Irish Times* correspondent said the association did not allow blacks at its functions in the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg. The report went on to criticise the South African Irish for their supposedly pro-apartheid views.

"We are a business organisation and are in no way racial," said Mr Allen.

"We do not prohibit blacks, but we are an Irish association primarily for Irish businessmen."

He conceded that the association had no black members and did not have black guests at its monthly meetings in Johannesburg or at its annual St Patrick's Day function.

The problem was not that the association excluded blacks — it was that there are not many black Irishmen.

"There is nothing in our well-researched constitution which prohibits a black guest from attending our meetings, or indeed, providing he is Irish, or of Irish parentage, from being elected a member of our association," said the association's president, Mr J Malcolm Hozack, in a letter to *The Star*.

He and Mr Allen said the association was non-racial, non-political and constitutionally dedicated to bettering good relations between businessmen from Ireland and South Africa.

Rejection will not deter Slabbert

STAR
304A
27/8/85

By Hannes de Wet

The refusal of some radical groups to be part of Dr F. Van Zyl Slabbert's planned "Convention Alliance" will not prevent the Progressive Federal Party Leader from going ahead with a national convention between groups opposed to apartheid.

Dr Slabbert told *The Star* last night: "The purpose of a national convention is precisely to differentiate between those who don't want to renounce violence and those who are prepared to search for peaceful solutions.

"I have talked to a wide spectrum of leaders about this. The reaction was positive — otherwise it wouldn't have been worthwhile to go ahead with the idea of a Convention Alliance."

According to Dr Slabbert, his initiative was also a way to determine how many people were really prepared to take part in a national convention.

Radical groups such as the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) rejected the idea of a national convention yesterday.

The president of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said his organisation had stated previously that a national convention avoided the question of the transfer of power to the black majority.

RULED OUT

Mr Thumba Pillay, a spokesman for the NIC, said President Botha's recent Durban speech ruled out the concept of one man one vote in a unitary state and the President had refused to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally.

"This makes it difficult for us to support the call for a convention."

Dr Slabbert unveiled his plans to launch a "Convention Alliance" at the Inkatha Youth Congress in Ulundi at the weekend.

The president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said he would be willing to work with the PFP to establish such an alliance.

Dr Slabbert said that he was hoping to organise the convention as soon as possible.

● In Lusaka yesterday, the African National Congress said Chief Buthelezi and Dr Slabbert were opposed to any meaningful action to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, reports Sapa-Reuter.

In a statement, the ANC said that, even though the South African Government had shown its true colours, "Buthelezi and Slabbert continue to advance the empty perspective of dialogue".

Slabbert, Buthelezi criticized

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress yesterday said Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert were opposed to any meaningful action to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In a statement issued here by its information department, the ANC said both leaders "refuse to initiate or participate in any mass action".

"Together they are against the international isolation of apartheid South Africa," said the ANC.

"They are virulently opposed to armed struggle and they are happy to justify the violence of the apartheid system in the name of law and order."

The statement said both leaders were happy to serve in institutions created by the Pretoria regime to perpetuate the system of white minority rule.

The ANC accused the two men of using tactics that would stop the struggle and create the possibility for "Botha, Buthelezi and Slabbert, backed by the Reagan administration, to impose a reformist solution on our people". — Sapa-Reuter

● CAL rejects convention, page 11

Cape Times 27/8/85

EEC visit: SA seeks clarification

PRETORIA. — The government yesterday demanded "urgent clarification" from three European Community ministers of the intention of their visit to South Africa this week, and said they would not be allowed to see jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela if they came.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said the government had approved a visit by the foreign ministers of Luxembourg, Holland and France, but added: "The basis for the government's approval was the assumption that the EEC were genuinely interested in ascertaining the true facts concerning the situation here."

The three ministers — Mr Jacques Poos of Luxembourg, Mr Hans van den Broek of the Netherlands and Mr Giulio Andreotti of Italy — are to represent the EEC countries and Spain and Portugal. They were expected to arrive tomorrow.

In a statement on behalf of the 12, the chairman of the EEC political committee said: "The Government of South Africa should without delay take concrete steps and the need for real dialogue with the authentic representatives of the black population has become more urgent."

Mr Botha said: "If the main purpose of the visit is to prescribe to the government what its policy should be and the time-scale for implementation of that policy, then the government must ask whether an approach of this nature reflects the objective state of mind on the part of the special political committee necessary for a positive dialogue between its emissaries and the South African Government." — Sapa

dence today at the mightiest financial centre on

bought newspapers on the way to work this morn-

dealers who normally gather in front of the

would be welcomed.

Govt may decide today on timing of fuel hike

Pretoria Bureau

The Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs today repeated its warning that it cannot continue to stave off a petrol-price rise in the face of a consistently weak rand.

Indications are that a price increase is imminent after the rand's increasingly poor showing, and particularly in the light of its drop yesterday to around 35 US cents.

The Cabinet is expected to make a decision at its weekly meeting today on how much longer the Government can delay passing the increased imported cost of fuel on to the consumer.

Mr Thenns Burger, spokesman for the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, said the dwindling value of South Africa's currency had put the authorities in "a very precarious position".

He indicated that an increase would become unavoidable if the rand continued to flag after the Johannesburg Stock Exchange resumed trading on Monday.

The authorities, he said, would be watching the situation closely and if it continued at present levels, there would be no option but to raise the fuel price.

However, Mr Burger declined to comment on how big the increase could be. There has been speculation that it may be as much as 10c a litre.

Earlier this year, motorists had to budget for a 40 percent rise in the petrol price.

When that came into effect, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, warned that another increase might be necessary this year.

However, just last month there were reports that a firming of the rand meant the price could be cut. These hopes appear now to have been dashed.

Slabbert: 'SA has to choose'

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa had to choose between peaceful negotiation and confrontation in which the only beneficiaries would be the profiteers of violence, opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

Replying to an ANC denunciation of the Convention Alliance launched by him and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu at the weekend, Dr Slabbert said if it was rejected, peace-loving South Africans would increasingly become the victims of violence.

"If this becomes the prevailing attitude in our present circumstances then ordinary peace-loving South Africans of all races will be forced to choose between supporting an apartheid government or an armed struggle against it," he said.

"In either case they will have to support one form of violence or another or increasingly become victims of both.

Vital

"To call for a Convention Alliance is precisely to say there is a third way out of our dilemma — that is the politics of negotiation.

"It is important, even vital, that both the ANC and the government should be present at such a convention.

"I still believe that the middle ground can hold and that is why I appeal to all who believe in a non-violent resolution to our conflict to come together and demonstrate the viability of this third option. If we don't the only beneficiaries will be the profiteers of violence from the right or the left."

PFP Mandela campaign

AN intensive "Free Mandela" campaign is to be launched today by the Western Cape Young Progressives who believe he should play a major role in the "new South Africa".

The campaign will include the sending of a petition to the State President, Mr P W Botha, the placing of one-person pickets throughout the Peninsula, and distribution of slogan buttons, information leaflets and car stickers.

According to a statement signed by the national chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller, the petition will be launched at this week's PFP Federal Congress. The campaign will culminate in a mass rally at the Claremont Civic Centre on September 18. — Sapa

Peace-lovers 'driven to the radicals'

CAPE TIMES 28/8/85

Staff Reporter

THE government is driving people who wish to pursue peaceful protest into "radical camps" by making their actions illegal, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said in a statement last night.

Reacting to Dr Allan Boesak's detention yesterday, Dr Slabbert said Section 29 of the Internal Security Act was "part of the problem and not the solution".

"The real problem in the present situation is that the government has not allowed any possibility for peaceful protest and the fact that any attempt in this direction immediately becomes illegal."

Dr Slabbert appealed to Dr Boesak "and all others who wish to explore the politics of negotiation and prevent the escalation of violence to come together in the Convention Alliance and see how we can achieve our common objectives".

Adult

"If we do not, and let our opportunities go by, the only beneficiaries will be the profiteers of violence from the left and right and future generations will justifiably curse us for our inaction."

The government should take a more adult attitude towards a peaceful march, as the Reagan Administration had done in the United States, Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's civil-rights spokesperson, said yesterday.

She urged the government to allow today's scheduled march to Pollsmoor Prison, where Mr Nelson Mandela is being held, to take place.

She also condemned Dr Boesak's arrest.

"The sensible thing would have been to give permission for the march to take place, let the people march off their energy, let the people sit outside Pollsmoor Prison and deliver their petition ... It's really childish, but the government cannot tolerate being defied."

Dr J C Adonis, past chairman of the Ring van SA Gestig of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, of which Dr Boesak is assessor, issued a statement stongly condemning the arrest and calling for Dr Boesak's immediate release.

The decision of the

To page 2

CAPE TIMES 28/8/85

From page 1

Ring was supported by 10 congregations of the NG Sendingkerk in the Cape Peninsula.

The media convenèr for the Cape Action League, Mr Armien Abrahams, said the league had consistently condemned the arbitrary detention of those recently arrested — including Dr Allan Boesak — under the "fascist security laws".

"We have not been consulted about the Pollsmoor march and therefore have not been part of its planning. We would however regard any action against unarmed marchers as a violation of the right to protest.

"We do support the demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners including the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Furthermore we fully endorse his total rejection of a National Convention."

The vice-president of the UCT SRC, Mr Colin Kahanovitz, said: "The UCT SRC sees the detention of the Rev Allan Boesak shortly after addressing a UCT mass meeting as adding further testimony to our view that the government has no desire for reform.

"The wave of detentions over the past few days, including that of three UCT students, merely strengthens our resolve to support tomorrow's peaceful protest and to intensify our opposition to injustice."

Sapa reports that the South African Council of Churches expressed its "deep dismay and concern" at the detention of Dr Boesak and urged people not to respond to it with "acts of anger".

In a statement in Johannesburg, the SACC's national executive added that it was "regrettable in the extreme" that the authorities had reacted "with this type of irresponsibility" to plans for the proposed march.

Too late for classification

DEATHS

HUTCHISON — William Alexander, died on Tuesday, August 27. Sadly missed by Tommy, Amanda, Diane and family. Funeral arrangements later. Phone 50 1906

HUTCHISON. — William Alexander, late GPO Cape Town and CTO section Cape Town. Funeral arrangements later.

LA county votes to keep SA investments

The Star's Foreign News Service

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles County board of supervisors yesterday voted against a proposal to disinvest $660 million (about R1 833 million) of the county's stocks and bonds invested in firms doing business in South Africa.

The 3-2 vote reflected the board's conservative-liberal split.

Two of those who voted against disinvestment were Mr Pete Schabarum and Mr Michael Antonovich, both of whom visited South Africa last year as guests of the Government.

Although important, the supervisors' vote was only advisory in nature.

In contrast to the county, the Los Angeles City Council voted on August 6 to support a disinvestment plan.

So far the overseers of two of the city's three pension funds have approved plans to disinvest their funds of South Africa-related holdings.

● About 1 000 students at the University of California's Berkley campus demonstrated against apartheid this week.

Pik's bid to see Reagan failed, says US report

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha tried unsuccessfully to arrange a meeting with President Reagan earlier this month, it is reported here.

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak said such a meeting was "clearly unacceptable" and the White House suggested instead that a senior US official go to Vienna for a meeting with Mr Botha.

It was the Vienna meeting — where Mr Botha outlined South Africa's reform programme in talks with US National Security Adviser Mr Bud McFarlane and Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker — that led to worldwide interest in President Botha's speech on August 15.

'PUBLIC RELATIONS DISASTER'

"The speech was in many respects a public relations disaster for the South African Government," Dr Crocker said in an interview yesterday.

Sources confirmed that the Evans-Novak report was correct, but a senior US official would not comment on Mr Botha having asked to see President Reagan in person. All he would say was that the State Department thought it better not to have a meeting between Mr Botha and US officials in Washington because they wanted to avoid "political fall-out".

The Vienna meeting and President Botha's speech are seen here as watershed events in the drastic deterioration of South Africa's image in the US. Expectations for reform were raised — and not met.

The events also marked the emergence of Mr McFarlane as a major figure in US relations with South Africa, representing the importance attached by the Reagan Administration to the issue as a foreign policy crisis.

CAPE Times 29/8/85

Inkatha 'threat' to UDF disowned

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has publicly repudiated a statement by a leading Inkatha member who said United Democratic Front sympathizers should get out of Umlazi or face the consequences.

Dr Dhlomo's statement follows the intervention of PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who telephoned Ulundi yesterday and on Tuesday in response to threats by Mr Winnington Sabelo, a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Umlazi and a member of the central committee of Inkatha, that visitors to Umlazi who were known to be trouble-makers would not be allowed to enter the township

Dr Dhlomo said Mr Sabelo had no mandate from either the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government, the Umlazi Township Council or the Inkatha leadership in Umlazi to issue such a statement.

He said he understood the anger of the people who had lost their properties during the unrest and he was aware that the UDF and the NIC were reportedly implicated in the unrest, "but we will not allow anybody to take the law into their own hands. Consequently, if there are any UDF members and supporters in Umlazi, they must ignore Mr Sabelo's threat and accept that it was not sanctioned by the Inkatha leadership".

Mr Sabelo replied that he was merely making a statement on behalf of residents and Inkatha members who had suffered great losses during the unrest.

CAPE Times 29/8/85 SOUTH

UDF warns PFP on house candidates

From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has launched a stinging attack on the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) on the eve of the party's Natal congress.

A statement issued by Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the PFP, yesterday warned the PFP against deciding to field candidates for the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament.

The statement said sections of the white community who previously stood steadfastly against apartheid "now seem to be having second thoughts as a result of these reforms".

"It appears that the government hopes that the PFP, by recruiting black members and participating in elections for all three houses, can be used to win some popular legitimacy for the new deal.

"But while the PFP will be able to recruit members from all communities, their candidates will sit in separate houses and their African colleagues will be relegated to the role of observers."

The UDF said the state of emergency had been used to crush it and that its leadership were in detention, on trial, had disappeared or been killed under mysterious circumstances.

Venom

Meanwhile, the PFP had used "the gap the repression of the UDF has provided to recruit black members".

The UDF said that if the PFP decided to put up candidates for the other two houses, it would find that they were rejected with the same venom as the Labour Party, the National People's Party and Solidarity.

"Not only will they be standing against the clearly expressed wishes of the people, but they will be helping legitimize structures that entrench minority rule."

They appealed to whites to acknowledge that the type of change that would satisfy the majority would come only through the actions of the majority.

"The condition for peace is the eradication of apartheid. No fraudulent 'power sharing' over the heads of the people will be acceptable. We must recognize that majority rule is inevitable."

CAPE Times 29/8/85

New support for convention bid?

Political Staff

DURBAN. — New supporters for the convention alliance launched last weekend by the Progressive Federal Party Leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, are expected to be announced soon.

Who they are is being kept a closely guarded secret at present.

However, as the first delegates to the PFP national congress started arriving in Durban last

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Who they are is being kept a closely guarded secret at present.

However, as the first delegates to the PFP national congress started arriving in Durban last night, there were indications that the names would be announced in the next day or two.

Although the convention alliance has been denounced by the government and the African National Congress, Dr Slabbert has said that he will work to involve both

The alliance will be an important part of the congress discussions tomorrow and on Saturday, along with resolutions calling on the PFP to broaden its base and contest seats in the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

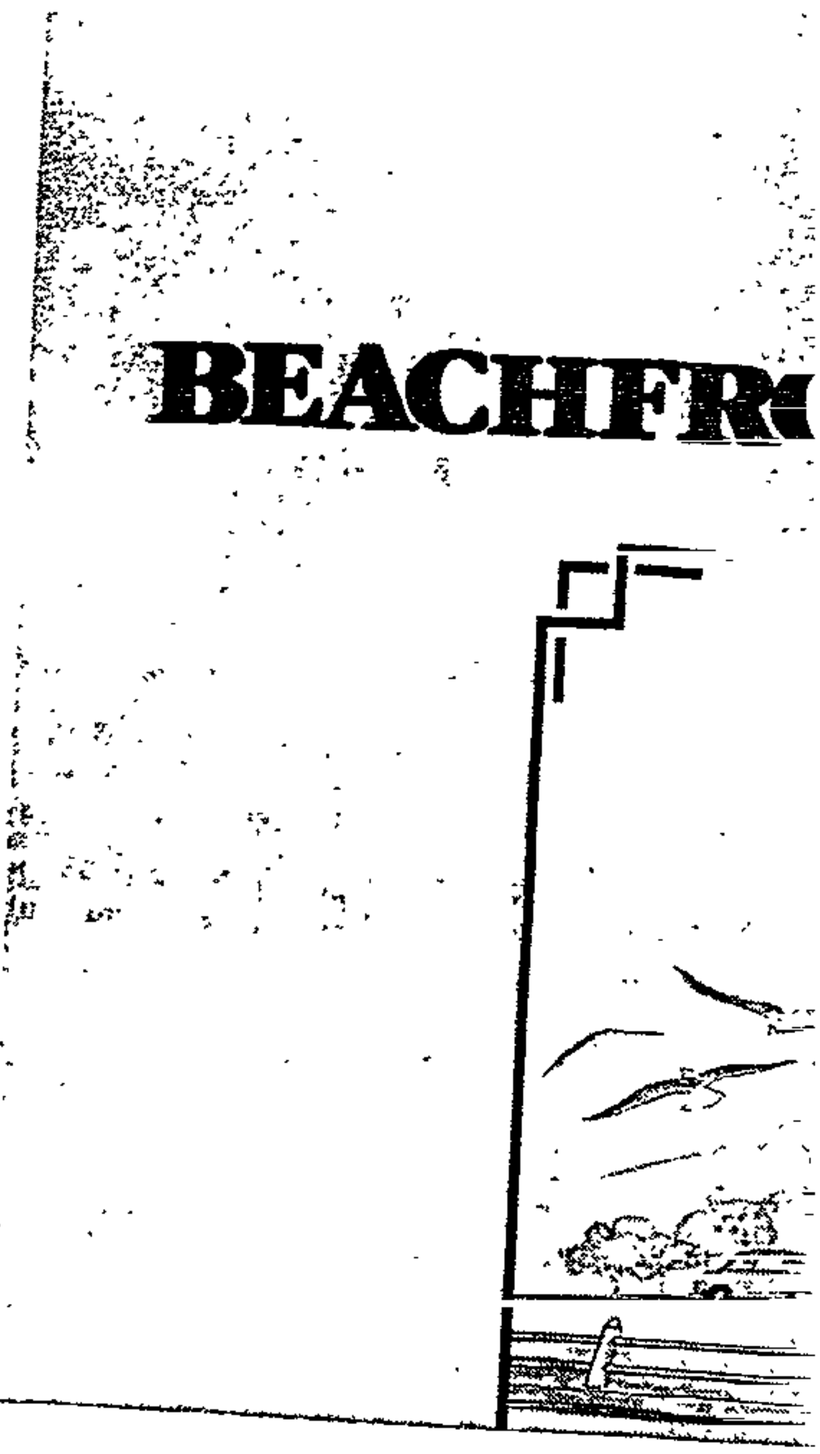
Meanwhile, the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, has expressed support for the convention aliance.

She said Dr Slabbert had called for a resolution based on one constitution and one citizenship in one country. This was exactly what was being demanded by blacks.

The alliance has attracted strong editorial support from English-language newspapers.



ROLEX
LADY DATEJUST
Oyster Perpetual



POLITICS

ARGUS 29/8/84 3044

National convention a 'hard, lengthy process'

BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff examines the form which a national convention might take and speaks to one of the chief proponents of the idea

A NATIONAL convention is no one-day wonder that would overnight resolve the problems of the country. It could take years to formulate a new set of rules for South African society.

Neither would it result in an immediate hand-over of power to any one group and it would be equally unlikely to provide a quick and easy solution to all the problems facing South Africa.

But those supporting the call for a national covention say it would be a forum in which real negotiation would have to take place and where real agreement would be reached. This would in turn enjoy the greatest degree of acceptability from the general public.

The key factor, however, would be to get all the parties to the negotiating table — the prospects of which at the moment look bleak.

The joint action of Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to form a convention alliance to press for a national convention is partially aimed at resolving this problem.

> The most important factor is obviously the National Party Government which would have to call the convention.

So far it has steadfastly refused to become involved in anything that is anywhere near a national convention.

Increasingly cold water is being poured on the idea of a national comvention by organisations to the left of the PFP with the African National Congress now saying that it is no longer interested in a convention but will only talk about the handing over of power.

Dr Slabbert acknowledges that the only way a national convention can succeed in formulating a new constitution is for all the important political groupings, including the ANC, to take part.

"Everyone of any political consquence should be there. Nelson Mandela, the PAC, Chief Buthelezi, the Congress of South African Students (which was banned yesterday), the United Democratic Front should all be involved. Anyone who could claim a political base should be involved."

Dr Slabbert did not feel the vast number of delegates involved would result in such a convention being uncontrolable.

"It would only be uncontrolable if some of the parties were not committed to negotiation and were using it as a subterfuge behind which they could continue a campaign of violence."



Dr Slabbert

He points out that the parties in the first national convention, which led to union in 1910, had come out of a war which had left deep and bitter hatreds which were overcome in reaching agreement.

He says it would be essential for the Government of the day to dismantle the apartheid laws to create the correct climate for negotiations.

Dr Slabbert feels that if the laws were removed even organisations such as the ANC would probably reconsider their decision not to participate.

And despite the clause in PFP policy that excludes any political group that at the time a convention "advocates or uses violence or subversion," Dr Slabbert also feels that the creation of the right climate would remove the necesity for organisations to continue a campaign of violence.

The proposal for a national convention forms a key part of Progressive Federal Party policy.

The party, in its constitutional policy brochure, does not see a convention as an easy cure-all but as a "lengthy, wide-ranging process" to form a constitutional basis for a new political dispensation.

The national convention in terms of PFP policy would start the process of change and would have to create the climate for change as well as implement intermediate steps to introduce the new constitution.

The government of the day would not hand over power to the national convention but would have the duty and responsibility to implement the decisions of the convention.

This would include elections to establish the new government in terms of the proposed constitution but this would only happen "when the government of the day is satisified that the preconditions for the adoption of an alternative constitution exist and that the lower level institutions are working effectively."