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	Terblanche S.S.	Black workers' perception of labour unions	1983
	Lotz J.W.	Managements' Handling of Strikes	1983
	Slabbert J.A.	Attitudes of black workers towards pension schemes	1982

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. & POLITICS

1988

JUNE

Two important budget debates

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Two important budget vote debates start in Parliament today: Information and Constitutional Development. (3049)

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe will be replying to the Information debate for the first time since becoming a full Cabinet Minister.

One issue likely to be raised by opposition parties is the large sums of money spent by the Bureau for Information on media advertisements following speeches by the State President. Star 11/6/88

The Conservative Party particularly feels that this is tantamount to the National Party using public funds to spread its own propaganda.

In the Constitutional debate, which starts in the House of Delegates this afternoon, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis is expected to give details on a number of government proposals regarding political participation for blacks.

CP on Republic Day

306A B/day 1/6/88
THE CP has accused government of turning yesterday's Republic Day commemoration into a non-event, because the NP did not want to include its tricameral partners in the festivities.

Unlike 10 years ago when the country geared up for days before major Republic Day festivities and countless ministers and deputy-ministers addressed gatherings, yesterday there were only three official low-key events involving security forces' representatives and one event in Lesotho's capital Maseru.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok addressed a celebration at Verwoerdburgstad, near Pretoria, and Defence Deputy Minister Wynand Breytenbach addressed an army unit function in Senekal.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Head of the police counter-insurgency unit Lieutenant-General Bert Wandrag spoke at a medal parade in Port Elizabeth.

CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis said: "The CP is very pro Republic Day celebrations, but the NP, instead of taking the initiative, is trying to play down the day as a national day and turn it into a secondary occasion."

NP Natal leader Stoffel Botha said celebrations had taken place "in various small ways" and mentioned the rugby match in Pretoria.

"There has been no deviation from the past. People still remember Republic Day and most people thank God for it," he said.

246158
**Need for unified
opposition in SA**

MARITZBURG — The need for a unified opposition in South Africa was greater than ever before, the Independent Party chairman Mr J H Momberg said yesterday.

Mr Momberg said at a meeting that the IP was "very keen to help play a part in unifying the opposition", but was also looking to gaining support from Afrikaans National Party members disillusioned with the NP's lack of reform initiatives and fed-up with its confrontational style of government. The IP offered a home not only to whites but to every South African. — Sapa.

3000

SA celebrates in Lesotho

Sowetan 2/6/88
(304A)

MASERU — South Africans celebrated Republic Day for the first time on Lesotho soil at a reception attended by Lesotho Cabinet Ministers and members of the diplomatic corps at a leading Maseru hotel last night.

The reception was hosted by South Africa's trade representative in Lesotho, Mr Ghemus Geldenhuys, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring.

Proposing a toast to the health of King Moshoeshoe II, the

SOWETAN Africa News Service

Government and people of Lesotho, Mr Meiring said it was important for Lesotho and South Africa to co-operate and work together as neighbours.

Bridges

He said it was also significant that the two countries had exchanged trade missions and that Lesotho had recently assigned its first trade commissioner to Johannesburg.

Mr Meiring said it was important for South

Africa to build bridges of friendship and co-operation with her neighbouring states like Lesotho and Swaziland.

He also mentioned the South African Government's plans to reactivate the Cahora Bassa scheme in Mozambique.

In reply Lesotho's acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Vincent Malebo, said South Africa had an obligation to play a part in the fight for peace in the sub-region.

AKHALWAYA: Parliament is now a little more mixed with "Indians" and "coloureds" being part of joint sittings. Most of us don't regard it as much of an advancement, but in comparison, the Johannesburg City Council is still totally white with no direct representation for any black groups. What do you make of that?

MR OBERHOLZER: I think that communities want to govern themselves, especially if they are geographically so situated and are economically viable.

The Government policy of separate development through the years has created a situation where for instance Lenasia is ripe for self-government. If Lenasia were a white community they would have demanded local authority status long ago.

Power

With the advent of the regional services councils (RSCs), we experience sharing of power, of joint decision-making, because the RSCs are multi-racial councils.

They have a formula with the weighted vote. But it really doesn't mean a thing. Its consensus decision making and I'm sure that if anyone tried to abuse the vote — say from the white council which has almost 50 percent of the votes — for its own benefit with regard to the expanding of money we would immediately get a polarisation of that committee.

But because the Act states — it's just as well, and here one has to give credit to Minister (of Constitutional Development and Planning) Chris Heunis — that the money collected by the RSCs shall be applied

Why blacks can't vote in the city

Sowetan 2/6/88

(3047)

When countrywide municipal elections are held in October, one famous name will be missing from the list of candidates — Francois Oberholzer. "Mr Joburg", or "Mr Obie" as he is known, will be retiring after 16 years as chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee.

The controversial Mr Oberholzer is a supreme political survivor, having lived through the split in and subsequently demise of his United Party, the New Republic Party, and "hung" city councils. He is a former member of the now scrapped Transvaal Provincial Council.

Mr Oberholzer is not afraid of criticism. In fact, he thrives on controversy. He speaks his mind and does what he feels is necessary to survive politically. He caused a storm among whites in 1974 when he opened public libraries and parks to all races. But he stands firm in his opposition to matters such as integrated public swimming pools, residential areas and local authorities.

In this frank interview with AMEEN AKHALWAYA, the editor of *The Indicator*, he spells out his views. This is the first of a two-part series.



MR FRANCOIS OBERHOLZER

where the need is the greatest.

Naturally the need is the greatest in the lesser-developed local authority areas such as the black local authority areas and the areas with management committees of the "coloured" and "Indian" people. This is throughout the country.

It's a great pity that Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi (of Inkatha) is not participating in the RSC system because it would be so advantageous for his own people, billions

would be pouring into the townships which happen to be under his direct control inside KwaZulu.

It would create employment for his people, there would be an upgrading of their facilities, which is happening now everywhere else in the country.

I mention the local government experience because in all probability the joint sittings might develop into the same situation where you have joint decision-making in a single House instead of having separate decision-making.

Reform

It could be that the State President is moving in that direction. Ultimately further steps would be taken on the road of improvement.

I think that the word "reform" is not a real descriptive direction because I believe that what we are doing is improving our way of life, improving the political system and extending and improving the democratic system, and ultimately we'll see an improvement where we reach a stage where there will be satisfaction amongst all the commun-

ities.

How many years that will take will be a guesstimate. I don't think that one can say reform surely will take five, 10 or 20 years, whatever the case may be.

Why can't so-called coloureds, Indians and Africans be represented directly in the city council? For example you have Mayfair which is an integral part of Johannesburg where people of all colours live, you've got thousands of blacks living in what is described as "white" Johannesburg as domestic workers and so forth.

THAT is of course not a decision of the council. We don't legislate. We are under the control of the executive of the Province, and the central government has to legislate with regard to any constitutional changes within the local government structure.

And if they change one they have to change the whole country. When people happen to work in the city it doesn't mean that they acquire certain rights. A person who works in Johannesburg and lives in Roodepoort has rights in Roodepoort and has no rights in this

city in regard to voting powers.

Especially with the municipal election pending and the strengthening of the rightist movements through the vehicle of the Conservative Party, I think it would be political suicide for any political party to advocate now that the Government should legislate to have integrated councils.

One would find that in Soweto there would be in any event no person from any other race group who would qualify for a vote if all councils were to be integrated.

Decide

So you would have an anomalous position, but that is for the higher authorities to decide and for the politicians to consider who are now fighting elections.

I will no longer be participating in the elections, and this is the strongest municipality, where nobody would venture at this point in time to agitate for integrated councils, one-man one-vote on local authority level.

If the political parties are so scared of the threat from the right-wing, if they are not prepared to take another step forward, then surely that confirms what black people have been saying — that this government is racist and reform means nothing because you are now going back to square one and not really moving forward?

I WOULDN'T say that. I would say that with elections within six months, even coloured, Indian and black local authorities would not agitate at this time for an integrated situation.

Continued tomorrow.

Controversy again over the SA flag

AKS
3/8/88

The Argus False Bay Bureau

30KA

CHOICES:
Flag designs,
right, at Die
Stempastorie,
Simon's Town,
rejected by
Parliament dur-
ing the lengthy
process of
choosing a na-
tional flag.

THE South African flag, adopted 60 years ago this week, had beginnings as controversial as the present debate on its use and composition.

President Botha, speaking at a celebration of the 60th anniversary of the flag, said people were saying the Union Jack should be removed or a different flag designed.

Another debate has opened with the refusal by the president of the South African Rugby Board, Dr Danie Craven, to allow the President's XV to wear the flag on their jerseys at Loftus Versveld on Tuesday. Dr Craven said he did not want the board to be "associated with the Government because it will look as though we are being dictated to".

Although it is said that the flag belongs to the country and not the Government, the original content and design was a politically thorny issue which took 11 years to resolve.

On May 31, 1910, when the Union of South Africa was declared, an adaptation of the Red Ensign was adopted.

According to sources at Die Stempastorie, the cultural history museum at Simon's Town, it was not until 1919 that General Jan Smuts promised the country its own flag.

In 1925 Dr D F Malan and his supporters announced that they attached no significance to the Red Ensign and asked the Government to provide a new design.

By May, 1926, the flag issue had turned into a stormy debate and nationwide quarrel. General Smuts and the South African Party were insisting on the inclusion of the Union Jack while Dr Malan and the National Party wanted to include the falgs of the Boer republics.

A flag committee was appointed but its design, by Professor E Walker, was not popular

because it was too close to the Vierkleur.

A second flag commission was appointed later that year which included members of the public under the chairmanship of Sir William Campbell.

Another design was rejected and Sir William resigned after his proposal that the two political parties each submit a design and the choice be decided by public referendum was also rejected.

A public flag competition that year elicited more than 3 000 entries.

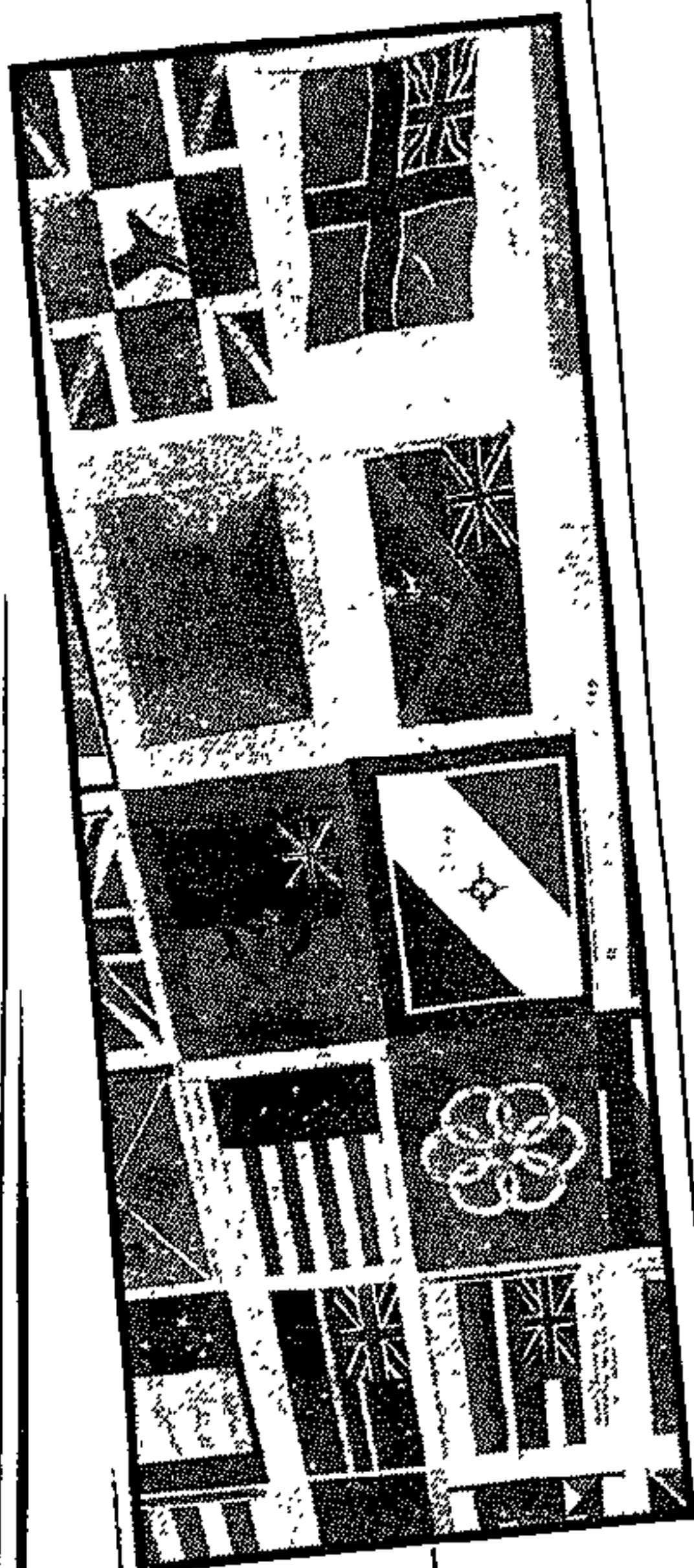
The flag finally chosen in February, 1927, and hoisted for the first time in May, 1928, was a compromise — Professor W Blommaert succeeded Sir William as chairman and submitted a another design to Parliament which was approved by the House of Assembly, changed by the Senate and rejected in its changed form by the House of Assembly.

It took discussions both in and out of Parliament and compromises from all concerned on the composition of its contents to avoid giving preference to any group.

The orange, white and blue were the colours of the first flag of possession hoisted by the Dutch on South African soil.

The Union Jack representing the Cape and Natal was placed nearest the flag-pole but reversed so that it would not be given preference and the flag of the Free State was hung vertically in a "neutral" position. The small Dutch flag in the Free State flag pays tribute to King William III.

The flag of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek, representing the Transvaal, hangs farthest from the flag pole but maintains its status because it is the only one hanging in its natural position.



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

HISTORY: Mrs Selina Kotze in the flag room of Die Stempastorie in Simon's Town where the history of the South African flag is portrayed.

Mechanical 'OX-wagons' for the Great Trek

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

THE roar of internal combustion engines will replace the "kreun" of the ox-wagon when the far-right Afrikaner Volkswag commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek in October.

And some of the wagons, and oxen — will have to be transported by rail or road between certain towns to converge at the Volk's festival on time.

This was disclosed last night by former Conservative Party MP for Rissik, Mr Daan van der Merwe, who is organizing the right-wingers' festival Trek to Donkerhoek near Bronkhorstspuit.

Mr Van der Merwe said the Volkswag was designing and building "symbolic" vehicle-drawn wagons.

"We will have 13 symbolic wagons mounted on specially-designed undercarriages which will be pulled by mechanical means."

Beyond that, Mr Van der Merwe could not give any further technical details other than that the Volkswag had architects and engineers involved in the project.

Commenting last night on the lack of authenticity of the replica, petrol-fed versions of the "kakebeenwa", CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "Though not perfect, the symbolic wagons express the ideals of the Voortrekkers."

Asked if he would grow a beard to celebrate the spirit of the "saamtrek" festival — as former Broederbond chief Professor Carel Boshoff has done — Dr Treurnicht said: "No, because I've discovered that Andries Pretorius (a Voortrekker leader) didn't have one."

The Afrikaner Volkswag, chaired by Professor Boshoff, has organized a counter celebration — under the theme of "On Trek to Our Own" — to that of the National Party and Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK).

Mr Van der Merwe said that underlying the whole "alternative" far-right Trek was the "logistical problem" of not having enough ox-drawn wagons to converge on Donkerhoek along the 13 Trek routes — some "as far afield as South-West Africa and Cape Town".

"There are simply not enough suitably-trained trek oxen to draw wagons along the commemorative routes to the festival venue. At this stage, four months before the Trek is due to start, we only have enough oxen to draw six wagons," he said.

The situation could, however, very well change, for "unlike the government who hijack the (Voortrekker) Monument and gives the Volk commands from on high in a helicopter, our festival has grown spontaneously from the Volk".

"This groundswell of support could well mean that more genuine wagons and oxen will participate," he said.

Outspanning along the route would be "no problem" as long as the Trekkers were in the platteland since "every inch of it is right-wing ground".

AKHALWAYA: If the political parties are so scared of the threat from the right-wing, if they are not prepared to take another step forward, then surely that confirms what black people have been saying — that this government is racist and reform means nothing because you are now going back to square one and not really moving forward?

OBERHOLZER: I wouldn't say that. I would say that with elections within six months, even coloured, Indian and black local authorities would not agitate at this time for an integrated situation.

If for instance one permitted the Indian community to enter Soweto, commercially, because of the Indians' expertise in the field of business, I don't think there would be many Soweto traders left by the end of the year. They couldn't possibly compete against white expertise either if the big chainstores were permitted to enter Soweto, and it would have a devastating economic effect on the commerce of black people inside their own country. So there are no easy instant solutions.

Problem

Isn't that the fundamental problem that we are addressing from the wrong angle? For example because of the fear of the right-wing no further steps are taken in terms of direct representation in local authorities.

I wouldn't say that. There is a fear of the right-wing of course. But I would say that the steps will be taken after the elections when things are more peaceful and quiet, when you haven't the turmoil, and the trauma of the pre-election periods.

Post-election periods, I think one would find that the Government and

'There are no instant solutions'

When countrywide municipal elections are held in October, one famous name will be missing from the list of candidates — Francois Oberholzer. "Mr Joburg", or "Mr Obie" as he is known, will be retiring after 16 years as chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee.

The controversial Mr Oberholzer (right) is a supreme political survivor, having lived through the split in and subsequently demise of his United Party, the New Republic Party, and "hung" city councils. He is a former member of the now scrapped Transvaal Provincial Council.

In this frank interview with AMEEN AKHALWAYA, the editor of *The Indicator*, he spells out his views. This is the final part of the article.



other authorities would accept change faster?

Would you actually believe that, because the same thing happened in 1984 when the constitution referendum for whites was held? We were told that although there were no rights for blacks, immediately after the constitution is accepted all these changes would come about — and nothing has happened in the last four years apart from the National Statutory Council, which even as you mentioned, Chief Buthelezi is not interested in.

It's a question of stance more than anything else on both sides to a great extent. If you take Dr Buthelezi's situation, he makes statements that can be interpreted as wanting advancement in unison with the Govern-

ment. Immediately afterwards he would rethink the situation because of the reaction within his own group and then it would seem that then it would seem that he's taken another direction.

But I think if there was more unity — and I'm not speaking about people who are in favour of violence — and adhesion between the black people and a greater willingness to discuss with the Government further advancement, then I'm sure that it will take place.

Action

It is true that the State President will be constantly looking over his shoulder but there comes a time where we reach a point of no return, when no other political action will have any effect or can reverse, from taking place after that point. I believe that within the next five years that point will be reached.

The point I was trying to make is that the Government has caught itself in a racist structure by having separate authorities for each race group. Had there been open or direct representation in the city council we would have found people of all races voting for that and the right-wing being kept out or having to participate in it. Now the situation is that you've got a small right-wing element, which is a small minority in terms of the overall SA

population, virtually holding the country to ransom.

I wouldn't say they're holding the country to ransom. I would say that they're an element that must be taken into consideration within the political set-up in the country at the moment within that spectrum, but there are CP members serving on local government level in RSCs.

In other words they are a party to multi-racial government. They are in towns where they are in a majority and serve on the RSC.

Regarding the point that areas such as Lenasia are ripe for autonomy. One of the reasons why the majority of people in Lenasia avoid the Lenasia Management Committee is that we have been part of Johannesburg all our lives, our forefathers have contributed to the building of Johannesburg and we want to be part of Johannesburg. Had it been an anti-racist society or non-racial society, then fine, we would agree that Lenasia is a separate entity, geographically it is okay for autonomy. But it's a political decision on our part because we've contributed to Johannesburg, we want to be part of it, we want direct representation in the city that we helped build.

That is true and false because the people who live in Germiston helped to build Johannesburg. As a matter of fact 70 percent of the people who live in Roodepoort

— and that's the one statistic we do possess — work in Johannesburg.

They then might say because of their economic contribution to Johannesburg they should in fact share in the wealth generated by the central city.

They choose to live in Germiston and Roodepoort whereas we have been forced — sometimes at gun-point virtually — to move out.

I'm not disputing that, but let us take the geographic situation as it is and the realism associated with it. I don't think the people of Lenasia would want the whites of Johannesburg to go and sit in their council if they were independent.

Let me put it this way. I don't think they would favour a situation if we said right, let's incorporate Lenasia with Roodepoort, that is the nearest local authority.

There is one thing we cannot get away from — the racial content of the metropolitan area. Soweto is even a nearer area to Lenasia and it would be far more logical to incorporate into it, if we are talking about existing independent local authorities where a person should have a vote.

Eldorado Park is also far nearer, and if one had to hold a referendum in Lenasia on whether they wanted to be independent or wished to be incorporated into Soweto, I think both of us would immediately be able to give the answer.

Participation

I'm not saying that at some future date, in places where people of colour live, that they won't participate directly in that local authority. It's for the higher authorities to decide but events and pressures will ultimately bring that about.

You find that Lenasia is an entity, it is ripe. It can be made to be economically viable in other ways because of its participation and its contribution to the central area.

Roodepoort is economically viable with Newclare if we included the industrial areas of Industria and Devland.

If one had to draw the boundaries from Newclare and Bosmont through Industria into Eldorado Park there is immediately an economically viable local authority. I think that adjustments with consent of the people would be acceptable.

The argument you are using is the same that Rajbansi has used — why don't the people of Lenasia want to be incorporated in Soweto? It is a completely wrong argument because the people of Lenasia, Soweto and Eldorado Park all regard themselves as Johannesburgers, they are part of Johannesburg. They don't want an integrated body with direct representation in

Politicians are sensitive

• From page 8
the Johannesburg city council.

Our boundary is the Klip River and I suppose all the people beyond it can call themselves Johannesburgers. If they are away from home they wouldn't say I come from Vereeniging. . .

But we were born in Johannesburg . . .

. . . but they are still outside the area of jurisdiction. Roodepoorters can claim that they are part of Johan-

nesburg as well; but they opted for self-government.

That is why the RSCs came into being. One of the arguments that was used is that people contribute towards the economic generation from which Johannesburg gets a great share of its rate income — that is the central district, the inner square while if I may call it that

Approximately 40 percent of our rate income is from that area

and people can quite rightly say I contribute towards that. The RSC levy paid by those people and other business people — they're not the only people but I would say they pay the lion's share — is used now for development in lesser-developed areas.

There is no doubt that politicians are sensitive when it comes to change. I was the one who personally spearheaded the opening of our parks and libraries and

municipal facilities to all races, and at the very next election, out of the 36 seats we in the powerful United Party administration had, we lost 24.

We could do things because of that power, but immediately we were reduced to a minority.

If you say to a politician of those days that we want to re-experience that situation, he says: "Thank you very much, let somebody else do it, not me."

DELIMITATION

Shifting the goalposts

The proposals emanating from the Joint Committee on the Constitution, briefed last year to investigate the division of constituencies among the provinces, suggest that the NP has decided that its best political bet is a continuation of its current strategy of wooing the English-speaking vote.

The committee has proposed increasing the number of elected seats in all three houses by 34. But it also recommends scrapping the 14 indirectly elected MPs, so there will be a net gain of only 20 seats in the three houses.

It has been clear for some time that a significant geographical shift in the white population had left the Transvaal in the House of Assembly grossly under-represented and the other provinces — particularly the Cape — over-represented.

The committee calculated that a straight division of the number of seats in the assembly (166) into the number of white voters as at June 30 1987 (just over 3m) would award the Transvaal 88 elected seats (76 currently), the Cape 46 (56), Natal 19 (20), and the OFS 13 (14).

But the committee considered it was "neither realistic nor feasible" to reduce the existing number of seats per house or per province, so the present number of seats and their division among the provinces should remain as a minimum.

The 13 "area constituencies" with a surface area of more than 25 000 km² have been added to the proposed proportional division of seats, which would give the Transvaal 91, the Cape 56, OFS 14 and Natal 19.

An extra seat has been allocated to Natal. It was also decided that if Natal were left with only 20, the Transvaal would have an absolute majority of seats. So Natal has been given a further seat — taking its total to 21.

The committee also recommended the retention of the current maximum "loading" and "unloading" of constituencies by up to 15% from the national average number of voters and that the unloading of 30% allowed to constituencies with a surface area of 20 000 km² or more be increased to a maximum of 40% unloading for each additional 10 000 km² of area.

The NP has seemingly more to lose than the CP and PFP if the indirectly elected members are scrapped. But, with the CP poised to gain seats at the expense of the NP, the proportion of indirectly elected MPs could change significantly.

The committee recommended retaining provision for the State President to nominate four MPs in the assembly and two each in the other two houses. Obviously, while the NP remains in power the four assembly

nominees will be NP supporters.

The recommendations clearly have the support of the NP, which has pretty certainly done some careful arithmetic about the ultimate implications for the balance of parties.

On the face of it, the award of 15 extra seats to the Transvaal is overwhelmingly to the advantage of the CP, which has its greatest concentration of voting strength in the province.

But this conclusion overlooks the likely shape of the new delimitation which will have to be carried out to give effect to the proposed provincial allocation of seats.

In effect, the political strategy will simply be a continuation of a rearguard action to hold on to as many urban blue collar votes as possible, while continuing the big push for middle of the road English-speaking voters.

This inference implies another — that the plan which the NP will put up to the delimitation commission to be appointed in due course will attempt to neutralise the CP's distributional advantage as much as possible through concentrating white working class voters to the greatest extent into a limited number of seats — which the CP would then win with lopsided majorities.

Concurrently, an adequate number of middle to upper class urban seats would be created which the NP would be able to win with safe, but not over-large majorities.

The collapse of the NP in the Transvaal platteland suggests that the NP delimitation plan might also display a newfound distaste for unloading rural seats in the province (with the exception of the statutory provision for "area" seats).

The likelihood that rural OFS seats are ripe to start falling to the CP suggests that the NP will attempt to restrict their unloading too.

If the hypothetical NP plan is accepted by the next delimitation commission, then the CP would have to gain far more than 43% of the popular vote to gain power. But this conclusion implies that the PFP would not split the vote in sensitive urban seats and that PFP supporters would vote NP in the absence of their own candidates to keep the CP out — plausible assumptions on recent electoral behaviour.

IDASA

Cracks in the wall

The future of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) may be in the balance. Sources close to Idasa say co-founder Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert may be

distancing himself increasingly from it and that key personnel may resign.

Two reasons are given for the cracks which some claim are appearing in the organisation. In the light of government's threat to curb foreign funding — from which it may, however, back down — there is uncertainty about the financial future of Idasa, which relies on these sources for a substantial amount of its income. There is also unhappiness — especially among Afrikaans members — about the way the leadership has been annexed by a liberal element, mainly those closely associated with director Alex Boraine.

In its latest newsletter, *Democracy In Action*, Idasa's national co-ordinator, Wayne Mitchell, announced the restructuring of the organisation's regional offices. Northern Transvaal regional director Braam Viljoen, a brother of former SADF chief Constand Viljoen, and southern Transvaal regional director George Peffer lose their positions while the two offices join forces under Idasa's Border regional director Steve Fourie.

Viljoen becomes responsible for educational initiatives and Peffer for fundraising.

Slabbert has previously announced his resignation as co-director of Idasa. Although he explained that he wanted to devote more time to fundraising and building contacts, it was speculated that he might in fact be moving away from Idasa. Slabbert helped the leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), Randburg MP Wynand Malan, to attend a meeting last week with representatives of the ANC in Frankfurt in Germany; and afterwards he also had talks with the congress. But the men have their differences.

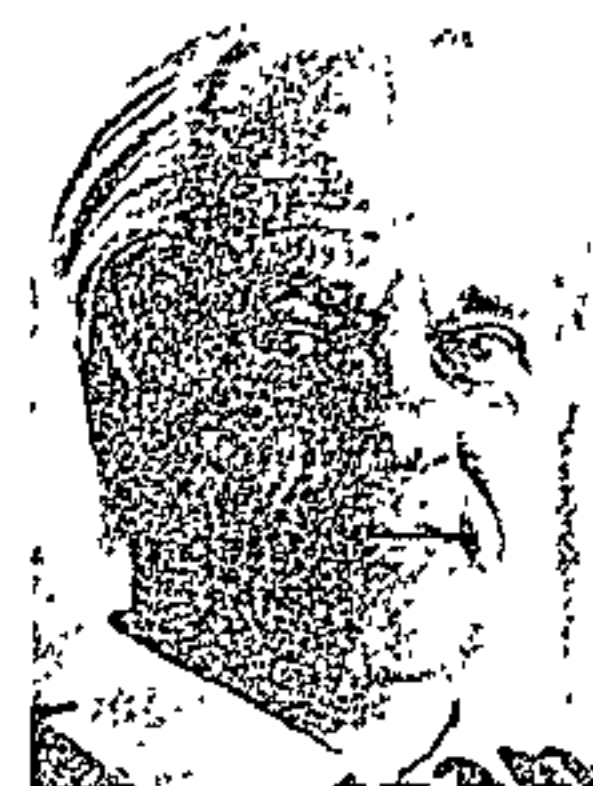
Malan disagrees with Slabbert on a memorandum which Slabbert compiled urging organisations like the UDF and Co-



Slabbert



Malan



Viljoen

satu to form one party and rally against apartheid. "We support a multi-party situation," Malan told the *FM* on his return from the ANC talks.

While there were no spectacular breakthroughs in Frankfurt, Malan and the five ANC representatives agreed to meet again. Malan warns, however, that the ANC is giving substance to President P W Botha's programme by refusing to promote political participation by their support groups in SA. By doing so, they promote the present conflict situation in SA, he says. "If the ANC is serious about finding a workable solution in SA, they should frustrate Botha by participating in election politics."

But Malan says the ANC's reply is that the banning of 17 organisations in April makes it impossible for them to participate.

Idasa could well provide Malan with further support. Viljoen's position at the institute looks very much in the balance. He recently attended the NDM's first congress in Randburg and took part in a discussion on the State of Emergency, which he denounced.

Those close to Viljoen say he has a strong conviction that Afrikaners should stand together in the struggle for a democratic dispensation in SA. If Wynand Malan's movement provides Viljoen with that platform, he may well decide to join their ranks. It is known that he is keen to have further discussions with Malan.

Malan's movement could well become a haven for those disillusioned with Idasa. ■

3/6/88 FM 304A

Worrall's party and PFP in war of words

By Esmaré
van der Merwe

A war of words erupted between the Independent Party (IP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) yesterday about co-operation between opposition parties to the left of the Government and the establishment of grassroots structures to mobilise liberal support.

Mr Douglas Gibson Transvaal PFP leader, accused Dr Denis Worrall's IP and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM) of acting "recklessly" by setting up organisational committees countrywide instead of co-operating with the PFP.

"We are entering a ridiculous situation with three political parties competing for the same supporters and money. If this continues, what is supposed to be a joint front will become a battle-field," he said.



Dr Worrall . . . does not want to recycle opposition.

The IP launched its first formal constituency committee in Edenvale on the East Rand on Wednesday and announced that 12 more committees would be formed on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria in the next few weeks.

IP chief secretary Mr Keith Gurney, said his party's first aim to gain power was to bring about a hung Parliament in the next general election.

The IP intended to have at least 40 committees by the end of July, concentrating on traditional NP seats such as

Westdene, Northrand, Jeppe and Pretoria's Waterkloof and Sunnyside.

Commenting on Mr Gibson's reaction, Dr Worrall said: "We are not interested in recycling the opposition. It is of vital importance that we do not lose sight of the objective to create a viable alternative to the NP."

Mr Gibson said the PFP had always been in favour of alliances and the restructuring of opposition parties because their differences were not irreconcilable.

However, the "friendship" the PFP was trying to create could turn into "hostility".

Mr Wynand Malan said the NDM did not want to be drawn into the "dog fight".

He said the NDM had already established about 40 organisational committees and would continue to muster support.

'Govt has lost moral authority'

Star 3/6/88
Because the Government had denied fundamental rights to the majority of South Africans over the past 40 years, it had steadily been losing more and more of its natural and moral authority, PFP leader Colin Eglin said in the House of Assembly yesterday. 3049

To offset this, he said in the Constitutional Development Vote, the Government had resorted to increasing its statutory authority by strengthening its coercive powers.

"Ironically, as the screws of apartheid are loosened, so the screws of authoritarianism are tightened.

"While there is more intergration than 20 years ago, there is also more oppression... while there is less segregation, there is also less political freedom, less rule of law and less civil liberty."

The Government, after more than 25 years and hundreds of deaths, and growing international ostracism, realised something had to be done.

Although he did not want to anticipate the proposed National Council Bill, Mr Eglin said he wanted to warn the Government "not to try to build new constitutional structures for the future on the apartheid foundations of the past".

"The vast majority of South Africans want to escape from apartheid; they do not want to entrench it," he said.

The Government should not paint white South Africans into a shrinking, small corner of the political stage and, by erecting race barriers, deliberately restrict whites to being a permanent part of an embattled racial minority. — Sapa.

DAVID BRAUN
Political
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A witchhunt is underway to find the person who leaked to the Conservative Party confidential Government documents on a major advertising campaign planned for the municipal elections.

Senior Nationalist politicians were furious last night that details of the campaign had been leaked — one week before the Bureau for Information was scheduled to announce particulars at a press conference.

Fears were expressed that the leaks had been deliberately aimed at sinking the R4,7 million campaign, which was aimed at boosting the participation of all population groups in the October municipal elections.

Some Nationalist MPs believe the campaign has been effectively sabotaged.

The theory is that a high-placed CP-supporting public servant handed over the material, which was then used by Conservative deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Like a thriller

Dr Hartzenberg told the Assembly the report of an advertising agency, McCann, giving full details of the campaign, had spilled out of his fax machine "like a thriller".

Copies of the report handed by the CP to the press, however, appear to have been photocopies of an original document and not copies of faxed material.

The CP, however, is adhering to its claim that the material was faxed to it by some unknown person.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe moved swiftly to contain the damage of the leak yesterday.

He said in a statement that although Dr Hartzenberg was evidently very excited about what he regarded as a major revelation there was in fact nothing to conceal in the bureau's proposed campaign.

"In fact, I had intended to hold a press conference next week during which I would have given the press full particulars of the campaign," he said.

"I will in any event proceed with the press conference at which time I will spell out in detail the objectives of the campaign.

"There is also no question of any kind of covert action with regard to this campaign.

"Funds for this campaign were approved by the Cabinet only on May 25 1988 and were allocated to the bureau for this purpose.

"It was for this reason that the funds were not reflected in the bureau's budget for 1988/89."

Dr van der Merwe said it was difficult to see how an advertising campaign could be conducted as a covert project.

"I should like to stress the campaign will not promote the interests of any party and has as its sole objective the promotion of municipal government and the elections. These objectives are completely legitimate and emerge clearly from the McCann document," he said.

The opposition parties remained skeptical last night, however.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on information, Mr Peter Soal, said the revelations by the Conservative Party confirmed his worst fears about the Bureau for Information.

He said: "Since the bureau was established I feared its sole objective was to promote the beliefs of the National Party."

Dr Hartzenberg told the Assembly yesterday it was clear from the leaked report that the goals of the campaign were to promote "hard Nationalist policy".

He said it was obvious the campaign was to promote the Government's constitutional plans.

Witchhunt for CP spy

Steer 4/6/88
Nats fear election
ad campaign is ruined
3044

Idasa's meeting for women goes on

STC 304A 5/6/88

By MARLENE BURGER
Plans are going ahead for a conference of women in Harare at which delegates from South Africa will address "the horrors of war and the need to seek peaceful solutions".

It is being organised and financed by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) from August 3-7. A number of South African women's bodies have declined invitations, but Idasa is confident that individual invitations will be accepted by some 100 prominent South Africans.

The theme will be Women in the Struggle for Peace, and delegates will include "a small number" of women from front-line states and about 100 from Zimbabwe. According to Dr Alex Boraine, director of Idasa, there will be "no known supporters" or representatives of the ANC.

"The Harare venue was chosen because we believe a conference of this kind would simply not have the same atmosphere in South Africa."

"The idea is to bring together women who have already put behind them the horror of war and are now on the path of reconciliation, and those who may have to face that situation unless alternatives are found," Dr Boraine said. However, some organisations have declined invitations on the grounds that they are essentially apolitical.

Secrecy

Mrs Margaret Lessing, chairman of the Women's Bureau, said: "I'm all in favour of women getting together and talking, but the political overtones of an Idasa conference make it impossible for us to go."

"There seems no reason why a conference aimed at seeking peaceful solutions to our problems should be held in Harare, or why there should be so much secrecy about it."

"These very issues were discussed a fortnight ago, quite openly, at our national conference in Durban." Dr Boraine said: "We will be calling on a select group of about 200 women in person, and I don't think we'll be able to contain the response." Delegates will spend three days and four nights in the Zimbabwe capital. According to a draft proposal, the conference would be used to "take back to South Africa the lessons learnt by Zimbabwe about the cost and futility of war and the potential of a non-racial society".

304A

STimes 3/6/88

THE world recently observed the fortieth anniversaries of two unique events: the founding of the state of Israel and the victory of the National Party at the polls.

In 1948, the former was widely acclaimed as a major advance, the latter equally widely condemned as a step backwards. It is perhaps an irony of history that today these regimes are regarded as having grown remarkably alike.

Indeed there is much truth in this. It is widely believed that both have followed policies which included:

- Combating external opponents by means that are, shall we say, not overly concerned with scruples.

- The forced removal of indigenous people. The Israeli Government since 1948 has followed a deliberate policy of driving untold tens of thousands of Arabs from their homes into forced exile. South Africa has been even more ambitious and has forcibly relocated millions of blacks, coloured people and Asians.

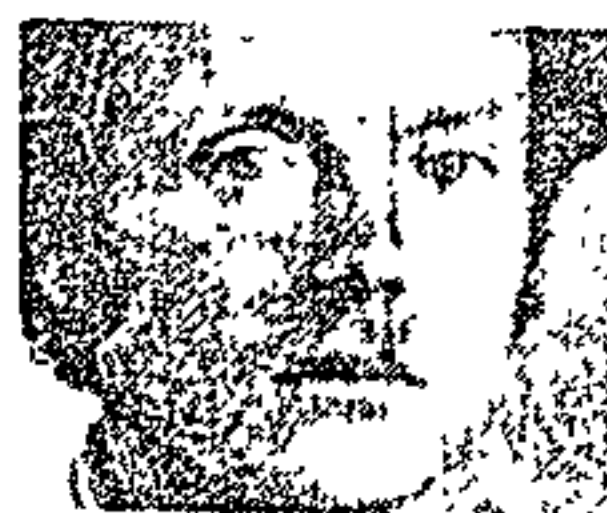
- Attacks on civil liberties and intolerance of even peaceful opposition movements. In both societies the police and army exercise arbitrary powers and de facto there is a distinction between first and second-class citizens.

Why did these two societies, starting from such different points, become so similar?

In response to threats from powerful domestic and foreign opponents, both made a tragic error: they sought the mythical goal of absolute security and thereby condemned their opponents to absolute insecurity. Their opponents responded with arms and protests and an intractable conflict ensued.

How tragic that short-sighted leaders did not seek the sound goal of renouncing the quest for total victory and seeking instead a realistic balance between the conflicting interests of the different sides.

Robert Schrire



And another thing . . .

The tragic error of Israel and the Nats

POLITICS in South Africa has become increasingly predictable. The cast, small, uninspiring and apparently permanent, goes through its lines with little deviation so that even the most casual of observers should have no difficulty in writing tomorrow's headlines:

"Slabbert off to meet ANC leaders" (soon the airlines will be offering him a reduced fares season ticket); "Tutu calls for more sanctions" (staying, presumably, in the grand suite at the Waldorf Astoria); "Malan warns of Soviet onslaught" (nervously hoping that Gorbachev's peace efforts do not go too far. After all, what future would the general have if regional tensions declined?); "Pik leads a new peace delegation" (while watching apprehensively while Malan actually conducts foreign policy).

It is enough to make one wish for the emergence of any new face — even if it's only a South African Jimmy Carter. After all, he could

hardly be more inept than the present players. Perhaps this will happen soon, because miracles still happen in South Africa: is it not miraculous that our politics has become, of all things — boring?

Most governments are addicted to secrecy and claim that public interests must always supersede private interests. Yet we forget that when government is in error it is individuals who pay the price.

Recently, for example, a British major had his life ruined by a clerical error made by a low government official. Many years ago, the major resigned from the army and subsequently applied for nearly 200 jobs, none of which he obtained.

The reason? As a result of an administrative error, his government record contained a reference to a crime committed — which in fact did not take place.

If power corrupts, powerless-

ness deludes. This is the only possible explanation for the present behaviour of moderate and radical opponents of the Government.

Despite the obvious realities, there is a desperate and utopian search for the quick fix, the magic formula, the miraculous intervention, and the charismatic leader — and not the self-appointed kinds.

Reality is much more mundane. There are only two ways to replace the Government: to win a general election within the white consultancy, or to destroy the power of the Government itself. Both are at present highly unlikely.

Power will only change when the powerless come to grips with their relative powerlessness. Strategies of protests, boycotts and spasmodic acts of violence will not bring down the regime.

Indeed, these strategies strengthen the Government by consolidating its white support base which might otherwise be lost. And boycotts enable the Government to work with weak black careerists who lack any community support.

The moderate seem to be operating on the principle of "one man one party". Unable to convince themselves of anything, it is hard to see how they propose to mobilise the country behind them.

The reality of opposition is never glamorous or rewarding. Lacking the patronage which preserves unity and motivates the ambitious, oppositions enjoy a built-in disadvantage.

But, to at least some extent, governments aid their opponents because their political success always produces a record of mistakes and corruptions.

To take advantage of this, however, demands tactical flexibility and a good deal of stamina — qualities at present conspicuously absent from both the moderate opposition and their more radical counterparts.

6/6/88
(3048) 6/20/88

THE TIME is approaching when the opponents of mere reform — those who think worse is better, and who condemn any "amelioration" of apartheid lest it soften the revolutionary will — may be called to account for the calamitous strategy they have followed in the past decade.

Twelve years of confrontational politics, culminating in the campaign to make the country ungovernable, is ending in disillusion and defeat. The country is caught in a new neo-fascism, the rights of the people greatly diminished. Not for decades has government's grip been so tight.

The people themselves are poorer, on average, than they were in 1976, and the distribution of wealth remains skewed in favour of the whites. Opportunity has fled with foreign capital, and the job market has shrunk. The working class is bitterly divided, privileged union members on one side and the unemployed on the other.

Our future is diminishing. Sanctions are steadily closing down foreign markets, and cutting us off from the knowledge and the opportunities of the civilised world. As the realisation grows that the people will starve, those who call loudest for sanctions bleat loudest when they are held responsible for the consequences of sanctions.

In Parliament, the Opposition that once preached liberty has been replaced by an Opposition that preaches undiluted racism. The notorious Nationalists are threatened with overthrow at last, not by the ANC, but by the CP. We slide towards the heart of darkness.

The ANC, which was lately prancing about the world as an alternative government-in-waiting, has turned out hardly to have the strength to put a tyre round a town councillor's neck. It is reduced to the terrorism of bombs on street corners, pointless and barbaric. Nelson Mandela is securely locked away, and negotiations

Count the cost of the tactics of destruction

KEN OWEN

lie beyond a distant horizon.

The last few years have proved what liberals said long, long ago: that economic growth may liberate the victims of apartheid, but economic stagnation and violence will preserve the status quo, and general disorder will strengthen the whites. So it is proving to be.

From 1970 until about 1985, under the impetus of the surge of economic growth that occurred in the much-maligned Sixties, there was a steady retreat from both apartheid and from the totalitarianism which Vorster, in the wake of Sharpeville, had imposed on the country.

It was a process of liberalisation begun, in secret, by the Broederbond in the early Seventies when it became evident to the high priests of Afrikanerdom that apartheid was unsustainable in the face of the labour pressures then being generated by economic development. The momentum of that process carried through, despite obstacles thrown up by revolutionary violence, until a year or two ago. It still exerts some effect on policy.

Many things contributed to the process of change, among them sporadic violence, external pressure, de-

mographics, moral pressure and simple force of conscience. But liberalisation required, crucially, an optimism for the future, a sense that the country was advancing to modernity and that the economic cake would grow to accommodate all reasonable demands.

In the event, political reform came with astonishing speed: the abolition of the hated pass laws, and of job reservation; the liberalisation of trade union law; acceptance of the permanence of urban blacks; the reopening of "white" universities and the partial integration of private schools; pay parity, and the removal of discriminatory means tests for pensioners; the removal of insulting signs and restrictions on the use of many public facilities; a reduction in the wickedness of forced removals; the restoration of citizenship for some blacks; the abolition of the Western Cape coloured preference policy; the modification of the Group Areas Act; the immense expansion of education for blacks, from the grades to the universities.

If President Botha's enemies have

never given him fair credit for his reforms, his supporters have never sufficiently condemned the neo-fascist system which he introduced in order to try to control the consequences of reform. The tricameral system is fatally flawed, not so much in its racial division of the legislature (which is in any event a transient arrangement) but in its centralisation of executive power.

The record, in other words, was mixed — some good, some bad — but South Africa was aptly described in the period from 1970 to 1985 as a society in the midst of "howling change". In 1970 no liberal foresaw, or even dared to hope for, as much change as occurred in the following 15 years.

The Big Lie of the past decade was to pretend that this was a society set in concrete, so rigid that only revolution could alter its unjust structure. On that Big Lie, South Africa has been crucified.

The Big Lie justified the use of violence; it justified the campaign to make the country ungovernable; it justified sanctions; it justified the theory that "the people" — those poor, anonymous, voiceless people whose suffering is the flag of every

political charlatan — would gladly suffer greater deprivation for the sake of liberty. Liberty, says political scientist Kenneth Minogue, is acquired over centuries, by developing a taste for consorting with independent people rather than with servile people. The Big Lie, however, justified a 10-year assault on free-enterprise capitalism, and on the very idea of individual liberty, under the pretext of attacking apartheid.

Among the Beautiful People, in the poets' circles, with here and there a millionaire to provide glitz, the tangled complexity of South Africa was reduced to an idiot-equation: either you join the struggle for freedom, or you stand condemned as a supporter of the status quo. Either govern, or make ungovernable.

Foolish, unlettered children, crying "Liberation before education!" tried to make the place ungovernable, hard, cold-eyed men set out to govern them, or to break them. The hard men have won, and our people sink back into the apathy of deprivation. It is less than the status quo.

Now, a dozen years after mindless adults first acclaimed the unlettered teenagers of Soweto as the liberators of the nation, we have the worst of both worlds. Sanctions have thrown a spanner into the wondrous economic machine that once brought us expanding wealth, and the hope that an astonishing succession of liberalising changes might teach us the habits of free men, while the struggle to impose order has put a totalitarian noose around our necks.

It has turned out as Rousseau, father of the French revolution, warned us it would: "Once a people is accustomed to masters, it is no longer in a condition to do without them. If such peoples try to shake off the yoke ... their revolutions almost always deliver them into the hands of seducers who multiply their chains."

The mythology of liberation has perhaps cost us the hope of liberty.

Govt ad
campaign
'not secret'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The advertising contract for the government's R4,7-million campaign to promote participation in the municipal elections was awarded last year and there had been a long run-up to the final report approved by the cabinet last month.

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday it was a long-standing project and was not intended to be secret. He said he would reveal the details of the campaign this week.

Conservative Party allegations that the campaign was designed to promote the National Party were "hogwash", Dr Van Der Merwe said.

He said the intention was not to promote any party. But it was government policy to have local elections.

Uncertainty over
municipal voting

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — It is uncertain if thousands of black, coloured and Indian people living legally in central Johannesburg will be eligible to vote in October's municipal elections.

As matters stand they are disqualified from the vote. This has been confirmed by the chairman of the management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer who said he had lobbied for Indians who lived legally in the greater Johannesburg area, to be granted representation on the council's advisory Lenasia management committee.

Mr Oberholzer said he expected the State President to deal with the question of voting rights in so-called grey areas before October when amendments to the Group Areas Act and the Settlement Areas Bill are to be discussed in Parliament.

But, the director of constitutional development, Mr Len Dekker, said the Group Areas Act and the Settlement Areas Act had nothing to do with voting rights and dealt only with "where people can live".

He said the question of voting rights now resided with the provinces, each of which would determine rights in terms of voting ordinances.

Transvaal's local government MEC Mr Olaus van Zyl could not be contacted for comment and no policy statement on the issue has been made.

The leader of the PFP in the City Council, Mr Tony Leon, said: "Thousands are going to be completely disenfranchised. This exposes the hypocrisy and untruthfulness of Chris Heunis's claims that everyone will be voting in the municipal elections on the same day."

Rockburst.
Death toll
rises to

JOHANNESBURG. — Rescuers found the bodies of four dead miners on Saturday, bringing the death toll to seven from a rockburst in the world's deepest gold mine.

The rockburst, caused by underground earthquakes or tremendous pressures at great depths, occurred on Friday night in a stope at 2 000 metres beneath the surface at Western Deep Levels Gold Mine.

Three bodies were recovered immediately. The others were found on Saturday night.

The rockburst occurred in the western shaft, one of two shafts at Western Deep Levels which extend 4 000 metres underground.

The mine, 69km west of Johannesburg, is in a geologically unstable area, said an Anglo American Corporation spokesman. — Sapa-AP

Civil Rights League soldiers on

By VERNON BRENT, 30/6/88
Staff Reporter

TO understand the Civil Rights League, imagine you are at the National Party gathering to celebrate 40 years in power.

President Botha and his officials are about to tuck into a hearty feast when a niggling voice pipes up in the back-ground.

"No cause to celebrate," it says, and lists a whole lot of reasons.

The President waves his hand impatiently and begins to cut the cake.

The voice is insistent. "You can't have your cake and eat it," it nags.

The President fumes; the party is spoilt.

It has been like this since the National Party came to power. The Civil Rights League will just not shut up.

Threatened, bullied and harassed, it will not let the Nationalists forget the steady erosion of civil liberties since they came to power.

It, too, celebrates its 40th birthday this year, and hopes to hold a civil rights conference later in the year to mark the occasion.

"We were formed in 1948 shortly after the Nationalists came to power," says a long-serving committee member, Mrs Dot Cleminshaw. "It was the most terrible shock for those who had been in the war to come back and see democracy being swept away."

"They were confronted with a new and terrible struggle against those very things they had given their lives for in the fight to save the world from the nazis."

Mrs Cleminshaw is typical of the Civil Rights League members: iron grey hair, fiercely determined eyes and a sense of moral conviction that will not be swayed by any pressure — from the right or from the left.

She heaps scorn on the Nationalists for their removal of coloured voters from the common roll, their loading of the Senate and Appeal Court and countless human rights violations.

But extra-parliamentary groups which put civil liberties on hold until the issues of power and land are resolved do not escape her withering tongue. "Sheer stupidity," says Mrs Cleminshaw.



Mrs Dot Cleminshaw

"The quality of life after the struggle will depend on what is discussed and thrashed out now," she says.

"When people talk of 'people's rights' we want them to say exactly what they mean. We say: 'Imagine you were in power — what rights would you have, what mechanisms would you have to protect these rights?'"

The league sees itself as the conscience of the nation, a small group hoping to act as a catalyst.

"Our role has been to articulate opposition to infringements of civil rights and inform the public of what their rights are. We also lobby parliamentarians and have prepared memoranda on issues for ministers — not that they ever took much notice."

Central to the league has been its campaign for a Bill of Rights embodying the principles of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

Since its inception it has unfailingly condemned police brutality, torture and

assaults on the freedom of the Press. It took stands on issues such as conscientious objection long before they became well known.

A major issue has not passed that has not prompted the league to call a public meeting or write to the Press.

In turn it has come under scathing attack from Nationalists, including President Botha when he was Minister of Defence, and during the 1985 state of emergency when a meeting was restricted by the Divisional Commissioner of Police and its chairman, Mr Keith Gottshalk, was detained.

Recently the league has gone through a "devastating patch", with membership dwindling and young people feeling more inclined to take up active resistance politics or specific issues.

There was talk of disbanding, but with the recent crackdown on organisations it was decided to continue.

"We can still be a voice where others are silent and can provide a platform on which others may talk," said Mrs Cleminshaw.

One of the league's mentors was a leading Cape Town advocate, Mr Donald Molteno, but few lawyers and advocates seemed interested in human rights nowadays, said Mrs Cleminshaw.

"Many see it as a lost cause, that it is no longer necessary to get involved. They are cynical and have been ground into the dust. Quite frankly, when we raise issues concerning the role of the judiciary, we embarrass them."

Looking back on 40 years of National Party rule, Mrs Cleminshaw said there had been an "incredible smashing of the valid aspirations of people".

She added: "In a very ironic way the wheel has come full circle. The very base from which the Afrikaners draw power — the businessmen, theologians and academics — have admitted that apartheid was wrong. Now the Nationalists face a crisis of legitimacy."

● Among the patrons of the league are Sir Richard Luyt, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Gerald Gordon, QC, Mrs Di Bishop, Sir Alfred and Lady Clementine Beit, Dr C F Beyers Naude and Miss Maggie Rodger. The late Dr Alan Paton was also a patron.

Govt ad
campaign
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304A

Own Correspondent

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Challenge to NP on Inkatha talks

star 6/6/88

2018 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — National Party Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, was challenged today to say whether he agreed that there was little chance of success of negotiations with Inkatha.

The challenge was made by Natal PFP leader, Mr Roger Burrows, MP, following a hardline speech made by right-wing National Party MP Dr Johan Steenkamp (Umhlathuzana) in Parliament last week.

Dr Steenkamp implied that the NP and Inkatha had no common ground,

because the Zulus would not accept this.

The speech was pointedly ignored by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis.

Other Nationalist MPs said privately the best way to treat Dr Steenkamp was to ignore him, as he was attempting to establish himself as a NP "right-wing guru".

In his speech on Friday, Dr Steenkamp said "much water must run into the sea before the National Party and Inkatha agree — if ever.

"I invite Chief Minister Buthelezi to prove me wrong."

Booklet explains function of new authority

Govt spent R43 518 on JEA 'info' glossy

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Bureau for Information has spent R43 518 on bringing out a glossy 24-page brochure on the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

It has printed 55 000 copies of the booklet in English and 20 000 in Afrikaans, a spokesman for the Bureau said today.

About 20 000 will go to the Department of Foreign Affairs for distribution abroad. The rest will be distributed in South Africa through the bureau's regional offices.

"It was produced to inform on the background of the establishment of the JEA and to explain its function," the spokesman said.

The bureau says in the booklet that the JEA was the first institution of government established in South Africa in which representatives of the white, black, coloured and Indian communities will meet as equals at administrative and executive level to deal with matters affecting the interests of all the communities.

The region faced major socio-economic problems, such as unemployment, poverty and malnutrition, which were much more likely to be solved by innovative co-ordinated action than by marginal adjustments made independently by either administration.

"Closer co-operation was also prompted by the

conviction that local communities should be given more opportunities to evolve their own solutions to their problems, on the premise that the people directly concerned know their region best and are best qualified to tackle their most pressing problems."

It offers the background to the JEA and edited versions of addresses at the inauguration and profiles of the members of the kwaZulu cabinet and Natal Executive Committee who sit on the JEA.

304A

Star 6/6/88

Many blacks will be 'disenfranchised'

3044 B/amy 6/6/88

Uncertainty over who has vote in elections

THERE is uncertainty over whether thousands of blacks, coloureds and Indians living illegally in central-city areas will be eligible to vote in October's municipal elections.

As matters stand, they are disqualified from the vote.

This has been confirmed by Johannesburg management committee chairman Francois Oberholzer who said he had lobbied for disenfranchised Indians who legally resided in the greater Johannesburg area, to be granted representation on the council's advisory Lenasia management committee.

He said he expected the President to deal with the question of voting rights in so-called grey areas before October in Parliament when amendments to the Group Areas Act (GAA) and the Settlement Areas Bill (SAB) were discussed.

However, Constitutional Development director Len Dekker said the

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

GAA and the SAB had nothing to do with voting rights and dealt only with "where people can live".

He said the question of voting rights now resided with the provinces, each of which would determine rights in terms of voting ordinances.

Transvaal's local government MEC Olaus van Zyl could not be contacted for comment and thus far no policy statement on the issue has been made.

The PFP's Johannesburg City Council leader, Tony Leon, said: "Thousands are going to be completely disenfranchised. This exposes the hypocrisy and untruthfulness of (Constitutional Minister) Chris Heunis's claims that everyone will be voting in the municipal elec-



● LEON

tions on the same day."

He said the President's Council report on the GAA contained no recommendations on local government franchise.

In Johannesburg's Fordsburg and parts of Mayfair there were thousands of legally resident Indians who were disenfranchised.

Johannesburg Indians were allowed to vote for the Lenasia management committee only if they lived in Lenasia, and coloureds for the coloured management committee if they lived within demarcated wards.

Leon said neither committee had a direct say in the city council and blacks were only allowed to vote in their designated townships.

Domestic workers legally living in white areas would also not be able to vote.

In addition to legal residents of other colours in white areas, there were about 65 000 illegal residents in the greater Hillbrow area who also would not be able to vote.

The levers of power for all are economic as much as political

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIETY

The Urban Foundation has adopted certain values against which it constantly tests both its policy and its developmental work. I believe that outside of radical circles on both the left and the right these values represent a consensus among thinking South Africans on what a future dispensation should contain.

These requirements are:

- A system which provides for inclusive (instead of exclusive) decision-making.
- A common destiny. It requires a move away from the emphasis on group differences.
- Economic growth and equitable distribution. It is necessary for faster economic growth.
- Justice and civil liberties. It is necessary to reverse the erosion of the principles of justice.

On the issue of inclusive decision-making and its implicit commitment to a democratic form of government, it is as well, however, for us to be realists.

Exploitable demands

In societies with large masses of undifferentiated need, the popular demands on government are immediate and powerful — and very easily exploitable by democratic opposition to the point that no government can enjoy the security to pursue its longer-term priorities.

Hence, in many parts of the less-developed and developing world, democracy fails. These societies are not possessed of moral failings or political immaturity. Democracy simply has to carry too large a burden to survive. One-party states are often the inevitable outcome.

One-party or other non-competitive systems encourage over-centralisation of power and severely reduce the motivation of governments to address problems of development with urgency and commitment. These societies lose the cutting edge of motivation for development. Hence the dilemma: many

societies cannot afford democracy yet even less can they afford not to have it. South Africa is a prime contender for this contradiction in terms in its future development.

We are slowly — far too slowly for many, too slowly for some — moving towards a more open society with wider participation. The possibility of achieving democratic forms in a future open society depends on the development of our presently less-developed and underprivileged mass populations.

Unless development can ensure that South Africa's black communities are not exclusively reliant on the political system for their welfare and progress, we will also run the serious risk of ending up as a one-party state.

A balanced society is one in which politics is not seen to be the cure for all ills. It is a society in which there is community self-reliance in the processes of problem solving. Hence what I term an economic "franchise" must accompany political participation.

It is vital for Black "economic enfranchisement" to accompany political participation, says Mr Jan Steyn, head of the Urban Foundation. These are extracts from an address to a congress of chartered accountants in Durban today.

What we have achieved thus far: Trade unionism: Black unionisation is approaching European levels and is well above the proportions typical of most developing countries, and certainly of most African states. ... Many black workers now possess a means of articulating their material demands without depending entirely on hopes of political liberation.

Housing: The urban reforms of recent years, which the Urban Foundation has been privileged to help to



In many parts of the world, democracy sometimes has to carry too large a burden to survive, warns the Urban Foundation's Mr Jan Steyn.

achieve, have launched the process of economic empowerment of blacks in developments which are quite as meaningful as the labour reforms out of which black trade unionism grew.

First, the 99-year-leasehold system and, in 1986, the extension to blacks of full ownership rights, by opening doors to home-ownership and its associated benefits, has brought possibilities of wealth accumulation to ordinary black people for the first time for many decades.

However, even at existing levels of demand, the shortage of suitable land for housing in urban industrial areas is critical. A further problem is that, even where opportunities to purchase homes open up for blacks, these will be expensive relative to the cost and quality of homes in the older, more established white residential areas, and they will inevitably be further away from places of work.

The cost of new land and home construction is such that value equivalence with established areas is not possible. Therefore, due to the late entry of blacks into the housing market, they will be disadvantaged.

Success story

For these reasons, among others, home-ownership, like trade unionism, will not provide a panacea for mounting political frustrations. Until the Group Areas Act is removed and further informal impediments to black entry into white areas are overcome, home-ownership will be perceived as an unequal game perpetuating white privilege.

Small business: The emergence of small black business is the third aspect of economic empowerment which is proceeding apace. Some examples can be given. There are presently some hundreds of thousands of black-owned shops, service industries and, to a lesser extent, manufacturers in South Africa's formal sector.

One of the greatest success stories is that there are approximately 45 000 black taxi-operators registered with the SA Black Taxi Association and a further estimated 60 000 to 120 000 informal operators.

We are aware that the Government has passed legislation enabling the State President to suspend inhibiting business regulations and is actively investigating the deregulation of business activity to expand opportunity for small businessmen who perforce have to operate at lower standards. A number of urban

authorities have moved to remove restrictions on hawkers and vendors.

The concept of deregulation is well established. Actual deregulation has not yet emerged on a comprehensive scale, but the breakthroughs could come quite rapidly from now on.

A massive contribution to the development of black business is the now impressive range of over 30 organisations sponsoring and promoting small entrepreneurship. These include the very successful Small Business Development Corporation, 10 regional development corporations in the homelands backed by their governments and by the Development Bank of South Africa, and several private organisations supporting black business, including the Urban Foundation, the Equal Opportunity Council, the "Get Ahead" organisation, and many others, including initiatives by individual private companies.

Various problems remain. The Group Areas Act is one. Other impediments are the fact that black small businessmen still lack adequate access to capital and credit. Blacks also lack training and experience.

What is needed first and foremost is a higher level of growth in our economy as a whole.

We simply cannot afford to be satisfied with levels of real GDP growth of 2 to 3 percent, which is about the best that our economic performance over the past decade would suggest. Each year that our economy grows at less than 4.5 to 5 percent in real terms, the number of unemployed and under-employed black people increases.

Capital needed

A growing economy needs a net inflow of foreign capital; instead we have a growing clamour for sanctions abroad which makes it more difficult and more expensive for South Africa to obtain foreign capital and credit.

Slow economic advancement among blacks, with its corollary of a frustrated and resentful black labour force, will in the end reinforce the basic perceptions which underlie apartheid. This is the vital appreciation which is missing in the thinking behind the external sanctions campaigns.

If the energy and expense currently going into the sanctions campaign were to be redirected to promote and assist black business, professional and labour associations in South Africa, concerned South Africans with a sense of responsibility would feel obliged to match the efforts with complementary endeavours.

It is quite clear that most whites have ceased to believe in absolute power for the white minority, notwithstanding their hesitation about how to share power. They are hardly likely to respect demands for absolute majority power. The government could never achieve what is often demanded of it — its constituencies will not allow it.

For these reasons I would like to appeal to those in South Africa who seek to promote fundamental change, to formulate demands which most whites, however reluctantly, will have to concede as being justifiable in terms which are not destructive of or inimical to reasonable minority interests.

In the same way concerned community leadership should consider formulating its demands, however tough they may be, around concrete social and economic issues and around political changes which are stages in a realistic programme for the extension of democracy.

Our major responsibility is to redress inequality of opportunity. If we want stability and growth in our society and the basis for an eventual democracy which protects us all, then black economic empowerment is a fundamental duty we dare not shirk.

Bomb blasts make talks with ANC bitter issue again

AK645 8/6/88

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

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Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert

TALKS with the African National Congress has again become a somewhat bitter political issue after the National Democratic Movement's meeting with an ANC group at a time of bomb explosions in Pretoria and Roo-depoort.

Nationalist politicians and newspapers were quick to attack the NDM for speaking to "terrorists" under these circumstances. These politicians are poised to exploit any contact with the ANC in future.

There have been problems between the ANC and those it has talked to such as the NDM and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) — Dr F van Zyl Slabbert also met the organisation again recently — on the question of violence.

The NDM and Idasa have

expressed their abhorrence of violence and probably hope they can influence the ANC. Above all, they realise that the ANC is a factor in possible internal settlements in South Africa which cannot be ignored.

In spite of the Nationalist attacks, the NDM is determined to go ahead with further meetings with the ANC in the near future.

As the leader of the NDM, Mr Wynand Malan, put it in an interview this week and as the movements put it after their Frantfurt meeting, they had agreed on the type of South Africa they eventually wanted but they disagreed on the strategies to achieve this.

And they disagreed about violence.

The NDM is strongly opposed to violence as a method to bring about change. It believes that violence can lead only to more violence.

The ANC's argument remained that it had been forced to take up arms in 1960 when it was banned after 50 years of peaceful struggle, that it was involved in counter-violence against the violence perpetrated by the Government while the Government in turn believed that it was reacting to ANC violence.

Mr Malan put up a spirited defence of the decision of his movement to continue talking to the ANC.

He wanted to know what morality there was in Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Foreign Minister Pik Botha talking to the Cubans and Angolans "while they are shooting our sons on the border" while it was said to be immoral to talk to the ANC against the background of trying to get a process going towards the building of a new nation.

He accused the Government of a "double morality" — it urged Unita and the Angolan government to talk to each other and it tried to impress on Renamo and the Mputo government the absolute necessity for talks, but it did not adhere to the same prin-

ciples in the South African situation.

Instead, Nationalist politicians portrayed talks with the ANC as something bordering on treason. This, Mr Malan said, was not only a "sick" approach but it also amounted to dangerous politics.

Talks with the ANC would specifically deal with the theme of alternative strategies to existing political strategies. There would be attempts to find strategies aimed at bringing about a nation including all groups.

Mr Malan added that it was important to keep in mind that the NDM not only spoke to the ANC but that it was also trying to make contact across the whole political spectrum to try to get going a process that would lead to such all-inclusive nationhood.



Mr Wynand Malan

Spectrum

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One-party state warning from Urban Foundation

SOUTH AFRICA would run a serious risk of ending up a one-party state unless development ensured that the country's black communities did not rely exclusively on the political system for welfare and progress, the executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, said today.

Mr Steyn told delegates at the national congress of chartered accountants in Durban that the possibility of achieving democratic forms in a future open society depended on the development of the under-privileged mass population.

He said a balanced society was one in which politics was not seen to be the cure for all ills. Economic franchise had to accompany political participation.

Progress towards the economic empowerment of the black community occurred in the spheres of trade unionism, housing and small business, Mr Steyn said.

Black unionism was approaching European levels and was well above the proportions typical of most developing countries. Many black workers now had a way to articulate their material demands without depending entirely on the hopes of political liberation.

"I must stress, however, that trade unionism will never by itself be able to depoliticise the aspirations of blacks," Mr Steyn said.

The urban reforms of recent years, which the Urban Foundation helped to achieve, launched the process of economic empowerment of blacks.

The 99-year leasehold and, in 1986, the extension to blacks of full ownership rights brought back possibilities of wealth accumulation to ordinary black people for the first time in decades.

"Our residential development and construction division programme envisages the sale of 12 900 developed sites and 8 800

By REHANA ROUSSOUW
Staff Reporter

houses, principally for lower-income communities," Mr Steyn said.

"The division, which operates through seven Urban Foundation-associated utility companies in all major metropolitan areas, is independently funded entirely by loans at conventional market rates."

Mr Steyn estimated that R350-million would be drawn from private sector institutions to fund these developments in the years ahead.

The shortage of suitable land for housing in urban industrial areas was critical.

This was further constrained by the Group Areas Act and by procedural inhibitions associated with black residential development.

A further problem was that even where there were opportunities to buy homes for blacks, these would be expensive in relation

to the cost and quality of homes in the older, more established white residential areas and would be farther away from places of work.

"For these reasons, home ownership, like trade unionism, will not provide a panacea for mounting political frustrations," Mr Steyn said.

"Until the Group Areas Act is removed and further informal impediments to black entry into white areas are overcome, home ownership will be perceived as an unequal game perpetuating white privilege."

Mr Steyn said the emergence of small black businesses was the third aspect of economic empowerment which was proceeding apace.

"There are hundreds of thousands of black-owned shops, service industries and, to a lesser extent, manufacturers in South Africa's formal sector," he said.

The extent of opportunity today represented a great leap of progress compared with the "bad old days" when African business-

men were limited to one business each within the confines of black townships.

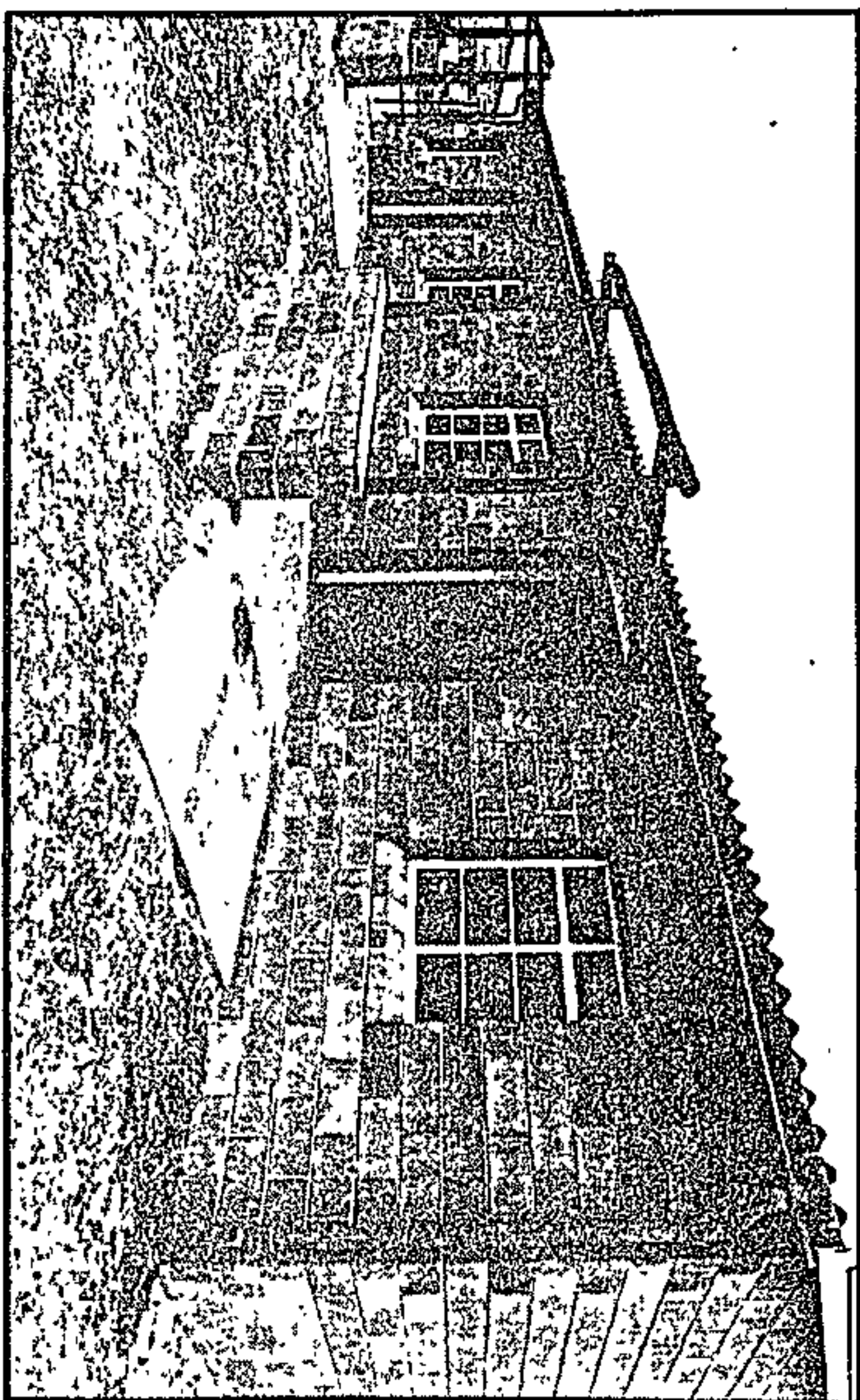
A major contribution to the development of black business was the range of more than 30 organisations sponsoring and promoting small entrepreneurship.

The Group Areas Act remained a problem for black businessmen, Mr Steyn said.

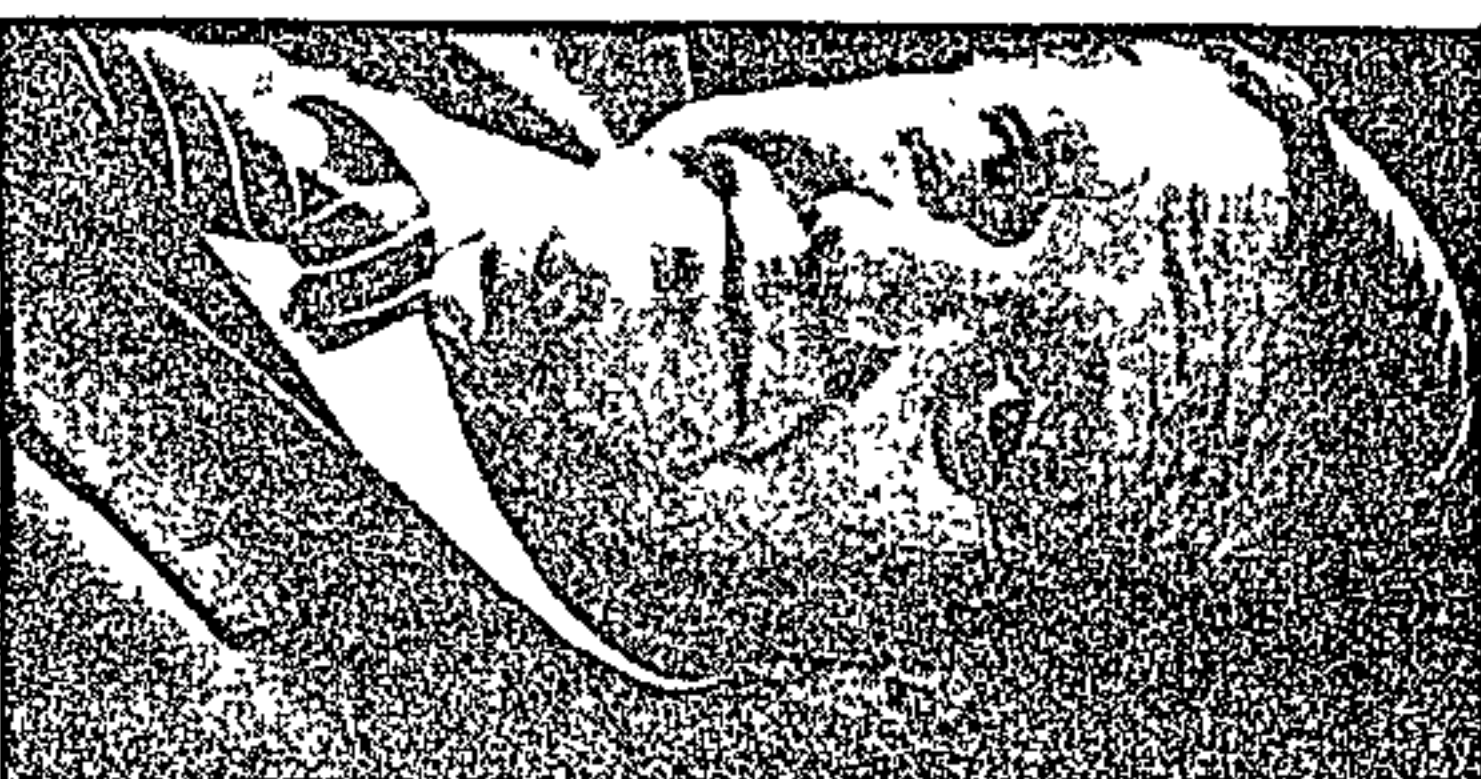
Most of the rapidly expanding shopping centres, where middle-class buying power was most concentrated, were in decentralised white suburban areas.

Another impediment was the fact that black small businessmen still lacked adequate access to capital and credit, training and experience.

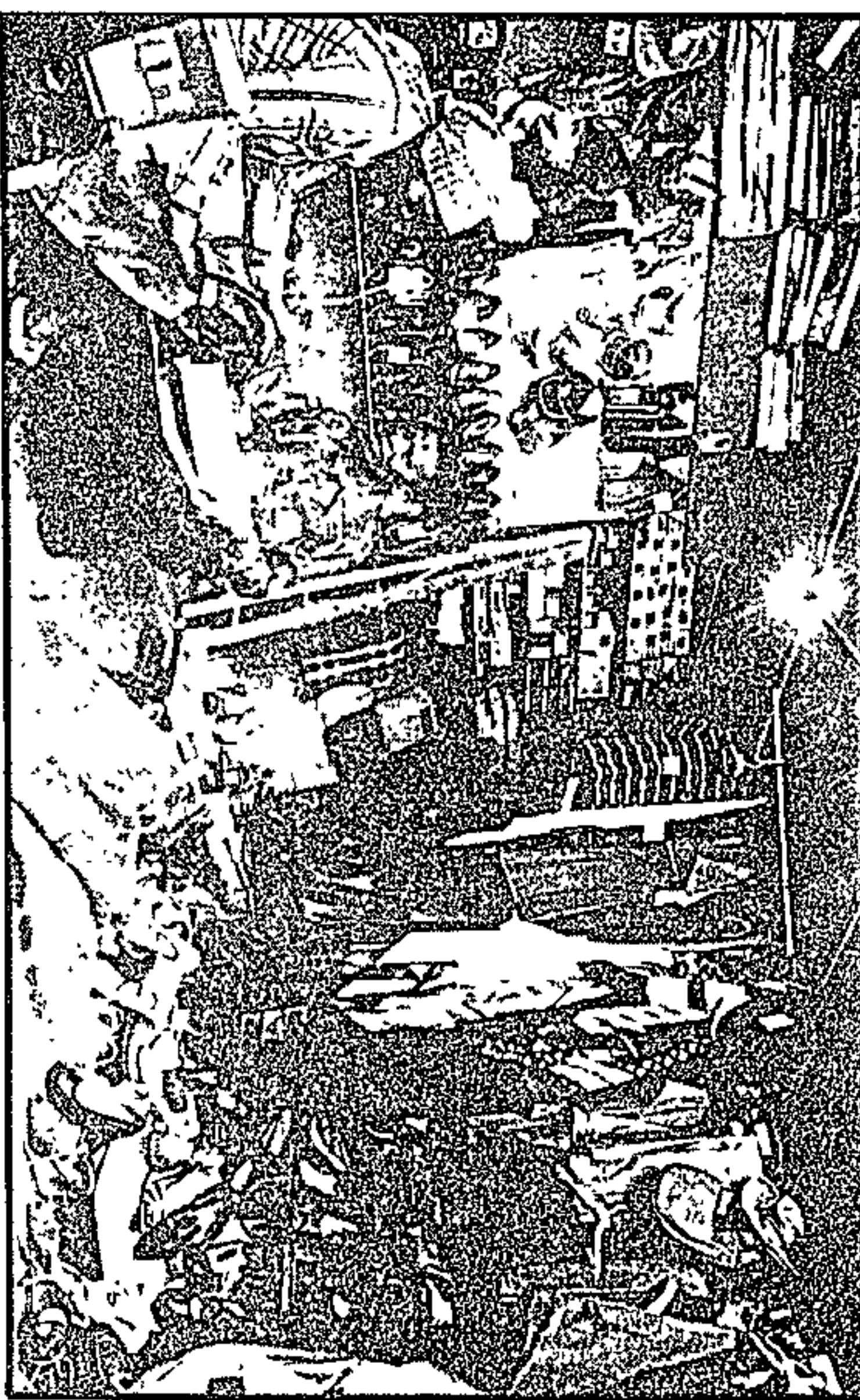
A limited percentage of the Urban Foundation's budget for the current year will be devoted to projects in the field of economic activity because of the overwhelming need for housing, education, community development, the promotion of social amenities and resources and research directed at policy reform.



HOUSING: More homes and sites planned for blacks.



Mr Jan Steyn



BUSINESSES: An aspect of black economic empowerment.

CAPE TIMES

9/6/88

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SA its own worst enemy, warns ex-ambassador

DURBAN. — South Africa was very often its own worst enemy in the area of international diplomacy, former ambassador to the United Nations Mr Kurt von Schirnding said here yesterday.

Addressing the national congress of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, Mr Von Schirnding, who is now the director-general of the South Africa Foundation, said the object of diplomacy should not be self-destruction.

"We must recognize that when it comes to style and presentation we are very often our own worst enemy.

"It is clearly not in our interest, for example, to unnecessarily provoke or taunt the United States into doing its worst."

He said he believed it was time to take courageous steps and make the inevitable sacrifices which all knew were unavoidable.

International credibility

"We shall regain international credibility only when we have demonstrated to the world in unmistakable terms that we are firmly on the path to a non-discriminatory social and political structure.

"There is little to be gained by contrasting our situation with the rest of Africa with its military dictatorships and one-party states.

"The reality of our situation is that we are judged by Western standards, however unfairly, while having to cope with all the complexities of an African society."

"We must realize that for a long time to come our efforts will be greeted abroad with 'too little too late' because the outside world places no credibility on our willingness to reform," Mr Von Schirnding said. — Sapa

● 'Spotlight on black economic advancement' —
Page 9

Nats expect us to 'behave' — chief

(30415) (45) Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The National Party and its MP for Umhlathuzana, Dr Johan Steenkamp, expect black South Africans to behave like "good kaffirs" because the baas knows best, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday in reply to a speech Dr Steenkamp

made in Parliament.

"Much water must run into the sea before the National Party and Inkatha agree — if ever," the MP said in the constitutional affairs debate last week.

He pleaded for the extension of racial exclusivity and virtually wrote off power-sharing with

blacks as they would not deal in National Party terms.

Dr Steenkamp said Inkatha's target of a one-man one-vote unitary state was the same as that of the ANC, but their strategies to realise this differed.

People who believed the NP was on the same wavelength as Inkatha were throwing dust in their own eyes, he said.

Hitting back, Chief Buthelezi said: "It is good we now have the cat out of the bag as we could not understand why the Government was so negative about the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals. We now know that we are in a stalemate situation.

PRESCRIPTION

"Now we know that Dr Steenkamp and the National Party expect us to conform to their prescription like 'good kaffirs' because the baases know what is good for us. We will never accept that position. Our forebears and antecedents were prepared to lose life and limb to defend their human rights."

Conflict in SA a clash of values, not colour — Malan

Struggles for power 'block conciliation'

The continual striving for power in South Africa was leading to a conflicting relationship among the country's different race groups and was hampering constitutional conciliation.

And should the striving for power win, there would be no conciliation.

This was said in a speech by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, read out by Dr H P Fourie, head of Constitutional and Development Services, at a symposium in Vanderbijlpark yesterday.

Mr Heunis said the over-emphasis on the concerns of one group at the cost of others hampered conciliation.

Each group would have to be prepared to subject itself to restrictions and limitations for the benefit of others.

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

As long as South Africans continued to see political conflict as a black/white situation, conciliation in the country would remain impossible, Mr Wynand Malan, MP and leader of the National Democratic Movement, said yesterday.

The real conflict lay in a clash of values which had nothing to do with different races or colours — and if this could not be accepted, the possibility of conciliation in the future would be passed up, he said.

Mr Malan was addressing a symposium on "conciliation perspectives in a changing South Africa", held in Vanderbijlpark.

He said South Africa found itself in a highly polarised situation where the political stage was being dominated by two actors — the Government and Lusaka.

"There is no place in either of their approaches to allow for any other powers but their own. The Government speaks of a total counter strategy while Lusaka talks about a total strategy. But the real point is that there is a total polarisation."

Mr Malan said it had to be decided now what sort of future was wanted in South Africa.

He said that at this stage it was important to move away from dogmas and rigidity in an attempt to get processes going rather than to seek immediate solutions and answer problems.

This demanded communication and the ability to engage in unconditional talks between the different groups.

Business being duped by left, says Pik

10-16-68 (204A)
THE radical left, whose current strategy is to present a friendly face, particularly to white businessmen, would end freedom of religion, ban the free press and outlaw trade unions, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, said this week.

"A small tyrannical clique will rule this country. This is what transfer of power to the people means," Botha told the House of Delegates after quoting from *Work in Progress* and *New Era*, which have been warned in terms of the Emergency regulations.

The left's goals, Botha elaborated, were "nationalisation, the end of freedom of religion, the end of newspapers that can criticise the government in power, a one-party state and tyrannical rule."

"People, of course, will only be members of the Communist Party or the ANC."

W. M. M. M.
"Transfer of power to the people therefore means transfer of power to the Communist Party and the ANC."

"After they come into power, there will be no more trade unions in this country. There will be no free press."

Botha said it was clear from their strategy that they wanted to present "a very amenable, friendly face, particularly to white businessmen in this country."

"I suppose they are also going to glue it on for Indian, black and coloured businessmen to try and persuade them of the desirability to join their ranks, because they are going to present a reasonable face — a face of democracy and sharing."

He had enough faith in the House of Delegates that they would never be misled and no other community would ever be misled.

The House of Delegates was

"helping to make South Africa stronger in extending democracy, and in putting South Africa's interest before their own individual interests".

Botha reached these conclusions by saying that the articles in *New Era* and *Work in Progress* showed that the "radical left" had a new tactic of "what they call alliance politics and negotiation politics."

"They say in these articles that they must make a special effort to gain the support of the white community of South Africa in order to achieve these goals. It is very interesting how they phrase it."

"I thought I should give the House the advantage of their thinking. They say here, and I quote: 'We need to develop a clear understanding of the divisions in the white bloc, and how these can be exploited to advance our national democratic struggle'."

Life Times 10/6/88
**Boshoff quits
to save "Volk"**

PRETORIA. — The "dark future" of South Africa has moved Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, to resign his chair in theology to devote himself to saving the Afrikaner "Volk", he said yesterday.

He dissociated himself from a statement at the Reformed Ecumenical Synod in Harare yesterday by the Moderator of the Ned Gerref Kerk, Prof. Johan Heyns, that the church "had confessed its participation in apartheid with humiliation and sorrow". — Sapa

fm 10/6/88 304A

AFRIKAANS BUSINESS

The new Great Trek

Afrikaner politics is about to break down the unity of the Afrikaans business community.

As predicted by the *FM* (*Business* May 27), Conservative Party sympathies have prompted a breakaway from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) by three Sakekamers: Welkom, Potchefstroom and Hennenman.

The split will be finalised — and could even spread — at an "economic peoples' congress (*ekonomiese volkskongres*)" in Pretoria on Friday (June 10), chaired by CP MP Daan van der Merwe (a member of the Great Trek anniversary committee). The Afrikaner-Volkswag will also be represented.

Spokesmen for the dissident Sakekamers said earlier this week that the AHI was orientated towards the National Party and was "only for businessmen who belong to the NP".

Ferdie Nel, chairman of the Hennenman Sakekamer, was quoted in the Afrikaans press as saying: "Afrikaans business Sakekamers no longer cater for businessmen on the political Right.

"They don't serve us. Therefore, we are founding business circles for rightwing businessman."

The three Sakekamers have hinted more could follow their example, but the AHI has not yet conceded defeat.

President Dries Niemand says: "It is a pity there is a split along political lines. I don't think you should mix politics with business. It is very difficult for me to say anything right now. I really don't know why these people want to split, but I will definitely try to avoid it."

Incoming executive director Martin van den Berg also expressed surprise. "We believe the AHI serves the business interests of its members regardless of whether their political sympathies lie with the NP or the CP or, for that matter, the PFP.

"It is true, of course, that politics impinges on economic matters, but I do not believe they clash to such an extent that the AHI is unable to serve the business interests of its members."

Optimistic to the end, he adds: "I think there is still a possibility that whatever differences exist can be resolved." ■

Banker says apartheid must go now

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The dramatic political breakthrough South Africa needed could only be achieved by the speedy and complete dismantling of apartheid, Dr Chris van Wyk, managing director of Trust Bank, said yesterday.

Despite the lack of progress and the polarisation of the past few years, it should still be possible to achieve a credible consensus in the near future.

Addressing the national congress of chartered accountants in Durban, Dr Van Wyk identified two prerequisites for political progress.

Law and order, security and socio-political stability should be maintained.

"Any recurrence of large-scale violence and instability will seriously harm local and overseas confidence, radicalise South Africans at both ends of the political spectrum even further and diminish the possibility of finding a constructive political solution."

The Government and the private sector should jointly launch a pro-active campaign to normalise the country's international economic and financial relations.

"Now, as never before, South Africans should think positively and enterprisingly about the handling of our political and economic challenges."

He said sanctions and disinvestment retarded reform.

The impoverishment and job

insecurity caused by such international actions were shifting whites to the political right. On the other hand, rising unemployment was radicalising black youths to sympathise with the political left.

"Sanctions have strengthened the hand of the ANC and AWB whilst weakening the moderate centre group so necessary for a stable political future."

Dr Van Wyk estimated a total nett cumulative loss of foreign reserves due to sanctions and disinvestment of R30 billion by 1990.

That implied that the average South African could be one-third poorer in 1990 than now, "partly also as a result of our squanderous handling of

human potential in the face of these adverse developments".

Further sanctions, which Dr Van Wyk described as part of a violent solution that would achieve no constructive results, would worsen matters.

South African leaders should encourage a "positive thinking mind-set" in order to provide an inspiration and confidence about what could be achieved.

"All South Africans must be driven by a vision of South Africa entering the 1990s with an effective political agreement between white and black, peace in the townships, without a state of emergency, with peace between South Africa and its neighbours ... and the economy surging ahead."

Risky choice for Cabinet

JOHN PATTEN

With the blueprint for a new delimitation of constituencies on the table, the Cabinet must soon make a decision which could be one of the riskiest of the NP's 40 years in power.

If it follows the recommendations of the parliamentary joint committee on the Constitution, then the Government will be committed to retaining a system of unevenly loaded constituencies which, for the first time, favours its opponents.

A government gaining electoral support can look forward to a redelimitation because boundary changes can help spread increasing support evenly enough for it to gain seats.

But when its support is waning, as is now the case with the growing challenge of the Conservative Party, it may no longer pay the Nationalists to seek boundary changes that spread NP support more widely. Any swing towards the CP could then result in the Nationalists losing a string of seats.

Worse, even a strategy of seeking boundary changes that would buttress threatened seats could lead to trouble.

The more a party's votes are concentrated in specific areas, the fewer seats it can win under the Westminster system still used in spite of other changes made to the Constitution.

The Government's safest route in a delimitation, which would also be the most democratic, would be to eliminate the accentuated weighting of constituencies which has for decades allowed urban areas to be under-represented and rural areas to be over-represented.

In the past, loading and deloading of up to 15 per cent on this basis, assisted by further deloading

Delimitation: a double-edged sword which may cut the Nats to pieces

of constituencies with areas larger than 25 000 sq km by up to 30 percent, has benefited Nationalist representation considerably.

The effect has been that the NP has been over-represented in Parliament by as much as 22 percent. The NP could not have defeated General Smuts's United Party in 1948 had it not been for this electoral distortion.

Ironically, President Botha faces the same quandary which General Smuts faced — whether or not to risk fighting an election on the basis of this distorted system knowing it will favour his opponents.

General Smuts took the risk because he did not believe he could be beaten. He was proved wrong. The Conservatives would love President Botha to take the same risk...

Under the joint committee's new proposals the Transvaal is to gain 15 seats and Natal one. The increase in the number of MPs was recommended as the only way of ensuring that the other provinces would not have to give up seats to the Transvaal under a redelimitation.

But the CP's stronghold is in the Transvaal, and its growth has been both in the platteland and in Reef constituencies where there is a high percentage of Afrikaner voters.

The importance of parties knowing the exact location of their voter support is now becoming crucial because the expectation is that a delimitation commission could be appointed towards the end of the year, when the parties must be ready with their

boundary proposals.

The municipal elections due in October take on an additional significance because of this. All parties are already hard at work tracing voters and testing their support in municipal wards across the country.

Polling day will demonstrate where their strengths and weaknesses lie. It is on this evidence that they will have to base their delimitation strategy.

For sitting MPs it is a worrying time because their very careers could be in jeopardy if their seats are delimited out of existence.

Examples of this from more recent history include the case of Mr George Oliver, who represented the safe UP seat of Kensington.

Because he was a member of the UP "Old Guard" of the party, he failed to gain nomination in another seat when Kensington became a delimitation casualty before the 1974 elections.

Similarly Mr Werner Weber, who comfortably won the Nationalist seat of Wakkerstroom as a young man at a by-election in 1972, was out in the cold in 1974 when the seat was abolished.

He led a party revolt on the strength of that, which caused considerable waves in the Ermelo seat for years afterwards. Ermelo (into which Wakkerstroom was incorporated) is now a CP seat.

Mr Rupert Lorimer, who was a triumphant winner for the Progressives in Orange Grove in 1974, found himself without a seat for the 1981 elections when his seat disappeared from the electoral map.

He unsuccessfully fought Durban North for the

PFP and was in the political wilderness for six years before winning Bryanston for the PFP last year.

Before the 1973 redelimitation the UP put out the story that the Nationalists were planning to put forward proposals that would split Mrs Helen Suzman's Houghton constituency in half to get rid of that particularly sharp thorn in their side.

But when the delimitation commission sat it was not the NP that proposed the abolition of Houghton as a seat, it was the UP. Houghton stayed, and Helen of Houghton won with an increased majority.

The delimitation commission is usually headed by a judge of the Supreme Court, a move which does not prevent political parties muttering under their breaths about political bias in the determining of boundaries.

But it gives the maximum independence to the decisions taken, and confronts all parties with the same dilemma of having to impress the commission of the reasonableness of their arguments.

On the face of it now, almost any proposals will benefit the Conservatives at the expense of the Nationalists if the loading rules are not changed, while the Nationalists probably stand to gain from the PFP.

Though at present a parliamentary general election at the same time as the municipal elections this year seems to be a fading possibility, feedback from canvassing for the municipal elections could still sway President Botha into holding a snap election this year... on the old delimitation.

Although that would be grossly unfair to constituencies such as North Rand (with more than 37 000 voters) and Pretoria East (with more than 34 000) — compared with Prieska's total of under 9 000 voters — it would probably give the Nationalists their best chance of holding onto the most seats.

Idasa to open Durban office

w/ ARGUS

11/6/88

30/4

by KAREN MacGREGOR
Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.— The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) is to open an office in Durban next month after deliberately avoiding the trouble torn province because of its current "complexity" and "sensitivity".

Idasa already has offices in several major centres, including a head office in Cape Town and branches in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Pretoria.

"We have actively avoided entering Natal because it is a very complex society at present and because several organisations are already achieving good results there," Idasa director, Dr Alex Borain, said this week.

"Natal has the whole problem of Inkatha/United Democratic Front at each others' throats, spilling over into dreadful violence, and many other complicating factors.

"It seemed at one stage that unless we came into Natal on one side or the other we would not be accepted."

Dr Borain said Idasa had also been concerned that the organisation's resources and manpower were too stretched in other provinces to be able to make a really positive contribution in problematic Natal.

"Also, we thought it would be insensitive to enter Natal unless we had positive signs from several quarters that we were wanted."

However, after Idasa staff had been sent to Natal and talked to virtually every progressive organisation in the province, they had found the reception extremely positive.

"The overwhelming consensus was that we should open an office as soon as possible. We looked at the matter very carefully and, having been able to raise some funding, decided to open the Durban office."

The organisation will open "in a very small way" in Durban on July 1.

Workshops will be held to bring together people from a variety of opposing organisations and different sides of the political spectrum.

Idasa spotlight fails on future economy

Policies for wealth redistribution spelt out

MUCH time is spent in South Africa discussing strategies to fight apartheid and what the political system beyond apartheid should look like, but little time is spent discussing the equally crucial issue of the future of South Africa's economy.

This view is expressed in the latest issue of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa's newsletter, *Democracy in Action*.

Idasa recently focused on the subject with a seminar on "A view of the economy beyond apartheid".

Speakers included Wayne Mitchell, national co-ordinator of Idasa; Duncan Innes, Professor of Economics at the University of the Witwatersrand; Jan Theron, general secretary of the Food and Allied Workers' Union; Christo Nel, a prominent Johannesburg businessman; and Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa.

Mitchell posed the question whether blacks could be asked to reject their socialist ideals when, over 40 years of National Party rule, society had been forged by a

unique combination of capitalist exploitation and racial oppression.

He said the foundation of a national democracy would most likely lead to a mixed economy that might gradually make the transition to socialism.

Innes said there was growing support for socialist ideas among South African blacks because capitalism was seen by many to be linked to apartheid. Socialism was also perceived as providing a mechanism to share in the country's wealth.

According to Marxist socialist theory, Innes said, the working class seizes power. But as "working class" is an abstract concept, it is in fact not the class that seizes power, but the organisation representing it.

He said there were three areas where a strong case could be made for nationalisation: Public utilities on which the rest of the economy depended, such as water, electricity and aspects of transport; companies fulfilling strategic functions, such as producers of essential foodstuffs and armaments; and companies which fulfill

an important role in society but cannot be profitable, such as large employers and important exporters.

But, Innes said, there should still be room for the private sector and private initiative in a socialist system.

This would be possible if there was an overriding plan devised by the State to reconcile the two fields, to determine national economic priorities, to stipulate how they should be implemented, and to work out a time-scale.

The redistribution of wealth would be a key issue to be addressed by this national plan, he said. It should be determined beforehand what the balance should be between economic growth and social reform.

In a socialist system the boards of directors of nationalised companies should be replaced with elected management councils. This should not rule out independent trade unions or management associations.

Theron said apartheid could not be separated from economics — the business community had always benefited from the apartheid system. He

dismissed the trend of share offers to workers as "mere tokenism". It did not address the real problems of the workers and was therefore more a diversion than a solution.

Nel said South Africa's economic problems could not be solved through any ideology. The only criterion for a new system should be that it worked.

This, however, should be a "principled pragmatism" — it should comply with the principles of a non-racial democracy and the redistribution of wealth.

Redistribution of wealth would be possible only if there were economic growth.

Two barriers hindering economic growth were the paternalistic, unilateral decision-making of business management; and trade unions that were reluctant to create a climate of trust and establish positions of interdependence.

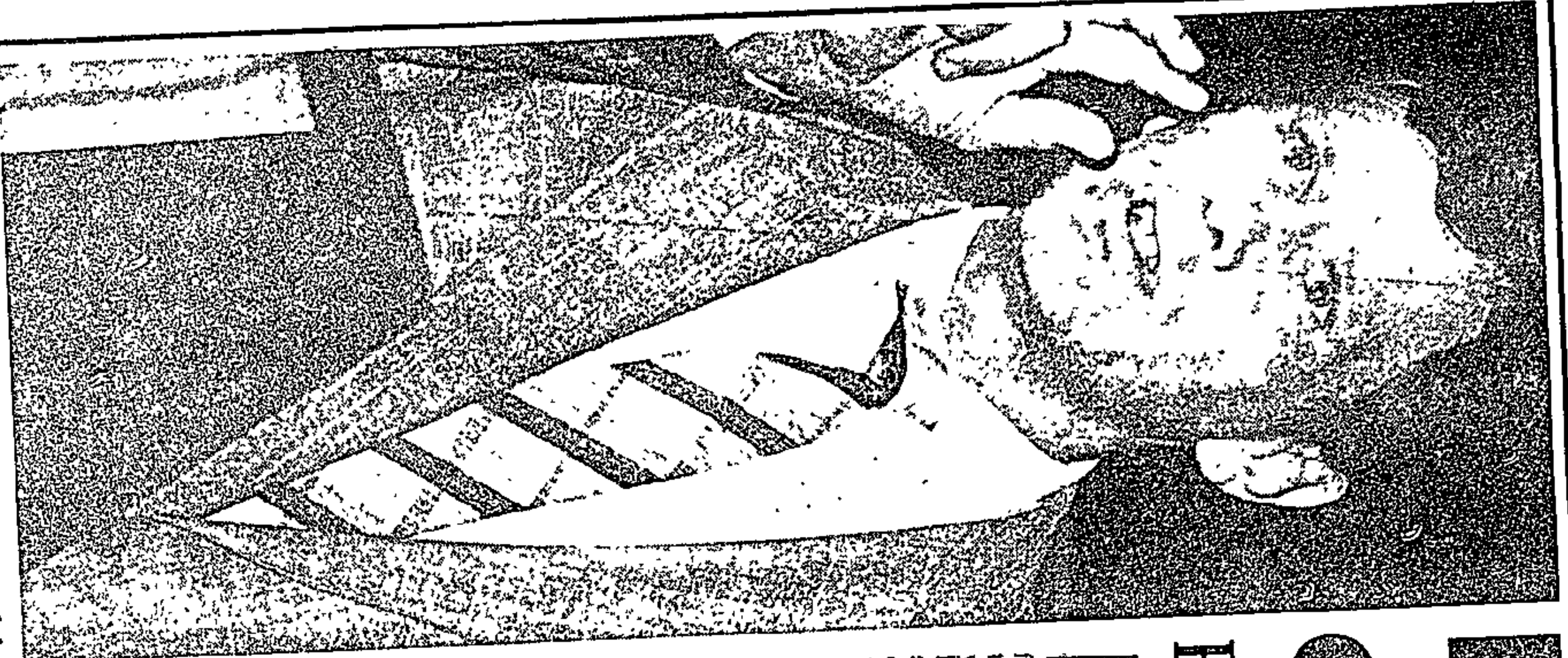
What was needed, according to Nel, was a totally new way of thinking: workers should be involved in democratic decision-making and management should establish a new solidarity with the workforce.

Bheki Sibye, a member of the board of directors of the Black Management Forum, who introduced a panel discussion on the desirability and viability of free enterprise in a post-apartheid South Africa, said once the country had rid itself of all apartheid legislation, a number of short-sighted laws would be stumbling blocks on the road to peace and prosperity.

Serious attention should therefore be given to how free enterprise could survive in a fair society after apartheid. Slabbert said of the three scenarios popularly sketched in South Africa — revolution, massive external intervention and negotiation — only the last one was likely, whatever form it was going to take.

He said while it was true that black and white South Africans lived in two vastly different worlds, it had been proved that a meaningful debate could be opened up on many different levels.

He added that Pretoria should not be allowed to take the initiative with negotiation, because the government was not serious about it. — Avo



Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert...meaningful debate possible despite race gap.

can trip 13/6/88

NP expels Durban's mayor over beaches

Own Correspondent *304A*

DURBAN. — Durban's Mayor, Mr Henry Klotz, was officially expelled from the National Party at the weekend, following a meeting of the NP Natal head committee.

The committee, which said Mr Klotz had "acted disloyally or contrary to the interests of the party", made the decision following Mr Klotz's suspension last month for his refusal to go along with the government policy on beach apartheid.

Earlier this year, Mr Klotz refused to sign a statement made by Natal party leader Mr Stoffel Botha, which stated that Durban's two remaining whites-only beaches, South and Addington, must not be opened to all races.

Following his suspension, Mr Klotz "severed all ties" with the party and remained adamant that all of Durban's beaches would, in time, be open to all.

When asked for comment yesterday, Mr Klotz said he had been expecting the decision.

Remaking SA society will take decades'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — For all its faults, South Africa is also the most dynamic and prosperous country in Africa, deeply enmeshed in a complex process of change at all levels, says the *Financial Times*.

This observation was made in a major six-page survey on South Africa on Thursday.

However, the paper adds, remaking the country's society in a non-racial mode — whether under the Nationalists or any other conceivable form of government — is "likely to be the work of decades, not months, like *perestroika* in the Soviet Union".

The essential middle-ground for the building of democracy lies in the expansion and development of a stable black, urban, property-owning, increasingly skilled middle and working class, says Anthony Robinson, who, with Jim Jones, has written most of the survey.

'NATS ARE DRIFTING'

At the same time, the Nationalists are drifting, he adds. The Government lacks conviction, "kept in power by a fragile coalition of middle-class Afrikaners and frightened English-speakers, a vast security network and bureaucracy and an autocratic president, insulated from reality".

Robinson adds that "after four uninterrupted decades in power, a bloated bureaucracy demands a tax tribute which has hobbled economic growth. Faced with sanctions, disinvestment and presidential wrath, however, the once vocal business community has kept its head below the parapet."

Yet, the report continues, it would be unfair to blame all South Africa's historical conflict on the government alone. And the National Party remained deeply flawed, but still the only viable vehicle for changing the system it had created.

'REALISTIC AGENDA'

● In an editorial on Saturday, *The Times* said that giving the black population greater economic power and continuing to chip away at racial discrimination constitute the only realistic agenda for genuine and lasting change in South Africa.

"They are likely to be far more effective than either pop music extravaganzas or the actions of American supporters of sanctions who would create a wasteland and call it peace."

The paper said Pretoria had been battered by a series of events designed to re-focus world attention on the struggle for black liberation, with the three-day stayaway in South Africa being followed by the Mandela pop concert in London. But the campaign was based on a false premise.

"The assumption that international pressure must inevitably bring down the white citadel of South Africa and cleanse the world of apartheid is profoundly misguided."

It says manipulation is inherent in many political events, but is particularly blatant in the case of the concert.

PFP 'Young Turks' may join

Plan to unite moderates in an alliance

DENIS Worrall's Independent Party (IP) is aiming to form an alliance of moderates — including Inkatha, the Labour Party and disaffected PFP members — possibly led by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources from the ranks of the PFP's "Young Turks" say the issue of party members deserting to the IP will come to a head at the PFP's August congress in Cape Town.

For many, sources say, their continued loyalty to the troubled PFP depends on whether the party's finance chairman and Anglo executive Zach de Beer takes over from Colin Egin as PFP leader.

De Beer and Egin met at the weekend for informal discussions at Harry Oppenheimer's La Lucia estate north of Durban. The outcome of the meeting was not known at the time of going to press.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The IP's first national congress is scheduled for September, one month after the PFP's.

Several scenarios being discussed behind the scenes involve the possibility of an alliance styled along the lines of the Namibian DTA, the formation of a new non-racial party, and a coalition, which is believed to be a less favourable option to the players.

The intended alliance is aimed at uniting moderates across the colour spectrum who support free-market capitalism and, while considering the ANC and UDF political enemies, are committed to a negotiated settlement in SA.

All proposed participants strongly endorse the KwaNatal Indaba, which they believe offers an acceptable political

● To Page 2 ➡

Plan to unite moderates in an alliance

route to most whites.

The IP is gearing up to strengthen its "bargaining position" with other leaders in what it terms the "creative opposition" but has twice stalled in negotiations with Egin recently on party unity.

IP leaders believe by the end of July, when at least 40 IP constituency committees will have been set up — many in constituencies presently held by the NP but traditionally contested by the PFP — behind-the-scenes negotiations may come to fruition.

The IP considers it can bring about a hung parliament in the next general election by winning 42 white seats. Presently IP calculations show its leaders are confident of capturing at least 22 constituencies.

IP official Keith Gurney told a meeting during the launch of the IP in Edenvale recently the PFP was a spent force.

Sources say some PFP officials who appeared recently to have been wooed by the IP have backed off hoping the PFP can be revitalised under De Beer.

Many of Johannesburg's PFP candidates for the October municipal elections are believed to be contesting wards on the understanding that De Beer will take over.

The PFP is fighting only Johannesburg, Sandton and Randburg on a party-political basis but will field candidates unofficially countrywide.

In a recent statement Worrall said the

IP would try to avoid contests only with official candidates of other parties within the "creative opposition".

The IP is said by PFP sources to be negotiating with unofficial PFP candidates in various areas.

KwaZulu's Oscar Dhlomo recently said Inkatha had taken no decisions on the October elections as the ongoing political violence in Natal had not been resolved.

Buthelezi was unavailable for comment at the weekend. While he has not indicated his stand on the October elections, he recently said Inkatha would reconsider its stand on the RSC system and possibly participate.

On inquiry recently, Dhlomo said Buthelezi held Worrall in high regard but, before commenting on whether a basis for co-operation existed between the two, Inkatha would grant Worrall time to establish his party and observe his conduct closely.

Several attempts by Business Day to reach LP leader Allan Hendrickse proved unsuccessful.

In a recent interview conducted by Worrall for the FM, Hendrickse conceded a basis for co-operation existed between himself, Worrall and Buthelezi, with whom Hendrickse said the LP had attempted to patch up differences.

➡ From Page 1

NP MP charged with election fraud

I did not apply for a special vote — witness

star 14/6/88 304A

By Sue Olswang

A Bezuidenhout Valley resident yesterday told a Johannesburg magistrate that he did not know who signed or completed an application form to register him as a special voter in last year's general election.

"I don't know who signed or handed in the application for a special vote. The signature is not my own and the identity number does not correspond with mine because the last three digits are not the same. I have also never lived at the Park Place, Berea, address supplied on the form which I am supposed to have completed," said Mr Johan Kruis.

Mr Kruis was testifying in a fraud case against Mr Leon de Beer, the suspended National Party MP for Hillbrow.

Mr de Beer (28) of Yeoville faces 120 charges of fraud and contravening the Electoral Act together with his co-accused, Mr Christoffel Snyman (56) of Hillbrow and Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg (41) of Auckland Park. Mr de Beer is also charged with making a false statement to the police. All three have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Yesterday the court heard evidence from three Bloemfontein residents who said Mr de Beer approached them in Bloemfontein during 1986 and asked them to complete voter's registration cards. All three said Mr de Beer did not ask them to supply permanent residential addresses.

Two of the witnesses, Mr Pieter van der Walt and Mr Leon Grobber, said they had never lived at the Lloyds Hotel in Hillbrow, even though this ad-

dress was reflected on both of their official registration cards. The third witness, Mr Wayne Kennedy, said he had also never lived in Johannesburg.

Mr Jan van der Merwe, a police constable who shares a home with Mr de Beer, told the court that he assisted Mr de Beer with voter's re-registrations from from November 1986 until January 1987.

Mr van der Merwe said he assisted Mr de Beer in the Bezuidenhout area because Mr de Beer originally intended standing for the Bezuidenhout constituency, but later changed to Hillbrow where he felt he stood a better chance.

"We went to various Bezuidenhout homes to gather change of address details from voters, but I cannot say what Mr de Beer did with the completed cards.

Election Strategies

"Mr de Beer never spoke to me about his election strategies but he said he would put in a good show. He never said he was sure he would win the election though," said Mr van der Merwe.

It is alleged that Mr de Beer and his co-accused manipulated votes by changing voter's addresses, voting on behalf of voters and on behalf of voter's whose names did not appear on official voting lists.

Mr de Beer, in a written explanation of his plea, said he did not foresee a chance to win the election. He said he wanted to give a "good show" and convince party leaders of his good intentions and ability to work hard. He said he also wanted to further the profile of his party and better his chances for a seat in the next election.

The hearing continues today.

Du Plessis calls for House debate on power sharing

CAPE TOWN — It would be of assistance in debate on Government proposals for power sharing with Blacks to hear what the House accepted as proper power sharing, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.



Mr Barend du Plessis ... term so broad.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said Mr John Douw (LP, Nominated) had said the Gov

ernment was not interested in real power sharing.

However that term was so broad that one could turn an ox wagon in it.

He would like to hear a debate in the House on what was acceptable as real power sharing and what its consequences were.

DISPARITIES

Perhaps there also needed to be a re-definition of what was meant by disparities.

Earlier, Mr Douw said attempts to put the economy on a sound footing would not be successful unless there was real power sharing.

There would be instability as long as the majority was kept out of the political process. — Sapa.

SA must avoid 'callous, uncaring' image

3/27 14/11/88 Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Dr Piet Koornhof, South African ambassador in Washington, warned yesterday that South Africa must be extremely careful not to play into the hands of its enemies who wanted to give the impression that it was a callous society which did not care.

He was giving his impressions of South Africa's difficult situation in the United States after spending a few days in Cape Town for consultations with President Botha, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and a number of other Ministers.

Dr Koornhof said that, although the country's enemies were mounting a big assault, in which the campaign for the US presidency was being used, there was no reason to be despondent.

It was necessary to project the "caring and sharing" atti-

tude which in fact existed in the country among all groups and "which was being projected by the President". In this Mr Botha also needed the support of all.

It must also become clear that reform was a matter of great seriousness for South Africa and that it was untrue that reform had come to a standstill.

Dr Koornhof said the detention of minors was one of the matters which caused great emotion in the US and which was exploited.

It was difficult to say whether the climate against South Africa had improved or worsened in the year he had been in Washington.

On the one hand he experienced understanding and warmth towards South Africa.

On the other hand the efforts of South Africa's enemies had sharpened, especially in view of the coming US election.

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Govt, opposition set to clash over Bill

Step 14/6/88 (30619)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government and white opposition parties are heading for a major confrontation in Parliament this week over the future of white education and the introduction of compulsory school fees.

The controversial Education Affairs Bill, which centralises the control of white education as an "own affair", has been re-submitted to the House of Assembly and will be debated this week.

VERY FEW AMENDMENTS

The Bill, which was considered by a House of Assembly committee, was returned yesterday with very few amendments of substance.

Mr Roger Burrows, Progressive Federal Party education spokesman, said his party would oppose the Bill.

Mr Andrew Gerber, Conservative

Party spokesman, said his party was perturbed about major sections of the Bill and would oppose the legislation.

Mr Burrows said: "The Bill will remove virtually all local control in education, allowing Pretoria to rule by decree."

"The superintendent-general of white education will have virtually all powers given to him."

The Bill also establishes the principle of compulsory school fees, but the Minister, Mr Piet Clase, has refused to give details so far.

Mr Burrows, who has accused the Government of already forcing schools to raise fees through the back door by cutting budgets, said every attempt to get details from the committee had failed.

Both parties are also annoyed at the way the Government has attempted to rush the Bill through Parliament.

Dutch activism echoes pro-Boer sentiment

The Dutch people are sending out signals to their Afrikaner cousins ... much as their forebears did. But the signals have changed, reports ADA STUUT.

UTRECHT — The Dutch are very disappointed with their Afrikaner cousins' system of apartheid — and have their own way of showing it.

For not since the Boer War has there been such an outpouring of spontaneous public sentiment over a South African issue in The Netherlands as the recent public support of the country's anti-apartheid demonstrations.

Outwardly, at least, there is a difference. Whereas in 1898 the Dutch were naming entire neighbourhoods after the Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State and honouring Boer leaders Kruger, Steyn and Pretorius with statues, and in popular books and song, they now do the same for Nelson Mandela, Allan Boesak, Desmond Tutu, Oliver Tambo and Steve Biko.

Yet the underlying reasons for current Dutch support of South African "liberation movements" have

remained basically the same: at the turn of the century they were just as outraged when the British so violently infringed Boer independence.

Public feeling here against apartheid led some 50 000 burghers, their wives and children on to the streets of Amsterdam on a 2 km, traffic-stopping march from the Dam to Museum Square next to the Van Gogh museum.

The peaceful crowd was captivated by the kwela music of the ANC band Amanda, gave a 10-minute ovation to UDF founder-patron Dr Allan Boesak, and listened approvingly to a speech by Swapo's Mr Toivo Ja Toivo.

PERSONAL AFFRONT

The current generation's grandparents were just as interested in the pro-Boer books of Penning and the plays put on by pro-Boer activists in Holland.

Now thousands of guilders are being donated to the ANC fundraisers all over Holland — much as the silver guilders once poured into the coffers of the Boer Republics,

during the Boer War.

Some Dutch are so angered by apartheid that they consider it a personal affront. It certainly is so for parliamentarian Mr Ed Dolman, chairman of the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament, who said in Amsterdam that the Dutch were so irritated "because the very word came from our own language".

Other people express their feelings more actively, damaging properties and boycotting products of companies trading with South Africa such as Shell, Makro supermarkets and KLM.

And outraged Netherlanders such as Klaas de Jonge and Helene Passtors went even further by joining the ANC's insurgents in South Africa — much as Dutch "ambulance drivers" once risked life and limb alongside the Boers in their armed struggle against British rule at the turn of the century.

Anti-apartheid sentiment here is at a fever-pitch. Long before Saturday's celebration of Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, leaders of Cosatu, the UDF, Swapo and the ANC were

given wide media coverage in The Netherlands.

The musical group Amanda — armed with a hard-hitting political musical message — is to visit 52 towns and cities in The Netherlands and Belgium on their fund-raising tour for an ANC hospital in Lusaka and Angolan refugees. At the turn of the century and in very similar fashion, popular fund-raising events were held in hundreds of Dutch towns for the Boer women and children who were suffering and dying in English concentration camps in South Africa.

KRUGER OAKS

The highlights of Amanda's trip are expected in Arnhem next Saturday, where the city council will take the (renamed) Nelson Mandela bridge into official use, and on June 24 in Haarlem which is renaming a large park after Mandela.

Again, this is strongly reminiscent of the Boer War years. In many Dutch parks today, one can still see now-towering Paul Kruger oak trees, planted as saplings at the turn of the century by Queen Wilhelmina, who was a strong supporter of the Boer War effort.

Her popular grand-daughter Queen Beatrix recently attended the opening of the film, Cry Freedom. Afterwards she was said to be "very distressed by its message".

Thus in many ways — subtle and not so subtle — the Dutch are sending a steady stream of signals to their Afrikaner cousins, in the same unequivocal way as their grandfathers. — *The Star's Foreman Newman*



Mr Tony Bloom . . . 'Business must be in the forefront of a movement to press for the abolition of discrimination.'

SA's race policies behind sanctions, says Bloom

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The primary motivation for sanctions and disinvestment was the Government's steadfast refusal to dismantle statutory racial discrimination, Mr Tony Bloom, chairman of the Premier Group, said in the company's annual report which was released yesterday.

He said that although he was a firm opponent of these punitive measures, it should be remembered that racial discrimination was codified in South African law and invaded every facet of South African life.

As long as "unjustifiable concepts" remained legal, domestic polarisation and international isolation would inevitably increase, Mr Bloom warned.

DEFEND VALUES OF SOCIETY

He urged the business community to "vocally and forcefully" defend the values of a civilised society. That was the only way economic and political stability and a reasonable future for all South Africans could be assured.

The business sector needed to be in the forefront of "an articulate and coherent movement" which pressed for the abolition of discrimination, the restoration and maintenance of the rule of law, negotiations with credible black leaders — "including several of those presently in jail or exile" — and the maintenance of freedom of association and speech.

Mr Bloom criticised the Government's recently proposed constitutional changes which would not satisfy black political as-

pirations.

"Once again, they have been formulated without consultation with credible black leaders, and suffer from the fatal flaw of reserving the main legislative bodies for whites, Indians and coloureds.

He urged the Government to scrap "the broad policy of apartheid", despite the growing strength of right-wing politics.

During the financial year under review, Mr Bloom said, several reaffirmations of apartheid cornerstones had been made.

These included the exclusion of blacks from the political process, the maintenance of race classification and the continuance of segregated schooling, health facilities and living areas.

SCRAPPED IN THEIR ENTIRETY

"Merely tinkering with their basic tenets in order to alleviate their worst features will not do — they should be scrapped in their entirety."

The banning of 17 black anti-apartheid organisations had silenced all forms of peaceful political protest and would undoubtedly channel black political aspirations into underground movements and more violent forms, he said.

In addition, the press, universities and trade unions had come under increased pressure.

The actual and proposed moves against trade unions were "particularly dangerous". The proposed amendments to the Labour Relations Bill should be resisted by employers and employees, he said.

June 16: important for SA's whites as well

June 16 is not just another day, writes the Black Sash Education Committee.

Black schools are closed. Private schools have their half-term break. The liberal universities hold no classes. White schools enforce extra security measures. June 16 is not just another day in the education calendar.

On June 16 1976, police shot demonstrating Soweto students. Hector Peterson, a 13-year-old primary school pupil, was the first child killed by police action.

Flashpoint for the Soweto rebellion was the State's decision to implement the 50-50 rule in the final year of primary school. What this meant in practice was that black school children would have to learn half their subjects through the medium of English and the other half through the medium of Afrikaans.

This was rejected by the black community. But it was only one aspect of the dissatisfaction with Bantu Education.

Bantu Education, imposed in 1955, aimed to perpetuate a rigid racial segregation in education and to ensure that the "native who attends ... school will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country." (Eiselen report 1951). Dr Verwoerd in a speech delivered to the Senate on June 7 1954, said, "there is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

The material provisions of black schooling have been directed towards the achievement of these aims. Where white schools have media centres, school halls, swimming pools and gymnasia, black schools in contrast lack electricity, duplicating facilities and books. In addition there are huge disparities in staff-student ratios and in the number of qualified teachers.

Can students be blamed for rebelling against such an education system? Given the effectiveness of state repression, the continued resistance to "Bantu education" is a testimony to the strength and determination of people to resist domination.

For the majority of South Africans, June 16, Soweto Day, is a national day of remembrance. June 16 is a day on which to remember that critical questions about education need to be asked. It reminds us that black children have been perceptive enough to ask such questions.

Some white South Africans see June 16 as part of an "alternative" calendar which has nothing to do with them. It is time for them to recognise that white education is in no less need of serious challenge. It too serves the interests of the State and by fostering racism, sexism and elitism, bolsters apartheid.

June 16 is an important day for us all.

Family 'used' in Hillbrow election scandal

JOHANNESBURG. — A Bloemfontein student, Miss Elsa van der Watt, told the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday that although she had not been resident in Hillbrow, she completed a special postal vote supporting her cousin, Mr Leon de Beer, MP for Hillbrow.

Mr de Beer, 28, his election agent, Mr Christoffel Snyman, 56 and Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg, 41, have denied 120 charges of fraud relating to last year's May elections in which Mr de Beer, gained the Hillbrow constituency by 89 votes.

State advocate, Mr J J du Toit,

requested the court to warn Dr E de Beer, mother of the first accused and Miss Van der Watt that they were possible accomplices.

Miss Van der Watt said Mr de Beer spoke to her in January last year at her parents home in Odendalsrus. "He wanted me to vote for him," she said.

She said she did not know how votes worked, but she filled in a change of address card for inclusion of her name on the voter's roll. Shown the card, she said she had never lived at Rushleigh Heights in Claim Street, Hillbrow.

The witness' brother, Mr Ja-

cobs van der Watt, a student at the Pretoria Technicon, testified he also partially completed a change of address form provided by Mr de Beer.

Dr E de Beer, mother of Mr Leon de Beer, resident in Bloemfontein, assisted her son in Hillbrow on election day. She told the court that towards the end of April last year, her son asked her to pass on certain information to relations and to a friend's son regarding addresses in Hillbrow and the venue for postal votes.

The trial continues today. — Sapa

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Mr. Tian 15/6/80

PW's rule 'absolute, intolerant' — MP

By BARRY STREEK

SOUTH AFRICA had never had a ruler who operated more like a medieval king than President P W Botha, PFP MP for Green Point Mr Tian van der Merwe said last night.

"He is intolerant of those who disagree with him and he is enraged by any indication that his power is not absolute," he told a public meeting in Kloof, Natal.

He also said in spite of government claims that it was broadening democracy, it had "clearly chosen to rule by force rather than by popular support".

In his speech, Mr Van der Merwe said: "With the third annual proclamation of a state of emergency in place, it is clear that they cannot (or maybe will not) run the country by accepted democratic standards any more."

"They prefer to have the powers to lock up any of their political opponents, to ban organizations and to close newspapers."

"In justifying their actions, the Nationalists claim that they are fighting Marxist revolutionaries."

"In everything but the physical sense, however, they have lost that fight already because they adopted all the most offensive elements of a typical Marxist state as their own."

The politics of fish bowls

The National Party government refuses to have "official talks" with the ANC. It says the ANC is a "terrorist" organisation which propagates the violent overthrow of the government. And until the ANC renounces violence, it will not have discussions with them

By RYLAND FISHER

RANDBURG MP Wynand Malan feels his burden has increased since he left the National Party just over a year ago.

"But it is a burden I don't mind carrying," he says.

"My burden used to be the National Party. Now I have a different kind of burden, which is sometimes a joy. I am a free agent and can work towards a nonracial democratic South Africa."

Malan was considered by many to be a rising star in the National Party before he left to stand as an independent in the May 6 election last year.

As leader of the National Democratic Movement he recently returned from Frankfurt where he met with a top-level African National Congress delegation.

It was something he would not have been able to do as a Nationalist MP.

Malan describes as "traumatic" his decision to leave the party.

"I was born into the party. It was like home. Although I was disenchanted for a long time I could not leave.

"It is like living in a home where your mother and father are both alcoholics, yet you can't disown them.

"I left when the government did not want to shift from its definition of groups. They continued to use race to define groups. I also had problems with the application of security legislation.

"I could not accept it when some of my friends were detained. Like Vusi Khanyile (chairperson of the National Education Crisis Committee).

"It did not make sense. Vusi had been meeting with Sam de Beer to resolve the education crisis yet the police detained him.

"There are many others like Vusi who should never have been detained.

Asked if it was a sacrifice to leave the party, he said,

"No, it was not really a sacrifice, but traumatic. Afterwards there was a feeling of tremendous relief.

"I still feel patriotic, but now I feel patriotic towards all the people of South Africa.

"I feel I made the right decision."

He does not think it was a brave decision.

"It was becoming impossible to stay in the party. There are others going through the same suffering.

"I don't blame them for not leaving the party. I'm sure that in time they will experience what I did."

Malan said he hoped to have future discussions with the ANC.

"We achieved many things with our last meeting. We could agree on a multi-party democracy and the protection of cultural, language and religion along with other individual rights.

"This can be recorded against the idea in South Africa that the ANC stands for a one-party state.

"The joint statement we issued



Wynand Malan

gives the official position of both our organisations and we can be measured against that commitment in our future actions.

"An important achievement was that we could sit down and talk. We normalised the concept of political contact against the background of our objective that everyone should be included in the political process.

"There was a mutual commitment to meet again and to look at alternative strategies to oppose the total strategy and to break the deadlock. This will be the basis of our follow up discussions.

"This idea was stimulating to us and, it appears, to the ANC.

"We will now continue with similar discussions across the political spectrum here and probably meet them again in a few months.

"We shared all our research information on attitudes to pressure activities. It was an open and constructive meeting and they seriously took note of what we were saying.

"Our impression was that the four ANC members we spoke to were serious, relaxed and genuine.

"Obviously we can only develop a relationship of trust over time, even though we would not necessarily agree on everything but there should be trust in spite of disagreements.

"We knew where they stood and they knew where we stood. There was no cheap talk or bluffing."

Malan denied that he was trying to sell the idea of participating in parliament with the support of extra-parliamentary organisations, but the matter had been discussed with the ANC.

"That is not our idea. We believe in involving all people in decision-making so there would be organic growth towards one nation.

"However, we feel participation in electoral politics should be seriously considered as an option and not ruled out because of so-called principles."

"There should not be a purist approach but participation should be measured by its results."

He said the NDM "differed fundamentally" with the PFP on strategy.

"We advocate involvement over the total spectrum of politics. The PFP is mainly involved in parliamentary politics.

"Where they are involved in the townships it is like a Red Cross ambulance moving into troubled areas. They are only there when it is a crisis. They are not involved in strategising and can't feel part of the community.

"I use the metaphor of two fish bowls — the system and the opposition. Two groups of people are playing their politics in two different bowls. I believe you must get all the fish in one bowl to sort out the problems. There must be total involvement.

Does he believe there is a chance of uniting what seems to be a very splintered parliamentary Left?

"Our first strategic goal is to get all involved. Then there may be a realignment which may include the PFP and Dennis Worrall.

"To force things now, may be to everyone's detriment and everyone may lose.

"Look what happened with the May 6 election when the PFP's alliance with the NRP led to them losing supporters. A joint opposition is not on our agenda.

"We are not in the game to rearrange the opposition furniture. We want to add to the political furniture on the left of government."

GOVT VOTES R205-m FOR RISES

Sowetan 15/6/88 *3049* *2*

THE public service was abuzz with speculation yesterday about who is going to get the extra R205 million which the Government has allocated for pay rises. Government sources were mum about the increase but elsewhere speculation was rife.

SOWETAN
Correspondent

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister for Administration and Privatisation, announced on Monday that the Cabinet had decided to allocate an extra R205 million for "occupational specific adjustments", in addition to the R250 million set aside for this purpose in the main Budget.

The R205 million was intended to "ease the most serious problems". Dr de Villiers stressed that the increase would only be for public servants paid from the State Revenue Fund—in other words, excluding Sats and Posts and Telecommunications.

Mr Roger Burrows, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman for education and the public service, said he thought the bulk of the increase might go towards overcoming the teachers 10 percent backlog in salary.

He said the R205 million would cover a 10 percent rise for teachers for the period October 1 to next year's Budget.

But Dr Colin Cameron, chairman of the Public Service Association, said it would be "most unfortunate" if the bulk of the money went to any one large occupation.

He said if the R205 million were spread over the entire public service it would not go very far but it would help to address the most serious problems which the RSA had identified when it spoke to President Botha.

Witness tells of MP's request

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A witness told the Magistrate's Court here yesterday that MP Mr Leon de Beer had told her to tell police investigating an election matter that she was living in Hillbrow, at the time of the election.

Mr De Beer, 28, his election agent Mr Christoffel Snyman, 57, and Home Affairs official Mr Adriaan Willem Janse van Rensburg, 42, are charged with 120 counts of electoral fraud.

Mr De Beer is also charged with making a false statement to the police.

They have pleaded not guilty to the charges. Mr De Beer was suspended from the National Party, but retains his seat in Parliament.

State witness Miss Annette le Roux, 21, said Mr De Beer had helped her fill in an application for a change of address card at the NP offices in Hillbrow. She was moving to Westdene in April, 1986. She confirmed that the card shown in court was the one she filled in and left at the NP Hillbrow offices.

On May 6 she discovered her name was on the Hillbrow voters' roll and voted in the Hillbrow constituency.

When she was shown a second application for a change of address card in court, she said her name was spelt incorrectly, it was not her signature and she had never lived in Hillbrow as the card stated. She said she had no knowledge of this application.

Members of the SAP contacted her in connection with the election during August, 1987 but she did not return their calls and had telephoned Mr De Beer.

He had told her she did not have to speak to them and not to worry. After repeated phone calls from the SAP she had once again phoned Mr De Beer to find out what she should tell the police, the court heard.

Mr De Beer told her to tell the police she was staying in Hillbrow from December, 1986.

The case was adjourned for cross-examination today.

Revised forum to decide on black rights

304A

STV 146 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Legislation providing for a consultative National Council to decide on black political rights will come before Parliament from next week.

The measure will have the support of major parties in all the Houses of Parliament except the Conservative Party.

A joint committee on constitutional affairs of all three Houses of Parliament was due to end its consideration of the measure today.

President Botha is said to be keen to have the negotiation process start in some form.

The Government has, since the original draft Bill on a National Council was published about two years ago, agreed to a number of major changes in an attempt to make it more acceptable to all parties.

The provision that the President would nominate members, including urban blacks, was scrapped and provision was made for such members to be elected.

Although there are still plans for regional local councils for blacks, these urban representatives on the National Council will now be chosen by electoral colleges of local government councillors to be elected in October.

This is one of the new changes in the Bill following a number of compromises with the Labour Party.

Another change is that President Botha will no longer be chairman, but there could be a number of rotating chairmen from different groups.

There will also now be a limit to the number of Cabinet Ministers who can be on the council.

Anti-CP white right calls for 'Volkstaat'

Political Correspondent

A POSITION paper drawn up by leading members of the white right has rejected Conservative Party policy and argues the case for what amounts to Afrikaner secession from the rest of South Africa.

The document, drawn up for the newly-formed extra-parliamentary right-wing body Afrikanervryheid, which has Professor Carel Boshoff as chairman and full-time executive, talks of a "Volkstaat", which

is similar to that wanted by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

It said that Afrikaners were split into four groups. One of these — which boasted growing numbers — believed that Afrikaners could "only survive in a separate Afrikanervolkstaat".

One group was the so-called independents and the Progressive Federal Party members who favoured a settlement with blacks.

The next group was the supporters of the National Party, who wanted a settlement with blacks in

which they would not only maintain control over their own affairs but would still have a decisive role in the country as a whole.

Another group wanted to take over the government and return to the old policy of separate development.

"The fourth group consists of a growing number of Afrikaners who also support the right-wing political parties, but are of the opinion that the Afrikaner Volk can only survive in a separate Afrikanervolkstaat, separate from the

mixed South Africa and which can be inhabited only by Afrikaners and assimilable people," said the paper.

The paper did not say where this state should be, but said an area would have to be identified before there was an internal settlement in South Africa so that the Afrikaner could be ready to realize Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's statement that he would rather be part of a smaller state than part of one that had been given over to black domination.

Meanwhile, opposition leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday warned the government that its derision for apparent differences in right-wing white politics would be short-lived.

He predicted that the combined right-wing forces would overthrow the Nationalist government and would return the country to the policies of old-style apartheid which the government had rejected. He said this was what the NP really feared.

2 black leaders cool on council

Political Staff

THE long-awaited national council — mooted by the government as the route to bringing blacks into first-tier government — should be on the Statute Book within the next month.

But already it seems doomed, with KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi once again rejecting the council yesterday and other non-independent homeland leaders set to follow suit.

The United Municipalities of SA yesterday announced that it would formulate a joint approach to the council with Chief Buthelezi. That means Umsa's Mr Tom Mboya will give the council the thumbs-down.

Chief Buthelezi said when he met Mr Mboya at Ulundi yesterday that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was a pre-requisite for his participation. And it seems Chief Buthelezi is now adding the demise of the tricameral Parliament as a pre-condition.

The final areas of disagreement about the form of the bill to be presented to Parliament were hammered out at a meeting of the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs yesterday and the bill now seems assured of a safe passage through all three Houses.

The council will serve a two-year term and aim to:

- Plan a constitutional dispensation which provides for the participation of all South Africans in the processes of government.

- Afford black South Africans on an interim basis a voice in government.

One major change from the original bill is that the State President is no longer the chairman, although he will appoint a chairman and six others to act as co-chairmen. The seven will rotate in office.

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AGENCY REGULATIONS

Just when the PFP seemed shambling towards disaster ... CARROT WARS

JUST when the battered Progressive Federal Party, apparently embroiled in a leadership conflict, seemed to be drifting into another period of crisis, it has hit back with a number of stunning parliamentary victories.

Telling and effective speeches this week by the PFP's Harry Schwarz and Ken Andrew, helped by knowledge and shrewd use of the new rules and procedures in parliament, resulted in the early retirement of the Director-General of the Department of Education and Training, Dr Braam Fourie, and the appointment of a high-powered commission of inquiry into departmental transactions, including the purchase of a computer system from a company in which Fourie's son was involved.

Then, shortly after the PFP leader, Colin Eglin, moved that the salary of the House of Delegates chairman, Amichand Rajbansi, be deleted from the budget or at least reduced to R2,48 — "the price of the proverbial bunch of carrots the NPP leader had been dangling to the House", as Eglin put it — and described the government's unwillingness to fire Rajbansi as "an absolute disgrace", President PW Botha moved into action.

He announced Rajbansi had been relieved of his cabinet position at his own request and a commission of inquiry, headed by former Judge-President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, would investigate allegations and counter-allegations of irregularities in the House of Delegates.

On a number of issues — and there have been others, somewhat less dramatic — the PFP has tellingly exploited the parliamentary system to expose issues, get action and demonstrate weaknesses in government policies and actions.

Jan van Eck, the independent (and former PFP) MP for Claremont, has also successfully used parliament to raise issues, particularly in regard to police actions in the township, Lawaakamp and a combined army/police raid on a single men's hostel in Kaya Mandi in Stellenbosch. In the process, he has angered National Party MPs who have launched a number of

The PFP, all but invisible for months, hit back sharply this week and managed to push one government official off into early retirement and to publicly embarrass Amichand Rajbansi, Own Correspondent, Cape Town



PFP leader Colin Eglin

bitter attacks on him.

The Conservative Party strategy is fundamentally based on trying to prove the government is selling out whites and introducing multi-racial, black-dominated government through the back door. Its MPs argue with tedious monotony that the only solution is the reintroduction of Verwoerd-style segregation and exclusive white government.

Most Nationalist MPs, particularly those from the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, believe the CP is the real danger to their continued power.

The result of the CP's strategies and its perceived threat to the NP is that much of the parliamentary debate in the white House of Assembly is dominated by the somewhat irrelevant issues of who-said-what-where and who is really looking after the interests of whites.

But the CP, too, has on occasion used the parliamentary system with effect: the party's deputy leader, Ferdie Hartzenberg, thoroughly embarrassed the government when he disclosed details of its R4,7-million advertising campaign to promote the municipal elections.

The only English-speaking member of its caucus, Clive Derby-Lewis, who can best be described as a radical conservative, has, more than any of his colleagues, learnt that questions to ministers are an important political weapon and he has used them, PFP-style, to expose government shortcomings.

This is all in sharp contrast to the National Democratic Movement (NDM), whose three MPs and one President's Councillor have been noticeably ineffective, even wimpish, within parliament.

The PFP, on the other hand, in spite of being the favourite source of attack and scorn from just about every other group to the left of the government, from Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party onwards, has gone on with its work.

Its MPs, particularly people like Peter Soal (Johannesburg North), Helen Suzman (Houghton), Ken Andrew (Gardens), Tian van der Merwe (Green Point), Roger Burrows (Pinetown), John Malcomess (Port Elizabeth Central) and Jasper Walsh (Pinelands) have tabled an enormous amount of questions, which have provided a wide range of information and facts about South Africa.

Indeed, without the PFP questions, the *Weekly Mail's* Apartheid Barometer and the Institute of Race Relations' annual Survey would be somewhat sparser.

Whatever its problems outside the three houses, the PFP is an effective parliamentary party — something even Nationalist MPs concede.

Moreover, its recruitment of two of the most effective and ideologically coherent members of the House of Delegates — Pat Poovalingham (Reservoir Hills) and Mahmoud Rajab (Springfield) — and the development of a working relationship with the Labour Party has moved it off an ethnic base, in contrast to every other group in parliament.

It also does have problems which cannot be ignored, including leadership problems, but there is no grouping able, or even willing, to take over its not-insignificant role.

WHO'S LEFT?

by Stent

304A

cmf times 17/6/88

Nat MP made up story to tell police—witness

JOHANNESBURG. — A witness said yesterday that the Nationalist MP for Hillbrow, Mr Leon de Beer, had made up a story for her to tell to the police, not to the PFP.

Mr De Beer, Mr Christoffel Snyman and Mr Adriaan Willem Janse van Rensburg are facing fraud charges in the Regional Court here relating to last year's elections.

Miss Annette Emma le Roux denied that a story had been made up for her to tell the PFP after hearing rumours that certain members of the party were looking for her and that a confrontation was possible.

She said she had "trusted Mr De Beer" and alleged he had told her it was her right to refuse to speak to the police.

The police had left a message that they would be visiting her, and she had contacted Mr De Beer, who "told me what to tell the police". — Sapa



Mr Harry Schwarz
Cape Times 17/6/88
Praise for
Botha as
Rajbansi
withdraws

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
PRESIDENT P W Botha came in for rare praise from the Conservative Party yesterday when he was congratulated on once again having an all-white cabinet.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, this week asked to be relieved of his membership of the cabinet for the duration of a commission of inquiry, appointed by Mr Botha, into alleged irregularities in the House.

However, President Botha was criticized by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, and PFP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam, for failing to suspend Mr Rajbansi as chairman of the Ministers' Council.

Mr Rajbansi said yesterday: "I welcome and have fully supported the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry by Mr P W Botha to investigate allegations and counter-allegations on matters relating to the administration (in the) House of Delegates from time to time."

Mr Rajbansi emphasized: "Since I am the political head of the administration, I felt that it was fit and proper that I recuse myself from the cabinet during the period of the investigation."

The terms of reference of the commission have not yet been announced, but Mr Rajbansi stated that it had not been appointed to investigate any individual in particular, but all the allegations made in the House of Delegates.

Hendrickse gives backing to Bill on National Council

AKul 17/10/88 304A

Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, confirmed today that his party would support a Bill providing for a consultative National Council after winning what it regarded as important concessions from the Government.

A standing committee on constitutional affairs of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday put the final touches to the Bill.

It will come before Parliament from next week and is now expected to be supported by all parties except the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party.

Announcing his support for the Bill today, Mr Hendrickse

said the concessions the Government had accepted were:

- Amendment of a clause disqualifying former prison inmates from serving on the council for five years after their release. Such people may now serve on the council five years after sentence is passed.

Mr Hendrickse said this concession allowed people like Mr Govan Mbeki and others who had served long-term sentences to take part in the council.

- The President would no longer be the chairman of the council. Instead he would appoint co-chairmen who would share the position.

They would represent the Houses of Parliament, the

Chief Ministers of the self-governing territories, the nine members representing urban blacks and the administrators of the four provinces.

This meant blacks could chair the council from time to time.

- The Government had also agreed that urban black representatives on the council should be elected by colleges of councillors.

- The number of Cabinet Ministers in the council would be limited to five, whereas previously the entire Cabinet could have been appointed.

Nine regions for the black urban representatives are to be delimited.



ALC* Weekend Argus reader
BEN BLANCKENBERG
speaks up for a group
of worried people

Why the Afrikaner still needs

The thrashings Afrikaans Liberals

I SHOULD like to speak up for one of the very worried groups of people in the political and cultural set-up of South Africa, a group I shall call the Afrikaans liberal Conservatives.

We are the types you see hanging on to the left fringes of the National Party, clinging desperately as PW pivots around. Just as we are about to let go to land among the liberals, he takes a deft step to the left and there we go again trailing in his slipstream.

We have not yet recovered from the shock the Government gave us during the last election when, to the best of our judgement, it quite blatantly broke its own embargo on news about the ANC for party political gain.

We were shocked because we suddenly realised how manipulative we had become, and how open our country was, after 40 years of one-party rule, to political corruption. This use of the ANC as a Jack-in-the-Box may have gained the NP many votes, but it also backfired: many staunch Nationalists were given such a fright that they packed their bags and fled into the Treurnicht fort.

Lately we have noticed Dennis Worrall hanging around in the wings. He seems ready to sprint off where PW may be petering out. He can hot up the pace of change, for which we liberal Conservatives are longing, without jumping into the flames, as the liberal Liberals seem poised to do.

That his daring "coup" against Chris Heunis in the elections very nearly came off is not surprising. He must have had his ear close to the country's political heart beat, sensing the break-up of long-standing party loyalties before there were any visible

extremist friends on the left, giving away to totalitarianism.

Make no mistake: Most of us still have a high regard for PW, as well as for the main driving force behind his opening-up policy, Pik, but as I have indicated we have been alarmed by some of the things the Government has been up to. The scores of voters who left the NP for the CP, while many more are thronging the exits, had the President explaining that they had misunderstood him, his open-door policy was not as open as they thought.

Unfortunately for him many of his more liberal-minded supporters had been labouring under the same misconception, if misconception it was, and were hoping for the very things the dead-end Conservatives were fearing. By trying to placate one side he antagonised the other and may be in danger of losing the support of both.

Thus the smooth-running allure of the policy of change is being spoilt by too many squeaky noises, which may be a sign of verkramptheid in the joints.

It is possible that some of the faces in the ministerial line-up, especially those impish-looking ones, are becoming worried as well, and may be harbouring rebellious thoughts.

By the way, I am voting according to faces these days, they are much more reliable than mere words.

It is also a less boring way of choosing your man than to listen to them. If you have a good look at a political face, you know what his standpoint is going to be before he opens his mouth, and if your guess is wrong he is probably lying.

On the extremities you have Andries and Colin, the two opposite faces of the same thing, one may say. I know this does not look very promising, but strung out between them there are a great variety of faces in various stages of verligtheid from

We support the writer's right to write his book and claim his prize. There we have no problem. But we are rather unenthusiastic about going so far as to actually read it, because the name seems so very unsubtle.

We fear it may be another example of what may be called liberal blame-culture.

I mean blaming everybody for everything, whites for being white, South Africa for being South Africa, life for being life, throwing stink bombs in all directions and washing it off with floods of tears of self pity. We can see the need for this kind of thing but feel it should at least be done in style.

Of all the things our Liberals are anti, their being anti-style and anti-taste we find the hardest to forgive. By the way, this is not a criticism of the book, which I have not yet read. Maybe it's not about Afrikaners at all, maybe it's about lonely dinosaurs in a Karoo swamp. Which again may be very much the same thing.

WE ALCs do not flee to Andries, we take our refuge in an English book. My favourite writer is Laurens van der Post, who, incidentally, is as conservative as you can get and as liberal as you can get. This suits my way of being. Strangely enough, one reason I like his writing is because I seem to detect in its rhythm and its prophetic ring something of the true Afrikaans spirit.

As if some invisible force were trying to encourage me along the lines I was thinking, I accidentally came across a brand new edition of Jan Smut's *Holism and Evolution* in a Long Street bookshop in Cape Town the other day. I am reading it for the first time and find it mind-shattering, far ahead of its time and even our time. Smuts was one of the world's greatest pioneers in changing man's concept of both reli-



SMUTS (left) and ...

gion and science, bringing them closer together.

So what am I saying the best Afrikaans books have been written in English. Not really, but my line of thought brought me face to face with what may be the real dilemma of us ALCs.

We are much to blame for the poor state of Afrikaans culture, which seems to have regressed from rugby only to rugby plus American videos, because we are failing to move.

For our culture to reach greater maturity we have to move to the open side of the political spectrum where the light is coming from, but we hesitate to let go of the centre because we are afraid we may lose our conservative values. Whenever we try to tell our liberal writers to tone it down a bit that we can tune in to them, they shout at us that we are verkramp. We really are too embarrassed to criticise them. So its back to English literature for solace and strength.

It is at this point that I

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I Conservative Nat!*



MR. POST . . . They

struck what I believe to be the solution to our problem.

The only way we can move towards greater liberalism and still retain our conservative dignity, is to move towards the English-speaking South Africans.

We have to stand where they are standing. Let me put it this way. We ALCs find ourselves in the middle of a tunnel. To the right, which is the closed end, are our race-ridden brethren. Sometimes we consider joining these dead-end Conservatives, but find it impossible to identify with the kind of future they are trying to dream up.

Imagine a country run along the lines of a game reserve, with all entrances blocked. Stocks would have to be carefully controlled to prevent too much inbreeding. A minimum of foreign material would be allowed in — millions of American videos accepted, to help while away the boring time.

Tourists would be welcomed in, provided they were of the right kind, but it is not sure they would be allowed to leave their cars. Do these people really think that their

offspring would relish being preserved like canned oysters? They would be sure to wander off over the borders of their reserve, never to return.

Back in the tunnel, to the left of us are the English-speaking South Africans. We can see light shimmering through from some opening behind them, but in order to get there we shall have to pass through them.

In other words, we shall have to conquer them. Not with guns, dear Lord no, that kind of conquering only gives you bodies, dead or kicking, but by means of total acceptance.

We have to open up completely in order to blend with them and from a new dynamic South African Conservatism. And not only with the English: I can see standing there in the half light many other people, millions of them, of all colours and races, all looking at us, waiting. We have to move towards them, join them, communicate with them on an equal footing. Then we can all seek the light together.

GOING for English to save Afrikaans culture from the ravages wrought by Afrikaner rule may seem a strange suggestion, but I see it as our only way out. More and more our literature is becoming embroiled in political squabbles. There are a few Afrikaans books in which politics play a role which have risen above politics, such as *Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena* and *Fiela se Kind*, but they are the exceptions. And there is still a whole world to be conquered.

That is why I mentioned Smuts and van der Post. These two writers have taken much from their Afrikaans background and have given it back, greatly enriched, in English.

It would have been impossible for them to write what they did in Afrikaans, as their thoughts were and are explor-

ing outside the Afrikaans range of thinking. We must stop treating them as if they were "*volksvreemd*", and humbly accept their gifts.

They are as much part of our heritage as any books written in Afrikaans, they should already have been part of our way of thinking. Then the base from which we operate would have been broadened, the soil from which we draw deepened. But our religious and cultural squabbles are on a par with our political ones.

The truth is that after all these years of National Party rule the range of our thinking has been sadly restricted, and I can give you the reason why: It has lost its spirit of adventure because its life blood is being tapped off in the energy-sapping business of trying to rule other peoples' destinies.

To rule is a serious and tedious business. It is a sure killer of spontaneity, which is the main-spring of all culture.

We Afrikaners tend to agree that we are the world's most unspontaneous people. It has not always been the case. Apart from having to rule, we have almost been criticised to a standstill.

We are taking the full blast of verbal attacks and vilification which seem to come from just about every inhabited square kilometre of the earth's circumference. It can be truly said that never before in this history of human achievement have so few been plastered with mud by so many for so long.

Sure, we are all taking a battering, some of the non-Afrikaners, like Worrall, in exposed political positions, but if more are willing to share the burden, by all means let them. Not only to share the burden, but to help change the shape of our face, which apparently is so attractive to mud slingers the world over. Then we can sit back and cultivate our culture in a happy sort of way, and perhaps ourselves indulge in a bit of

mud-throwing. *Kleilatgooi* is an honourable old "Boere-sport".

THE most ridiculous thing that can befall Afrikaners is for us to believe that we are the only people interested in having law and order, while all other South Africans are intent on destroying society and ruining the economy.

The black Conservatives in South Africa are far more advanced than in other parts of Africa. What is more, they have been in the position to absorb more influences than wild liberal dreams, which have ruined many parts of the continent. They have learnt from examples such as PW that to rule is not to jet around the world like a pop star, while your country lies in ruins, but to serve and nothing else. It can be said that no one is less free than he who rules.

Afrikaners again are learning that not to permit yourself to trust your neighbours is to die a slow death of deprivation. In many respects man is only a mirror, and civilisation is a light reflected from person to person and from nation to nation. Knowledge shared is knowledge reinforced, information secret to one culture may be found revealed in the psychological heritage of another culture.

Cut yourself off from this kind of communication and soon there will not be enough light left for a wayfarer to read your obituary by.

The Afrikaans spirit, and the spirit of every other culture in our country, are all powerful batteries of which the energies are waiting to be released, and this can only happen in open circuit with one another. When this connection takes place South Africa will bloom as never before.

This is the open end of the tunnel, and whoever is heading that way, I, for one, shall follow him as towards the light of day.

A TOUCH OF THE PAST

Revising SA history not a simple task

Weekend
FOCUS

were "the same" and in spite of millions of years of becoming alike, they still need "a few centuries" to be the same again. Absolute nonsense!

Another book for children, *Men Of Men*, by C Malherbe, 1983, tries "to correct some of these misunderstandings."

about the Quena or Hottentots (C Malherbe: *These Small People*, 1983) by casting out the name Hottentot as insulting and replacing it with an historical name, Khoikhoi, which could not be recognised and accepted by any historical peoples of Africa.

This artificial name was coined by missionaries only late in the last century in consequence of misreading an historical source which clearly states that their name was Quena (Quena is stymologically unrelated to Khoi!). Searching for a quick and easy solution to a different historical problem this misnomer was seized by recent archaeologists and historians and is presently fed to unsuspecting school children and university undergraduates.

ern Quena or Coloureds is only too obvious to be elaborated.

As long as the fiction, a black or white, will obstruct our vision, this constructive history will not be able to make its positive contribution towards an harmonious development of South Africa. Which child, for instance, will be wiser from this conclusion in Prof Mase's book of "Black" records: "The first White people moved into the Transvaal in AD 1823 without knowing that scientists would prove that the bones of their ancestors lay at Sterkfontein Caves and elsewhere in the Transvaal and their ancestors were the same as ancestors of the Black people. Since then the differences between White and Black have become less. Within a few centuries there will be no difference."

Here school children are told that 25 million years ago the "Whites" and "Blacks"

cept that in each case a different racial element predominates. In all cases the mixing was beneficial.

For instance, the mixing of Asians with the San and the Negroes produced the mixed Quena and the Bantu respectively, both of which were thus infused with new ideas, religious beliefs and technologies. By marrying the Quena girls the emerging Xhosa acquired not only more vital genes but also the Quena livestock, housing techniques and a great deal of their lexicon.

The Quena-Dutch mixing, which began right in the home of the Cape Commander Wagenaar, in 1664, when the Quena interpreter Eva married the Danish surgeon, Pieter van Meerhoff, may have saved Afrikaners from a host of genetic deficiencies which usually follow close inbreeding. The cultural and technological advancement which the Dutch, Malays and others passed onto the mod-

Dr CYRIL A HROMNIK, and his research assistant, NORAH PITMAN, argue the case for a revision of South African history.

pective parents. If the Quena and the so-called Black people are ever going to be made proud of their history, their links with these Asian and mainly Indian ancestors will have to be restored.

UNFORTUNATELY, present-day archaeology, and to some extent also history, by virtue of the premises (the historical isolation of Africa) on which they operate, deny an obvious and logical connection between Africa and the peoples from across the Indian Ocean who marked her history in ancient times.

The material culture of the Bantu-speakers and the Quena is heavily Indian, as are the gods still worshipped, though unwittingly. Even the evidence of serology (the study of blood), supports the conclusion: Africa was indeed

settled by complex cultures well before the European indent in her history.

The apparent imbalances in South African history as it is written mainly by whites and occasionally some blacks in the liberal academia, cannot be rectified by simply putting black where there was white and reassigning true or fictional "firsts" and "famous".

The interweave of history produces a much more complex and interesting pattern. It makes it apparent above all, that the people of Southern Africa are mainly of mixed origin, be they the English speakers, the Bantu, the Afrikaners, the Quena or the most obviously mixed "Coloureds" or modern Quena. Each of these groups is mixed to some extent, ex-

first settlement in Johannesburg more than 300 years before the gold mines came... were the first to exploit the mineral resources... discovered the iron minerals but not the gold of Johannesburg... were the first farmers in Johannesburg to breed cattle, sheep and goats and cultivate crops in Johannesburg... were the first to start orderly trading... were also the first to use the trees and clays of Johannesburg for making large quantities of clay pottery... came to Johannesburg about AD 1200... and into the Magaliesberg Valley over 1 500 years ago, apparently from Northern Tanzania...

It is doubtful that my or anyone else's son or daughter will be less biased having learned African history from Masop's rather than Olivier and Stander's book. None of the "firsts" attributed in such a wholesale manner to the "blacks" will alter the image

Take Revl Mason's *Origins of the African People of the Johannesburg Areas* on pp 2-3. "The Black people of Johannesburg built the

first settlement in Johannesburg more than 300 years before the gold mines came... were the first to exploit the mineral resources... discovered the iron minerals but not the gold of Johannesburg... were the first farmers in Johannesburg to breed cattle, sheep and goats and cultivate crops in Johannesburg... were the first to start orderly trading... were also the first to use the trees and clays of Johannesburg for making large quantities of clay pottery... came to Johannesburg about AD 1200... and into the Magaliesberg Valley over 1 500 years ago, apparently from Northern Tanzania...

by Dr CYRIL A HROMNIK, an American historian who is doing research in southern Africa into the origins of the Quena and the Bantu. He is the author of *Indo-Africa*, published in 1981 by Juta.

It's not Hottentot or Khoikhoi

ONE of the great paradoxes of present-day South African society is that its oldest component, now represented in the House of Representatives, is uncertain and even embarrassed when asked to produce its rightful historical name.

I refer to the earliest inhabitants of South Africa and the Cape in particular, and to their modern descendants.

The paradox continues in spite of the current use of three names which in one way or other refer to these people: Coloureds, Hottentots and Khoikhoi.

The problem might have been solved had it been possible for an *indaba* to be called in *Hu-lgras* (an indigenous name for Cape Town, meaning "Veiled in Clouds") of all living and dead inhabitants. The chairman's role would have been to call various historical peoples to present themselves upon hearing their respective names:

Coloureds! A segment of two-three generations might have risen, leaving a gaping void in the preceding history.

Hottentots! A throng of now dead farm labourers, wagon drivers, excellent soldiers, cattlemen, farmers, craftsmen, servants, maids and others Cape men and women would come forward, taking us back to about the early 1620s.

Khoikhoi! Nobody would have risen except perhaps some confused undergraduates from archaeology and history departments, for no historical people would recognise themselves under this name.

Quena! This is the name most people would have recognised who lived in South Africa from about the time of Christ to about the 1700s. *Quena* is pronounced *Kena*.

THE NAME'S QUENA

WE read in the earliest vocabulary of the indigenous languages, compiled at the Cape between 1659 and 1672 that *Quena* means "de Hottentotsche Naton in general". This is confirmed in several other reports by the *Quena* themselves in the 1650s and 60s. It was used from *Duab* (the Cape of Two Waters, as ancient Indian mariners used to call the Southern Cape) to *Monomotapa* (Zimbabwe) and *Brandberg* (SWA/Namibia).

At the Cape, *Quena* was eclipsed by the name Hottentot, as observed by Peter Kolbe in 1705-1712. Elsewhere in the country it survived in several geographical names.

Coloureds is a self-explanatory word which describes people of racially-mixed origin. But it is not a name, just as *whites* is not a name of a people. Its cultural content is indefinite and its application in time is very limited.

Khoikhoi is a name *ex academia*. It was created by European writers out of their misunderstanding of the historical sources and reality. It never once occurs in a genuine field report, though its presumed look-alikes have been incorporated in the speculations about the origins and identity of the *Quena* of several travellers, missionaries and academics.

Khoe means "man". The commonly used *Khoikhoi* is a phonologically distorted form of *khoe-khoe* which means simply "men" (the plural, by reduplication of "man") or possibly a man one of whose testicles has been removed and is no longer a man boy, but a "man" who is his own initiator. (The said operation was per-

foresaid great ceremony on all males before they reached maturity. In either sense, *khoe-khoe* was not a name of a people. This misconceived name totally excludes the women-folk and is, using the current jargon, anti-feminist. To include women in history, another hyphenated name, *Tarare-khoes* would have to be invented, and what about the children?

Khoe-khoe and what about the children? *Khoe-khoe* does not mean "men par excellence" as claimed by some writers, nor can it mean "men of men" as suggested by Theal and argued in recent school textbooks. The closely related name Khoisan has even less historical and no linguistic merit, as has largely been demonstrated by the leading authority on Quena languages, Prof Westphal. It was invented by I. Schultze and popularised mainly by I. Schapera and Dorothea Blek. Schultze included it in the title of his book, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (1930) but, apart from introducing it, he refrained from using the name Khoikhoi.

Khoikhoi and *Khoisan* are misformed words, ill-fitted to describe the historical people who never knew them. *Khoe-khoe* and its ungrammatical neotype *Khoikhoi* came about only because a feeling was developing among European intellectuals that the then common name Hottentot was becoming more and more derogatory. First signs of this were in 1816, in the earliest Christian settlement of the *Quena* at Genadendal.

THE derogatory aspect rested only in its secondary application, but many a reputable scholar was only too keen to see it in the word itself. Thus Schapera, the propagator of the name *Khoi-*

san, was quite prepared to go along with the general assumption that *Hottentot* derived from the Frisian *Huttenit* meaning "stammerer" or "stutterer" and was applied to the people of the Cape on account of the peculiar clicks in their language. However, at this level of scholarship, one could have easily argued that *Hottentot* derived from the Slovak *ty hottentot*, which phrase was readily applied to a confused person in Schapera's time.

Unlike Schapera, Peter Kolbe, who lived at the Cape in 1705-1713, was convinced that the name *Hottentot* was indigenous to the Cape and existed before the arrival of the Dutch in 1652. He was partly correct. J du Plessis, who researched the problem more than any other scholar, came to the same conclusion and suggested that *Hottentots* was a nickname derived from *Hette hie*, a corrupted form of the name of a *Quena* god, *hetist-Ethib*. The real origin of the name *Hottentot* is simple. The *Quena* welcomed foreign visitors to the Cape, among them the shipwrecked sailors of the *Haerlem*, with a dance performed to the rhythm of a song with the often repeated refrain *Aten laten, aten laten* which some musically less gifted visitors heard as *HoHoHo*. But the visiting French Commodore A de Beaulieu recorded it in 1620 as *Hautou*. The French do not pronounce the initial H as in *Hautou*, which resulted, in Dutch transcription, *Otto* or *Oeto*. This can easily be recognised in the earliest Dutch despatches from the Cape, where the local inhabitants are called *Otentio*. However once copied and used in Europe, the silent French H took its hold and became a part of the soon widely spread name *Hottentot*.

There is nothing derogatory about the name *Hottentot*, and as argued by Prof Bisesken, writing the colonial history of South Africa without it would be not only very difficult but also historically distorting.

However, dated as it is, it may safely be shelved as a name for the original inhabitants of the country. There is no need for it because *Quena* is the authentic name, with a rich history behind it, and there is no reason why the so-called "Coloured" community should not identify itself with it.

...of it, and without which he would have stood no chance.

Who can resist a neat sense of timing?

Another thing we like about him is that he gives the impression of being a whole South African. What I mean is he has submerged himself in various cultures of our land and has come out whole.

Too many of us South Africans are a part lot, for ever reaching out towards one another but never reaching anywhere. The word apartheid has proved itself to be marvelously flexible as far as unpleasant meanings are concerned, but it is possible that we have now accidentally stumbled upon its real meaning: we are part people, not wholes. It is hardly necessary to add that this is a most unwholesome state of affairs.

Very well, Worrall has not proved himself yet, but his Independent Party can serve as a counterweight to the growing Conservative Party. It gives all liberal Conservatives much needed leverage; we can oscillate between the NP and IP, and one can even visualise a coalition between the two, as it would be a safeguard against corruption.

BUT we see in Worrall more than just a true South African: he seems to be a world citizen. I mean although he is regarded as a liberal in South Africa, in terms of Western democracies he is a middle of the road Conservative. This gives him access to the very people our country needs most, the Conservatives of all countries, our counterparts, who up to now have been chary in showing signs of friendship.

They can speak to Worrall on an equal footing and what is even more important, listen to him. They speak the same language, whether it be English or German or Japanese, he is part of a dynamic Conservatism which flows like a current through all democracies.

If under such a President we should travel overseas we should probably be able to discard our hangdog look. Only flat-out Liberals like hangdog, God bless them. Back home Worrall's conservatism frees him from the suspicion all liberal parties, like the PFP, have always laboured under, that if they should come into power they would be swamped by their

which to make your choice. From rather badly lit samples on the right you progress along the line until you come to that very bright, over-exposed look on the left. So just pick your face and stick to it regardless of what sounds are issuing from its mouth.

APART from wanting to rid ourselves from some dead weight on the right, we ALCs are also looking for someone to come and liberate us from our own liberals. This is the second part of our predicament, and together the two parts will bring us to the question: What is the state of Afrikaans culture after 40 years of Nationalist rule?

The Afrikaans press, although Nationalist-owned, has always very bravely supported liberal writers.

These find their spiritual inspiration mostly among the Socialists and Communists of France.

Now it is a far cry from French Socialism and Communism to South African Conservatism, so our writers are very much out on a limb.

Starting out on a limb is all very well, but our writers have to remain there, the bulk of the tree for some reason never being able to catch up with them. They are therefore far removed from roots and soil, which alone can bring depth to their work. Attributes like depth and taste can only be achieved if there is a strong back-up of virile, dynamic Conservatism. Among other things, it seems to give writers and performing artists a kind of acoustic support. Without it they keep on trying to shout the house down, and, ironically, we are becoming deafer and deafer.

The altercation about the year's Rapport prize for literature, in which the book chosen was rejected for a political reason, is an excellent example of what is going on.

The name of the book, *Mag die Hemel ons help*, is significant, and elicits an immediate response from Afrikaners which can be classified in one of three categories.

Firstly, you are attracted by the name, the book promises to like the things you like and hate the things you hate, the way you like to like and like to hate, so you rush off to buy it.

Secondly, you know without reading the book that this is another vile attack on the Afrikaner nation, so you rush off into the waiting arms of Andries or Eugene.

The third group is the silent one, us ALCs.

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'Mystery man' aided De Beer in Hillbrow

JOHANNESBURG. — The Regional Court hearing here into the election fraud trial was told yesterday of the assistance in the Hillbrow campaign of a mystery man and purported Selous Scout, Mr Neil McChleary, alias Leon Stein.

The evidence was produced during testimony by Mr Sam Lubbe.

Previous witnesses mentioned that a Mr McChleary had apparently assisted Mr Leon de Beer, MP for Hillbrow, with the election campaign.

Yesterday, Mr Lubbe told the court some time after the May 6 election last year that the police showed him a photograph of the man he knew as Leon Stein, but who was, it appeared, actually a Mr Neil McChleary.

Mr De Beer and two others are facing 120 charges of election fraud. — Sapa

The trials of a 'liberal Afrikaner' in New York

by RAMSAY MILNE, Weekend Angus Foreign Service in NEW YORK



MARQ de Villiers, son of a former editor of The Star, and author of a book about this century's most controversial and fascinating "white tribe," the Afrikaners — has discovered at some personal cost just how virulent is the prevailing political climate in the US concerning South Africa and South Africans.

The book is a faithful extension of its title: *White Tribe Dreaming: Apartheid's Bitter Roots as Witnessed by Eight Generations of an Afrikaner Family*.

As such, any reasonable reviewer, while holding whatever views he may or may not have about the book's literary quality, or any other perceived imperfections, might, at least, be expected to welcome it for its contribution towards one's knowledge of the central players in the sad and tragic drama

apartheid has brought into the lives of all South Africans.

BUT no. Readers of the New York Times were regaled by the reviewer, a certain Vincent Crapanzano (a US academic whose own book on South Africa was hardly flawless) with an accusation — the accusation that Mr de Villiers, through his book, "perpetuates apartheid."

Anyone knowing Mr de Villiers or his distinguished family, let alone anyone reading the book — will know that to be a rank untruth, or in Mr de Villiers's own phrase, "willfully perverse."

Ordinarily, of course, a reviewer's opinion would not be of much importance. But, sadly, what is "willfully perverse" in this single review of a book is fairly standard thinking in today's political climate in the US.

IT is significant in this case because of the way it demonstrates, whether in the columns of the New York Times (a paper that would have experienced no difficulty finding a hostile reviewer willing to perpetuate its own editorial hostility) or in any other public forum, how unfair, cruel and inaccurate labels of this kind can be pinned — and are indiscriminately pinned — on all, or most white South Africans.

In the insensate climate of opinion that now exists — or at least so far as certain elements in Congress and some newspapers and television networks can be said to reflect American opinion — even a young liberal Afrikaner, coming from a well-established liberal background, is not proof against these ill-founded judgments.

In his defence, Mr de Villiers, who says

that he intended his book to correct some misconceptions about Afrikaners prevalent among Americans — and American academics — wrote: "I want change as much as he (Mr Crapanzano) wants — possibly more, since at least I know at first hand the grief that apartheid has brought in its train. My point was that unless condemnation is done with understanding, Western policy will only yield unpleasant surprises. You cannot change a people unless you understand what motivates them."

What the reviewer of the De Villiers book and others prone to the same knee-jerk responses about South Africa seem not to understand is that they are fashioning an evil as reprehensible as the one they claim to oppose.

Since when was ignorance a weapon in the fight for good?

Document points to rightwing 'defections'

THE Conservative Party is facing a critical fight to keep the support of rightwing intellectuals — and there are signs it is already a losing battle.

This is the opinion of Government politicians after a damaging rightwing document emerged in Parliament this week.

The document was drawn up by Prof Carel Boshoff, formerly of the University of Pretoria and now head of the Stigting Afrikanervryheid (Institute for Afrikaner Freedom).

In it he dramatically distances the new body from the CP when he says:

● The "classic policy of separate development has highly improbable prospects."

● "If the present Government had, for one or other reason, to collapse and a rightwing party came to power, extensive rioting by the black power movements could combine with international punitive measures."

Convenient

The solution, says Prof Boshoff, is the creation of a separate Afrikaner state — echoing the *volkstaat* concept of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Dr Tertius Delpont, the National Party MP who revealed the existence of the document, said: "The CP has the convenient policy of believing a return to old-style Verwoerdian apartheid will be the passport to all good things."

"But there are real signs of dissatisfaction in the rightwing. It is clear a new alignment is brewing."

Other Afrikaans politicians and observers agree: Afrikaner intellectuals are seeking a solution to what they see as the "white man's

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

dilemma" — and as they divide to left and right, they are by-passing Verwoerdianism.

The observers fear that rightwing intellectuals are going to combine their "legitimising" support with the raw emotionalism of the AWB and other extremist groups. This could be a dangerous mix, they say.

Prof Boshoff's document says those Afrikaners who believe their only chance of survival is in a separate state are a "growing number".

He says this group is distinct from those supporting rightwing parties which aim merely to re-impose separate development on South Africa.

This group will ultimately collapse under the pressure of the *de facto* black majority.

'Accept'

"Minority domination as it is currently practised in South Africa is morally unjustifiable and cannot survive," he said.

Responding to the document, the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said rightwing organisations accept that whites have the right to govern themselves.

But, he added, the CP was not responsible for all the ideas and organisations on the right.

Court told how MP juggled votes

By ANN PALMER

A WEB of electoral juggling involving relatives, friends and acquaintances was alleged this week in evidence at the trial of Hillbrow's MP, Mr Leon de Beer.

His mother, his cousins and even a girlfriend's sister have all testified at the trial in the Johannesburg Regional Court where Mr de Beer is accused of contraventions of the Electoral Act during last year's election.

Mr de Beer, who was suspended from the NP pending the outcome of this trial, faces 121 counts of fraud relating to the election in which he won the Hillbrow seat from the PFP's Alf Widdman by 89 votes.

False

His 57-year-old election agent, Mr Christoffel Snyman, and the electoral official who handled the special votes, 42-year-old Mr Adriaan Janse Van Rensburg, are also on trial.

Mr de Beer, a former policeman and at 28 one of the youngest ever MPs, is further accused of hindering the course of justice by making false statements to the police.

All three have pleaded not guilty to the charges which



Adriaan Janse van Rensburg, left, Leon de Beer and Christoffel Snyman Picture: PHILLIP LITTLETON

allege they changed voters' addresses and voted on behalf of people whose names did not appear on the official voting list. She testified that she wasn't a resident in his constituency. She had voted for her cousin after being allowed a postal vote.

During the trial, which is expected to last six weeks, more than 127 State witnesses will be called.

It is believed to be the first time since 1910 that a MP is faced with charges in terms of the Electoral Act.

Mr de Beer's cousin, Bloemfontein student Miss Elsa van der Watt, said Mr de Beer had approached her at her Odendaalsrus home asking her to vote for him.

"He gave me a card to fill in for a change of address and an application to vote as special voter. However, he told me not to fill in the address."

When she was shown the card in the courtroom, Miss van der Watt said she had never lived at the address in

Refused

Her brother, Mr Jacobus van der Watt, also told the court that he had partially filled in a registration form with a change of address clause provided by Mr de Beer.

However, when he did not hear from Mr de Beer he attempted to obtain a postal vote for his constituency of Welkom but this was refused as his name was already on the Hillbrow roll.

The case continues tomorrow.

PP/PP alliance bid fails

EFFORTS to get the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party closer together in an opposition alliance have failed.

Dr Denis Worrall, the IP leader, said today it was better for the two parties to retain their separate personalities, while PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin accused Dr Worrall of an about-turn.

A weekend public opinion poll claimed the IP enjoys more support (10.7 percent) among the electorate than the PFP (8.8 percent).

On Friday IP and PFP leaders had another of a series of meetings but they could not come to an agreement.

Potential

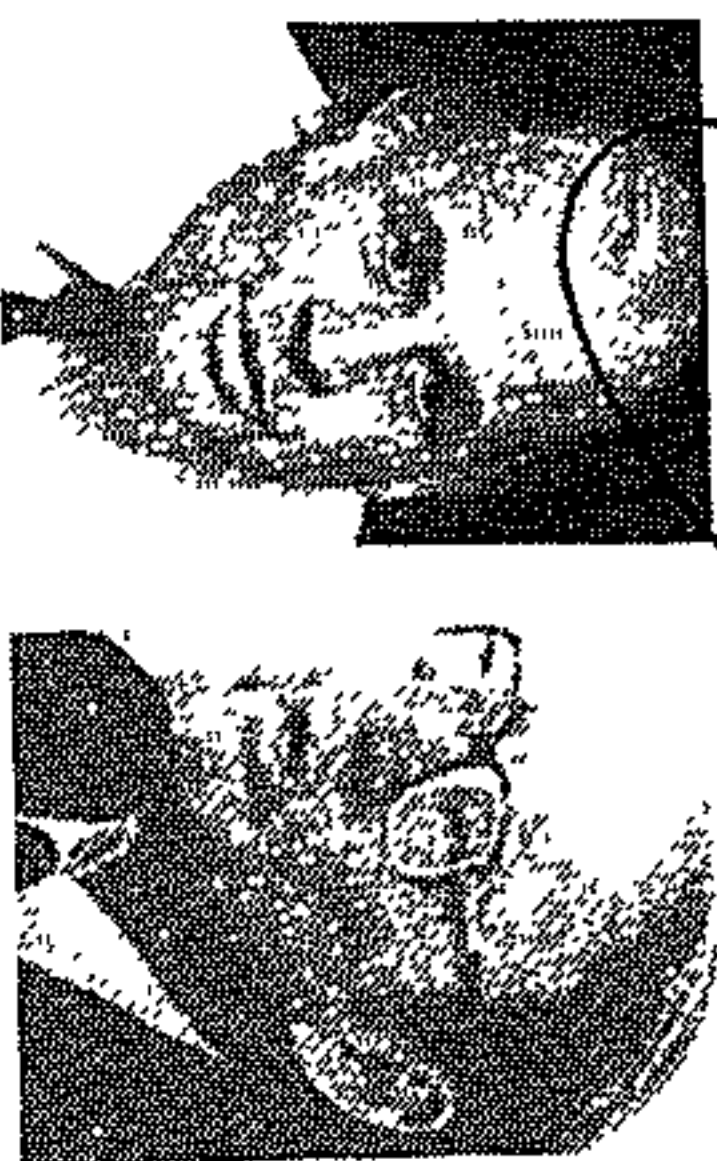
Mr David Gant, chairman of the IP, said today there were not enough similarities of policy, strategy or image to merit getting together at this stage.

The IP had shown a potential for cutting into Nationalist support which the PFP did not have.

The IP 'would continue to support the concept of a "creative opposition" across the colour line.

Dr Worrall said his party would avoid head-on clashes with the PRP. It was not interested in only recycling opposition support.

The IP was encouraged by the re-



Mr Eglin

Dr Worrall

sult of the opinion poll which showed spectacular progress in a short time.

The additional support had been drawn from Nationalists who had had second thoughts about having supported the NIP in the general election, and there was also some NRP support.

One of the IP's aims was a hung Parliament where the NP would have to compromise.

Greater unity

Mr Eglin said Dr Worrall appeared to have changed his mind.

The PFP would continue with its efforts to create greater unity among opposition parties.

While it was necessary to take note of opinion polls they were not definitive or decisive.

It had not yet been possible to analyse where the IP drew its support from, but he doubted whether a lot of this came from traditional Afrikaner Nationalists.

Waiters Not

Week

APR 15 20/6/88

Political Staff

SIGNIFICANT political events are to take place on both the foreign and domestic fronts this week, with the State President, Mr P W Botha, setting the stage when he addresses a joint session of Parliament at 5pm today.

Tomorrow a joint debate of all three Houses will begin on a Bill aimed at bringing blacks into government via a national council which is to work towards a new constitution.

On Thursday, the next round of talks with Cuba, Angola and the United States on the Angola-Namibian impasse is due to start in Cairo. Just what Mr Botha plans to say at today's joint sitting has had political observers scratching their heads.

There is wide-ranging speculation that he might discuss the situation in Angola-Namibia, the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, or that he could deal with the security

situation or even, perhaps, the possibility of a general election.

Bearing in mind that the government has set three-and-a-half days aside for the debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, it would seem improbable that Mr Botha will do anything to detract from the debate on this legislation.

If this contention is correct, then the State President may well address the issue of Mr Mandela again — as his continued incarceration is unquestionably the major stumbling block to participation by a number of key leaders, such as KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

That the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was sent to Ulundi to see Chief Buthelezi recently, might suggest that it is the national council that will occupy a major part of Mr Botha's address today.

The government's most recent line on participation — "we are going to go ahead with or without you" — has not met with much success, and it may be that Mr Botha will unveil yet another initiative today.

There was also a hint last week, following the shooting of nine ANC members near Piet Retief, that a further major "security" announcement would be made this week and the State President might well use today's address to do this.

The debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill will be the first joint parliamentary debate in the new chamber.

The Bill has the support of the major parties in all three Houses.

Tomorrow is going to be a particularly unhappy experience for the CP as it is the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who will apparently be the first speaker after the Bill is introduced.

He will be followed by a second National Party speaker and only then will the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, rise to speak.

Essentially the Bill will bring a council into existence which will plan a constitutional dispensation which provides for the participation of all South Africans in the processes of government.

Aggressive IP strategy for seats

Worrall 'no' to alliance with PFP

DENIS Worrall's Independent Party has rejected an alliance with the PFP, opting instead for an aggressive election strategy he believes will wrest effective power from the NP.

And, buoyed by an opinion poll showing the IP is now the third largest white party after the NP and the right-wing CP, Worrall told PFP leader Colin Eglin on Friday his strategy was based on the IP taking more seats than the PFP.

Eglin yesterday expressed disappointment at Worrall's rejection of a formal alliance, but accepted the IP attitude as a reality. He pledged to continue to work long-term for the synthesis of opposition parties.

Eglin cautioned against placing too much reliance on opinion polls. Before the May election last year, polls had shown the PFP would gain support.

He also said opposition parties to the left of government would not grow if



● EGLIN



● WORRALL

they competed for votes and money in the same constituencies.

Worrall's strategy is to force a hung Parliament, with no party able to govern alone and the NP dependent on the IP and the PFP if it is to keep Andries Treurnicht out of government.

"This would change the chemistry of politics," he said yesterday.

His plan, like the PFP's "turbo-charged" campaign at the last election, aims at capitalising on the growth in right-wing support by taking the balance of power from an NP considerably weakened by losses to both left and right.

Where PFP hopes centred largely on traditional opposition seats, Worrall — who has yet to win a seat — is looking at a string of Nationalist constituencies he believes could fall to the IP. The IP is to contest wards in 42 target seats in the October municipal election.

His calculations are that the NP will not have an outright majority at the next election, due next year or in March 1990, unless there is a constitutional change. Worrall predicts the NP will be a minority party with at best 82 seats, and at

MICHAEL ACOTT

● To Page 2 ➡

Worrall turns down alliance with PFP

worst 40 seats, depending on the extent of right-wing growth and inroads made by the IP.

He puts PFP strength constant at its current 19 seats, but believes the IP could take between 22 and 42 other seats because it is able to attract support away from the NP, which the PFP is not. This would give the "creative opposition" between 41 and 61 white seats.

Worrall expects Treurnicht's strength to rise from the present 22 CP seats to between 43 and 65 seats.

Denying the NP outright victory would give opposition parties to the left of government a strong say in who became State President under a constitution in which power has accrued to the executive.

Worrall believes a strategy for the "creative opposition" to take advantage of right-wing growth will stop traditional opposition supporters or wavering Nationalists from voting NP to prevent

the right taking power.

Yesterday's Rapport opinion poll showed the IP had grown from 8,1% in January to reach 10,7% of white support in April, overtaking the PFP, which was down from 9,6% to 8,8%. The NP was down from 46,9% to 44,4%, while the CP had slipped from 19,8% to 18,5%.

Worrall said the poll showed the IP growth was at the expense of the NP, not the PFP.

He believed NRP supporters who had switched to the NP were now moving to the IP, as were other former Nationalists, particularly in Natal where NP support had dropped from 50,3% to 39,8% before a major IP campaign there.

He was confident that, when polls took account of the IP campaign soon to be launched in the Transvaal, its support could top 20% nationwide.

➡ ● From Page 1

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THE THEMES of South African politics are constant. Half a century after the 1938 memorial Trek that consolidated right-wing white opinion, in the year of another memorial Trek, we stand where we stood then.

We are more numerous, of course. We have grown richer in 50 years, and are now growing poorer, but our politics has changed very little, and its conceptual framework not at all. We say the same things, use the same arguments, avoid the same issues. We are a very dull people.

Phyllis Lewson, Merriman's biographer and a distinguished historian at Wits, has vividly recaptured the flavour of the years from 1938 to 1948 in a paperback volume of selected letters, speeches and documents published by A D Donker under the title "Voices of Protest".

It records mainly the efforts of a remarkable group of liberals, brought into Parliament to represent the black people, to bring to South Africans some sense of what was to come. They saw the future clearly, but the best part of the book is Lewson's own introduction to what, with clear hindsight, she calls "the decade of flux". It began with segregation and ended with apartheid.

Apartheid has since retreated; we are back to segregation, more or less. The similarities with 1938 are eerie (Were it not for Lewson's impeccable credentials, I would suspect a skewed selection, but the thought does her injustice).

Then, as now, government was in the hands of a racist coalition of Afrikaners and English, held together by fear of black people but shaped in its attitudes and policies by the threat on its right.

Smuts dominated the ruling UP coalition as Botha dominates the NP today. The liberals, appealing to him for more spending on African education, health, pensions and social welfare, and full employment, assured him that the outcome of "nearly everything" had come to depend on his personal intervention. Flattery to the powerful, and fawning, is our national style.

Then, as now, liberals were a tiny, embattled group, constantly assert-

In the end, we take refuge in stark madness

KEN OWEN

ing — in the words of Margaret Baling — that "the volume of liberal opinion is much stronger than its vocal support would lead one to suppose".

Of course, it was not Smuts knew, as Botha does today, that the white population is not only fearful of blacks, and selfish, but that it is racially arrogant and imbued with herrenvolk fantasies. J H Hofmeyr put his hopes in "a rising tide of liberal youth", the most hackneyed and poignantly self-deceiving phrase that liberals use.

Smutts declared bluntly, as late as 1945, that all except those who were "quite mad" agreed that it was "fixed policy to maintain white supremacy". In vain did Hofmeyr — the most far-sighted of them all — warn that there could be no solution to the "Native problem" unless it was accompanied by an abandonment of South Africa's herrenvolk mentality.

"Here in South Africa," he said, "the greatest evil of all is the tyranny of prejudice." Today we say the same thing with as little effect.

Debate swirled around the questions thrown up, in much simpler form than now, by the great forces of industrialisation and African urbanisation: curfews and colour bars, pass laws and "surplus" black



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people; transport and housing; migrant labour and land hunger; population removals; and the petty oppressions inflicted, usually from stupidity, by minor officials.

Then, as now, the liberals spoke eloquently of the suffering of blacks, and warned of terrible retribution to

come. They pleaded for recognition of the trade unions, for housing, for jobs, for freedom to buy land and to go about without passes. The ruling party paid them little heed, and the blacks, as contemptuous of weakness as the whites, often mocked the liberals for the futility of their endeavour.

Some things, however, have changed. Anti-semitism has abated. Eric Louw, the worst foreign minister this country ever had, rallied against the arrival of Jews from Germany (among them the young Harry Schwarz) and warned that they might bring on South African Jewry the fate of the Jews in Europe. The moral depravity implied by that remark was to shape Louw's diplomacy, which was aggressive, bombastic and cheap.

Fortunately, it is difficult to see anybody in government saying such things today, although the rise of a new crypto-fascism — so reminiscent of the Ossebrandweg in which John Vorster's early career was nurtured — may give us cause to worry.

In other things, the liberals have had their way. The pass laws have gone, and black trade unions are recognised, and the permanence of urban blacks is accepted. Liberals have in 50 years been able to achieve no more than such "incremental

changes", to use the modern idiom, and Alfred Hoernle, father of the liberals, foresaw it clearly.

He thought it unlikely that a "new order" could be achieved, as ideally it should be, through extending the franchise to blacks, and by admitting them, "as they achieved the required education", into all the professions, into the public service, into leading positions in public life and thereby to socialise equally with whites of similar standing.

A second way, he argued in clear Verwoerdian terms, would be to expand the African reserves enormously, and to allow the emergence of self-determining racial groups, each a self-contained society. But he foresaw that this idea was doomed by the existence of an integrated economy, and he could see no "new order" emerging on these lines either.

The best he could hope for was "slow and partial progress" — better education and health care, better housing and recreation, better agricultural methods, and a slowly rising standard of living, the acceptance of trade unions and the opening of new occupations, to prepare Africans for the "new order" when it came.

"Come it will, no doubt: the caste society cannot endure forever. But it will be broken up, not under white leadership from within, but either by the impact of world events from without, or by Africans themselves gradually acquiring a unified group... and taking their fate in their own hands."

To this bleak vision Edgar Brookes cried out, more in despair than belief: "Our only hope is to learn to co-operate."

Malan, not yet Prime Minister, was railing against the "UN doctrine," as he called it, of equal citizenship: "The white population in this country will never submit... it will not commit suicide, and before it is swept away by the non-European population... there will be a fight to the death here in South Africa. There will be a blood bath."

Then, as now, South Africans, white and black, sought to escape reality by resort to mindless violence. The reason we make no progress in our thinking is that, under extreme pressure, we seek refuge in insanity.

Less curbs

on the latest described, in our view, as journalistic rubbish — which purport to dis-
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The proposal to force some jour-
 nalists to register will undermine
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 ment persists with this folly, it will
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 tion or the outside world. At that
 point, it will have lost the ability to
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W reckoning

potentially
 Waiting-
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 South Afri-
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THE THEMES of South Afri-
 can politics are constant.
 Half a century after the
 1938 memorial Trek that
 consolidated right-wing white
 opinion, in the year of another
 memorial Trek, we stand where
 we stood then.

We are more numerous, of course.
 We have grown richer in 50 years,
 and are now growing poorer, but our
 politics has changed very little, and
 its conceptual framework not at all.
 We say the same things, use the same
 arguments, avoid the same issues.
 We are a very dull people.

Phyllis Lewson, Merriman's biog-
 rapher and a distinguished historian
 at Wits, has vividly recaptured the
 flavour of the years from 1938 to 1948
 in a paperback volume of selected
 letters, speeches and documents pub-
 lished by A D Donker under the title
 "Voices of Protest".

It records mainly the efforts of a
 remarkable group of liberals,
 brought into Parliament to repre-
 sent the black people, to bring to
 South Africans some sense of what
 was to come. They saw the future
 clearly, but the best part of the book
 is Lewson's own introduction to
 what, with clear hindsight, she calls
 "the decade of flux". It began with
 segregation and ended with apart-
 heid.

A partheid has since retreated, we
 are back to segregation, more or
 less. The similarities with 1938 are
 eerie. (Were it not for Lewson's im-
 peccable credentials, I would sus-
 pect a skewed selection, but the
 thought does her injustice.)

Then, as now, government was in
 the hands of a racist coalition of
 Afrikaners and English, held togeth-
 er by fear of black people but shaped
 in its attitudes and policies by the
 threat on its right.

Smuts dominated the ruling UP
 coalition as Botha dominates the NP
 today. The liberals, appealing to him
 for more spending on African educa-
 tion, health, pensions and social wel-
 fare, and full employment, assured
 him that the outcome of "nearly ev-
 erything" had come to depend on his
 personal intervention. Flattery to
 the powerful, and fawning, is our
 national style.

Then, as now, liberals were a tiny,
 embattled group, constantly assert-

VAT is a method of indirect taxation
 used by governments in some 43
 countries to derive a large propor-
 tion of their revenues. It is based on
 consumer spending and is similar to
 GST.
 Why are we changing away from

In the end, we take refuge in stark madness

KEN OWEN

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All you will need to
 know about VAT

LETTERS
 P0 Box 11438
 Jo burg 2000

Moderate alliance fails

SA 20/6/88 David Braun, Political Correspondent 304A

CAPE TOWN — The two major parties to the left of the Government are on a collision course following a breakdown in alliance negotiations at the weekend.

The Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party are now likely to face each other in several opposition seats in the next general election for Parliament and in the process the National Party could be the big winner.

The position may be aggravated by the publishing of an opinion poll on Sunday which showed the Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall had more support than the Progressive Federal Party.

The poll found the IP had the support of 10.7 percent of the white electorate while the PFP had 8.8 percent.

Moves soon for black in the Cabinet

AP 445
21/8/88
30kA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THERE will be moves later this year to have a black as a member of the Cabinet.

President Botha gave an indication of this yesterday when he spoke at a joint session of the three Houses of Parliament.

He said derogatory remarks were sometimes made about the fact that there were at present no members of the Minis-

ters' Councils of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates in the Cabinet.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, left the Cabinet last year after differences with Mr Botha. Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, asked to be suspended from the Cabinet while there is a judicial inquiry.

Mr Botha said he favoured the other two Houses being

represented in the Cabinet.

He referred to what he had said in his Budget vote in Parliament earlier this session.

He indicated at the time that black representatives should also be entrusted with ministerial responsibility for matters affecting their communities.

Indications are that Mr Botha has in mind at first a Deputy Minister and then a full Minister in the Department of Education and Training, the department which deals with black education.

Legislation to provide for this is being prepared and could be introduced during the second session of Parliament, which starts on August 22.

"Great hall"

● Parliament starts debating the new Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill at its first joint session today.

The Bill provides for a consultative council to negotiate on black political rights and to give blacks some say at the highest level of government.

It will be the first time MPs of all three houses debate together in the new "great hall" of Parliament.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, will introduce the second reading debate, which will continue until Friday.

The first speaker after him will be the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, which will support the Bill.

Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the official Opposition in the Assembly, said today Mr Botha's plan was "obviously the beginning of bringing blacks into Government".

A black Minister of Education would not only administer his portfolio but would also be part of the Government — with powers over the whole population — and he therefore rejected the move.

While favouring negotiation, the Progressive Federal Party is opposed to the Bill in its present form.

● PW's pledge: We'll talk to ANC — if ... — Page 7.

13 hours set for council Bill

Art Times 21/6/81

Political Staff

3064

THIRTEEN hours have been set aside over the next four days for the joint debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, which brings into existence a national council to debate the constitutional future of South Africa.

There are 36 places on the council, which will be formally named by the members when they first meet.

Not all the places are likely to be occupied, however, a prediction which applies particularly to the Chief Ministers of the six non-independent homelands. KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already given the legislation a blunt thumbs-down, and others are likely to join him.

Mr Enos Mabusa of KaNgwane, Governor Noko Ramadike of Leboa and Professor Hudson Ndsandwisi of Gazankulu have all reacted more than coolly to the current plan.

In addition to the six chief ministers, nine urban blacks will also be elected — probably one for each of the development regions, although the exact demarcation is left to the State President.

Just how they will be elected is also left to the State President, who will decide on the quorum, as well as the manner in which each representative is to be chosen.

Section 12 states that the electoral college in each case will be made up of the members of local authorities, local government bodies and the rural councils.

PW's call to ANC

POLICE have arrested 23 alleged ANC members in the past three months in connection with 16 incidents, including the Roodepoort lunch-hour blast which killed four people on June 3.

Details of the security forces' slaughter against South Africa in latest successes were released the second half of this year. late yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, after President P W Botha addressed a joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament.

Mr Botha again appealed to the ANC to renounce violence and join in the search for peaceful solutions.

Referring to the arrests, Mr Botha said some of those detained had already disclosed information while several weapons and documents had been seized.

Black in cabinet

Among the 16 incidents connected to the arrests were the murder of three Atteridgeville policemen on March 18, a limpet-mine explosion at the Johannesburg city hall on April 15, another blast at a cinema complex in Pretoria on April 15 and two limpet-mine explosions in Pretoria on May 25, one of which injured four women.

In his wide-ranging "state of the nation" address to the joint sitting, Mr Botha also said that legislation to bring a black into the cabinet — to take control of black education — will be tabled in Parliament in August.

He said South Africa was reconsidering its financial aid to Namibia and that the build-up of Cuban troops in southern Angola was "provocative", and warned of an intensified on-

slaught against South Africa in latest successes were released the second half of this year. He repeated his offer to security prisoners and those who had left South Africa for whatever reason to "reject and abandon violence".

"Turn your backs on godless Marxism and destructive radicalism. If you prove your sincerity in this regard, you will find the government's approach reasonable."

If the ANC wished to talk, he said, it should lay down its arms, cease its acts of terrorism and cut its ties with international communism.

"Then they may return to South Africa to participate in the peaceful search for solutions, to build the economy and improve social conditions."

The Cuban build-up in southern Angola seriously disturbed the balance of forces in the area and it could threaten the security of the entire region.

"Necessary precautions" would be taken in this regard, however.

Mr Botha said the government had no alternative but to renew the state of emergency, even though this was not its wish.

It was the government's hope that the situation would change to allow the lifting of the emergency — and serious consideration had been given to lifting it before its reimposition earlier

To page 4

From page 1

this month. However, the government's commitment to orderly development and broadening of democracy could not be promoted in conditions of disorderliness, subversion and violence, he said.

"The emergency measures of the past two years have contributed, as far as the general security situation is concerned, towards the creation of a condition of greater stability within the country.

"Even radical and revolutionary groups have had to concede openly they have suffered setbacks," Mr Botha said.

In spite of the visible decline in unrest-related incidents, there was still a high underlying climate of revolution which could lead to an escalation of unrest if the emergency were to be lifted now.

In addition, there was "adequate proof" that radicals and revolutionaries were planning an intensified onslaught in the second half of 1988 and which was to include "hard intimidation" and violence designed, among other things, to disrupt the nationwide municipal elections in October.

"These forces fear the orderly development of democracy in South Africa."

Mr Botha said the changed circumstances brought about by the emergency measures, which restricted the capability of radicals for mass manipulation and intimidation, had led to new methods being applied to change the status quo and influence the course of the democratic process.

"The ANC/SACP alliance has decided to adapt its tactics for pursuing the 'struggle' without relinquishing violence."

This new dimension of the onslaught was directed at gaining greater political acceptability for the revolutionary forces at home and abroad.

"Efforts are to be directed, in particular, at trying to unite the interests of various internal groups in an extra-parliamentary process to establish an alternative movement for radical political change," Mr Botha said. — Political Correspondent and Sapa

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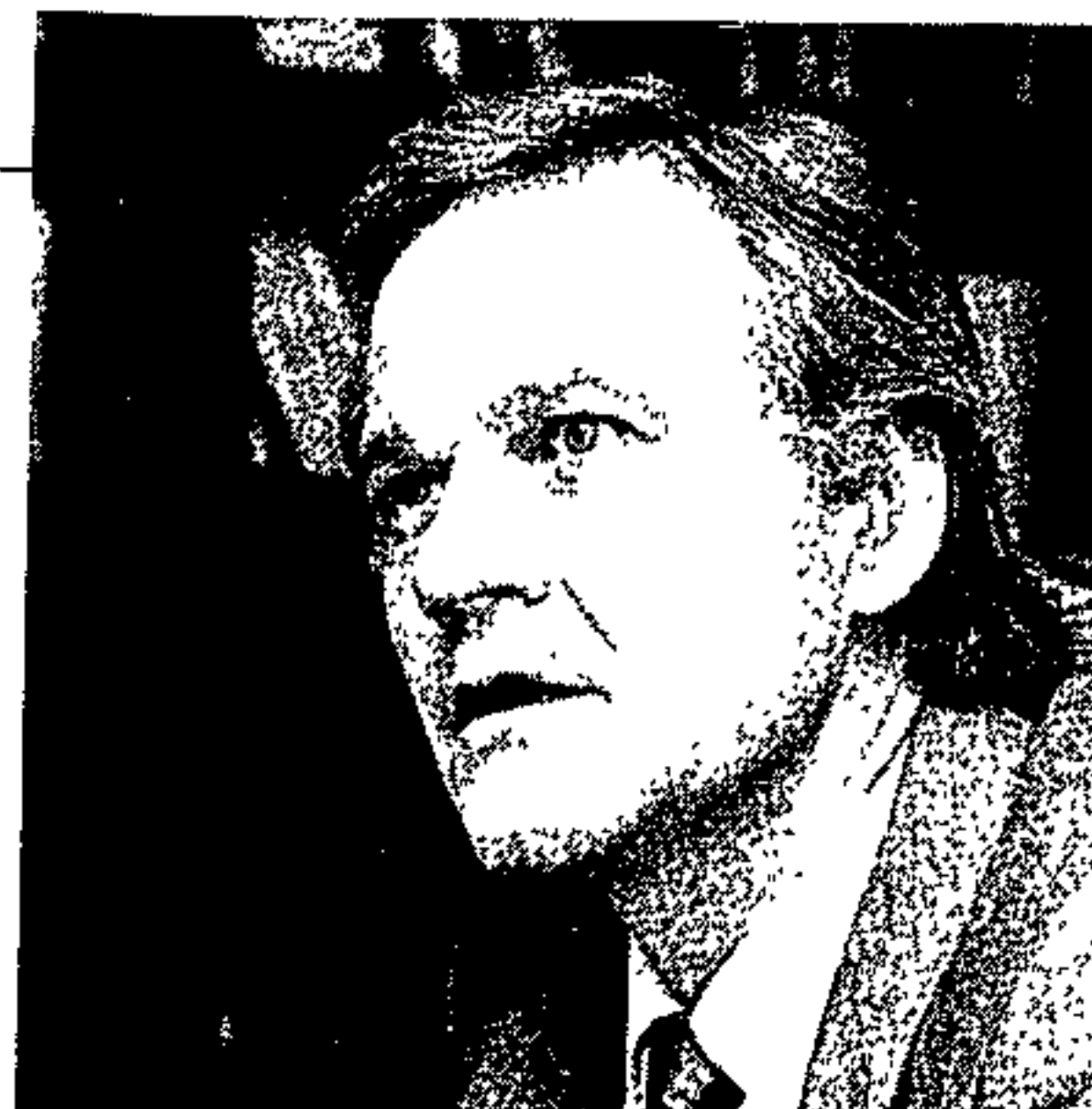
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Van der Merwe ... not for political parties

cion." Advertising strategy has to cope with this, since anything government does will draw "negative comment and propaganda" from various quarters.

McCann concludes that to mount a campaign in which government communicates directly with the public may ultimately be counter-productive. The agency suggests that a "third party" be used — possibly animated characters such as the owl and chameleon used in the daily satirical sketch on TV's *Good Morning South Africa*.

Although McCann's campaign proposes to use mainly TV, radio, the Sunday press and the main daily papers, the agency says it may be necessary to use newspapers on the "extreme poles of the media spectrum" such as *The Weekly Mail* and *New Nation*. (The publication of *New Nation* has been suspended by government and *The Weekly Mail* is under threat of suspension.)

The CP sees the campaign as a sinister undercover plot to get at political opponents, but Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe denies this. He says it is obviously impossible to conduct an advertising campaign covertly. He stresses that the campaign will not promote the interests of any political party. ■

PROPAGANDA

Tools of the trade

The merits of government's decision to spend nearly R5m on a strategy to promote participation in the October municipal elections are debatable. Some argue that it is unnecessary to mount an intensive advertising campaign to convince people of the benefits of democracy. The counter-argument is that all over the world countries with truly democratic traditions spend far more than R5m a year to encourage voting.

But perhaps of greater interest in the confidential document leaked to the Conservative Party (CP) and revealed in parliament last week by deputy CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg, are details of government's research, which shows its awareness of its credibility problem when it comes to selling reform.

The document, prepared by the McCann advertising agency for the Bureau for Information (BFI), sets out a media advertising strategy to encourage participation — mainly in black communities — in the municipal elections on October 26. The total cost, approved by Cabinet, is estimated at R4,7m.

McCann points out that the BFI's own research shows that government's credibility as an "agent for change" is "under suspi-

Blacks likely to serve first as govt deputies

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The first black members in the Government are likely to be Deputy Ministers, Government sources indicated today.

In time to come, such Deputy Ministers could be promoted to full members of the Cabinet.

President Botha indicated in a speech at a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament that legislation would be introduced later this year to amend the Constitution so as to allow for black participation in the Cabinet.

He referred to his speech in Parliament earlier this year when he indicated that representatives of the black communities, too, should be entrusted with ministerial responsibilities in respect of matters affecting their communities.

Senior Government sources said today Mr Botha was opening the way to appointing blacks to the Executive.

It was not yet clear on what basis he would appoint such people to the Government in terms of where he would select them from.

It is not impossible that Mr Botha could select black Ministers from the ranks of the nine representatives of urban blacks to be elected to the National Council later this year, or from the Cabinets of the self-governing states.

● The joint debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill starts in Parliament this afternoon.

The Bill provides for the creation of the National Council.

ITICS

Council 'instrument for further reform'

Stv 22/6/88

The National Council would be an instrument for further reform and not a goal in itself or the end of that reform, said Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis addressing MPs of all three houses of Parliament gathered in the new Chamber of Parliament for the first joint debate.

Mr Heunis said the council proposed by the Bill would be able to consider "any matter, including its own composition and functions".

The Bill reflected "in the most tangible manner" the Government's desire to create a new constitutional dispensation through a peaceful process of negotiations.

It was also proof of Government's sincerity in developing "constitutional structures representing all South Africans and in which power will be shared in a manner preventing domination".

"Our object is that such



Mr Heunis ... the agenda is open

institutions should develop through the proposed council," he said.

The agenda was "open" and "all peace-loving South Africans must now seize the opportunity to prove their commitment to negotiation".

Mr Heunis said too that "security and law and order" had to be considered and that it was not enough to address constitutional, social and material issues.

The use of the security

forces to combat violence and unrest should therefore not be seen "negatively" but "positively" as action which created and supported the climate for the broad reform process.

He said the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs which drew up the Bill had thought it "well-advised" to remove the provision by which the State President would have been a member or chairman of the council.

The State President would, however, be entitled to take part in council proceedings.

Amendments had dealt mainly with the composition of the council in an effort to make it as representative as possible.

These included a provision empowering "alternate members" to take part, and that the nine elected black leaders would be chosen by electoral colleges comprised of members of black local authorities.

'Totsiens to old-style apartheid'

First joint debate a low-key affair

Star 22/6/88

300419

Political Staff

One MP described it as a historic day, another as a "tryst with destiny" but generally the first day of the joint debate of Parliament on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill was a low-key affair.

The fact that speakers spoke from a podium in front of the Speaker's

chair in the huge new "great hall" made it a more formal occasion than the usual debates in Parliament.

On the right of the Speaker sat the National Party with President Botha in his seat for most of the afternoon. In the centre, on the right, was the Conservative Party and across the way the Progressive Federal Party and, further on, the

MPs from the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

The Members were obviously feeling their way on the first day in which the three Houses have sat together for a joint debate.

The CP was belligerent from the start. CP Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux protested because the party "had not been properly consulted about the

debate". The Speaker will give a ruling today.

The fact that the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, was put in only after a CP speaker, Mr Moolman Mentz, caused a sour note early in the debate.

Mr Hendrickse said the fact that precedence had been given to the CP showed that white privilege was still a factor.

The NP speaker who went down best with coloured MPs was Mr Albert Nothnagel.

Approval

There were constant "hear hears" as he said the debate signified a "totsiens to old-style apartheid. We are all South Africans."

There were cries of approval when he said there was nothing wrong in saying one was sorry for some of the things that had happened in the past.

There were cries of "more, more" and one House of Representatives MP said "Take my time" when Mr Nothnagel said he had to close his speech.

The CP Members sat in stony silence.

The debate will continue until Friday.

Bill 'fatally flawed' warns Eglin

The council proposed by the new Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill was "fatally flawed", PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

He warned that in its present form the Bill could not ensure a successful negotiation process or the political legitimacy of the resulting constitution.

"At times it may give the illusion of success while in reality it will be prolonging the agony of political polarisation and conflict," he said.

The council would have two functions. One, to prepare a new constitution and to advise the Government on this and two, to give black South Africans an interim voice — "whatever that might mean," said Mr Eglin — in the processes of government and to advise the Government on day-to-day legislative and executive matters.

"The first function opens up the possibility of the council enjoying political legitimacy for it is designed to help

South Africa escape from the stigma of our racially structured constitution.

"The second function — advising the State President's Government — ran counter to whatever gains the first function achieved because the council would be identifying itself with a racially structured constitution rejected by the majority of South Africans.

"By all means let us have a constitutional council to explore ways of escaping from the tricameral system. But don't let us have a council that is at the same time required to act as an adjunct to that very system."

Another fundamental defect was that "by no stretch of the imagination" could the proposed council be considered representative.

The PFP wanted the Bill sent back to the Standing Committee whose members should sit down with black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in person-to-person negotiation.

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Bill signals new future for SA — MP

PARLIAMENT — The the first tricameral debate in the new chamber. Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill clearly told him that He considered the meeting a beginning from where a new future for South Africa could be designed. black people would one day enter Parliament with him to write the future of South Africa, Mr Miley Richards (LP Tokomorsrus) said yesterday.

Speaking in the second reading debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, "There is a place for the Afrikaner in the future, but there must also be a place for all South Africans in the future of South Africa." he said he had waited for The Government dare not repeat the mistakes of the past. — Sapa. a long time to speak in

Apartheid 'issue of SA debate in USA'

By Carole Grange

The moral issue of discrimination, crystallised in the word apartheid, remained at the centre of debate between the United States and South Africa, a professor of law said in Durban last night.

Professor Dawid van Wyk was speaking after his recent fact-finding trip to the United States in his dual capacity as professor of constitutional law and as director of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

He said throughout his visit he encountered no sense of "irrational hatred" for South Africa and South Africans.

"On the contrary, I encountered concern and a significant level of detailed awareness within important sectors regarding developments in South Africa," he said.

He said Americans understood the business of compromise.

"It is entrenched in their political system.

"Our own constitutional impasse and the Indaba option are easy to discuss with them because their own constitutional origins were an exercise in pure negotiation and compromise," he said.

He said the critical point in discussing discrimination in South Africa was the fact that it was institutionalised and statutory. The Americans were not indulging in a "holier-than-thou" attitude.

"They are aware that their own society is far from perfect and very many openly admitted that discrimination still exists in the United States.

"The critical point is the fact that, unlike the United States and the international community, discrimination is institutionalised or statutory in South Africa. It is this simple fact that cannot or will not be tolerated," he said.

lice are investigating.

Four men granted stay of execution

Pretoria Correspondent

Four men who were due to be hanged today were granted a stay of execution by the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice O'Donovan granted Sipho Mtetwa (32), Jeffrey Tsotetsi (21), Richard Mbuli (35) and Isaac Tsotetsi (51) a stay of execution for a month, in order for them to petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal against their double death sentences.

Serviceman dies in crash, 54 hurt

Pretoria Correspondent

A member of the South African Defence Force died in a military vehicle accident in the operational area on Monday night, a SADF spokesman said.

He was Rifleman Ian Michael Webb (20) of 25 Frere Road, Glenwood, Durban.

Fifty-four other servicemen were injured in the accident, two of them seriously, the spokesman said.

US welcomes Govt national forum plan

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Government's plan for a new multiracial national forum, announced by President Botha this week, has been conditionally welcomed in the United States.

"We welcome any development whose goal is further democratisation of South Africa," a spokesman for the US State Department said yesterday.

US officials have been super cautious in their comments on constitutional proposals and initiatives in the Republic

ever since they ran into a firestorm of criticism when they welcomed South Africa's current tricameral parliamentary system as a "step in the right direction".

Angry denunciations of the US by black SA leaders who rejected the tricameral plan stung Reagan administration officials who felt their attitude toward reform in South Africa had been misunderstood.

As a result, the Americans have been careful to note that their ultimate aim is to see an end to apartheid and the full participation of all South Africans in a new system of government.

No Olympic boycott by black Africa

LAUSANNE — The International Olympic Committee's first special meeting on apartheid was "a show of unity with black African nations" which earlier had threatened to boycott the Seoul Games.

Black African sports officials said after the meeting yesterday at IOC headquarters here that they currently see no reason for staying away.

The IOC reaffirmed its opposition to apartheid as a "scourge in sport" and urged further action to freeze South Africa out of international competition — AP.

Dunem said his impression at recent meetings with South African officials in London and Brazzaville was that they wanted America out of the process.

He and Mr Pedro de Castro van-Dunem, Angola's Economics Minister, expressed outright distrust of South Africa in the peace talks. They wanted the United States involved as a mediator, they said.

They alleged South African breaches of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and efforts to sabotage Angola's oilfields days after a top-level South African assurance that Pretoria wanted peace, made them want a witness to the negotiations.

Angola's priority was to get South Africa out of Angola before all else, the two leaders noted.

Mr Pedro van-Dunem doused any hopes of direct settlement talks between his government and Unita. Once foreign forces were off their soil, he said, Angolans could sit down as individuals to talk of the country's future. He seemed to rule out such talks with Unita.

Methodist Church

The Star Wednesday June 22 1988

'Urgent need for moderates to talk'

De Klerk argues for national council

Legislation for a national council to bring blacks into government was an urgent call for understanding to be reached among reasonable leaders in South Africa, the leader of the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

Those opposed to this, such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, were "playing into the hands of the revolutionaries who do not want this understanding", he said in the second reading debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

The revolutionaries were looking for confrontation between groups of people and did not want the under-

standing the Bill was calling for to come about.

Mr de Klerk said that so far, after one day's debate, it was clear there was an urgent need for this understanding and for reasonable leaders in South Africa to come together and speak out for the majority of moderate people in the country and to counter the "noise" of the small group of radicals.

"Without this understanding, there can be no long-term peace or freedom in South Africa", democracy could not be broadened nor could progress be maintained. The only way to achieve this understanding was through the national council proposed in the Bill.

The legislation presented a choice between negotiated or radical change and there was no room between the two. "The choice must be made and time is of the essence."

New dispensation

Mr de Klerk said it was obvious that not everybody agreed with everything contained in the Bill, "but in spite of all, it offers the opportunity for discussions, and these will have results. From these results will flow a new dispensation."

Those who stayed on the sidelines now would be keeping themselves on the sidelines of searching for solutions to South Africa's problems.

In the search for solutions, a reality which had to be accepted was that a single, homogeneous population in South Africa was impossible.

At the same time, however, it had to be accepted that no single group in South Africa could exist in isolation from others. — Sapa.

Olivier believes new constitution is needed

A new constitution was needed urgently to end polarisation and unrest, Professor Nic Olivier (PFP, nominated) said in Parliament yesterday.

White political "baasskap" was no longer tolerable, he said in debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

Some members had said they believed the National Council — for which the Bill provides — was a step in the right direction despite its deficiencies.

But Professor Olivier was of the opinion that the proposed council would not be able to produce a constitution which would be acceptable to all South Africans.

NDM won't support Constitution Bill 304A

The National Democratic Movement believed that both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary efforts to bring about a new constitution were legitimate, Mr Wynand Malan (NDM Randburg) said yesterday.

ALTERNATIVE

He said in debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill that the NDM could not support the Bill because it did not provide for extra-parliamentary representation on the

proposed Statutory Council.

It was common cause that the original Bill created an alternative to existing structures for those in extra-parliamentary politics to participate in a process of negotiation, other than by joining the system through electoral politics.

But the Bill, as amended by the Standing Committee, did not provide for this.

It was thought in certain circles that the Government wanted to exclude extra-parliamentarians to retain control within the system.

The NDM would, therefore, like the PFP, suggest that the Bill be referred back to the Standing Committee. — Sapa.

'People told us they had not voted'

I was suspicious, official tells court

Star 23/6/88 304A

By Sue Olswang

A civil court magistrate who was appointed presiding officer for the Hillbrow constituency in last year's General Election yesterday told a Johannesburg magistrate that he "became suspicious" on election day when more than one voter claimed they had not registered as special voters.

Mr Edward van den Berg, a civil court magistrate now stationed in Durban, was testifying in the case involving the suspended National Party member Mr Leon de Beer, MP for Hillbrow.

"On May 6 last year, magistrate Mr P H Bredenkamp (a presiding official) introduced me to a voter who wanted to vote but had been informed that he'd already voted as a special voter.

"We showed the voter the application form which he apparently completed to apply for a special vote but he denied applying and said the signature was not his," said Mr van den Berg.

Compared signatures

"We called the three candidates from the NP, the PFP and the CP and questioned the voter between us. We compared signatures and handwriting and eventually concluded that the voter had in fact not voted as a special voter. We then agreed to allow him to vote by declaration.

"I thought the voter may perhaps have forgotten that he'd already recorded a vote as a special voter but when the same thing happened to a few

more people, I became suspicious. It was decided that these people could vote by declaration after making a statement declaring they had not already voted as special voters."

Mr van den Berg told the court he received special voter's applications from Hillbrow residents all over the country prior to last year's General Election.

"Each special vote application was in its own envelope and there was also a second, smaller, envelope in each with the voter's special voting slip inside.

"These envelopes were also sealed and were placed in a special box until election day when they were opened and counted together with all other votes."

Mr van den Berg told the court he noted the names of every person involved in a mix-up regarding special votes on election day. He said the special votes which were supposed to have come from these people were discarded when the special voting box was opened, because he had allowed them to vote by declaration instead.

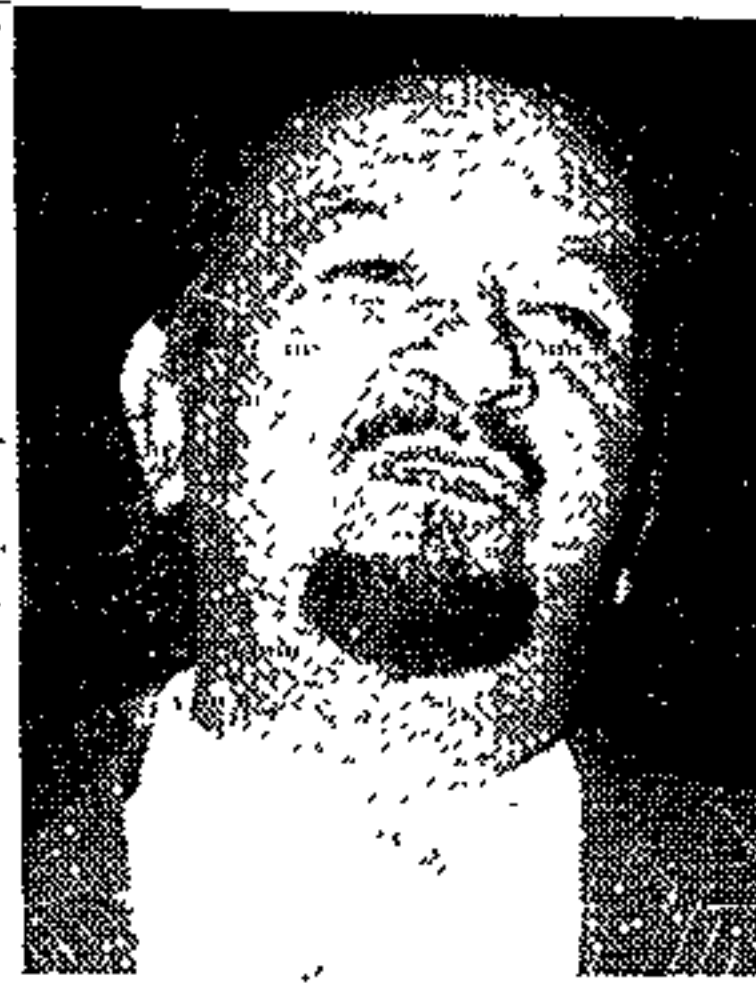
"However, some people had already voted before we realised they were involved in a mix-up with special votes so we discarded their votes by declaration and kept their special votes."

Mr de Beer (28), of Yeoville, faces 120 charges of fraud and contravening the Electoral Act. His co-accused are Mr Chris Snyman (57), of Hillbrow, and Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg (41), of Auckland Park. Mr de Beer also faces a charge of making a false statement to the police. They have pleaded not guilty.

The hearing continues.

Allan averts major crisis

30/4/8
Sowetan 23/6/8



HENDRICKSE ...
'snubbed'.

A MAJOR crisis in the first joint debate of the Houses of Parliament was averted when the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, decided against withdrawing from the debate although he felt that he had been snubbed.

The incident occurred when a CP speaker was put in immediately after the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had introduced the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

It was generally expected that Mr Hendrickse, as leader of the second largest party in Parliament, would be the second speaker.

Whips of the Labour Party were not, however, specifically told that this would be the case.

The chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alec van Breda, yesterday dismis-

sed suggestions that any snub to Mr Hendrickse had been intended.

When he did speak, Mr Hendrickse said the incident was a case of white privilege still being recognised.

Yesterday he said he had at one stage felt so strongly about the matter that he had thought of withdrawing as a speaker and had considered withdrawing his party from the debate.

He had, however, in the interests of the reform efforts, decided against it.

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

'INSTRUMENT FOR FURTHER REFORM'

304A

Sowetan 23/6/88

THE National Council would be an instrument for further reform and not a goal in itself or the end of that reform, said Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis, addressing MPs of all three Houses of Parliament gathered in the new chamber of Parliament for the first joint debate.

Speaking at the start of the debate on Tuesday, Mr Heunis said the council proposed by the Bill would be able to consider "any matter, including its own composition and functions".

"We feel therefore that we should leave the provisions of the Bill unchanged and leave it to the council itself to propose further changes according to the circumstances," he said.

Tangible

The Bill reflected "in the most tangible manner" the Government's desire to create a new constitutional dispensation through a peaceful process of negotiations.

It was also proof of Government's "sincerity" in wishing to develop "constitutional structures representing all South Africans and in which power will be

SOWETAN Correspondent

shared in a manner preventing domination".

"Our object is that such institutions should develop through the proposed council," he said.

Concretised

Negotiations had now to be concretised, he said. Already discussions which had been taking place over the past two years about the formulation of the Bill had gone beyond the scope of just this measure and, being about further constitutional development, these discussions should be channelled through

the negotiating body proposed by the Bill.

He stressed that the agenda for the council was "open" and that "all peace-loving South Africans must now seize the opportunity to prove their commitment to negotiation".

Mr Heunis said too that "security and law and order" had to be considered and that it was not enough to address constitutional, social and material issues.

The use of the security forces to combat violence and unrest should therefore not be seen "negatively" or "positively" as action which created and supported the climate for the broad reform process.

NP paves way for black in cabinet

Political Staff

LEGISLATION allowing the State President to appoint a black to the cabinet was tabled yesterday, with the government saying that it wanted it passed by the end of next week.

The Second Constitutional Amendment Bill also allows for 20 more seats in Parliament, paving the way for a delimitation and a possible general election early next year.

A second bill tabled by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, will enable the President to appoint a member of the cabinet to preside in his place when he is absent.

President P W Botha stated when he addressed Parliament on Monday that he was keen for representatives of the black communities to be given ministerial responsibilities for own affairs.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr Heunis said the amendment was aimed at giving the President more scope to appoint people outside Parliament to the executive.

The amendment would allow the President to appoint someone who did not qualify to be a member of a House as a deputy-minister or a minister.

304#

P W Botha and democracy

Star 23/6/85 By Patrick Laurence

3049

The theory of democracy, writes Roger Scruton in "A Dictionary of Political Thought", is immensely complicated, noting that there is little agreement on the essential elements of a democratic regime.

President Botha's 20-page speech to the joint sitting of Parliament on Monday underlines Scruton's point.

An underlying theme in the speech portrayed Mr Botha and his chief lieutenants as defenders of democracy against radical and revolutionary forces seeking its overthrow.

"South Africa finds itself in one of the most important development phases in its history, a phase in which the Government has committed itself to orderly development and broadening of democracy," he said.

The two-year-old State of Emergency and the draconian powers wielded under it are not an aberration of democracy but are necessary for its defence, according to Mr Botha.

He accused "radicals and revolutionaries" of planning to sabotage peaceful change and of preparing, in particular, to disrupt the nationwide municipal elections in October to deny the extension of "free democratic rights" to all South Africans.

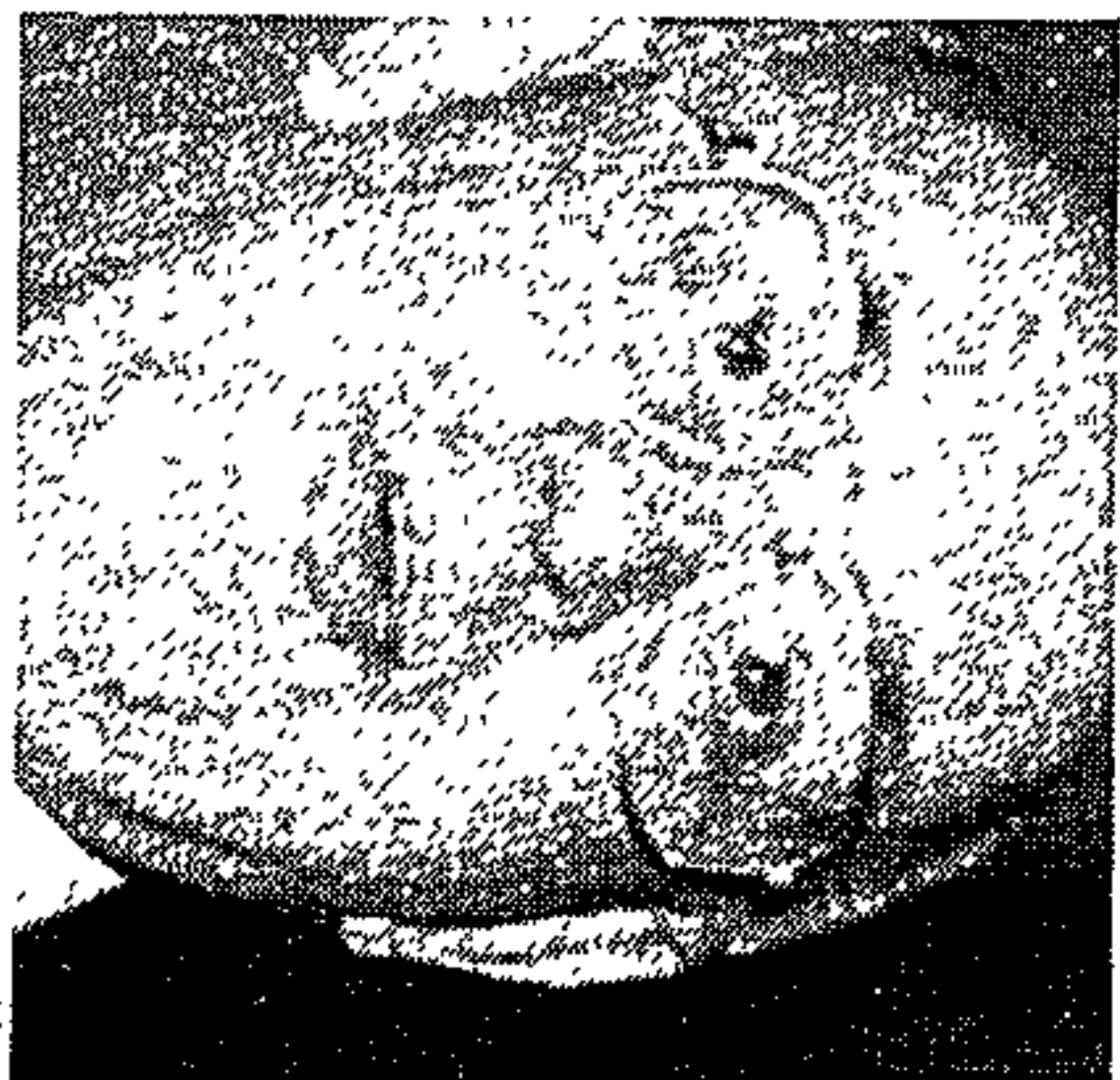
In appropriating the moral high ground for himself as a democrat,

Mr Botha did not acknowledge that extra-parliamentary organisations opposed to participation in the elections have been paralysed by government edict while R4,7 million has been allocated to the Bureau for Information to campaign to persuade people to take part.

The restrictions imposed on the United Democratic Front — whose title reflects its claim to represent democratic values — fly in the face of one treason trial and pre-empt the findings of another. In the first, the Maritzburg trial, 16 UDF leaders were acquitted of treason; in the second, the current "Delmas trial", the judge has not heard all the evidence and arguments by defence counsel.

Nor did Mr Botha mention that at least 40 people — according to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies — have been in detention for two years under the emergency regulations, immobilised and unable to exercise their democratic rights.

Mr Botha, however, challenged



President Botha... appropriating the high moral ground.

the right of his radical opponents to label themselves democrats.

"It is universally known that Marxists and revolutionaries use the word 'democracy' to describe their atheist and materialist system of autocratic one-party dictatorship," he said.

"No one in the Western and democratic world would describe the Soviet system as democratic. Yet some of these same people blandly accept that the aim of the ANC-SACP alliance is to implement a true democratic and free economic system in South Africa."

The same Western democrats, judging by the declaration of leaders of the top seven industrial na-

tions at Toronto, Canada, do not share Mr Botha's view of his Government as democratic. They urged South Africa to move away from its present system towards non-racial democracy.

Botha implicitly rejected their advice, declaring: "One man, one vote systems have failed in Africa, particularly in plural societies. Africa is a graveyard of failed experiments with Western models and systems rammed down its throat."

The outlawed African National Congress, however, has refused to abandon its quest to present itself as a democratic alternative to Mr Botha's Government.

Its constitutional draftsmen are working on a blueprint for a "post-apartheid society".

Guidelines for the ANC's new order include a multiparty political system in a unitary state, a bill of rights to protect individuals, a mixed economy (embracing independent trade unions and the right to private property) and land reform to redress the imbalance of wealth between black and white.

The same ANC, however, defends the grenade attacks on political meetings called by black leaders who want to take part in the October elections and attended by "for the most part, older people with little formal education."

Passing on lessons in street fighting

By Conrad Berge of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Action Group

After nine years of campaigning against the PWV3 regional highway running east-west through Randburg and Sandton, Jomag has now received an undertaking from central Government that money will be voted to reassess the plan fully. It has also promised that proper public participation will be sought.

Credit must go to the State President and the Cabinet, who are showing increasing sympathy for the environmental concerns of urban residents.

Jomag can pass on its lessons now that it has helped win this first battle in the war to rescue what is left of the peace and tranquillity of greater Johannesburg's suburban areas.

● **Reject old planning.** The PWV3 route is part of a grand scheme of major roads in the PWV area which was planned in the booming '70s.

The plan's authors argued that it was necessary to speed up township development, co-ordinate the major road planning of various municipalities and so avoid one day having to force major roads

through built-up areas. Underlying this argument is a perception that roads are "essential services", like water and sewerage, whose purpose and value are obvious.

But now we are entering a different age. In the last decade urban residents have come to realise that roads are not at all like water and sewerage — they are major spaces.

If dedicated only to cars, roads tend to become fast and frenzied and thus destroy the very amenity they are meant to support — urban liveability.

The planned PWV3 is a good example. Far from protecting development, the proposed route cleaves several urban neighbourhoods, devastates a major park in each town and slices a big chunk off the campus of a major school. Adding insult to injury, today's economic realities indicate that very little of the grand PWV highway grid will ever be built. Why

then should today's urban generation be lumbered with its nasty fragments?

● **Demand a balanced approach.** Transport planning is dominated by one discipline — civil engineering.

The PWV3 was conceived by the PWV Consortium — a group of civil engineering consultants, assisted very thinly by town planners. Its urban sections are planned in terms of the Urban Transport Act which hooks up civil engineers on all three tiers of Government and gives them great power.

The public's recent anxious questioning of the wisdom of Sandton and Randburg councils wanting to build a cross-suburban highway to carry traffic from the proposed PWV3 highway merely triggered more number-crunching reports by civil engineers, reaffirming the need for it. Civil engineers appear elsewhere.

3044

For example, Mr Olaus van Zyl, until very recently a member of Messrs Bruinette, Kruger and Stoffberg (BKS), who are in turn senior members of the PWV3 Consortium, was chairman of Randburg's management committee.

He was also that town's representative on the Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board which can recommend approval of a "transport plan" (such as a highway) in terms of the Urban Transport Act.

NOW INCORPORATED

Further, BKS was employed by Sandton to co-ordinate and plan much of its major roads network, including the PWV3. This network is now incorporated in the "transport plan".

In recent times Sandton called twice upon Dr Bingle Kruger of BKS to present the merits of the road to anxious residents. And this he did.

Finally, Mr Ricky Valente, chairman of Sandton's management committee, which can be considered as BKS's "client", is also a civil engineer and served with Mr Olaus van Zyl on the Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board.

It is all above board of course — but the situation cries out for more disciplines at the planning tables, for more points of view to be offered to the public. There may be professional people who consider public parks as important as roads.

The Government's undertaking to assess the environmental aspects of the road will, it seems, bring in new disciplines. But they

should have been there from the start.

● **Dig out the facts.** As public pressure mounted, Jomag was forced to clarify for the public key information which had been provided by Randburg and Sandton.

For example, both towns insisted that their portions of the PWV3 route were merely "local roads" and totally independent of the grand PWV3 plan.

Sandton initially withheld an environmental impact study which spelt out the sad effects the road would have on the Field and Study Centre park — but it gave great exposure to engineers' reports favouring the road.

● **Put politicians at risk.** The public furore over PWV3 route, especially in Sandton, has contributed to a new civic awareness and this has given rise to a new civic alliance — "The Sandtonians" — who will contest the municipal elections in October. They could be a winning team.

POLITICAL REFORM

Playing a broken record

P W Botha is still totally committed to bringing about constitutional change according to his plan — and therein lies the rub. The plan has already been tried and tested and found to be wanting.

His address on Monday to a joint session of parliament — in effect an end of session review — and moves this week to establish the framework for a “national council” (see box) merely reiterate the parameters within which government is prepared to negotiate “reform.” Yet Botha regards the unilateral moves he is making as a sincere attempt to broaden democracy in an “evolutionary manner.”

While he remains committed to “group” (that is, race) security as the basis for change, he accepts the need to create structures through which all South Africans can have a say in governing the country (hence the national council).

The background against which Botha sees change taking place remains as it has been for some time now: a “revolutionary” threat



President Botha — grimly sticking to his guns

by radical opponents which is expected to intensify. In spite of this, government will not be “enticed willy-nilly” by foreign gov-

ernments into negotiating with “revolutionary groups.”

An iron-fist policy will remain while attempts are made to find political solutions. The security forces are geared to cope with a “new process of subversion” which is more sophisticated and unorthodox than the “onslaught” against SA so far. Partly because of this, it is necessary to continue the State of Emergency.

If the ANC, “security” prisoners (such as Nelson Mandela) and others who have left the country want to talk to government they must abandon violence and cut their ties with international communism.

In effect Botha reiterated the stand taken repeatedly in recent months by senior Cabinet ministers: government is prepared to go so far and no further. He now expects opponents to compromise and meet him halfway.

Clear evidence of this is the decision to go ahead with the establishment of the national council before it has been widely accepted by even moderate black leaders such as KwaZu-

CONSTITUTIONAL TALKING SHOP

The constitutional planning forum — widely referred to as the National Council — to be set up in terms of legislation debated at an historic joint session of all three Houses of parliament this week will more than likely be dominated by a Nationalist majority. The final balance is effectively left to President P W Botha, who can appoint eight of its 36 members.

The council will be established in terms of the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, previously known as the National Council Bill.

The council will determine its own formal name. Botha has already indicated that he favours something along the lines of the Great Indaba. The council's term of office will be two years, extendable at its own request by Botha.

Its aim, in terms of the Bill, will be to:

- Plan and prepare a constitutional system providing for participation in government by all South Africans;
- Give blacks an interim say in government; and
- Improve relations between all South Africans.

To achieve these aims the council will be empowered to investigate and consider any matter which, in its opinion, is of national interest, including existing and proposed legislation, and make recom-

mendations to government.

The council will consist of:

- The six chief ministers of the non-independent homelands (KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu and QwaQwa);
- Nine representatives of urban black communities elected by electoral colleges in nine designated regions;
- The four provincial administrators;
- The three chairmen of the Minister's Councils of the three Houses;
- The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning;
- Not more than five other members of the Cabinet or of Minister's Councils appointed on an ad hoc basis by Botha for a definite or indefinite period; and
- Not more than eight people who, in Botha's opinion, can make a substantial contribution to the council. The eight can be appointed on an ad hoc basis after consulting the other councillors.

If all posts are filled, as they are expected to be, at least 19 of the 36 councillors are likely to be Nat supporters. They are the four administrators, the chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Assembly (currently F W de Klerk); Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis; the five other Cabinet ministers or members of Min-

ister's Councils and the eight presidential appointees. The Nat-supporting majority will obviously be even bigger if some of the homeland leaders do not take their seats.

There is no clear indication yet as to how many of the homeland leaders are willing to participate in the council. So far KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, regarded as a key player if the council is to succeed, has emphatically rejected participation.

Botha will no longer chair the council as originally mooted. Instead, he will invest six members of the council with the power to act as chairman. They are one member each of the Houses of Assembly, Representatives and Delegates, one homeland leader, one urban black representative and one administrator.

The urban black representatives will be elected by nine electoral colleges which, in turn, will be elected by the black town and city councillors who will be chosen in the October municipal election.

The council will meet where it wishes and as often as it deems necessary. It will be empowered to appoint committees to investigate various issues. Allowances and other benefits (including pensions) will be determined by the State President (see *Leaders*).

Apartheid is 'history', say Labour MPs

Apartheid, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act were all "history" according to several Labour Party MPs who have cheered National Party speakers for the past three days during joint debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

But, in very different spirit, one LP MP concluded his speech yesterday with the word "Amandla".

Heckling loudly while the PFP's Mr Ray Swart was speaking yesterday, LP MPs shouted "that's history" when Mr Swart attempted to put what he called the "fine-sounding words" of the new Bill in the context of "the real situation" in the land.

"I want in the name of realism to warn against raising expectations once again without being able to deliver the goods," said Mr Swart.

While the Bill intended to "afford to black South African citizens on an interim basis a voice in the processes of government," there was still apartheid, said Mr Swart.

Supporting him, LP MP Mr Peter Hendrickse, warned colleagues: "We should not be carried away by the euphoria of the moment. There are certain stark

realities that cannot be wished away.

"While the Conservative Party still believes in the outmoded and outdated concepts of apartheid, the National Party believes in new mode, updated and sophisticated apartheid.

"Call it what you may, own affairs is apartheid and apartheid is racism."

Mr Hendrickse said he was "obviously not 100 percent happy" with the Bill but he supported its intentions.

"You will have your National Council but don't abuse this opportunity," he warned NP MPs.

"You cannot ignore the realities of the Buthelezis, Mabuzas and other realist leaders who cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be described as anarchists or people not interested in finding solutions."

He warned the Government too that it would be "closely watched" to see what it did with the Group Areas Act and in official response to the Natal Indaba.

He called on his "comrades out there in the struggle for freedom, justice and peace" to come and accept the challenge offered by the new Bill.

"Amandla!" he said in conclusion.

Cabinet is to consider Indaba proposals

(2048) Political Staff SK 24/6/88

CAPE TOWN — The Indaba proposals are understood to be finally under consideration by the Cabinet.

No official confirmation of this could be obtained, but indications are the Government could shortly give its detailed reaction to the proposals.

The Indaba featured prominently in the National Council debate yesterday with the National Party under fire because of its rejection of the Indaba.

And in the debate yesterday, Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the NP, rejected strong criticism of one of his caucus members, Dr Johan Steenkamp, by the Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers.

Mr Landers accused Dr Steenkamp of "arrogance and baasskap" for a recent speech in which he called for the maximum extension of own affairs and inferred that Inkatha would not accept this, making negotiation impossible.

General election in 1988 ruled out

Star 24/6/88

304A

Political Correspondent

A major re-delimitation of parliamentary constituencies is due to start within months, effectively ruling out a general election this year.

A senior Government source confirmed yesterday that President Botha could be expected to appoint a panel of judges shortly to undertake the delimitation.

The delimitation has been sparked by a re-allocation and the addition of seats on a provincial basis for all three Houses of Parliament.

EXPECTED

The commission can be expected to take six to eight months before its work is complete.

Legislation was published yesterday adding extra seats to Parliament for the three Houses.

The House of Assembly is to have 182 seats receiving an extra six, with the Transvaal receiving five and Natal one.

The House of Representatives goes up by 13 to 93 and the House of Delegates increases by five to 45 with the Cape receiving one, the Transvaal two and Natal two.

MANY street committees in Soweto are alive — notwithstanding the third consecutive declaration of the State of Emergency and the recent banning of the Soweto Civic Association.

The *Weekly Mail* this week looked at the operations of the network of Soweto's street committees, in the process visiting a street committee meeting in Molapo.

A number of street committees in parts of Soweto are no longer holding regular meetings; but the impending October 26 black municipal elections have jolted committee members into full swing in areas that had been experienced a lull in activity.

On top of the agenda at meetings currently are the October 26 black municipal elections and the alleged ongoing detention of pupils in the sprawling townships.

An emergency street committee meeting was convened in Molapo following this week's reports — denied by the Department of Education and Training — that the DET had threatened to close 17 secondary schools in Soweto if class boycotts continued and "there was no return to normality".

The two-hour street committee meeting at Molapo, as well as an interview with members of the committee, confirmed the committee's purpose: democratically to express the aspirations and to cater for the civic needs of black communities after government-created civic bodies have been virtually driven into oblivion by the communities they claim to serve.

The agendas of the Molapo committee since the establishment of street committees at the beginning of Soweto's rent boycott in June 1986, are similar to those of committees in Soweto's 26 townships.

Despite the curbs and the raids, street committees aren't yet buried

W/Mail 24-30/6/88

Street committees are still meeting ... in secret, with elaborate security precautions, reports THAMI MKHWANAZI

Stringent security precautions employed by the organisers of the Molapo meeting before *WM* gained access showed vigilance was the order of the day.

The *WM* was told to meet a "contact man" at "point one" (a venue of first instance) from which the two proceeded to "point two" (another venue, unknown to *WM*, the well-kept, modest house where the street committee meeting was scheduled to be held).

Ten men, half of whom were in middle age and the rest much younger — one only 18 years old — constituted the street committee. The committee, part of a wide structure that revolves around the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), comprised the "captain" (chairman), "deputy captain" (deputy chairman), secretary, four organisers and three additional members.

Three items were on the unannounced agenda at the meeting, held in the lounge to the sounds of a musical programme from a television in the next room.

The first item on the agenda was based on newspaper reports quoting DET spokesman, Job Schoeman, as having said his department would be forced to close 17 schools in Soweto if a boycott of classes continued when schools re-opened on July 4. It was this item that had provoked the emergency meeting.

Pupils of Soweto's Motlana school area (Moletsane, Tladi and Naledi) have been boycotting classes for about two months in protest against alleged widespread detentions of students. The Motlana boycotts came in the wake of similar action, and for similar reasons, at all six high schools in the Soweto township of Diepkloof.

The committee recalled the 1984 closure of all six high schools in the Pretoria township of Atteridgeville which led to class boycotts country-wide.

Street committee members said they feared a threatened closure of Soweto schools might trigger off a boycott similar to the 1984 boycott in Atteridgeville.

The forthcoming municipal elections were the second item on the Molapo committee agenda. Members discussed campaigns opposing the elections; the committee members appeared to feel unanimously that the elections were "not in the interest of the people".

Item number three was the rendering of "political direction" to the community. This would take the form of political classes given to residents. They argued that bread and butter civic issues were not isolated from broad national political issues.

The Molapo committee members discussed alleged violence last weekend at the "Communist Bloc", a local nickname for the Soweto township of Pimville, Zone Six.

According to a representative of the Pimville Civic Association (Pimca), by Tuesday seven houses had been damaged during violence that broke out last Friday following a clash between "comrades" and "thugs".

"Thugs" had allegedly been terrorising residents in the past three months, mugging, assaulting them and breaking into their houses. In an attempt to end the crime wave, "comrades" decided to "discipline", or attack, the "politically bankrupt" hoodlums.

The Molapo committee had received reports that in an attempt to quell the violence police had allegedly sealed off the "Communist Bloc".

The rent boycott was an ongoing issue on the agenda.

Other issues discussed at street committee meetings were campaigns such as work stayaways, consumer boycotts, May Day and June 16.

The education crisis, ways and means to contain vigilante attacks, environmental clean-up campaigns and ways to deal with "law enforcers who themselves break the law" formed part of the agenda. To counter possible attacks on residents, defence committees had been formed.

NP in Natal urged to think again

Sowetan 24/6/84
304A

THE National Party in Natal needed to improve its relationships with other political organisations in the province, Mr Renier Schoeman MP (NP Umhlanga) said this week.

Mr Schoeman's consiliatory statement in Parliament comes in strong contrast to the controversial speech

made by another Natal MP, Dr Johan Steenkamp.

Dr Steenkamp had said in his speech that the concept of own affairs had to be extended to its limits and implied that because Inkatha would not accept this, there was

little chance of the NP and Inkatha reaching any agreement.

Speaking in the debate on the establishment of a National Council, Mr Schoeman, who significantly was appointed to the important joint Parliamentary Constitu-

tional Committee' last week, said in Natal and KwaZulu, "the need to talk to one another has never been greater."

Mr Schoeman said that if attitudes were not changed and solutions were not found at lower levels than the National Council may not succeed.

"We as Nationalists in Natal will also have to work on our relationships with the political organisations and leaders of other population groups in that province and step up our search for common ground and co-operation if we are to play our part."

"If we are to be successful the acceptance of the Bill must be the start of a renewed search for common ground with people of colour right across the spectrum of our community life through out the country."

'Let us take each other's hands'

(304A)

Debate has message for SA, says Heunis

Star 24/6/88

If the price of participation in the National Council by some leaders was that the Government should become part of the violence option for SA, the Government would reject this price as too high, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, he said those leaders who did not participate in the council should know that they were not taking part in the creation of a new future.

He said the debate had a message for SA — "let us take each other's hands".

The objections of some of these leaders did not



Mr Chris Heunis ... replies to debate.

concern the substance of the Bill.

Instead they demanded that certain prisoners should be freed, that organisations should be unbanned and the state of emergency lifted.

"If the price of leaders' participation is that we must become part of the violence option for our fa-

therland, then we say no, the price is too high."

Without exception, members of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates had testified that they had achieved more for their communities by participation than by confrontation.

What use was it that people should languish in jail as a result of their commitment to violence or their violent deeds when the community needed their intellects and leadership?

There was nothing in the Bill that supported the charge that it would lead to black domination.

The Government was often accused of selling out the rights of whites and destroying the rights of Afrikaners.

The day the Afrikaner became a stumbling block

in the way of achievement of rights by other groups, that day he would forfeit his own rights, Mr Heunis said.

One of the greatest moments in the history of the Afrikaner was when he, politically speaking, put SA first and subjugated his own interests to those of the nation.

Real challenge

The real challenge for all South Africans, regardless of colour, opinion or language, was to co-exist without sacrificing language, culture or religion and without an attitude of superiority to that which was different.

Referring to the CP ideal of a partitioned SA, Mr Heunis said that never in the country's history had there been only white SA citizens. — Sapa.

CP condemns 'dangerous' Bill

(304A)

The Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill was one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation to come before Parliament, the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

He said in the debate on the Bill that it was a mirage that created the illusion it was easier to attain peace and reconciliation for different races in a unitary state than good neighbourliness on the principle of separate freedoms.

The CP did not believe that peace and reconciliation could be reached in a constitutional tower of Babel.

It was absolutely naive to see South Africa as a non-racial society. There were nations that had developed their own nation-

al identity and would protect it, if necessary, through legislation.

He said there should be fairness for all but he spoke for a growing percentage of Afrikaners and other whites were not prepared to disappear in a multiracial society or to be dominated.

Five million whites, 2,8 million coloureds and 0,9 million Indians would not have a realistic chance to share political power with 20 million blacks in a unitary state, he said.

Council 'excludes most of population'

The proposed National Council offered no alternative to those people committed to evolutionary change but who were excluded from, or rejected, the tricameral system, Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea) said yesterday.

What alternatives were provided to those who did not want to pursue violent options but who had been excluded? Mr Swart asked during debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

Surely it was these very people who should be locked into the machinery of peaceful negotiations, rather than deliberately excluded from them, as the Bill sought to do.

The PFP feared that the proposed

council would end up with only people who were part of the "discredited system", talking to each other and to nobody else.

The council specifically excluded the majority of the population, whose rejection of the present system presented the basis of the threat of revolution.

"In that sense the process being set up here is one which will be politically incestuous and unproductive."

Mr Swart warned "in the name of realism" against raising expectations "once again" without being able to deliver the goods, because the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act still existed. — Sapa.

POWERLESS

All three Houses would be politically powerless.

"Stay away from the road which ends in black majority government, stay away from this Bill and plan a dispensation of good neighbourliness on the principle of separate freedoms," he said. — Sapa.

PEOPLE

The call is: 'Come back, strongman Zac'

colleagues 25/10/88

20/11/88

THE spotlight has fallen on business leader and former politician Dr Zac de Beer as a potential strongman who can pull together the loose threads in opposition politics to the left of the Government.

His name is being mentioned increasingly as a possible successor to Mr Colin Eglin as leader of the Progressive Federal Party. The speculation has been accompanied by reports about talk inside the PFP over the possibility of changing the party's leadership this year.

What does Dr De Beer say about all this? Is he prepared to make a come-back as a politician and, if so, how will he fit into the present political scene?

Dr De Beer, a charismatic speaker once known as a "golden boy" of opposition politics, made it clear this week that he would refuse outright to enter into any kind of leadership tussle against Mr Eglin.

That is clearly not his style or his way of doing things. And he is not considering a come-back at this stage, even though he remains intensely interested in political developments. At the same time he does not rule out the possibility of his re-entering parliamentary politics in the future.

He is aware of the speculation about him, but is quite frank in dismissing it with a measure of disapproval or even dismay.

Dr De Beer's comment on the speculation about the PFP and a possible leadership role for him was crisp and to the point: "I have said it repeatedly and stand by what I have said. For as long as Colin Eglin is there and for as

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

long as he is prepared to continue, I remain one of his staunchest supporters.

"If, for some reason or another, he should decide to go, then I will be prepared to reconsider my position."

That was all he was prepared to say on the subject during a telephone interview this week.

Dr De Beer, a prominent former MP and an executive director of Anglo American Corporation for the last 14 years, was one of the founder-members of the old Progressive Party in 1959.

He leapt into prominence as a young politician when he was elected to Parliament for the United Party in 1953 at the age of 24. At that time he defeated Mr I.T. Weichardt, a former Greyshirt leader and National Party candidate in Maitland.

At the time of his election he was married to Maureen Strauss, daughter of the then Leader of the Opposition, Mr J.G.N. Strauss.

Asked this week about his impressions of the current political scene, Dr De Beer was again crisp and to the point: "I would be pleased if the Government's efforts towards reform were to get greater credibility — but I'm not very optimistic that this will happen."

On the state of affairs in opposition politics, he said: "I believe in Dr D.F. Malan's winged words to the effect that those who belong together through inner conviction should be brought together. Too many people with identical political beliefs still find themselves in dif-

ferent parties. That is something that must be worked at."

Since Dr De Beer resigned as PFP MP for Parktown in 1980, he has retained contact with the PFP and still serves in the party as chairman of the PFP's finance committee.

This is not the first time that Dr De Beer's name has cropped up in speculation about party leadership during periods when the PFP's fortunes were at a low ebb. It happened about 10 years ago when there was talk of a leadership crisis in the party and even before Dr F van Zyl Slabbert replaced Mr Eglin as leader.

Last year, after the PFP's general election setback, Dr De Beer's name was mentioned again in the context of a leadership debate inside the party.

Now the speculation is continuing after reports, based on an opinion poll published last weekend, that the PFP had lost further ground. According to the poll, the PFP, with 8,8 percent voter support, was lagging behind Dr Denis Worrall's new Independent Party (10,7 percent).

A further blow came for the PFP when Dr Worrall, obviously encouraged by the poll results, backed off the idea of forming a common front with the PFP.

For the PFP, therefore, it seems to be low tide at the moment — a time when doubts set in, when worried eyes focus on the leadership, when mole-hills are turned into mountains. Hence the talk about a leadership change, the back-biting, and the vague hopes of finding a

new messiah to lead the party out of the doldrums.

A pervading irony is that Mr Eglin, as seen inside his party, is an outstanding leader, a man with vision, a tough fighter, hard-working and enterprising. He is outgoing, he has an analytical approach to problems and he has made friends not only for the PFP but for South Africa on important missions in Africa and abroad.

Outside the party, however, the image of Colin Eglin does not seem to have come through in the same way. There he is often seen as a poor performer and a weak leader who cannot muster all the support at his disposal. Why? Nobody seems to know, but perhaps the party does not get the essence of his message across to the wider public, or perhaps he and his supporters have been exposed too much to a flood of damaging propaganda from political opponents, especially the Nationalists.

Whatever the problem may be, the odds seem to be against him, as shown by the party's general election setback last year. Amid talk of yet another leadership change, the question now being asked is: will any potential new leader be able to do better for the PFP than Mr Eglin did?

The answer may lie in what talent is available and in what such a leader can do to unite the forces in opposition politics to the left of the Government.

It is on this point that attention seems to be drawn to Dr Zac de Beer with his distinguished record in opposition politics and his sound business experience over the years.



REMEMBERING THE DEAD: Pik Botha lays a wreath at a Cairo cemetery yesterday.

Delegation in Egypt at war graves

DAVID BRAUN (304A)
Political Correspondent

CAIRO — South African soldiers, dead and largely forgotten for close on 50 years, this week contributed again to the history of their country.

They were the focus of much publicity when the South African delegation, in Egypt for a further round of southern African peace talks, visited a war cemetery near Cairo yesterday.

The graveyard at Helipolis, near the venue of the peace talks, contains the dead of hundreds of Allied soldiers who died in World War 2.

It was a moving experience for most of the South Africans who attended the brief ceremony — and another opportunity for the SA Government to score points on the world stage.

The Egyptian press showed great interest in the visit, which came about after Egypt's government had approved South Africa's request to allow it.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys placed floral tributes containing South African flags at the foot of the striking monument in the cemetery.

Mr Botha said the South African motto "Unity is Strength", which featured on some of the graves, had driven home to him the importance for all South Africans to stand united.

W/ ARGUS 25/6/88

Worrall — a foot in the House

304A

Weekend Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party has gained a foothold in Parliament through the House of Delegates.

The MP for Camperdown, Mr John Iyman, confirmed yesterday he had joined the party after talks with Dr Worrall and other IP leaders.

Dr Worrall has declined to form an alliance with the Progressive Federal Party, opting instead for an aggressive strategy he believes will wrest effective power from the National Party.

Delighted

Welcoming Mr Iyman as a member, he said yesterday he was delighted the party's first Member of Parliament should be in the House of Delegates.

Mr Iyman said he joined the Independent Party as he was impressed by its non-racial approach towards the building of a new South Africa.

"I am certain many more in my community will also find the party refreshing and invigorating, and I believe, in time, many more will also join this new party."

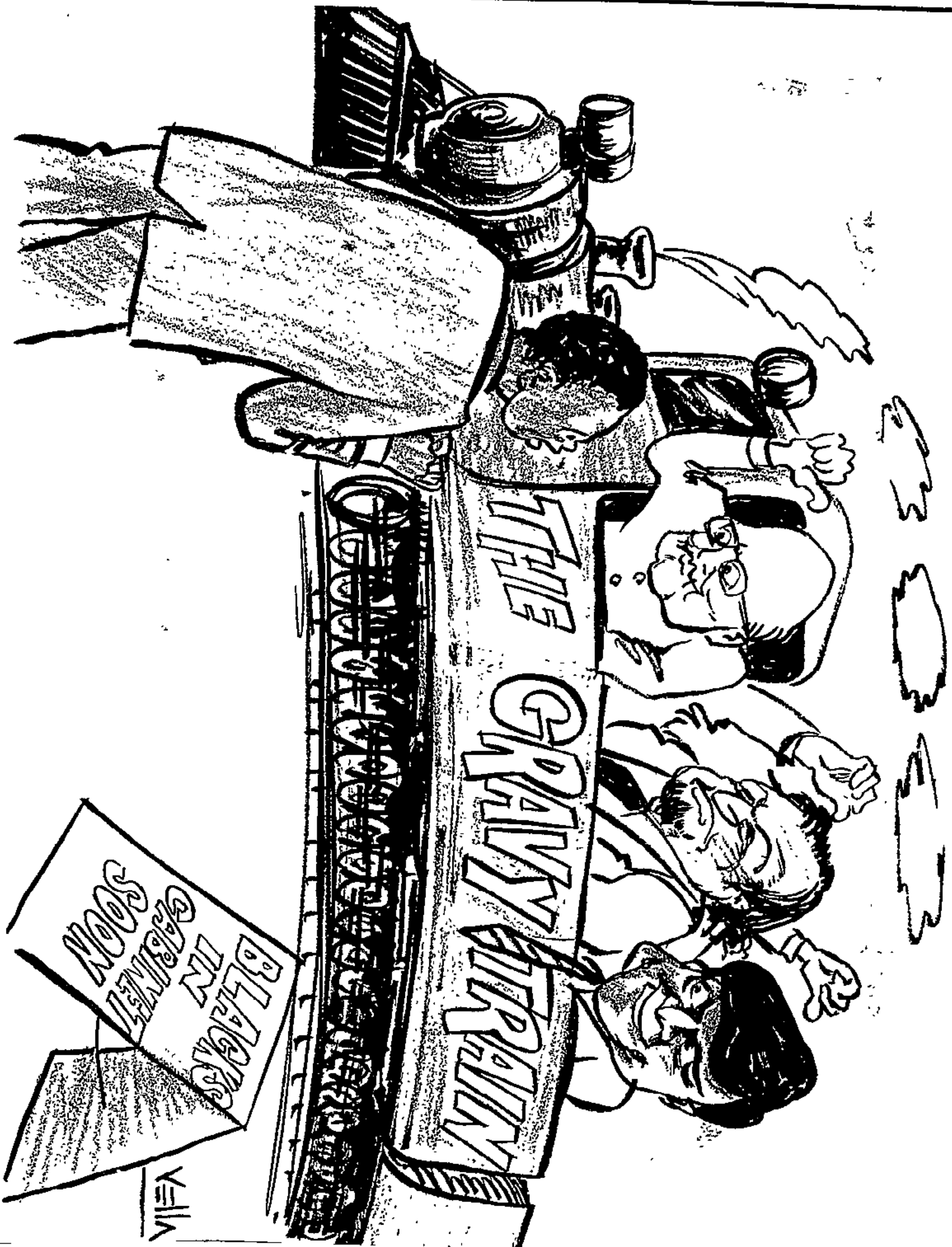
Expelled

Mr Iyman became an independent in the House of Delegates last month after his Progressive Reform Party was dissolved and two of its MPs — Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab — joined the PFP.

All three were founder members of Solidarity until last year when they were expelled for opposing a coalition with Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party.

CPD 26/6/88

304A



THE "Great Indaba" may start its proceedings next year with at least four permanent vacancies — but the Government is determined to press on regardless.

It is certain that at least four of the present homeland leaders will not join the council which was created in an historic joint session of Parliament this week. Two other leaders are said to be wavering.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, has consistently voiced his opposition to the council, starting in the days when it was still called the National Council.

Dr Buthelezi insists that he will not join the council unless political organisations are unbanned, leaders like Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng are released and the Government gives a clear-cut commitment to a new constitution that will include blacks.

Equally vociferous in his opposition has been KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza.

Recently the leader of Lebowa, Mr T Ramodike, and QwaQwa's Mr Kenneth Mopeli, indicated that they too would not join the council.

Said to be wavering is Dr Hudson Ntsanwisi, of Gazankulu, and Mr George Mahlangu, of Kwandebele.

Mr Mahlangu's position is in the balance anyway after a Supreme Court ruling that the election of his Legislative Assembly was invalid.

Diverse

A new election will have to be held according to legislation introduced in Parliament this week.

Opposition to the council has also come from political quarters as far apart as the UDF and Association of Management Committees chairman Mr Tom Moya.

Except for the homeland leaders the yet-unnamed council will comprise nine indirectly elected representatives of urban black communities, six Cabinet members, the four provincial administrators, and the chairman of the coloured and Indian Ministers' councils.

The urban representatives will be elected after the October municipal polls, elected councillors will form electoral colleges on a regional basis to determine who should represent them on the council.

The boundaries of the re-

gions have not been determined but it's expected that it will not deviate too much from that of the existing nine development regions.

Government sources conceded this week that the non-attendance of important homeland leaders would be a severe blow to the prestige of the council. But, they said, the Government would not be deterred by this development.

"The council will be in session by early next year ... with or without them," the Sunday Times was told.

Privately they pin their hopes on the possibility that the council may, through its actions, redeem itself in the eyes of moderate black leaders.

State to go ahead 'with or without' top blacks

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

According to this thinking the three-chamber Parliament was also ridiculed and boycotted at first but has grown in legitimacy and acceptance since its establishment.

Government sources point to the fact that the council enjoys an extremely wide latitude as far as the subjects that may be discussed are concerned.

It may, for instance, change the Bill providing for its inception and thus reconstitute itself. In this way the council can make itself more acceptable to other black leaders.

It has also got the power to examine any piece of legislation and make recommendations to the Government.

Homeland heads to snub Great Indaba

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We're not afraid, says NP leader

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

TRAANSVAAL National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has denied that NP candidates are standing as independents in the Transvaal platteland for fear of the Conservative Party.

He said most NP candidates in the platteland were standing as independents because they were "fed up with the bitterness and venom of the CP and wanted to play a constructive role in the community over matters of community interest".

He said the CP had politicised every aspect of community life and that was why the NP had decided not to stand on a party-political ticket.

He was commenting in a statement on the NP's approach to the Transvaal municipal elections on October 26.

Mr de Klerk said the NP had decided that local constituency committees could decide for themselves if they wanted to stand officially under the NP flag.

In the PWV area the NP had put up official candidates in nearly all local authorities, while most platteland constituency committees had decided to support independent candidates who supported NP policy.

Mr de Klerk said the difference of approach rested "on good grounds. It has nothing to do with fear for the CP as their propaganda says".

He said in the metropolitan areas with their extended powers there was a greater risk of undermining and frustration of government policy by town councils.

There were also great problems to be handled in regard to slum conditions, squatting, and overcrowding of public facilities.

This required strong political support from the central government for local councils.

In the platteland there was no threat from the left. Instead the CP was disturbing communities with its exaggerated politicising almost every area of life.

This was why NP supporters had decided not to make party politics "the main theme of their election campaigns".

Mr De Klerk said the NP was far advanced with preparations for the elections.



Mr F W de Klerk

I support the Freedom Charter, says Van Eck

SK 27/6/8* 30409

CAPE TOWN — A member of Parliament yesterday said he supported the Freedom Charter because it actively challenged Government policies which held that black and white aspirations were irreconcilable.

Addressing a meeting of the Cape Democrats, Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, said the Government had effectively barred whites from gaining insight into black aspirations by identifying the Freedom Charter with both the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

White ignorance — and fear of the Charter — had further been enforced by the Government describing universal franchise as: "One Man, One Vote — Once" and drawing on the "example" of independent African states

where "blacks tore up constitutions and Bills of Rights," he said.

"But unlike the Government, the Freedom Charter — instead of propagating white fears for the majority of the country's population — creates hope for peaceful co-existence in the future," Mr van Eck said.

He believed it was whites, and not blacks, who had the greatest need for liberation, he said. — Sapa.

ster 27/6/58
**Nats meet to
discuss strategy**

Northern Transvaal
Bureau (3041)

PIETERSBURG — The State President, Mr P W Botha, and several Cabinet Ministers met more than 700 Nationalists at a regional strategy meeting in Pietersburg on Saturday.

Delegates from the Soutpansberg, Pietersburg, Lydenburg, Potgietersrus, the Waterberg, Brits and Rustenburg constituencies attended the conference.

The situation of farmers, border security, the coming October municipal elections and strategies to involve more English-speaking voters were among matters discussed at the meeting which was chaired by the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis.

PFP sees growth, renewal for city

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter (3047)

The Progressive Federal Party's "high road" to post-apartheid Johannesburg would reject the cul-de-sac into which the National Party was driving the city, the dirt track offered by the Conservative Party and the directionless path offered by the independents, says Mr Tony Leon.

Presenting the opening address at the PFP's two-day municipal candidates' conference at the Carlton Hotel at the weekend, the PFP's leader in the Johannesburg City Council said the party's vision for the city was one of growth and renewal.

"The PFP appeals to people who wish to vote with their hopes and not their fears ... to reach the summit of

the mountain from the bottom of the pile where Johannesburg has been placed by the central Government," he said.

Outlining the seven pillars of the PFP's charter for a new urban vision, he said South Africa's future would be forged in post-apartheid non-racial cities.

The city would offer an authentic community to all its inhabitants, defined by shared values and not race. There would be shelter with dignity for all the inhabitants whose most urgent needs were the provision of more land for housing.

All citizens would have maximum security and there would be economic advancement and prosperity for everyone.

Party strength lies in 3 basic principles

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The strength of the PFP remained in its basic principles: equal dignity, personal freedom and the rule of law for all South Africans, said PFP Federal Council member Dr Zac de Beer, at the municipal candidates' conference this weekend.

"Look at the world's winner nations; look where life is good and you will find these things," he said.

Dr de Beer said the PFP's time had come because of two major changes: the acceptance of urbanisation and the admission that apartheid had failed totally.

The growing economic misery that apartheid



Dr Zac de Beer ... PFP's time has come.

was bringing the country was evident in the erratic growth rate, low gross domestic fixed investment and productivity which was lagging far behind most comparable countries, said Dr. de Beer.

Worrall's ^{304A} party nets ^{Star 17/6/88} first MP

DURBAN — Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party has gained a foothold in parliament through House of Delegates MP for Camperdown Mr John Iyman.

Mr Iyman yesterday confirmed he had joined the party after discussions with Dr Worrall and other IP leaders.

Mr Iyman said at least one other MP — whom he would not identify at this stage — in the House of Delegates, would be joining the Independent Party.

Welcoming Mr Iyman as a member, Dr Worrall yesterday said he was delighted that the party's first member of parliament should be in the House of Delegates.

Mr Iyman entered the House of Delegates in 1984 as a Solidarity Party member.

Two years later he and two other MPs, Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab, were expelled from Solidarity for opposing its coalition with Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National Peoples' Party.

The three then formed the Progressive Reform Party which they dissolved last month when Mr Poovalingam and Mr Rajab joined Mr Colin Eglin's PFP. — Sapa

Govt denies 'divide and rule' ploy

574
27/6/88 The Star's
Foreign Bureau

(304A)

LONDON — Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday denied that the new National Council would further split the country's black population and so retain power for whites.

Speaking by satellite on the Channel 4 programme "The World This Week", he said: "The aim of the South African Government is to create a democracy in which all the people will participate ... it is not such an easy thing to do overnight, especially in a country with a complex population composition such as ours."

"We do not want to exchange white majority rule for black majority rule in the sense that we would exchange one form of oppression for another form of oppression. Therefore, one has to structure the participation of all people very carefully."

Mr van der Merwe declined to respond to interviewer Gill Pyrah's promptings that such a power-shar-

ing democracy would amount to an equal partnership between blacks and whites. This would pre-empt the National Council's findings, he said.

Pyrah persisted. "Is it your intention to split up the black factions so much that you will have a number of black minorities and the whites can stay in power?"

VOICE IN GOVERNMENT

Mr van der Merwe: "All of them must get a voice in the Government. It must be a participatory democracy in the sense that all the people of all the different groups must participate in the central Government ... if one should structure it so that the Zulus, say, or the Xhosas, would then be able to dominate the whole system, then you haven't achieved anything ... one has to balance the power division very carefully."

Mr van der Merwe saw Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's dismissal of the council as possibly reversible with time, as was the Reverend Allan Boesak's original rejection of the tricameral constitution.

Apartheid is 'morally unjustifiable'

(304A)

Black rule inevitable, says Volkswag chief

Star 27/6/88

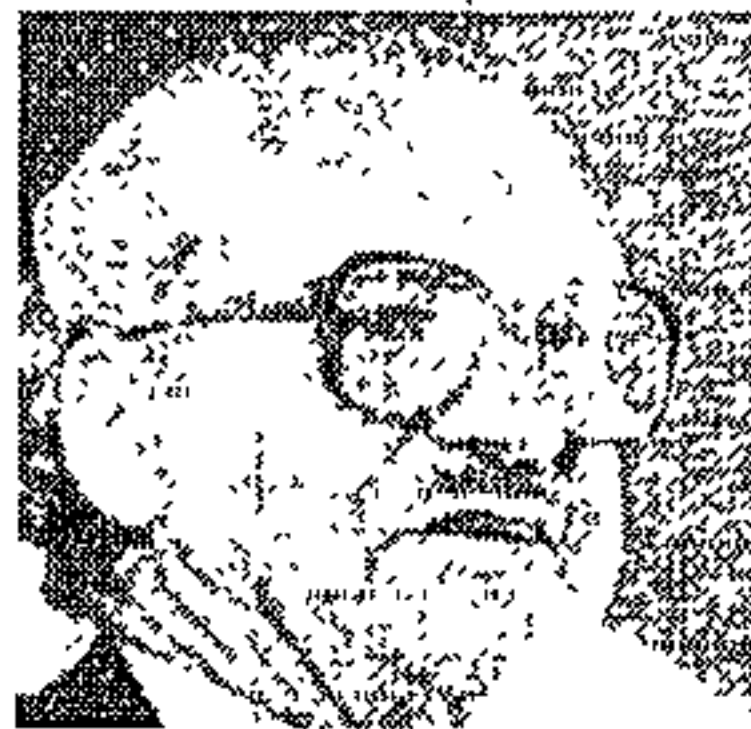
By Esmaré
van der Merwe

With a population distribution of "40 million blacks to 2,5 million Afrikaners", black majority rule in South Africa is inevitable, right-wing academic Professor Carel Boshoff has claimed.

The leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag said in a controversial document distributed to members of his organisation's new research arm, the Stigting Afrikaner Vryheid (Foundation of Afrikaner Freedom), that South Africa was in the position of having a minority government which was desperately trying to retain political power in a unitary state.

This was not only impossible, he claimed, but morally unjustifiable.

Because majority rule would lead to the political, economic and cultural oppression of the Afrikaner *volk*, Afrikanerdom faced a crisis. The only means of survival was for the Afrikaner to have his own *volkstaat* where he could rule him-



Prof Carel Boshoff

self in his own territory.

In a statement that rocked the far-right wing, Professor Boshoff contended that, although many Afrikaners still believed it was possible to replace the "integration-obsessed" Government with a Conservative Party government which would "oppose a black government in a unitary state, even with violence", that ideal was unobtainable.

"The classic policy of separate development seems to be a highly impracticable ideal because of, among other reasons, black occupation of South African land, external pressures, internal concessions and the business sector's support of a black takeover," he said.

"In addition, in a com-

mon society, the Afrikaner *volk* is too thinly spread out to control the whole of South Africa.

"He cannot live together with the black masses and lead them to a destination determined by him. He simply does not have the numbers and power to enforce such a destiny. He can only choose and realise his own destiny."

Investigation

The research organisation was at present investigating the workability of an Afrikaner *volkstaat*, including political representation in such a territory, its economic system, security issues and the geographical location of the area.

Professor Boshoff said the secession of a *volkstaat* should be planned to coincide with an internal agreement to hand over power to a majority government, and should be negotiated with all interest groups.

The *volkstaat*, Professor Boshoff said in an interview, would have to be economically and consti-

tutionally "strong" to provide food, labour, health services and education to its citizens.

This solution would be acceptable to the world, as "the Afrikaner would no longer be a minority government 'oppressing' the black masses".

Then the Afrikaner would be able to live in peace, he said.

Professor Boshoff said the *volkstaat* concept should be developed immediately to gain acknowledgement and to "prepare Afrikaners emotionally".

Although the details of such a *volkstaat* were still being researched, he disclosed that there probably would not be political parties, because "a different type of politics" would be practised.

The head of government and "volk representatives" would be elected by the whole nation. Forced removals would be inevitable to obtain a consolidated area, he added.

The *volkstaat* would develop its own civil service, security forces and judiciary.

CP support rests on blind faith, not reason

Cape Times

27/6/88

304A

Staff Reporter

A COUNTRYWIDE survey has found that blind faith, rather than reason, marks the allegiance of Conservative Party (CP) followers to the party line, with less than half of Dr Andries Treurnicht's faithful believing in the workability of grand apartheid.

And asked who would win a political showdown between the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the African National Congress (ANC), 38,8% of respondents opted for the ANC and 20,4% for the AWB.

This emerged in the results of a Markinor survey published in Rapport yesterday, which showed that 59% of CP supporters had no faith in the practical implementation of the party line, while only 35% considered it to be practically viable.

While 29,5% of all respondents — the majority being CP supporters — considered the CP's line to be intelligible, 39,5% of CP followers drew a blank at understanding their party's policy. The survey found that the AWB enjoyed the support of fewer than 4% of white South Africans — of whom the majority were women — and 90% were opposed to the AWB using for violence for political ends.

Nearly 20% of CP supporters backed the AWB, while 87% of AWB followers said they would vote for the CP in the event of an election. The 95% who were opposed to the AWB described it as "radical, far-right, verkramp, terroristic, militant, a white ANC, violent and too nazi-like".

AWB view is rejected

27/6/88

JONATHON REES

304P

MOST whites rejected AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche's suggestion that there was no room for moderates in SA politics and that "it's either the ANC or the AWB", said a Mark en Mening Opnames survey, published in Rapport yesterday.

Asked who they believed would be the final winner in a straight fight for control between the ANC and the AWB, the majority of respondents, 38,8%, believed the ANC would win, while 20,4% favoured the AWB.

However, a large percentage, 37%, said they were not sure.

A question on whether the AWB was entitled to use force received a massive no, with 90% against and only 3,4% in favour.

The survey also found the vast majority of those polled did not understand the CP's partition policy and most of those who did regarded it as unworkable.

A post-apartheid city is planned

PFP launches a charter for Johannesburg

PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council Tony Leon outlined a charter for a post-apartheid Johannesburg at a weekend conference of local PFP municipal candidates.

He said the PFP was prepared to "embark on an urban policy concerned with establishing structures which are capable of responding to the future, not enslaved to a failed past".

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly came out in support of the charter, which he described as "an imaginative and objective new attitude to civic affairs".

While specific details of the charter will not be released for a few weeks, Leon identified seven of its key elements:

- SA's future will be forged in its cities;
- The cities will be non-racial and demand contributions from all its inhabitants and offer opportunities to all its citizens;
- Communities will be defined by shared values, lifestyles and common interests, not by race;
- The cities will offer urban plan-

MANDY JEAN WOODS

ning with the community at the centre of decision-making;

□ Security for all citizens will be offered to all citizens in a post-apartheid city;

□ The city will demonstrate the benefit of a shared economy, eco-

Anglo American director Zac de Beer hinted yesterday that there were people within the PFP who did not fully support its ideals and they were therefore not welcome in its ranks.

He was speaking on the elements embodied by the PFP and necessary for a nation to be successful: equal dignity, personal freedom and the rule of law.

conomic advancement and prosperity for everyone once freed from apartheid's shackles; and

□ They will demonstrate a vibrant democracy in which decisions must be taken in open forum and the public at large involved in decision-making.

SOWETAN, Monday, June 27, 1988.

MANDELA 'SMEAR' - ENVOY IS QUIZZED

South African 27/6/88

SOWETAN Foreign Service

LONDON — South African Ambassador in London Mr Rae Killen was accused yesterday of trying to "smear" the Mandela birthday concert by calling into question the ultimate destination of the funds.

Mr Killen, speaking on the David Frost interview spot on *Independent Television* for the second Sunday in succession, said there remained three major areas of concern

about the celebration: that it gave a platform to a terrorist organisation committed to violence, it conveyed political messages throughout, and that there was continued concern and unhappiness about the ultimate destination of the funds.

He said: "There has been a charitable moral gloss drawn over the organisations that will

get the funds, but the Anti-Apartheid Movement is identified with the ANC and we have very serious doubts about the ultimate use of those funds."

Frost: You have no proof. I mean, that's just a smear, isn't it?

Killen: No, no. It's early days yet.

Frost: Well, prove it.

Killen: We can't prove it.

Frost: Right.

Mr Killen said if the funds were going to be used to benefit black South Africans, it would be "nice" if they were used for some of the blacks who themselves had suffered at the hands of the ANC.

Claims

He also rejected claims that South Africa had contributed to the region's desabilisation. It was South Africa, he said, who had contributed most to balance and prosperity.

But he refused to comment in detail on Frost's persistent questions about the "casual non-involvement" in murder of the Sharpeville Six, claiming the debate in Britain was about the sentence, not about the due process of justice in South Africa.

Nor would he agree with Frost that the South African Government's changes to the apartheid system meant that system had been un-Christian and wrong.

He said finally: "Apartheid as it was understood by the outside world certainly was wrong."

SOWETAN, Monday, June 27, 1988

'DIVIDE AND RULE' ALLEGATION DENIED

30449

Sowetan 27/6/88

LONDON — South Africa's Minister of Information, Stoffel van der Merwe, has denied that the country's new national council would further split the country's black population and so retain power for the whites.

Speaking live by satellite on the Channel 4 programme *The World This Week*, he said: "The aim of the South African Government is to create a democracy in which all the people will participate . . . it is not such an easy thing to do overnight, especially in a

Sowetan Foreign Service

country with a complex population composition such as ours.

"We do not want to exchange white majority rule for black majority rule in the sense that we would exchange one form of oppression for another form of oppression. Therefore one has to structure the participation of all people very carefully."

The council, he said, had been given the task of finding out exactly how this should take place. But he declined to respond to

interviewer Gill Pyrah's promptings that such a power-sharing democracy would amount to an equal partnership between blacks and whites. This was pre-empting the council's findings, Mr van der Merwe said.

Pyrah insisted: "Is your intention in fact to split up the black factions so much that you will have a number of black minorities and the whites can stay in power?"

Mr van der Merwe replied: "All of them must get a voice in the government. It must be a participatory

democracy in the sense that all the people of all the different groups must participate in the central government . . . if one should structure it so that the Zulus, say, or the Xhosas would then be able to dominate the whole system, then you haven't achieved anything . . . one has to balance the power division very carefully."

Mr van der Merwe saw Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's dismissal of the council as possibly reversible with time, as, indeed, was the Rev Allan Boesak's original rejection of the tricameral constitution.

Stoffel speaks

Sowetan 27/10/86

LONDON — The Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday that democracy for all South Africans had to be structured very carefully so as to avoid exchanging one form of oppression for another.

In a live satellite link-up on Britain's Channel

Four television network, he said the planned multiracial National Council was only an exploratory body and was not supposed to be the end of the story.

"The task of this body is in fact really to come up with proposals as to how one can structure a permanent democracy in South Africa, so one should not see the national council as the end of the road," he said.

Mr van der Merwe said the aim of the South African Government was to create a democracy in the Republic in which all the people, including blacks, would participate. See also Page 5.



The boertjies of Boksburg ... cousins Flip (4) and Billy (2) Fourie celebrate the AWB's 15th anniversary in Bapsfontein.

Picture by Hettie Zandmann.

AWB is a ⁽³⁰⁴¹²⁾ 'powerful' ^{Star 27/6/88} force on right

By Esmaré van der Merwe — BAPSFONTEIN — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) had become the most powerful political factor on the right, its leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, said at the organisation's 15th anniversary held on Saturday.

The AWB had become the National Party's foremost enemy by opposing the Government's plans for a multiracial constitution. It could not allow the "senile" Government to commit other population groups to govern the Afrikaner nation.

Although the Government was trying to reduce the Conservative Party to irrelevancy by "inviting foreigners to draw up a new constitution", the political right would obtain the majority of seats in the next House of Assembly general election.

"The day will come that we will reclaim our country in our millions," he warned, referring to the right-wing organisation's ideal of an Afrikaner *volkstaat*.

Mr TerreBlanche implored about 1 500 followers, many of them dressed in khaki uniform and decorated with AWB flags and badges, to realise his dream of a "pure, free Volkstaat".

The colourful festival featured a beard competition, a traditional *potjiekos* competition and an auction of various AWB memorabilia.

Gain for Worrall

A FORMER member of the Communist Party of South Africa, Mr John Iyman, has become the first member of Parliament for Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party. (3044)

Mr Iyman's membership of the Independent Party follows the recent signing up with the Progressive Federal Party of two other House of Delegates MPs, Mr Pat Poovalingam (Reservoir Hills) and Mr Mamoo Rajab (Springfield).

8879/82 written 28/6/88

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28/6/87 (30/6/87)

MP fraud trial: Witness collapses

JOHANNESBURG. — A 60-year-old Hillbrow woman collapsed in the witness box during cross-examination in the trial of Hillbrow MP Mr Leon de Beer and two others yesterday.

Mr De Beer, 28, election agent Mr Christoffel Snyman, 56, and Home Affairs official Mr Willem Adriaan Janse van Rensburg, 42, have pleaded not guilty to 120 charges of electoral fraud. Mr De Beer has pleaded not guilty to an additional charge of making a false statement to the police.

The woman, Ms Ruth Rachel Besser, who said she suffered from diabetes and epileptic fits, told the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court she had received two visits from an NP member before the election.

She identified the man as Mr Snyman. She said she was told to sign a document by Mr Snyman who told her "it was for voting".

Spotlight on Charter

THE Freedom Charter — a policy document of a number of progressive organisations — will once more come under the spotlight at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa conference scheduled for Cape Town on July 15-16.

The theme of the conference is: "The

freedom Charter and the Future — a critical appraisal".

Some of the topics to be dealt with include: "The Freedom Charter and the economy; The Charter and Equality before the Law; and the Congress of the People Campaign and the overall view of the Freedom Charter".

The topics will be dealt with by structured panel discussions.

Among prominent speakers who will address the conference are Mr Zac Yacoob, an advocate, Dr Farouk Meer, Dr Nthato Motlana, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

Registration for the conference is R50 which includes all meals.

The conference can only accommodate 350 participants. Closing date for registration is on July 4.

The venue for the conference is Robert Leslie, 2A Upper Campus, University of Cape Town.

Steward

can be done without harm, the partitions are removed in conjunction with repairs and improvement works, (iii) (aa) and (bb) at 169 of the post offices referred to, a single official is in attendance, while at the other 52 offices, more than one manned counter serving point exists,

(iv) at offices with a single serving point the full range of services is available. At certain of the major offices separate postal and financial counters exist but all services are available to all members of the public. In the case of Hofmeyr the public area is separated by a ceiling-high brick wall and the two public areas can only be reached by separate entrances as an interleading door has not been provided. The partition supports the roof structure and cannot be removed at this stage without incurring considerable costs;

(2) yes, as soon as it can be combined with other construction work or periodic renovations of the buildings and public support is forthcoming, but it is not possible to attach a time-scale to the undertaking.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does he not think, as segregation was abolished in post offices in 1976, it would be a good idea to issue an instruction now that, where temporary partitions still exist, they be taken down immediately?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I suggest the hon member reads my reply, which is a very comprehensive and exhaustive one, and he will see exactly what we have in mind.

New Questions:

Economic policy: advertising campaign
*1. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

(1) What was the total cost to the State of the advertising campaign in the Press aimed at promoting the Government's economic policy for the Republic during the period 1 March to 31 May 1988;
whether he intends proceeding with this campaign; if so, for how much longer;

(3) whether he intends using methods other than Press advertising for this purpose; if so, (a) what other methods and (b) at what total estimated cost;

(4) whether he intends launching any other similar campaign within the next two months; if so, what are the relevant details?

†The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

(1) R298 167,30

(2) No final decision in this regard has been taken.

(3) (a) and (b)
No final decision in this regard has been taken.

(4) Yes. A campaign concerning the implementation of the Government's policy with regard to deregulation. The relevant details will be disclosed in due course. It should be taken into account that the premature disclosure of all details will deprive the advertising campaign of its impact. Any advertising campaign is implemented over a certain period in order to achieve specific objectives.

Police investigations

*2. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 26 on 1 March 1988, the South African Police have completed their investigations into matters connected with a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that these investigations will be completed; if so, (i) with what result and (ii) what is the name of this person?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes

(a) and (b) Fall away

(i) A case docket is at present with the Attorney-General for his decision.

(ii) The name which was furnished by the hon member.

Steward

KwaNdebele Police Force

*3. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a certain officer, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, has been transferred from his post in the KwaNdebele Police Force; if so, (a) when was he (i) seconded to and (ii) transferred from KwaNdebele, (b) why was he transferred, (c) (i) where has he been transferred to and (ii) why and (d) (i) what is his name and (ii) what post did he hold in KwaNdebele;

(2) whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 13, standing over, on 26 May 1988, the special investigation team has completed its investigations into certain allegations concerning the activities and/or conduct of this officer; if not, when is it anticipated that these investigations will be completed; if so, (a) who initiated these investigations and (b) why;

(3) whether the results of these investigations will be made public; if so, when; if not, why not;

(4) whether he and/or the Police received any representations requesting that this officer be transferred; if so, (a) from whom and (b) what was (i) the purport of these representations, and (ii) his response thereto, in each case?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) to (d) The officer concerned was transferred to fill a vacancy which arose elsewhere and because his duties were required there, in the interests of the Force.
(2) I refer the hon member to paragraphs (1) to (3) of my reply on 26 May 1988 to Question 13, standing over.

(3) Falls away

(4) No

(a) and (b) Fall away

*4. Mr P G SOAL—Constitutional Development and Planning. [Withdrawn.]

*5. Mr P G SOAL—Constitutional Development and Planning. [Withdrawn.]

Ciocolan: group areas

*6. Dr C P MULDER asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether a charge was recently laid with the South African Police in Ciocolan in respect of a contravention of the provisions of the Group Areas Act at a certain address, which has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, when;

(2) whether the Police investigated this case; if so, (a) what steps were taken and (b) when; if not, why not;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, on 20 April 1988

(2) Yes

(a) and (b) A charge in terms of section 46(1) (a) of the Group Areas Act, 1966 (Act 36 of 1966) was investigated. On 25 May 1988 the case docket was referred to the Attorney-General for his decision.

(3) Yes. The residence concerned had recently been vacated.

False Bay: seine fishing

*7. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

(1) Whether further consideration is being given to the prohibition or further restriction of seine fishing in False Bay; if so, with what results; if not, why not;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(1) No; on account of the limited effect of beach seine permits on the exploitation of the resources.

(2) No.

Motherwell: MEC

*8. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether a certain Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) of the Cape Pro-

1943

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1944

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes. The name furnished by the hon member.

- (2) (a) and (b)(i) and (ii) Yes, departmental disciplinary action will be considered against the sergeant and all the members who were involved in the incident, as soon as the one outstanding criminal case has been finalised.

Police: newspaper editors

*10. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the public relations division of the South African Police issued any warnings and/or put forward any suggestions to any editors or news editors on or about 7 June 1988 in regard to the publication of information regarding stay-aways, intimidation or any other specified topic; if so, (a) when, (b) why, (c) what was the purpose of such warnings or suggestions, (d)(i) in what ways, (ii) on whose instruction and (iii) to which editors or news editors were they issued or put forward and (e) what was the response to each such warning or suggestion?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) to (e)

I wish to point out to the hon member that an excellent relationship of trust exists between the South African Police and the vast majority of the media.

On 6 June 1988 the commander of the Public Relations Division of the South African Police sent a confidential note by telex message through SAPA to all editors and news editors in which media regulations relating to the publication of certain information, was brought to their attention.

In view of an agreement between the South African Police and the Newspaper Press Union, as well as a meeting between these two parties which took place on 25 June 1987, it was decided to advise editors and news editors when it appeared necessary, with regard to reporting that could possibly constitute an offence of the media regulations. This step was welcomed by the media. This advice would, however, not be binding and the final decision to accept or ignore it, would still rest with the editors and news editors.

Up until now no complaints have been received from the media regarding this matter. However, it is regretted that a confidential matter between the South African Police and the media, which was intended to facilitate the task of the media, was apparently made known with malicious intent in order to involve it in petty politics.

Municipal elections

*11. Dr P W A MULDER asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:†

- (1) Whether the Government commissioned a certain advertising company, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to work out and submit a communication strategy with a view to the municipal elections in October 1988; if so, (a)(i) what company and (ii) on what date was the commission given and (b) what was the cost involved in the submission;
- (2) whether the Government accepted this submission (a) in its entirety or (b) partially; if so, (i) what total amount was approved for the advertising campaign and (ii) by whom;
- (3) whether the company concerned is part of an international group; if so, of what group;
- (4) whether other companies were also requested to make submissions of this nature; if not, why not; if so, what companies?

The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

- (1) (a) (i) No, not the Government as such, but the Bureau for Information requested several agencies to submit proposals and as a result the McCann submission was accepted.
- (ii) 16/3/88
- (b) None
- (2) (a) No
- (b) Yes
- (i) R4.8 million (round sum)
- (ii) Tender Board

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1945

TUESDAY, 28 JUNE 1988

1946

- (3) Whether or not the company concerned has international links has no relevance to the matter under discussion.

- (4) Yes, but I do not believe that it is in the best interest of the other agencies to reveal their names.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply in respect of paragraph (3) of Question 11 — whether the company concerned is part of an international group — I understood from the hon the Minister's reply that it is not relevant to the question under discussion.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member understood it correctly. That is the reply of the hon the Minister, and that is the end of the matter.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, I would like to know whether there is any link between . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! No, the hon the Minister said on that point that in his opinion it was not relevant, and we cannot pursue the matter any further.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I just want to know on what grounds the hon the Minister asserts that it is not relevant for the purposes of replying to the question.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the company is a South African company but many of the companies do correspond with firms in one state or another . . .

†Mr F J LE ROUX: But that is not the point!

†The MINISTER: . . . and I do not think their international links are relevant for the purposes of this question.

†Dr F HARTZENBERG: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him whether the Government has accepted that part of the report that proposes that animated characters be used? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that aspect as well as certain other aspects concerning the implementation of the proposals of the company are still under consideration.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he give us

an indication of where the head office of this company is situated, and whether they have more than one head office in South Africa and abroad?

†Mr W J SCHOEMAN: What does that have to do with the matter?

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! If the hon the Minister is not willing to reply to any further supplementary questions, we shall proceed to the following question. The hon member for Johannesburg North's question will be the last one.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, with respect, I believe this is only the fourth supplementary question arising from the hon the Minister's reply.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! It does not matter how many questions the hon member has counted. When the Chair decides enough questions have been put, it can bar hon members from putting any more questions.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, I was under the impression Mr Speaker had decided five supplementary questions would be allowed. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I have decided to allow the hon member to put his question, which will definitely be the final supplementary question relating to the reply to this particular question.

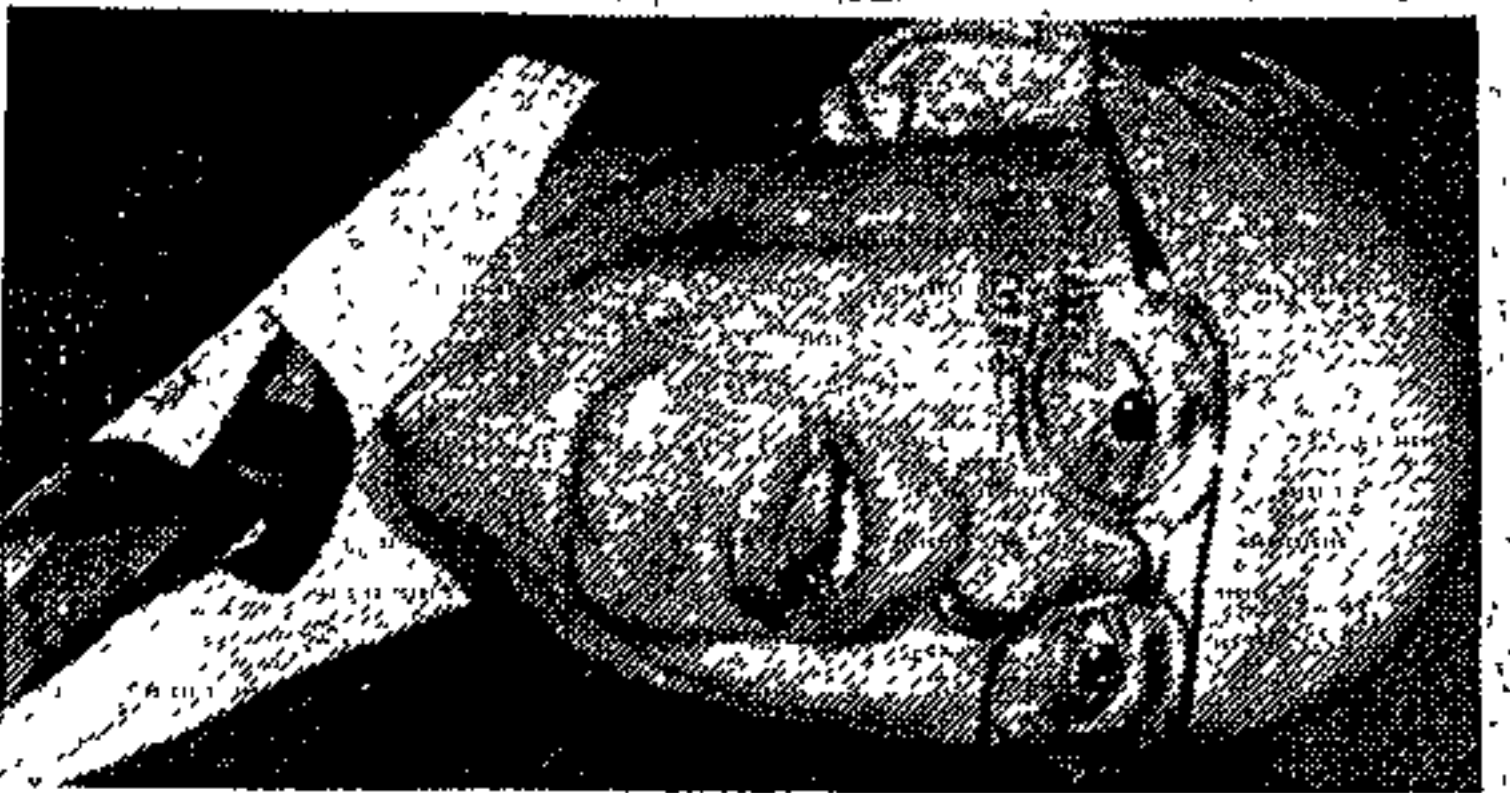
Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, further arising from the reply given by the hon the Minister, could he tell us whether, as a result of the communications strategy, certain advertisements were placed in newspapers last week concerning registration dates for voting on 26 October? If so, is the information contained in those advertisements correct?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the answer to both questions is yes.

Mr P G SOAL: That is untrue! [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I just want to point out to the hon member for Johannesburg North that he should perhaps recount the number of supplementary questions asked arising from the reply to Question 11. He might conclude there have actually been five.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



PRESIDENT Botha

PW HOPING TO CHOOSE PM THIS WEEK

Sowetan 29/6/88

32410

THE Government is hoping to push through legislation this week which will empower President P W Botha to appoint a Prime Minister.

If the Bill goes through in this last week of the present parliamentary session, a Prime Minister could be appointed during the next few months.

A clause in the Constitutional Third Amendment Bill will amend the

constitution to give the President power to appoint a member of the Cabinet to act as chairman of the Cabinet when the State President is not present.

Though the position is not named in the legislation as Prime Minister, authoritative sources say that the position is the one Mr Botha had in mind when he told parliament in April that he wished to recreate the post of Prime Minister.

The Bill is due to be discussed by parliament's Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs and could be passed by Parliament this week.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said if the Bill was not passed this week it would probably be passed in the short session of Parliament in August.

It seems from the present legislation

and from President Botha's earlier announcement in Parliament that the Prime Minister would not have wide executive powers.

Doubt

He would be appointed by the State President and would be answerable to him.

Yesterday Mr Colin Eglin, the Progressive Federal Party leader, who serves on the Constitutional Affairs Committee expressed some doubt that the new position of chairman of the Cabinet could be described as a Prime Minister in the ordinary sense of the word. "He will be clad in no authority except the authority to chair the Cabinet."

"The Constitution still says that executive authority remains in the hands of the State President acting in consultation with the Cabinet."

"If Mr Botha is creating a Prime Minister with this Bill, he is doing it very subtly."

Sowetan Correspondent

Houses approve Bill to set up a National Council

Legislation to establish a National Council that will include blacks and consider a new constitution for all South Africans was approved yesterday in the first "joint", but in fact separate, voting session by all three Houses.

Several PFP members, who refused to withdraw interjections that the session was "ridiculous" and an "apartheid voting system", were ordered to leave the chamber before voting took place.

Only the House of Assembly and House of Representatives cast electronic votes after divisions were called for in each House.

Mr le Grange ruled that the Bill was agreed to by the House of Delegates, without a vote being cast.

In the first of the statements of voting intent, Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said his party objected to the Bill because it paved the way for white subjugation to

multiracialism and black domination.

Mr Colin Eglin (PFP) said his party opposed the measure because amendments it proposed for blacks to elect their representatives to the council by popular vote had not been accepted.

He called on President Botha to take "one major step of reconciliation", with which he might be able to "save what could be a political wreck", by freeing Nelson Mandela.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said that, with few exceptions a "remarkable unanimity and agreement" on the Bill had been reached during the joint debate last week.

In the House of Representatives, Mr Peter Mopp (UDP Border) said the United Democratic Party opposed the measure because it believed all South Africans should be allowed to serve on the National Council.

Area west of Soweto 'undermined'

SA may be in line for another PM

Stev 29/11/88

304A

Political Staff

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The Bill is due to be discussed by Parliament's Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs, probably today, and could be passed by Parliament this week.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said that if the Bill was not passed this week it would probably be passed in the short session of Parliament in August.

It appears from the present legislation and from President Botha's earlier

announcement in Parliament that the Prime Minister will not have wide executive powers.

He will be appointed by the State President and will be answerable to him.

Yesterday Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, who serves on the Constitutional Affairs Committee, expressed some doubt that the new position of chairman of the Cabinet could be described as a Prime Minister.

"He will be clad in no authority except the authority to chair the Cabinet," Mr Eglin said.

"The Constitution still says that executive authority remains in the hands of the State President acting in consultation with the Cabinet.

"If Mr Botha is creating a Prime Minister with this Bill, he is doing it very subtly."

However the office as described in the Bill matches the office of Prime Minister which Mr Botha described to Parliament.

President Botha told Parliament in April that he wanted to revive the post of Prime Minister as the duties of the State President had become too onerous.

SACC a lifeline to blacks says Chikane

Stev 29/11/88

304A

Parliament rises early for winter recess

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The proceedings of Parliament are coming to an abrupt end today following the decision of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives to stage a major new confrontation with Government.

At the centre of the row is Labour's decision to block all further legislation to amend the constitution until the Government starts negotiations on the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Parliament is to rise, for the winter recess today, instead of Friday.

DELAYED

Among legislation which has been held up are proposals to create the position of Prime Minister and to include blacks and other people outside Parliament in the Cabinet.

Also in trouble is draft legislation to redistribute the seats of Parliament among the four provinces, which in turn will delay a new delimitation.

Labour Party sources said today they had lent their support to the Government on the legislation creating the National Council, but that the Government had given nothing in return.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse said his party wanted to negotiate on constitutional legislation now before parliamentary committees.

'Spirit of lawlessness' revealed in SA's international dealings

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Violation incidents such as the recent South African Defence Force raid in Botswana indicated a new "spirit of lawlessness" in the country's international affairs, said human rights specialist Professor John Dugard.

Human rights were "definitely not on the agenda of the present political system", he told a meeting of the University of the Witwatersrand's Alumni Luncheon Club yesterday.

Since 1948, the National Party had used the legal system to promote racism and political oppression.

Although many South Africans were astonished that the country was singled out as a human rights violator, sanctions were a direct result of the Government's virtual ignorance of human rights.

The Government should be credited for reform initiatives such as the aboli-

tion of influx control and the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act. However, segregated schools, the Group Areas Act and a constitution based on racial classification were evidence that the basic structure of apartheid still remained, said Professor Dugard.

He said South Africa's common law system was one of the most enlightened in the world. However, apartheid laws took precedence over the common law.

"The common law contains the capacity to remedy the situation. If it was allowed to function freely, there would be no need for a Bill of Rights."

Professor Dugard said a government's level of compassion could be measured by its attitude towards the death penalty.

Last year, South Africa had the highest rate of executions in the free world, when 164 people were hanged.



Labour digs in heels on Areas Act

29/6/88
30/4/88

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

A MAJOR confrontation in the tricameral Parliament loomed today, forcing an early closure of the sitting as the Labour Party dug in its heels on the future of group areas.

The Labour Party has given notice to the Government that it will not pass any constitutional legislation before the Government enters proper talks on the Group Areas Act.

And it appears that not only has the Labour Party snookered the Government in postponing white elections until 1992 but it has also now cut President Botha's options in going for an early election.

It also appears that publication of the already disputed trilogy of Group Areas Bills, which were due to be published during the current sitting, will now be delayed.

Firmly opposed

The Labour Party and the parties in the House of Delegates, which have had pre-publication sight of the Bills, have already stated that they are firmly opposed to principles contained in the Bills.

Labour Party sources said that the LP was refusing to pass all current constitutional legislation until the Government scrapped the Group Areas Act. The two major Bills now before committees on which they have dug in their heels are constitutional

Bills. One seeks to establish the position of a "Prime Minister" and the other a re-allocation and increase in the number of seats in Parliament.

The LP sources indicated they had lent their support to legislation to establish a national council but that the Government had given nothing in return.

They said that they saw the constitutional Bills as "bargaining chips" to get what the Labour Party really wanted — an end to the Group Areas Act.

Labour leader the Rev Alan Hendrikse confirmed today that the LP attitude was that it wanted to enter a process of negotiation with the Government about the constitutional Bills now before the parliamentary committees.

"The basis of our protest is that the Government refuses to negotiate on the issues which the Labour Party considers relevant, such as the Group Areas Act."

There had also been disagreement between the Labour Party and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, about whether or not the State President should merely consult with or get the concurrence of Ministers' Councils before appointing Ministers as members of the councils.

This disagreement arose during discussion of the Constitution Third Amendment Bill, which among things seeks to establish an office of Prime Minister.

The other Bill re-distributing

parliamentary seats cannot be sent to the President's Council for resolution and like the Government attempts to postpone the white elections must have approval from all three Houses of Parliament.

President Botha is unlikely to call an early election without the re-allocation of seats.

The Group Areas Bills, which seek to establish open group areas while firmly clamping on the exclusivity of existing group areas, are now unlikely to come to be published during the current sitting.

Order paper

Spokesmen for the Ministry of Constitutional Development have declined to give any indication of what was happening to the legislation.

Chief Whip of Parliament Mr Alex van Breda said today everything on the order paper should be completed today and there was no reason why Parliament should not rise today.

Parliament would not be dealing with anything that was currently before a standing committee. This included all the constitutional measures.

Some of the legislation currently before the committees would be dealt with during the August sitting of Parliament while the rest could be left until next year.

He declined to comment on whether the Labour Party attitude to the constitutional legislation was causing an early end to the sitting.

Parliament and

'No ANC talks outside prisons'

Political Staff

NO cabinet minister had held any official or unofficial discussions with ANC members or associates outside prisons, President P W Botha said yesterday.

However, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had "a line function with regard to prisons," President Botha said in reply to a question from Mr Clive Derby-Lewis (CP, indirectly elected).

Earlier this year, Mr Coetsee told Mr Derby-Lewis that he visited various prison institutions and sometimes he talked to groups or individuals during these visits.

Mr Coetsee also said that in the process "I have also had contact with Mr Nelson Mandela".

He subsequently denied that he had met Mr Mandela, the ANC leader, outside of prison.

Millions not able to vote

DURBAN. - In the next few months, South Africans face being bombarded with advertisements persuading them to vote in the municipal elections on October 26.

Already, adverts are appearing in newspapers throughout the country calling on the "people of South Africa" to make their "voice heard".

The Government has heralded the multi-racial elections as the biggest step yet in their reform programme to broaden democracy while a R4,7-million State advertising campaign claims the elections are the first step to a "better life" for all.

But, millions of black people will not be able to vote on October 26.

According to Mr F F Botha, legal officer of the Natal Provincial Association's (NPA) Community Services, residents of black townships which fall under the self-governing KwaZulu "homeland" will not be taking part in the elections.

And the situation is the same for townships which form part of the other self-governing territories in the country.

Also, millions of squatters pose a problem. According to Botha only those squatters living legally in townships which fall under the administration of the Republic will be entitled to vote.

Says Botha: "If a person is black, he will be eligible to vote if he is a South African citizen or a citizen of a country that was formerly part of the Republic - if he has lived legally in a specified area for a period of at least three months or if he is the owner of fixed property in such an area, if he is over the age of 18 years and if his name appears on the voters roll."

He said the areas specified are those which fall under South Africa.

"Those townships which fall under the administration of the KwaZulu Government hold their own municipal elections but they are completely separate from South Africa's October elections."

Townships out

"Such elections would be in terms of their own enactments and not those of the Republic."

According to Botha, there are 18 black townships in Natal falling under the administration of the Republic, in which people will be eligible to vote provided they qualify in terms of the above stipulations.

This means that, in the greater Durban area, for example, only those people in the Ningizini township - comprising Lamontville, Chesterville and the black hostels - and the Klaarwater township near Pinetown, may be able to vote.

The hundreds of thousands in townships like Umlazi and KwaMashu are excluded. In addition, the more than 1,7-million squatters living in the greater Durban area - most of them illegally, without either the permission of the owner of the property or the Government - will not be able to vote.

On domestic workers living legally in a white area, Botha said there was "something of a problem".

Domestic worker

"Obviously a domestic worker living in a white area has a problem in that a black person living in a white area on a permanent basis cannot vote for a candidate in that area."

"The only way she would be able to vote is if she owned property in one of the areas falling under the Republic, say Sobantu in Pietermaritzburg."

Indians and "coloureds" living legally in a central group area, like Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg, will not be eligible to vote.

The PFP leader in the Johannesburg city council, Mr Tony Leon, said the exclusion of other races living legally in a central group area exposed the "hypocrisy and untruthfulness" of government claims that everyone would be voting in municipal elections on the same day. — PRESS TRUST OF SA.

NOV 76
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AVERAGE
Jan 76
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AVERAGE
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CPI Area Code:

AVERAGE
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AVERAGE
CPI Area Code:

January 1, 1988

talk to him much. ing about me

Natal whites support Indaba, says survey

304A
stor 30/6/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The kwaZulu/Natal Indaba political model was favoured by a majority (51 percent) of whites in Natal, an opinion survey conducted between April and May this year has found.

Conducted by leading market research firm Mark & Meningsopnames, the survey concluded that 39 percent of the 2 000 white adults surveyed countrywide would vote "yes" if they had the opportunity to vote on the Indaba.

This was the first time people were directly asked whether they would vote for or against the proposals.

National level

On a provincial basis, Transvaal followed Natal with a "yes" vote of 41 percent, while 35 percent of Free State and 33 percent of Cape Town residents in the sample supporting the proposals for regionalised political power.

On national level, 45 percent of those surveyed indicated that they "don't know" or "can't say", and 17 percent said they would vote against the Indaba.

The Cape Province featured the highest uncertainty (56 percent), followed by Transvaal (43 percent), the Free State (40 percent) and Natal (28 percent).

When the result was analysed according to political party affiliation, most Independent Party (76 percent) voters supported the proposals, with

Progressive Federal Party supporters in close second place (75 percent).

Some 34 percent of National Party supporters and 14 percent of Conservative Party supporters favoured the proposals.

A total of 54 percent of NP supporters and 40 percent of CP supporters said they were uncertain about their vote.

According to political affiliation, the highest rejection came from CP quarters (46 percent).

Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk welcomed the findings as a "clearly affirmative answer" that the Indaba had "majority support among white voters in Natal and throughout the country".

The survey also showed that, despite the Government's protracted failure to formally react to the proposals, more whites in Natal felt the Indaba was making progress than those who believed it was losing ground.

Strong support

Questioned on their feelings towards Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, strong support was given to him as "the kind of black leader who could be trusted with power". Some 52 percent of those surveyed agreed with the statement, with 31 percent undecided or neutral and 17 percent disagreeing.

An Indaba spokesman said additional research into the political attitudes of blacks in the kwaZulu/Natal region was in progress.

Strikers defy Perskor ultimatum

30/6/88

An estimated 3 500 striking members of the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) have defied an ultimatum to return to work or face dismissal.

Mwasa general secretary Mr Sithembele Khala said workers, who walked off their jobs at 10 Perskor plants on Monday, were warned to return by 6 pm last night or face dismissal. The deadline was subsequently extended to 9 pm, but Mwasa members ignored the ultimatum and went home.

According to the union, workers in Durban have now also joined the strike.

Mr Khala said Perskor management were standing by their offer of a minimum of R118 a week, with an increase of R15 for drivers and a minimum of R109 a week for other workers.

Mwasa is demanding an across-the-board increase of R40 a week.



Shots fired at NP offices in Pretoria

Pretoria Correspondent

Star 30/6/88
Two shots were fired through the windows of the National Party office in Rietfontein, Pretoria, on Tuesday night.

A spokesman for the MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, said the incident had been reported to the police and to Mr Nothnagel, who is in Cape Town attending the parliamentary session.

MYSTERY

The reason for the shooting remains a mystery to NP workers, but it appears that someone drove past the office in 18th Avenue sometime last night, fired two shots with a shotgun, and drove on.

Nobody was in the office at the time of the shooting and but for the two holes in the windows there was no damage to the office, the spokesman said.

Mr Nothnagel's home in nearby 28th Avenue was undisturbed.

Parliament's image takes knock in scrappy session

By Tos Wentzel,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It was not only democracy that was whittled down further during the session of Parliament which ended yesterday.

The image of Parliament and respect for the institution also suffered.

The restrictions on 18 extra-parliamentary organisations were announced outside Parliament, as was the renewal and toughening of the state of emergency.

The presidential style of government was spreading and the role of Parliament shrinking.

The antics of the Indian politicians in the House of Delegates served only to undermine further the image of Parliament in the tricameral system with all its flaws.

The claims and counter-claims of irregularities made under the privileges of the House and the moves and counter-moves by one group to oust the other finally drove President Botha to order an investigation in the interests of clean government.

In the House of Representatives the no-confidence debate at the start of the session was turned into a farce when the majority Labour Party closed it on the first day by putting in only one speaker.

In the Assembly, the Conservative Party was made more aggressive by three by-election victories. It used every possible opportunity to try to narrow down debates to Afrikaner tribal warfare with the National Party.

Some CP MPs showed an impatience with democratic institutions.

While some Ministers, notably Dr Dawie de Villiers, hit back with uncompromisingly *verligte* speeches, other Nationalist politicians were driven on to the defensive.

Some of those from the Transvaal were forced to look over their shoulders at the CP threat in their constituencies.

PFP often hampered

The Progressive Federal Party gamely joined in but it was often hampered by the fact that, being no longer the official Opposition in the Assembly, its speaking time was severely curtailed.

In the big joint debate at the end of the session it was allocated just over an hour, spread over four days.

But the PFP showed that it could still play a valuable role as the voice of reason to the left of the Government.

The National Democratic Movement, with only three MPs, made little impact in the session.

But Mr Jan van Eck (Independent, Claremont) continued to probe issues such as Lawaai kamp and a police and army raid on a single men's hostel in the Kaya Mandi township at Stellenbosch.

In general, it was a scrappy session with few highlights.

One of the reasons for this was that, in the tricameral system, Bills are launched in closed sessions of joint parliamentary committees and public debates afterwards are often a replay of those sessions.

The tricameral system was adapted in one important respect when the rules providing for joint debating sessions of the three Houses were adopted with only the CP opposing.

The big debate in joint session on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill came near the end of the session.

It showed that the huge new great hall of Parliament, with speakers droning away from a rostrum, is not conducive to the cut and thrust of debate possible in the other Houses where members speak from their seats.

Parliament will reassemble on August 22 for a session of a fortnight which will deal mainly with legislation affecting the Group Areas Act.

Labour Party digs in heels over PW's crucial Bills

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The sitting of Parliament shuddered to a premature halt yesterday when the Labour Party once again thwarted the Government's constitutional plans.

Parliament was scheduled to rise tomorrow and the Government was expected to push through several important constitutional Bills before then.

But the Labour Party, after enthusiastically siding with the Government last week on a Bill to create a multiracial negotiating council to formulate a new constitution, unexpectedly dug in its heels this week and with-

held support from three Bills.

Two of the Bills aim to amend entrenched clauses of the Constitution, which means that LP support is essential as the Bills cannot be passed by forcing them through the President's Council as happens with normal legislation.

The LP is withholding its support as a "bargaining chip" to try to get the Government to scrap the Group Areas Act.

In the process, it is also thwarting President Botha's plans to hold an early election for the House of Assembly through its opposition to the Constitution Second

Amendment Bill, which seeks to alter the distribution of parliamentary seats.

This is necessary before a re-delimitation of seats can take place before an election.

The Bill also contains a clause enabling the appointment of blacks to the Cabinet.

The LP is also blocking the Constitution Third Amendment Bill, which will empower President Botha to create the office of Prime Minister.

This will also require amending an entrenched clause of the Constitution. Thus the Labour Party's support is essential.

Neither Bill was debated yesterday.

But the Constitutional Law Second Amendment Bill, which seeks to legitimise actions of the kwaNdebele government declared invalid by the Supreme Court recently, are also opposed by the LP. Debate on the Bill took up most of the main business yesterday.



NATIONAL

Nat told me I'd split the vote — witness

ARCS
30/6/88
304A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The suspended National Party MP for Hillbrow, Mr Leon de Beer, urged a café owner not to stand as an independent in the constituency because it would split the vote if there were four candidates, a court has been told here.

Mr Trevor Kigley, who owns a café in Kapteijn Street, Hillbrow, yesterday told a magistrate that he intended standing as an independent in last year's election.

"However, I later met with Mr de Beer, who said it was not a good idea to have four candidates because it would split the Hillbrow votes. I then decided to rather give my support to Leon because I did not want to affect the election by splitting the votes."

Mr Kigley was testifying in a case involving alleged contraventions of the Electoral Act.

Mr de Beer, 28, of Yeoville, is charged with 120 counts of fraud and contravening the Electoral Act with his election officer, Mr Chris Snyman,

57, of Hillbrow, and a Home Affairs official, Mr Adriaan Willem Janse van Rensburg, 41, of Auckland Park. Mr de Beer is also charged with making a false statement to the police. All three have pleaded not guilty.

Sought by police

Mr Kigley said: "I told Mr Snyman that Leon was standing and asked him if he was interested in assisting with the campaign as I knew Leon was looking for helpers."

"Mr Snyman indicated that he was interested in assisting."

Mr Kigley also said Mr Neil McChlery often visited his café. He then identified Mr McChlery's handwriting on a letter posted to him from Zimbabwe in November 1987. He said he had read the letter and immediately phoned the police at John Vorster Square to hand it over to them because he knew they were looking for Mr McChlery in connection with the case.

The State closed its case against the three accused and the trial was postponed to July 4 to give the defence time to consult witnesses.

Cafe owner made pact with De Beer

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Trevor Kitley, who at one stage planned to stand as a candidate for Hillbrow in the last general election, testified yesterday in the trial of the present MP, Mr Leon de Beer.

Mr Kitley, who owns a cafe in Claim Street, told the court a lot of his customers had asked him to consider standing. He phoned Mr Johan Johnston, of the National Party in Hillbrow, advising him of his intentions.

Following this Mr De Beer visited him to discuss the matter.

Mr De Beer, his electoral agent, Mr Chris Snyman, and the special votes official, Mr Adriaan Willem Janse van Rensburg, have denied 120 allegations of electoral fraud relating to postal and special votes.

Mr Kitley said he met Mr Neil McChlery whom the police have been unable to contact to testify in the case.

Mr Kitley and Mr De Beer agreed that Mr Kitley and his supporters would support Mr De Beer so as not to split the vote.

Mr De Beer was looking for people to assist him in canvassing. Mr Snyman had met Mr De Beer at the cafe on one occasion and told him he was interested in assisting Mr De Beer. He later became Mr De Beer's electoral agent.

Mr Kitley identified an envelope posted in Zimbabwe as an envelope he had received containing a letter from Mr McChlery which he had taken to the police. — Sapa

Nat delight as Labour to the rescue

24-30/6/88
Weekly Mail Reporter
Cape Town 304A

THE National Party was clearly delighted by the response of Indian and coloured MPs this week to the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, which aims to establish an advisory "national forum" which will include black appointees.

The enthusiasm of the House of Delegates and House of Representatives for the proposals contrasted sharply with the recent conflicts over beach apartheid and the Group Areas Act, and Labour Party leader Hendrickse's departure from the cabinet.

Hendrickse claimed the bill was "far more important to us" than either 1910, the date of Union, or 1961, the year South Africa became a republic.

"Participation is the answer in South African circumstances," he said, quoting Nelson Mandela to justify his position and saying that the bill did not exclude Mandela's participation.

Amichand Rajbansi, the National People's Party leader, said the bill was "the real product of consensus politics". He cited Mahatma Gandhi and Lenin to justify participation in the system.

Voicing the NP's pleasure at this response, the party's MP for Innesdal, Albert Nothnagel, said it was "an honour and a privilege to participate

in this historic occasion.

"With this measure, we openly say to the electorate that we accept a specific road with regard to black political representation."

It was a theme repeated in most Nationalist speeches. For most of the MPs, reform had arrived.

It took the Progressive Federal Party leader, Colin Eglin, and later the National Democratic Movement leader, Wynand Malan, to bring some reality into the cosy, back-slapping atmosphere.

Eglin said he would be excited "not when we set up an advisory committee, but when the first black South African, in his own right as a member of parliament, stands where I am standing today". *W. Malan*

The proposed council was neither a legislative nor an executive body, he said. It was an advisory body whose powers were limited to making recommendations to the government.

Eglin said the existing constitution was unrepresentative and divisive "because it is based on separate racial structures and embodies an important element of minority domination".

As the instrument of negotiation, parliament would have to "overcome the mistrust which has etched deep in the body of our nation," he said.

Malan pointed out that only black people working within the system and the local authorities would be able to participate in the proposed council: "It effectively excludes those in extra-parliamentary politics because black representation will come through an electoral college constituted of people already within the politics of the system."

It was the Labour Party that spearheaded the subsequent attack on Eglin and Malan - much to the satisfaction of the government.

The nominated Labour Party MP, Desmond Lockey, said: "One of the greatest tragedies in regard to the left wing of parliament is a declining number of liberal thinkers in South Africa. When historians one day write history, they will ascribe the demise of these people to their inability to come to terms with the reality of life in Africa."

The Deputy Minister of Population Development, Luwellyn Landers, said he had warned the PFP that they could no longer hide behind the seats of the House of Assembly. "We stand here as equals," he said.

CAP 2:175 30/6/88
**Parliament
adjourns
days early**

PARLIAMENT adjourned yesterday — two days ahead of schedule — as a result of the Labour Party's refusal to pass legislation providing for a black cabinet minister and the creation of 20 extra seats in the three Houses.

A second session will start on August 22.

The Labour Party, having lent its support last week to the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill which creates a national forum, decided against supporting the Constitution Second Amendment Bill.

● Full report — Page 5

UDP MPs likely to join PFP 304A B/day

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — At least two members of the United Democratic Party, one of them the MP for Schauderville, Charles Redcliffe, are currently planning to join the PFP.

It appears the UDP, formed earlier this year with Jac Rabie as leader, is on the verge of collapse, with Trevor George, MP for Bosmont, having already resigned. George, elected as an independent was yesterday accepted as a Labour Party member.

A statement issued by the LP last night said the party had received George's application as well as a letter of apology for his "past actions and statements made against LP leader Alan Hendrickse" and had accepted his application.

It is understood that apart from Redcliffe, Cecil Kippen (UDP Durban Suburbs) is also considering joining the PFP, while Peter Mopp (UDP Border) is also toying with the idea.

A PFP source said yesterday that negotiations with Redcliffe were underway and it was "just a matter of time". The PFP already has two MPs in the House of Delegates.

John Iyman, the MP for Camperdown, has joined Dennis Worrall's Independent Party, giving the IP its first representation in Parliament.

UDP chairman Peter Marais said yesterday that R2m had been made available for the revival of the pro-government Federal Party. He said it had been suggested that a government department was involved.



NATIONAL

Majority in Natal would vote for indaba

ARGUS 30/6/88
30/6/88

Staff Reporter

MORE than half the whites in Natal would vote in favour of the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba proposals if a referendum were held, a market research survey claims.

The survey, conducted in March and April concluded that 51 percent of whites would vote for the proposals, 21 percent against, while 28 percent were undecided.

The favourable attitude was extended country-wide, and throughout the ranks of all political parties except the Conservative Party.

The survey was conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys with a sample of 2 000 people.

Two questions tested the attitudes of Natal

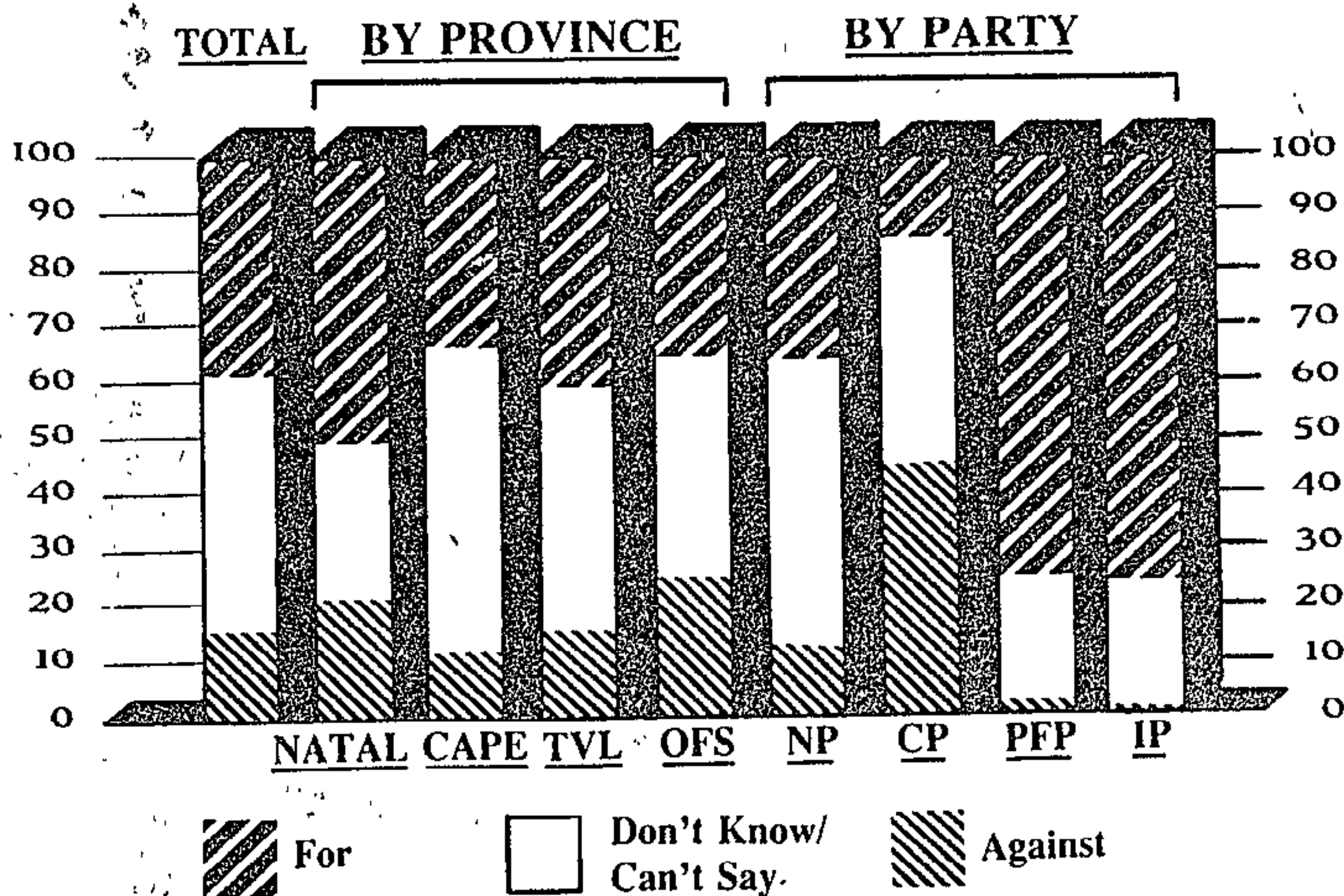
whites to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu.

Fifty percent agreed he "was the kind of black leader who could be trusted with power" while 36 percent were undecided and 18 percent disagreed.

The survey also showed that 44 percent felt the Indaba was making progress rather than losing ground, while 18 percent felt it had "petered out completely".

Professor Dawid van Wyk, Indaba director, said he was "delighted" by the results.

"While previous surveys have shown the Indaba has majority support among white voters this is the first time they have been asked directly whether they would vote for or against the proposals if given the opportunity," he said.



The table above shows how respondents answered the question: If you had the opportunity to vote on the Indaba, would you vote for or against it?

Labour refuses to back bill

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT adjourned yesterday — two days ahead of schedule — as a result of the Labour Party's refusal to pass legislation providing for a black cabinet minister and the creation of 20 extra seats in the three Houses.

A second session will start on August 22.

The Labour Party, having lent its support last week to the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill which creates a national forum, decided against supporting the Constitution Second Amendment Bill.

The standing committee reached deadlock on Tuesday and, as the content of the bill addresses partly entrenched clauses and cannot be passed by the President's Council, it was dropped.

This stopped the government's chances of appointing a black to the cabinet and of creating extra seats.

A spokesman for the Labour Party, Mr Peter Hendrickse, said it would not accept the legislation before full talks had been held with National Party leaders on future constitutional direction.

Hold to ransom

It is understood that the LP, seizing the opportunity presented by the fact that the bill affected partly entrenched clauses, is once again poised to hold the government to ransom as it did with the postponement of a general election to 1992.

The Labour Party has also declined to pass another constitutional bill to legalize actions performed by the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly since 1984.

This is necessary following a Transvaal Supreme Court judgment which declared the KLA to have been illegally elected as women were denied the vote.

The bill does not, however, involve any of the partly entrenched clauses and will therefore be referred to the President's Council.

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Chairman:

Ellison Mohlabe

General Secretary:

Claire Thompson

Membership and Constituency:

At present 4 full-time employers and the volunteers working in the organisation constitute the membership.

Aims and Objectives:

We run a complaints service for workers in the Witwatersrand. We also help workers from other areas. We deal with complaints about wages, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, contracts, pensions, overtime, sickpay etc. We train people to deal with these complaints. We are available to train people from other organisations. We aim to give people working in our office background to the complaints e.g. unemployment, accidents and safety, migrant labour. We review complaints to detect and analyse trends e.g. UIF, the Workmen's Compensation Act, contract labour.

Facilities and Resources:

Developing training materials:

Other Resources: Industrial Council Agreements and wage determinations. Industrial laws; WCA Act; UIF Act Cheadle and Silver, Health and Safety in the work place.

Current Programmes:

Teaching skills in complaints; Seminars on the Workmen's Compensation Act and accidents; Project on unemployment insurance; Self-education.

July — AUGUST

1988

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

EGLIN QUILTS

W/Head
1-7/7/88

Zach De Beer likely PFP chief as Eglin bows out

COLIN EGLIN has resigned as leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Dr Zach de Beer, an Anglo American executive and former MP, is virtually certain to take over the reins of the party.

This, the second time Eglin has stepped down, is likely to cause a major shake-up in the party.

Eglin said yesterday he had "done his bit", and now believed someone else should have the opportunity to lead the party.

He is to remain a PFP member of parliament. He said last night that he would be free to play "a creative role

Own Correspondent, Cape Town

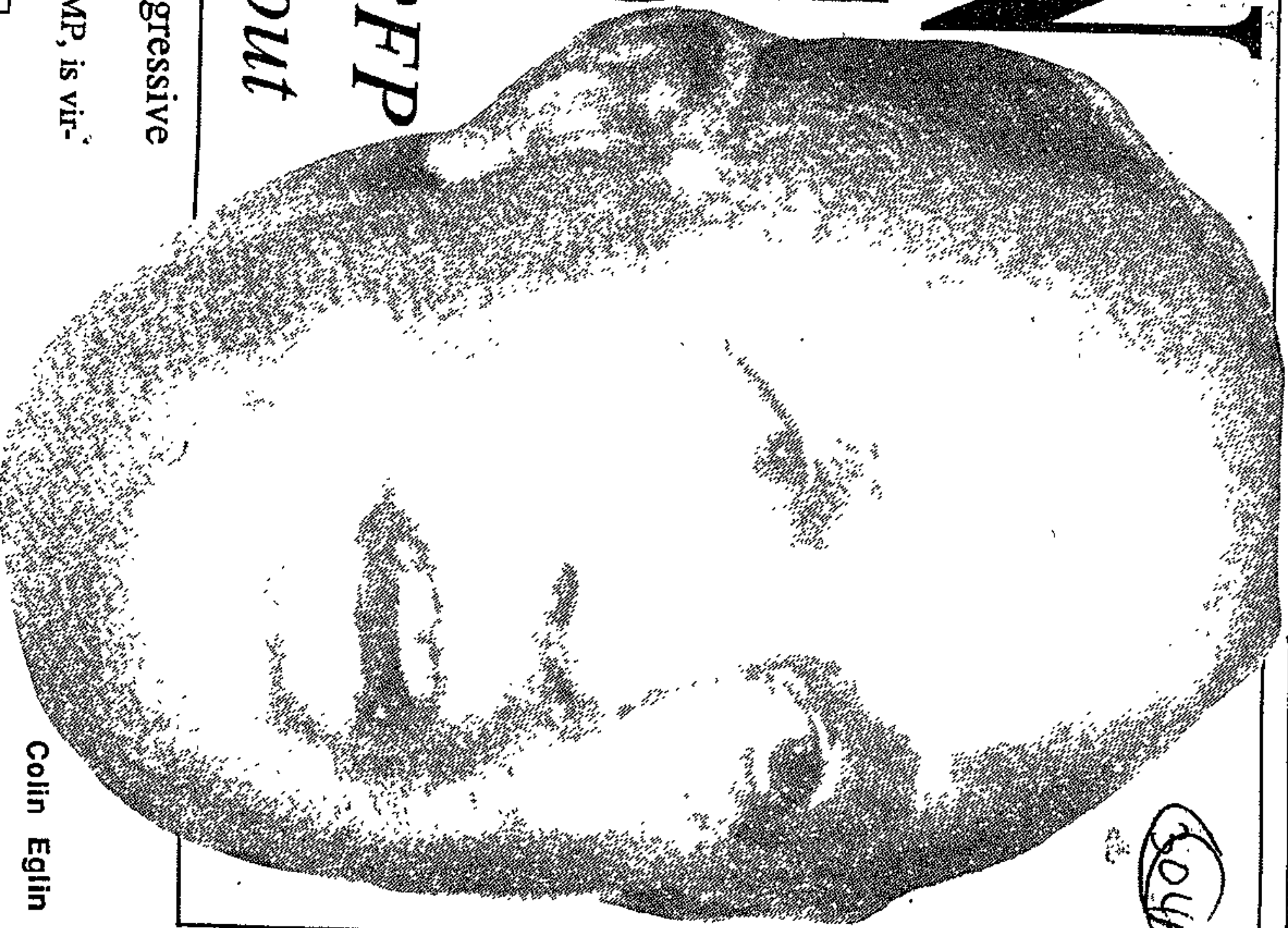
both inside and outside parliament". In an interview last night, De Beer said he would be available for the leadership position if the party wanted him.

Commenting that Eglin was "an extremely good leader" and that he was

"proud to be his strongest supporter", De Beer said he would not have made himself available for the leadership if Eglin had not stood down.

Eglin and De Beer, who are longstanding friends, spearheaded the revolt in the old United Party in 1959 which led to the formation of the Progressive Party, later the PFP. Eglin stood down after seven years

Colin Eglin



of leading the party in 1978, and was succeeded by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. He remained in parliament as a senior PFP representative and stepped back into the leadership position when Slabbert left parliament in 1986.

Although Eglin is widely respected within the PFP for his tactical and negotiating skills, there has been some feeling that a new leader should be elected — particularly after the setback in last year's general election.

There are some who will see this move as the culmination of upheaval and uncertainty within the party that began with Slabbert's resignation. Others will see it as an opportunity to rejuvenate the party, which has lacked direction and strength since Slabbert's departure. De Beer, if he is elected PFP leader at the party's federal congress on August 5 and 6, could give the PFP new impetus.

However, at least some PFP members will have doubts about De Beer as a replacement. Under Slabbert's leadership, the PFP went a long way towards shedding the image it had as an English-speaking party linked to big business.

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

De Beer out front in PFP leadership stakes

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

ANGLO AMERICAN executive Dr Zac de Beer is almost certain to become the new leader of the Progressive Federal Party, replacing Mr Colin Eglin who announced yesterday that he was bowing out.

Mr Eglin said he would not stand for re-election at the party federal congress in August and Dr de Beer said he would be available.

No other definite candidates for have emerged and most MPs believe that former MP Dr de Beer will get the job.

However, he will have his work cut out bringing unity to a party which is badly demoralised and a parliamentary caucus which has many deep divisions.

There is deep dissatisfaction in the caucus about the way a small conservative faction has been allowed to have its own way, as they see it.

YOUNG TURKS

Dr de Beer will have to satisfy the Young Turks of the party that he can curb this faction before he gets their nod for the leadership, it emerged today.

Intense lobbying is likely to take place over the next few weeks as MPs and other leaders try to sound out Dr de Beer's position.

Among Transvaal MPs especially, the Anglo executive is considered the ideal man to lead the party out of the doldrums.

"WILL DO WELL"

One MP said that Dr de Beer's impressive public image and TV manner could do much to restore the party's tarnished image.

"I think he will do very well. If he decides to stand I don't think anyone will stand against him," he said.

Dr de Beer has indicated that he is prepared to stand and will certainly be the man to beat.

Other potential candidates who have been mentioned at times are the Natal leader, Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pine town, and Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point.

Mr Burrows said last night that he would definitely not be standing, while Mr van der Merwe said it was too early to say because he had not had time to think about it.

Although Dr de Beer seems to stand head-and-shoulders above any other possible candidates, the one possible upset could be a palace revolt of the Young Turks.

ASSURANCES WANTED

There is a strong feeling among them that Mr Eglin failed to curb the conservatives led by the irrepressible Yeoville MP, Mr Harry Schwarz, and that this unnecessarily cost the party three MPs who resigned last year.

They will be seeking assurances from Dr de Beer that he will try to do something about Mr Schwarz.

If not, they may put up their own candidate at the federal congress.

Even among the dissatisfied young members the hope has been expressed that Dr de Beer will bring his considerable management skills to bear on the personality and political problems within the party and wield it into the force which they believe it should be.

● Tributes to Eglin — page 11.

Progressive Federal Party MPs pay tribute to Colin

Political Staff

304A

FINDING weeks of speculation, Mr Colin Eglin has announced that he is to relinquish the leadership of the Progressive Federal Party.

He said yesterday he would not make himself available for re-election at the PFP federal congress in August.

Party insiders believe that Dr Zac de Beer, an Anglo-American executive and former PFP MP, is the strongest candidate to take over.

Mr Eglin's departure is yet another major setback for the troubled PFP, but officials are hoping that another leader will inject new life into the party.

Discontent about "leader-

ship problems" has been rife in the party since the PFP's setbacks in the general election last year. Although Mr Eglin did not give reasons for his decision, PFP MPs said he had wanted to resign since the election.

In a brief statement, Mr Eglin pointed out that he had not sought the leadership of the PFP.

"It came to me in difficult circumstances when Van Zyl Slabbert walked out in February, 1986. I have done my bit and believe that the August congress will provide the opportunity for the party to elect someone else to take the party into the next general election."

PEOPLE

The call is: 'Come back, strongman Zac'

THIS spotlight has fallen on business leader and former politician, Dr Zac de Beer as a potential successor to Mr Colin Eglin as leader of the Progressive Federal Party. The speculation is that he will be asked to lead the party out of the doldrums.

Dr de Beer, 52, is a former member of the Government and has been in opposition politics for the last 10 years. He is a well-known figure in the party and has been a vocal supporter of Mr Eglin.

Dr de Beer resigned as PFP MP for the Western Cape in 1984 to become a businessman. He has since built up a successful career in the private sector.

A prevailing feeling is that Mr Eglin, as seen in the last year, has been a strongman. He has been a vocal supporter of the party and has been a vocal supporter of the party.

ment." He thanked the PFP for its support.

He had conveyed his decision to Mr Ken Andrew, chairman of the PFP federal executive, in a letter dated June 15.

Mrs Helen Suzman, a veteran PFP MP, paid warm tribute to Mr Eglin.

"The decision was Colin's alone and it is very sad. I think he is a man of great

merit who has been underestimated by the public that supports the PFP. He has earned the enormous respect of the entire Parliament, including the National Party.

"Whoever replaces him will have a great task to try to equal his enormous devotion to duty, his integrity, his single-mindedness and his opposition to discrimination." Mrs Suzman was sure it was the 1987 election and the

FLASHBACK: Weekend Argus Political Staff writer Frans Esterhuysen's article in last Saturday's Weekend Argus reported urgent calls on Dr Zac de Beer to return to active politics.

PFP's failure to achieve its "somewhat ambitious goals" that had made Mr Eglin decide to leave. "I am delighted that he will remain in Parliament as the parliamentary leader for the foreseeable future. The party owes an enormous debt of gratitude to him. One of his most remarkable features apart from his political ability was his lack of vanity."

Other MPs praised Mr Eg-

lin's analytical ability and his quality of statesmanship. But his lack of "killer instinct" was cited most often as his main weakness as a leader.

PFP MPs expressed the hope that the party would experience a "new beginning". They believed Mr Eglin had stood down in an attempt to give the party a much-needed boost to its public image. The PFP is clearly pinning its hopes on Dr de Beer to do this.

An MP described him as "a man of great experience and ability with great charm, a fluency in language and a strong TV presence and a good intellect."

"I think he will do very well. If he decides to stand I don't think anyone will stand against him."

LOCAL ELECTIONS

A tangled web

The simultaneous countrywide election of municipal governments on October 26 could become the most formidable and complex poll ever attempted in SA. Reading the results will demand unusual skills and the best prospects of success will be enjoyed by those who approach the task on a regional, rather than national basis.

Local political idiosyncracies aside, understanding merely who votes, who doesn't and what for, will tax the mind — as the following example from Durban illustrates.

In the greater Durban area, a little more than 400 000 voters will go to the polls to elect some 90 representatives of the city's formally housed population of 712 670 (which excludes KwaMashu and Umlazi), to eight racially based municipal governments.

Formal representation and accountability for almost half of the city's population — the estimated 1,5m blacks housed in shacklands sprawling in a 50 km radius around the city — remains undecided and unaffected by the outcome.

In addition, the responsibility for distributing municipal services to the black townships of KwaMashu (population 300 000) and Umlazi (850 000), where separate elections were held last year, remains a legal nightmare. Though both are dormitory suburbs of Durban, they are regarded as part of KwaZulu, which refuses to participate in efforts to co-ordinate local government under a Regional Services Council (RSC).

The RSC proposed for Durban (as elsewhere in the country) must ultimately co-ordinate the affairs and budgets of all the local authorities to be elected during the poll. These are clearly fatal shortcomings arising from apartheid's preoccupation with race, which requires also that three separate institutions administer the elections in the city on October 26.

The Durban Corporation is responsible for elections to:

- The Durban City Council — in which an estimated 118 000 voters in 30 newly delimited wards must return 30 (white) town councillors to manage the affairs of the city, which has an estimated white population of 183 280;

- The Southern Durban Indian Local Affairs Committee — principally the dormitory suburbs of Chatsworth and Merebank, divided into 15 wards;

- The Northern Durban Indian Local Affairs Committee — responsible for the interests of such areas as Phoenix, Sydenham, Effingham and Reservoir Hills, which must return representatives from 15 wards. (Phoenix was incorporated into this committee by the Natal Provincial Administration last week.)

The city's Indian population is estimated at 401 830. There are about 158 000 voters in the southern areas and 120 000 in the north (including Phoenix); and

- The corporation is also responsible for elections to the Durban Coloured Local Affairs Committee, which administers the affairs of some 57 250 coloureds in 10 wards in the city. An estimated 38 000 voters are on

this roll.

The Department of Development Aid, responsible for the so-called "Trust Lands," will run elections in eight wards in the township of Clermont (official population 75 000) and nine in Inanda (80 000).

And finally, the Natal Provincial Administration, responsible for administering the Black Local Authorities Act, in terms of which black local authorities are constituted in the province, will oversee elections in the townships of Klaarwater and Ningizumu.

The Durban Corporation says it will issue a preliminary voters' roll "shortly". Milestones on its election schedule just released include: notice of nominations, August 12; nomination day, August 23; notice of poll (council), September 2; and local area committees, October 7.

JOHN KANE-BERNAN

JOHN KANE-BERNAN

Eglin quits

Resigns as PFP leader

By BARRY STREEK

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, announced last night that he was resigning as the party's leader and would not make himself available for re-election as leader.

Mr Eglin, 63, the MP for Sea Point, is, however, to remain in Parliament and will continue as a member of the PFP.

He is likely to be succeeded as PFP leader by Dr Zach de Beer, a former PFP MP and chairman of the party's finance committee.

Dr De Beer, chairman of Southern Life and LTA and an executive director of Anglo-American, said last night: "If the party's congress wants me, I would be available to stand for the position as leader."

Told the caucus

He said he had always believed that Mr Eglin was "an extremely good leader and I am proud to be his strongest supporter. I would not have dreamt of standing, if Colin was going to run for the position again."

In his statement last night, Mr Eglin said that as the current session of Parliament had ended, it was an appropriate time to make public his decision not to stand for re-election at the PFP's congress on August 5.

He announced his decision to the PFP caucus yesterday morning but in his statement he said he had conveyed his resolve in a letter on June 15 to Mr

Ken Andrew, chairman of the PFP's federal executive.

Mr Eglin is widely credited for the revival of the old Progressive Party after he became leader for the first time in 1971 and transformed the party into the official Opposition within six years.

However, his second period of leadership, from early 1986 to the present, after Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine resigned from Parliament, has been far more problematic and traumatic.

In spite of publicly expressed hopes that it might win 40 or more seats in the May 6 election last year, the PFP lost a number of constituencies and its position as the official Op-

To page 3

Lionel Richie's wife arrested after brawl

LOS ANGELES. — Police said they arrested singer Lionel Richie's wife Brenda on Wednesday after she allegedly beat and kicked a 22-year-old woman and kicked Richie in the stomach in an early morning brawl.

Mrs Brenda Richie, 35, was arrested on suspicion of battery and "corporal injury to a spouse", Lieutenant Robert Curtis said. He said police were called out to the Richie's Beverly Hills apartment by neighbours. — Sapa-Reuter

Syffrets Cape Times

Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE:

R1200

TODAY'S INDEX:

(+) R6,66

There was no winner yesterday



RESIGNING ... Mr Colin Eglin outside Parliament yesterday.

July punters rally behind Tensing

THERE was strong support for Tensing, Honey Bear and Model Man at the Cape Tattersalls yesterday, while betting on the second favourite Royal Chalice dropped off.

Tensing remains a firm third favourite at 7-1 while Model Man and Honey Bear both shortened to 8-1. Pedometer remained the favourite at 5-1.

Local TAB branches open at 9am and close at 5pm today, to enable punters to place early bets before the rush tomorrow.

Latest betting:

- 5-1 Pedometer
- 6-1 Royal Chalice
- 7-1 Tensing
- 8-1 Honey Bear, Model Man
- 10-1 Coolster
- 12-1 Aquanaut, Singing Boy
- 14-1 I Try
- 16-1 Gamlinggay
- 40-1 Gitano
- 50-1 South Lake, Classic Boy, Partisan Affair
- 66-1 Yardmaster
- 100-1 B. Green, Polarisburst

Tennis crown for Steffi Graf?

Own Correspondent

WIMBLEDON. — Steffi Graf meets Martina Navratilova tomorrow in a potentially epic fight for the Wimbledon women's singles title.

Navratilova beat Graf in last year's final.

But this year Navratilova, 32, is waning and Graf, 18, has matured dramatically mentally and physically in the past year and has emerged as a player of phenomenal power, temperament and dedication.

Graf is favoured to win and become the new queen of Wimbledon.

Report — Back Page

Blasts rock Jhb and Pretoria

JOHANNESBURG. — There was an explosion in the Joubert Park area soon after 9.45pm last night, police said. The exact location of the blast was not known, and police were investigating.

Earlier yesterday 14 people were injured in central Pretoria when an explosive device exploded in a packed Church Street fast-foods restaurant.

Police-directorate spokesman, Captain R H V Bloomberg said an explosive device had caused the blast and was placed near the shop entrance in a potato chip stand. On exploding, lethal shards of glass and shrapnel flew in all directions, injuring 14 of the more than 25 patrons in the restaurant.

The explosion took place opposite the site of the May 20, 1983 bomb-blast which killed 20 people.

From page 1
Eglin quits Cape Times 1/7/88 (304A)
position in the House of Assembly.
Soon after the election, three MPs, Mr Pieter Schoeman, resigned from the PFP. This year, a number of PFP city councillors in Johannesburg resigned from the party.

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10

OPPOSE PRIOR (SPECIAL) VOTES BILL

The National Party is Rushing through its **PRIOR VOTES FOR ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES BILL** in parliament this week.

The bill is designed to prop up the percentage polls in black areas in the coming October elections. It will transform the elections into a vital postal election.

We believe that over 90% of all votes cast in the October elections in Indian Coloured and African areas will be Prior (special) votes, with hardly anybody voting on polling day itself. This is borne out by recent by-elections to the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

We believe that the bill makes it far easier for election fraud to take place than is the case for parliamentary elections. Unlike the Electoral Act No 45 of 1979 which governs procedure for special votes for Parliamentary elections, this bill

- ★ makes it far easier to cast prior (special) votes since it allows virtually any voter to do so for very little reason.
- ★ abolishes the public's right to inspect prior (special) vote applications
- ★ prohibits publication of names of prior (special) voters
- ★ allows agents of candidates to actually vote for the millions who cannot read and write
- ★ allows blacks to vote in neighbouring white areas, thus ensuring that bosses can force their workers to vote

THE PUBLIC HAS A RIGHT TO INSPECT

No political party that is committed to clean administration can support this bill. This bill makes electoral malpractices and coercion far easier. It further removes the public's right to monitor elections to ensure that no tampering takes place. No independent body will be able to check whether the percentage poll figures are correct or not. What guarantees are there that the October elections will be free and fair?

PREVENT ELECTION ABUSES SCRAP PRIOR VOTES

3041A

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SA Times 1/7/88
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Balanced view of SA 'not possible'

JOHANNESBURG. — It was no longer possible to present a balanced picture of events in this country, the managing director of Reuter Overseas, Mr Peter Holland, said last night.

Mr Holland, of London, was a speaker at a banquet to celebrate the golden jubilee of the South African Press Association (Sapa), attended by about 200 newsmen and other guests.

"We are often asked whether Reuter is still able to tell the world what is happening in this country. Our answer is: 'In most cases, we can.'"

"But if the question is: 'Can you still present a balanced picture?' the answer has to be: 'Sadly, no.'"

Another speaker, Mr Koos Buitendag, who is president of the Newspaper Press Union and executive chairman of Perskor, said Sapa had an obvious duty to supply the most detailed information to as large a public as possible, which was an essential key to the pursuit of democracy.

"An informed public will always be well-equipped to handle any situation.

"The press has to guard against being used by those who shout for the freedom of democracy only to eventually destroy that very same democracy," he said.

Mr Buitendag said the name Sapa was heard worldwide and was respected for its independence and objectivity. — Sapa

Eglin quits as PFP leader

Political Staff

3047A

SKV 11/2/88

Mr Colin Eglin has announced that he is to quit as leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Ending weeks of speculation Mr Eglin said yesterday that he would not make himself available for re-election at the PFP federal congress in August.

Party insiders believe that Dr Zac de Beer, a former PFP MP who is an Anglo-American executive, is the strongest candidate to take over.

Mr Eglin's departure will be yet another major setback for the troubled PFP.

Although Mr Eglin did not give reasons for his decision, PFP MPs said that he had wanted to resign ever since the election defeats.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Eglin said he had not sought the leadership of the PFP, but that he had done his bit.

Mrs Helen Suzman, veteran PFP MP, last night paid warm tribute to Mr Eglin.

"The decision was Colin's alone and it is very sad. I think he is a man of great merit who has been underestimated by the public that supports the PFP."

NEWS

Suzman will not step down for Zac

DAWN BARKHUIZEN

MRS HELEN Suzman has squashed suggestions that she might be prepared to step down from the Houghton seat she has held since 1953 to provide a seat for Dr Zac de Beer should he succeed Mr Colin Eglin as leader of the PFP.

Mr Eglin announced yesterday that he would not seek re-election at the party's federal congress in Cape Town on August 5 but would remain in the PFP and stay in Parliament.

But moves are afoot to secure a seat in Parliament for Dr de Beer, the Anglo-American executive tipped to take over.

Dr de Beer said yesterday that he had no plans to secure a seat by "any



STAYING: Veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

artificial manoeuvre and would fight either a by-election or general election, whichever came first.

The PFP's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Brian Goodall, confirmed there had been speculation on whether veteran Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, was intending to leave Parliament, but said this would be an individual decision.

But Mrs Suzman told the Saturday Star yesterday she had no immediate plans to leave the seat which she has held for 35 years.

Dr de Beer was an MP from 1953 to 1961 and from 1977 to 1980.

PFP crown prince faces daunting task

DR ZAC de Beer, heavily tipped as the likely successor to Mr Colin Eglin as leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday: "I'm quite prepared to make myself available — if elected at the forthcoming PFP congress."

"I shall not be making any major political statements or speeches until the election results are known. It would not be in good taste to make out like a new party leader when the election has yet to be held."

Asked if he intended to resign from the Anglo American Corporation, where he fills a top role as an executive director and chairman of several giant companies, Dr de Beer said: "I shall cross that bridge when I come to it. For the present, I shall carry on as normal."

Peter Fabricius reports that Mr Colin Eglin and Dr de Beer (59) go back a long way together in politics.

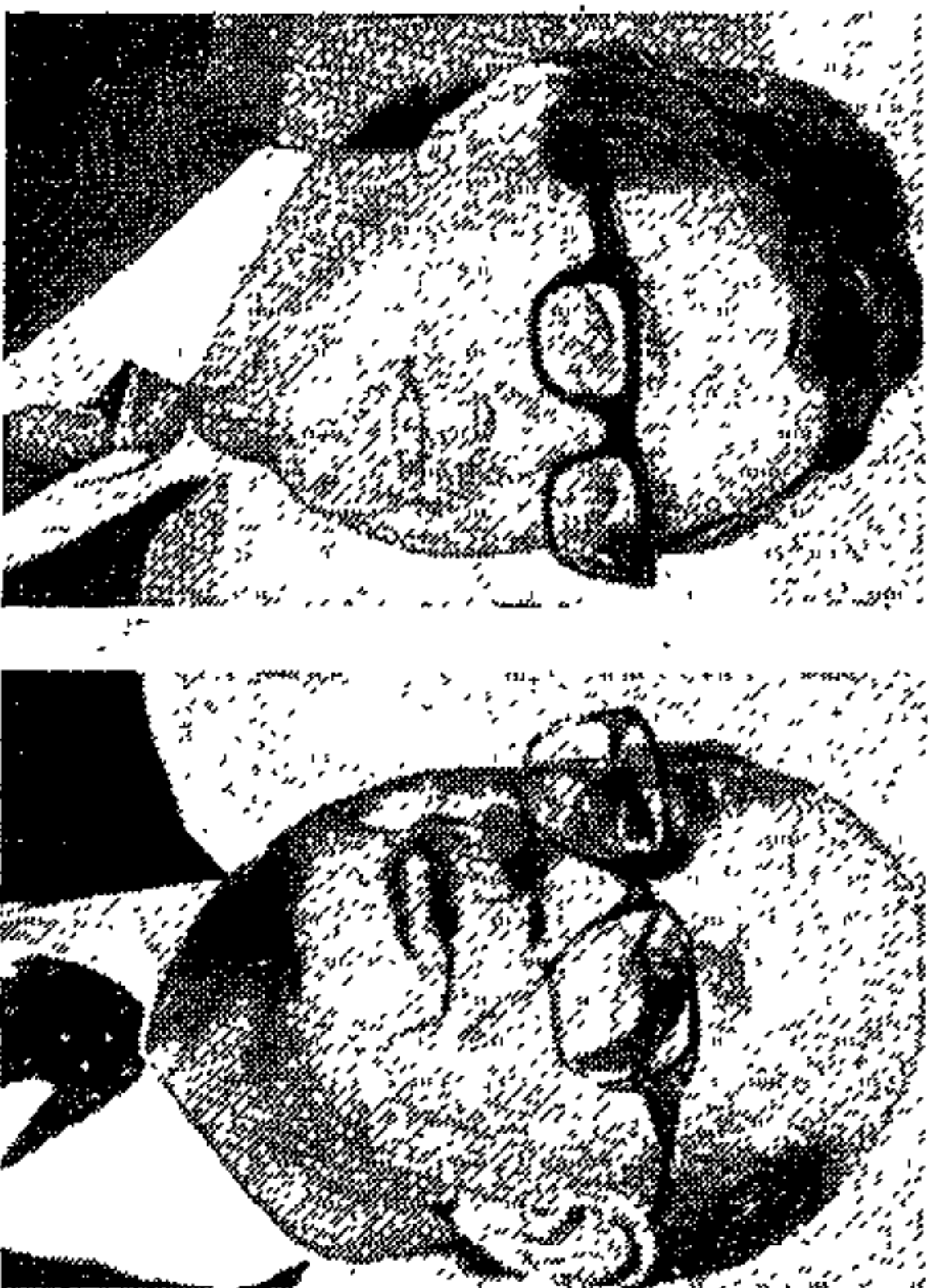
This may partly explain Dr de Beer's constant refusal to enter the leadership stakes while Mr Eglin was still in the field.

When Mr Eglin first entered politics in 1953, it was as Dr de Beer's campaign manager for the Maitland parliamentary election where Dr de Beer was standing for the old United Party.

Dr de Beer, then only 24 — three years younger than Mr Eglin — was something of a whizz-kid of opposition politics.

With Mr Eglin's help he won the seat to become one of the youngest South African MPs.

The next year Mr Eglin entered public life himself when he was returned unopposed as the UP provincial councillor for Pinelands.



THE CROWN PRINCE: Dr Zac de Beer and his close friend Mr Colin Eglin.

SATURDAY STAR REPORTER

Dr de Beer and Mr Eglin were among the MPs who broke away from the UP in 1959 to form the Progressive Party.

Dr de Beer represented Maitland until 1961 when, like Mr Eglin and other PP MPs, he was defeated by the UP.

Of the PP members only Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, retained her seat.

Dr de Beer, who was then practising as a general practitioner, became a director of an advertising agency in 1962.

He joined Anglo American in 1968, first in the pub-

lic relations division and then in industrial relations and was promoted to manager in 1970.

He has been an Anglo director since 1974 and over the years has been chairman of the Anglo American Corporation of Central Africa and president of Zambia Copper Investments and of LTA, a position he holds today.

In 1977 he decided to return to politics and won the Parktown election for the PFP.

But after a brief spell he retired from active politics in 1980 to become chairman of Anglo American Insurance Holdings.

Dr de Beer was always behind Mr Eglin. He admitted when he left Parliament in 1980 that he had backed Mr Eglin when he stood down in 1979 in favour of Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

Now it seems the need is greatest in politics and that he has been called back to try to revive the fortunes of the PFP.

Ha almost certainly enjoys far more support as a leader than anyone else and there seems to be no other likely candidate in the race.

Most PFP MPs expect him to "do another Slabbert" and give the party a shot in the arm.

He has been highly praised for his debating ability, analytical skills and polished TV manner which the party hopes will boost its image.

Others are counting on his management skills to sort out some simmering feuds within the party.

But some party insiders say that the problems of the party are largely a result of the political mood of the country and not the leadership.

Some have expressed misgivings about Dr de Beer's Anglo American connections, which they fear will further brand the PFP as a party of the elite.

NEW PFP LEADER FACES THE SAME OLD PROBLEMS

w/e Dr. P. 2/7/88 304A

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

A NEW fluidity in opposition politics leading to a major reshuffle is being predicted after Mr Colin Eglin announced that he will step down as leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Some opposition politicians foresee new moves to unite opposition groups and possibly a new direction and strategy for the PFP.

Any developments will depend largely on who is chosen to succeed Mr Eglin when he relinquishes the party leadership at the PFP's congress next month.

Credibility

The most likely leader so far appears to be Anglo American executive Dr Zac de Beer.

Dr de Beer, who has indicated that he is prepared to stand, has made it known he believes that opposition unity is important. If chosen as leader of the PFP he is expected to make it his task to achieve this.

However, some opposition politicians inside and outside the PFP believe that leadership is not the party's problem. They say that whoever takes over will inherit the problems and dilemmas with which Mr Eglin had to grapple — problems arising from the country's overall political crisis and seemingly irreconcilable dif-

ferences within the party on certain issues.

The main problems are closely related to the remaining apartheid structure of South African politics as enshrined in the racial divisions of Parliament.

An almost impossible task facing any leader is said to be that of expanding the party's electoral support while maintaining credibility among blacks.

Other tricky problems include the role of the party in extra-parliamentary politics and how to avoid losing white votes without pandering to the racial prejudices of a large section of the white population.

These and other similar problems are being faced by almost all the white political groupings to the left of the Government.

"Not much change"

Former Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Jan van Eck, now an independent, believed there were two conflicting directions in white opposition politics to the left of the Government: one to seek power in Parliament and the other part of a broader democratic movement.

"I think that opposition chairs are going to be rearranged in dramatic fashion in the near future — between now

and the next general election," he said.

The party's dilemma was what its role should be in South African politics, he said.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, does not expect much change in the PFP after Mr Eglin's departure. "New leadership is not a magic formula for the PFP," he said.

The PFP's problem was its inability to conduct its politics effectively.

The key to any dramatic change in opposition politics to the left of the Government lay within the National Party. Once liberal-minded NP members broke away from the NP on any significant scale, opposition politics would change and a major realignment could come about.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, whose name has been mentioned in speculation about the PFP leadership, said the decision to choose a new leader would have to be taken in the larger context of the party's role and on whether or not changes should be made in the party's strategies and policy directions.

Mr van der Merwe said he had so far not given thought to the matter.

A camel won't get Nats over this hump

SEASONED observers of the political scene were stumped this week by South Africa's insistence on an official visit to Moscow.

Was the SA Government about to kill off the one trump card that has served it so well over the years, namely, the red herring of a communist onslaught? Aren't the Russians still envious of our minerals?

What of the Government's philosophy of shying away from climates where Tambo and Tutu have already trodden?

Anyway, it's an intriguing prospect which must have left our experts rubbing their hands with anticipation.

Various theories were bandied about. One, which I also tend to believe, is that the visit is to afford our Foreign Minister the opportunity to pose for a picture or two on Red Square — in Russian hat, coat and all.

I sometimes feel our Pk wouldn't mind a trip to Cuba if only to be seen smoking cigars in the streets of Havana.

Whatever the theories, there's no doubt the chill of isolation is beginning to tell. The escapades into Africa have made people aware of what could lie beyond apartheid.

ALL THINGS
CONSIDERED
BARNEY
MTHOMBOTHI



South Africa is hankering to be loved. If in years to come the country is challenged on its isolation, Pk Botha will be able to whip out a photograph of himself on a camel in Egypt. That should silence a few critics.

But what is the key to SA's admission to the community of nations and an avoidance of the real prospect of being declared a terrorist state?

The Government will have to do better than its proposed national council. I'm not being too unkind in saying an ignominious abortion awaits it. It's not even a prophecy. The facts are staring everybody who wishes to see straight in the eye.

There's a chorus of voices from people, not known for their sympathy towards black aspirations, for black people to help the State President make his council work.

They are addressing themselves to the wrong audience. The person they should be speaking to is Mr Botha

himself. He can't silence organisations and still nurse hopes of getting into a friendly chat with their memberships.

In any case, the history of collaboration has not been a happy one. Many people have put their credibility on the line and lost it, never to regain it. Once a sellout, always a sellout.

Some of those who got into the homeland system and township councils have — to make up for the rejection by their people — found solace in corruption and palm-greasing, and at the same time turning those territories into citadels of starvation in everything else.

Even in these days of reform, nobody in his right senses can wish on himself the things that have happened to Mr Hendrickse. He and his party have been reduced to hunting with the hounds and running with the hares.

Some years ago, I attended a Labour Party conference in Port Elizabeth. Mr Hendrickse gave a fiery performance and directed strong language towards Mr Botha who had just made his famous "adapt-or-die" speech.

His party, Mr Hendrickse said then, was four-square behind the sanctions campaign, would nationalise the

mines among other things, and even called on a black choir which was to sing *Die Stem* at the boxing match between John Tate and Gerrie Coetzee, to stop it. "Don't sing the praises of apartheid," he inveighed.

Lately, however, Mr Hendrickse has been doing a bit of praising himself. The performance by the Labour Party during the joint sitting of the Houses last week will surely go down as the most pathetic in the history of that party.

Mr Hendrickse wrapped himself with the halo of his brief encounter with detention some years ago, and marshalled his troops to back the Government. His son, probably in an attempt to upstage daddy, responded with a limp cry of "Amandla!"

Mr Hendrickse cannot do anything to displease the Nats. He can't protest too loud. Opening his mouth will be calamitous. That piece of butter in his mouth will fall.

The junior partners have their own reason for supporting the Nats. They're uncomfortable about their role in the new system. They'd love to see a few black faces joining them, to keep them company. That would deflect a few stinging jibes.

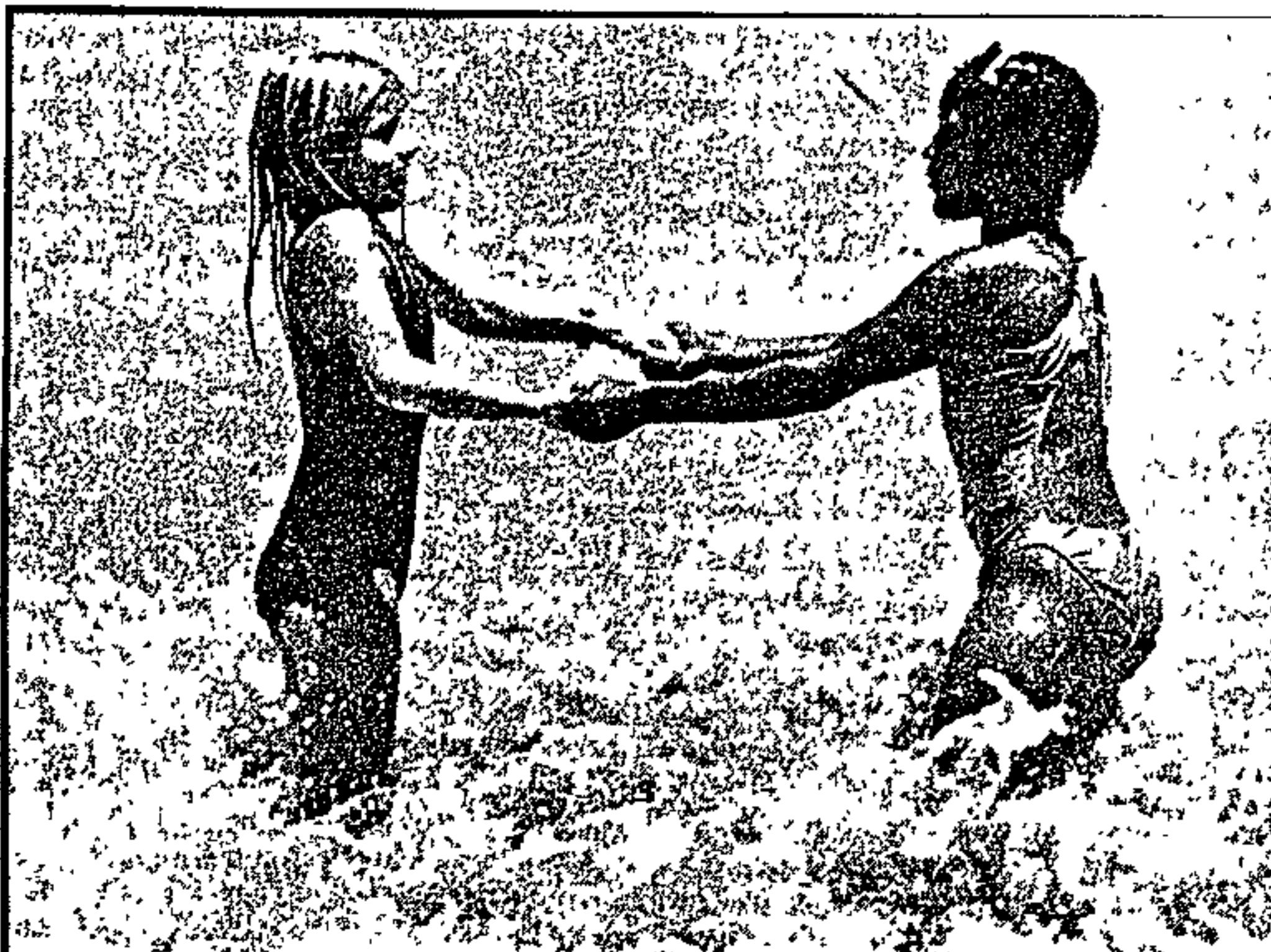
That, of course, is not the same as seeking a democratic solution.

RADICAL T

30419

The stealthy advance of white exclusivity as the

THE STRUGGLE between the National Party Government and the ANC for the hearts and minds of the people is concealing the stealthy advance of much more radical political thinking. While a growing number of whites are adopting the idea of white exclusivity as the only solution for their future, blacks are turning towards their own counterpart of this: Pan Africanism. Many political observers believe that after the Government and the ANC have sorted out their differences, only then will South Africa's real political struggle begin — between the advocates of these two ideologies. PATRICK LAURENCE, in a two-part series, looks at the development of radical political trends. This week he analyses the thinking of the white separatists. Next week he will look at Pan Africanism.



STIRRED by the crisis confronting South Africa, Afrikaner leaders are increasingly looking to a radical solution: creation of an Afrikaner volkstaat, in which Afrikaner paramountcy will rest on Afrikaner numerical predominance.

The corollary of an Afrikaner majority in an Afrikaner nation state is, of course, a territory without black people, or one in which they constitute a tiny powerless minority.

The idea of a volkstaat, once the preserve of zealots on the fringe of the political debate, has moved increasingly to the centre.

Professor Alkmaar Swart, a long-time devotee of the Afrikaner volkstaat idea, describes it as the alternative policy of the Right.

A current position paper in which Dr Carel Boshoff argues strongly for a volkstaat underlines Professor Swart's point.

Dr Boshoff is no ordinary Afrikaner. He is a former chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and a son-in-law of the former Prime Minister and "high priest" of grand apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

He was thus once a pillar of the Afrikaner Establishment. But the crisis generated by the black revolt against white minority rule — Dr Boshoff uses that phrase "minderheidsregering" several times in his analysis — drove him to espouse the Afrikaner volkstaat ideal.

The theme which recurs repeatedly in his closely argued paper is that a racially mixed South Africa has one inevitable destination: black majority rule which, he believes, will be inimical if not disastrous to Afrikanerdom.

"The South African Government and thus the whites in South Africa have painted themselves into a corner," he says.



RACIAL HARMONY: Scenes of the social mixing of races such as these arouse strong feelings among white separatists.

They rule the present heterogeneous South African State through a "morally indefensible minority government" against which their own subjects increasingly rebel. But settlement within the context of the existing State can only mean "surrender to the black majority".

Running through Dr Boshoff's paper is an overwhelming conviction that white rule in the present civic State (burgerstaat) is inexorably doomed: even if the military struggle against the African National Congress (ANC) is won — and his arguments do not inspire confidence in victory — the settlement will be lost.

"Moderate black leaders and organisations demand nothing less than the radicals," he avers.

"It is therefore misleading to maintain that agreement can be

reached with moderates. The whole mustering of might demands one thing, and that is an internal settlement in which whites will have to abdicate power and hand over to a black government."

But, Dr Boshoff contends, the prospect of a settlement with "moderate" blacks is remote in any case. "The ANC is gaining the upper hand over Inkatha in the power struggle in South Africa," he says, adding: "Even church leaders, such as Archbishop (Desmond) Tutu and Dr (Allan) Boesak and South African Council of Church leaders, talk the language of the ANC rather than Inkatha."

Dr Boshoff's underlying pessimism about the outcome of

the military struggle, about the chances of holding the line against the growing challenge of the ANC, is reflected statistically in a poll commissioned by the Afrikaans-language Sunday newspaper Rapport.

It showed that if it came to an all-out struggle between the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), whose zealots are the toughest protagonists of white supremacy, and the ANC, most whites pick the ANC to win.

Overall, 38,8 percent of whites foresee an ANC victory against 20,4 percent for the AWB. Among Afrikaners, the ANC gets the nod by a whisker, 29,6 percent against 28,9.

Dr Boshoff writes: "The only chance of survival for the Afrikaner people is an Afrikaner volkstaat ... if he does not want to be irrevocably sucked in and

swallowed (verswelg) in the internal settlement with the black 'multitudes (menigte) which ... be forced on South Africa, ... he (the Afrikaner) must see ... from South Africa geographically, constitutionally and economically."

He goes on to quote Dr Verwoerd approvingly as saying: "I would rather have a small white nation that can fight its existence, than a larger state that has already surrendered to black domination."

But Dr Boshoff is not advocating the classical Verwoerd doctrine of grand apartheid separate development. Verwoerd envisaged lopping off bits of South Africa from the periphery and handing them over to the 10 designated "minorities".

STAR 21/7/88 TRENDS 1

white exclusivity as the only solution for the future



as such as these arouse strong feelings among white separatists who wish to entrench the polarisation of the races.

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But Dr Boshoff is not advocating the classical Verwoerdian doctrine of grand apartheid or separate development.

Verwoerd envisaged lopping off bits of South Africa from the periphery and handing them over to the 10 designated "black

nations" as their allotted "homelands". The core of South Africa, including its vital industrial centres and ports, would remain under white control as the "white fatherland".

Black people would be linked politically and constitutionally to their supposed "homelands", irrespective of whether they lived permanently in the purported "white fatherland" or not. Through the device of extra-territorial citizenship, blacks were deemed to be citizens of their homelands and stripped of all ties to South African nationality and citizenship when those homelands became independent.

Thus Dr Connie Mulder, one of Verwoerd's ideological disciples, could envisage a South Africa in which there would not be "one black man with South

African citizenship". There would, however, have been plenty of ex-black South African citizens.

Dr Boshoff concedes that Verwoerd's vision is no longer realisable. Where it was possible to achieve 20 years ago, the chances of implementing it have long since been allowed to "slip through the fingers".

Apart from a constellation of unfavourable forces in present-day South Africa, including the shift by capitalism (geldmag) towards a black takeover, the Afrikaner is spread too thinly (te yl versprei) to rule the whole of South Africa, he says.

What Dr Boshoff is proposing is a retreat or withdrawal — he

uses the Afrikaans word *afstigting* — meaning secession — by the Afrikaner people and any assimilable whites into an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The fundamental pillar of Verwoerdianism is still there a smaller state without a black majority is still there. But the route and, in an important sense, the outcome is different.

Verwoerd wanted the "black nations" to accept their "homelands" and secede from South Africa, leaving the bulk of the country under white rule.

Dr Boshoff wants the Afrikaner volk to secede from South Africa, form their own State and bequeath the rest of the land to the blacks and those whites who want to — as he would see it — take their chances with black government.

There are two major problems for Dr Boshoff and the men who share his vision, including two university dons, Professors Swart and Hercules Booysse, both of the University of South Africa.

One is that the Afrikaner volkstaat idea appears to be in conflict with Conservative Party (CP) policy. The CP espouses classical Verwoerdianism. But Dr Boshoff, who is a co-chairperson of the Afrikaner Volkswag, tells the *Saturday Star* that he does not think there are insuperable obstacles between his proposals and those of the CP.

What he and the CP have in common is commitment to the "freedom of the Afrikaner". It is the proverbial anvil on which necessary compromises may be hammered out. He believes a CP government may be persuaded to help establish the volkstaat.

The second problem is that there is no magisterial district in South Africa where blacks are not in a majority, only districts where the majority is less substantial.

Even in Morgenzon, the minuscule "white homeland" established as an experimental project by the Vereniging van Oranjerwerkers, blacks outnumber whites by four to one.

Dr Boshoff acknowledges that there will have to be negotiations for exchange of populations, in which blacks will leave the "white homeland" in return for whites entering from the heterogeneous hinterland which use once to be white-ruled South Africa.

But the courteous Dr Boshoff says bluntly in the last sentence of his paper: "We must not hesitate to let it be known that forced removals of people will also have to take place."

Unfortunately, however, forced removals and partition — and Dr Boshoff's proposal amounts to a form of partition — generate tension and conflict, the consequences of which can be quite as bloody as the power struggle he wants to avoid.

Let's choose the way of negotiation

30/4/88
3/7/88
5/7/88

LAST week an historical joint debate on legislation regarding the establishment of a constitutional forum for negotiation took place in Parliament.

During the debate, Parliament had the opportunity to establish whether a commitment to the continuation of the process of constitutional reform exists among those represented in Parliament.

Parliament, with a few exceptions, not only succeeded in achieving a worthy standard for the country, but also achieved a large measure of consensus on the necessity for a constitutional forum for negotiation as envisaged in the legislation.

Change

This consensus is undoubtedly based on the agreement which Parliament displayed in relation to the following basic points of departure concerning constitutional development:

Parliament is unanimous that the present constitutional dispensation is inadequate and that change is necessary to develop a system which makes provision for full participation by all South Africans.

Parliament believes that such change should be brought about in a peaceful, evolutionary and constitutional way and not by means of

Chris Heunis

Minister of Constitutional Development, responds to last week's article by Dr Denis Worrall

violence and revolution. At the same time we believe that final blueprints cannot be brought about overnight.

Parliament accordingly agrees that change should come about by means of a parliamentary process and that such change, whatever the manner in which it is initiated, must ultimately be decided by it.

Parliament agreed that constitutional change cannot take place in a one-sided and prescriptive manner and that it must come about through a process of negotiation. Because all South Africans do not as yet have a say in the central legislative process, it is Parliament's duty to create and promote forums and opportunities for consultation and negotiation.

Parliament accepts that negotiation and therefore also the establishment of the proposed forum for negotiation are dependent on the participation and co-operation of the leaders of the different communities. That is why we intend to hold

discussions as widely as possible in order to ensure maximum support for the council.

Erroneous hypotheses and interpretations can, however, frustrate and impede efforts to gain the widest possible participation in the council.

A distorted or uninformed hypothesis that I might have implied that those who reject the proposed council support violence gives a totally wrong impression to all concerned and can only harm the negotiating process.

What I did in fact say, is the following: demands that we must unconditionally release certain prisoners who were sentenced by competent courts for crimes of violence, that we must legalise certain organisations which support violence and that we must summarily terminate the state of emergency, imply that we must condone violence as a method of change.

Peace

We do not want to be party to the option for violence; we want to encourage and induce precisely those prisoners and organisations to become part of the option for peace.

I believe that the origin of the confusion which is created by the type of hypothesis to which I have referred, lies in the tendency to

reason about political processes in a very simplistic manner, possibly wantonly, possibly on account of ignorance.

The choice is not simplistically for or against violence. Naturally, and I said it in Parliament — the proposed council confronts us with the fundamental choice of whether we want to change society by means of negotiation or violence.

This does not in any way imply that I am of the opinion that there is now only one legitimate means of negotiation, namely through the proposed council.

I therefore accept that those whose points of view differ from mine, do not necessarily identify with violence. The truth is, however, that in reality certain peaceful policies can lead to unconstitutional and even violent results.

Similarly there may be peaceful institutions and organisations which can give violence a cloak of respectability through their association with organisations which support violence.

In this respect one should also guard against a simplistic approach that politics exists only within or only outside of Parliament. The issue is rather one of constitutional versus unconstitutional means of change.

Illegal

In Parliament in fact, I explicitly acknowledged extra-parliamentary conduct but qualified it as conduct by way of constitutional methods.

Constitutional actions are eventually always directed at Parliament and the parliamentary process. On the other hand, extra-parliamentary behaviour by way of unconstitutional methods is specifically directed at supporting or propagating violence, revolution and other illegal methods of change, or at actions which will inevitably lead to violence.

My plea is that opposition to the Government and against the instruments proposed by Parliament should purposefully, as a result of ignorance, irresponsibility or otherwise, not cross the line between constitutional and unconstitutional methods of change.

My plea is that the process of negotiation should not be prejudiced by political in-fighting.

My plea is that the envisaged council should be given the opportunity to become a reality. The council is not a goal in itself but an instrument through which new structures can be established.

Reality

It is, however, now of vital importance that negotiation should become a reality, that the supporters of negotiation should be mobilised and offered a concrete structure of negotiation within which to negotiate, one they can support and

through which they can express their aspiration for peace.

We cannot expect South Africans to resist revolutionary agitation for much longer if we do not transform the alternative into reality very soon. We see revolution in all its hideous reality each time a bomb explodes.

We owe it to South Africans to immediately present them with an alternative, in a form such as the envisaged council.

Parliament accepted the legislation and with that instructed us to pursue the points of departure about which we agree.

We are asked to make the actual pursuit of peaceful processes possible.

We are asked to prove that South Africans are prepared to support and work for peace and to stand together across boundaries of race to prevent violence, revolution and chaos.

We are asked to demonstrate our choice for peaceful negotiation.

By doing this we cannot ensure a safe and peaceful future but we are creating greater possibilities for doing so.

To all South Africans I say: let us do it together. Let us win together.

OPPOSE PRIOR (SPECIAL) VOTES BILL

C. 1920
3/7/88
The National Party is rushing through its
**PRIOR VOTES FOR ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF
LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES BILL** in
Parliament this week. *(4/83)* *30/4A*

The bill is designed to prop up the percentage polls in black areas in the coming October 26 elections.

It will transform the elections into a virtual postal election.

We believe that over 90% of all votes cast in the October elections in Indian, Coloured and African areas will be prior (special) votes, with hardly anybody voting on polling day itself.

This is borne out by recent by-elections to the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

We believe that the bill makes it far easier for electoral fraud to take place than is the case for Parliamentary elections.

Unlike the Electoral Act No 45 of 1979 which governs procedure for special votes for Parliamentary elections, this bill

- * makes it far easier to cast prior (special) votes since it allows virtually any voter to do so for very little reason
- * abolishes the public's right to inspect prior (special) vote applications
- * prohibits publication of names of prior (special) voters
- * allows agents of candidates to actually vote for the millions who cannot read and write.
- * allows blacks to vote in neighbouring white areas, thus ensuring that bosses can force their workers to vote.

THE PUBLIC HAS THE RIGHT TO INSPECT

No political party that is committed to clean administration can support this bill. This bill makes electoral malpractices and coercion far easier. It further removes the public's right to monitor elections to ensure that no tampering takes place. No independent body will be able to check whether the percentage poll figures are correct or not.

What guarantees are there that the October elections will be free and fair?

**PREVENT ELECTION ABUSES
SCRAP PRIOR VOTES**

Issued by Transvaal Indian Congress, P.O. Box 658, CROWN MINES, 2025.

Election deadlines

THE second of a series of advertisements by the Bureau for Information to encourage people to register as voters for the nationwide municipal elections in October will be placed in major Transvaal and Natal newspapers this week.

The advertisements will carry details of where eligible black, coloured, Indian and white voters may register.

The closing dates for registration for the respective groups in the Transvaal are August 12 (blacks), July 31 (coloureds and Indians) and June 30 (whites), while the dates for Natal are August 26 for blacks and June 30 for the other three.

The Minister of Information, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, said the reason for the different deadlines was that various ordinances had to be observed. - Sap

304A

CP

CP
3/7/88

PFP's De Beer faces tough tests

304A
Times
3/7/88

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE new leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zac de Beer, will have the thorny issue of opposition unity as one of his first challenges.

This is the view of the current leader, Mr Colin Eglin, who announced this week he will not be available when the two-yearly leadership election comes up at the party's federal congress in August.

It is accepted in party ranks that Anglo American director Dr de Beer will be the only candidate.

Mr Eglin said opposition unity "is going to be critically important".

Reins

Dr de Beer will take up the reins of leadership less than three months before the party goes into the high-profile October 26 municipal elections.

Inevitably, the party's performance at those polls will be taken as the first test of his leadership.

Should the PFP and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party fail to conclude a meaningful election pact before then, they could bleed away each other's support, in the face of National Party determination to take opposition strongholds.

Two primary factors at play in the struggle for opposition unity count both for and against Dr de Beer.

Image

On the credit side is that Dr de Beer is regarded as the PFP man most likely to be able to engineer unity.

On the debit side is a recent poll which showed the IP has more support among whites than the PFP, which still has not overcome its image problems.

● Mr Harry Oppenheimer, former Anglo American Corporation chairman, paid tribute to Mr Eglin yesterday.

"He has worked efficiently, courageously and selflessly over the years for the party and has faced up to extreme difficulties that would have destroyed a lesser man," he said.

A radical shift to participation

A LITTLE-noted but important shift has taken place in South African politics. And two words best summarise the shift — negotiation is out and participation is in.

The message of the shift is very simple: You negotiate to change something but you participate in something which already exists.

The word negotiation is seldom heard these days. Certainly the Government is beyond negotiating about the instruments it wants to use to bring more South Africans into the present governmental system.

As credible black leaders continued to say "No" to the National Council so the Government became more and more convinced that it needed to push ahead — with or without black agreement.

So we will have a National Council, or whatever name it is given in the end.

The Government has clearly decided to go its way and take those across the racial divides who are prepared to go. And leave behind or harass those who won't.

It does this for two reasons.

The first is its exasperation that blacks cannot see how reasonable it is and the second its growing faith in its own ability and strength to control the situation.

As a footnote, the President is not getting enough recognition for putting legislation, however flawed, before Parliament which in his view will open the way for blacks to join central governmental institutions.

It is an historic commitment which needs to be noted.

But the other side, the extra-parliamentary one, is also not talking about negotiation any more.

Remember the days when the transfer of power was the key word. As it became clear that whites, and their government, were having none of that and could make their intention stick, a switch was made to negotiation.

That has gone by the board, too, because it is now clear that for the foreseeable future the line can be held. And suddenly participation rears its head.

Not that there should arise an illusion that in the ANC, UDF and Cosatu there is yet serious talk on the issue. No, but

Harald Pakendorf

sees a shift in SA politics.

there is talk about thinking of participating as an option.

For the ANC it may yet prove to be an additional option, added to the four pillars it already has in place. They are the armed struggle, mass mobilisation, underground political activity and what is called the international dimension, for which read pressure and sanctions.

The first three, it is realised, have mostly failed, and the fourth is not working yet — at least the expected effect, namely the collapse of white will, has not come about.

The ANC is beginning to realise that the masses in South Africa are not as ready for the revolution as they ought to be, and a fair number are ready for co-option, then the need for additional strategies becomes clear.

One such option is participation. But how to participate? Already a boycott call for the October elections has gone out. But that is grand participation.

Other ways could be more realistic and practical even if they fly in the face of accepted radical ideology. Do all homeland leaders need to be out of bounds when it comes to fighting present institutions?

Also, not all who have been elected to local councils are necessarily Uncle Toms.

The problem, if you are a radical, is that this implies an acceptance that the road to final victory is going to take much longer than you can afford to say.

If you are in government and think that this spells victory of sorts: Beware.

Whatever failures one can tot up for the radical forces, there is one victory which should be noted. The black masses have become politically aware and expect that they will get power some day.

And their impatience will rise as every avenue of reasonable expression of doubt, criticism and hope is cut off. As is happening.

When that impatience rises, the radical forces may abandon participation and revert to negotiation.

If that does not work, then taking over power will become the vogue again.

IN the year 1643, the British Parliament, deeply troubled by the mushrooming of scurrilous tracts which dared snigger at Persons in Authority, hit upon a brilliant defensive strategy: Licensing.

All persons would be free to publish any opinions they chose. However, they would first need a licence.

And licences would be granted only to those who could be trusted to behave with suitable obsequiousness. Thus, there would be no odious censorship, but also no odious dissent.

It was an idea ahead of its time. Exactly 345 years ahead of its time.

For on the 31st of this month, the SA Government, always slow to catch up on English fads, will introduce a register system not too far removed from its British ancestor.

Tucked at the back of the latest and bulkiest media regulations, is Clause 11, which makes the modest requirement that news agencies submit the names of their staffs to the Director of Home Affairs by the end of July, for entry in a register.

Threat

Registered agencies may be asked to supply copies of their reports to Home Affairs. No money is required and the Director-General will refuse no one his rightful registration.

Now, this is hardly contentious stuff, considering the ferocity of some of our other Emergency regulations. But registration is not the problem. The problem is de-registration.

The Minister of Home Affairs may, in consultation with no one, withdraw the registration of any agency. Anyone, who has been struck from the register, may be refused re-registration. Anyone who has worked for an agency which has been de-registered can be refused registration elsewhere.

SA catches on to UK idea 345 years later

2048 3/7/88
4 Times

by **Irwin
Manoim**

Co-Editor, Weekly Mail

By what standards does the Minister determine which agencies will live and which die?

He assesses whether their reporting is a threat to public safety. And what exactly is a threat to public safety? A threat is whatever the Minister says is a threat. What right of appeal is there? Why, none, of course.

How many people are affected by Clause 11? At first glance, not many. Only a minority of journalists work for news agencies and the regulations kindly exempt the major organisations, such as Reuter and Associated Press. Indeed, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, has said the primary target is a small one: Just a few troublesome little "alternative" news agencies.

There are six such agencies, four in the Eastern Cape and two in Durban, which between them employ perhaps 15 people. Some churn out reams of copy, some spend more time in the police detention cells than out.

The six agencies supply, spo-

radically, about five percent of the copy in the "alternative" press, various bits and pieces to regional radio stations and little to anyone else. No major overseas newspaper subscribes to their services.

Are these 15 people so grave a threat to the public safety that they warrant an entire bureaucracy to scrutinise, dissect and file away their every telex? And if so, why is the wording of Clause 11 so wide that it takes into its generous sweep people and organisations unconnected to news agencies and most certainly not "alternative"?

Sweet

There are some Press lawyers who have argued that the grandiose scope of Clause 11 is entirely out of keeping with its ostensible aim. Indeed, it amounts to a fledgling register of SA journalists. With a phrase added here and there, all journalists could someday find themselves included.

This is an argument which has enraged Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, who reacted to it by saying: "I can state emphatically that such a suggestion is devoid of all truth."

The Minister is touchy, because he knows that registration is a touchy subject.

The argument in favour of such a register is sweet reasonableness itself: Every other profession has

a register, so why should journalism, which pretends to professional status, be different?

The answer has to do with the peculiar nature of journalism. The social role of the Press is to provide an outlet whereby matters of general interest can be subject to general scrutiny. Until such time as infallibility becomes common, governments are bound to err and should be told when they do.

Can Press scrutiny at times be unfair? Certainly. That's why there are courts.

But for government to assess the legitimacy of criticism of its own activities is a little like having artists choose art critics or prisoners select judges or sheep assess butchers.

Crusader

That is why the idea of a Media Council, controlled by the media, is acceptable to many editors, but the idea of a register, controlled by the government, is not.

That famous SA crusader for Press freedom, John Fairbairn, put it this way in an editorial in 1826 urging his old foe, Lord Charles Somerset, to put any ideas of "registration" out of his mind: "Licences will be granted only

to those who have given proofs, or at least reasonable assurances, of their readiness to overlook the errors of their superiors. Any sycophant, double-spy or dishonoured person will readily attain this privilege... as there is no chance of such betraying the trust reposed in them, by doing their duty to the public."

Government says it has no intention of registering journalists. We are happy to accept those assurances.

Which is why we urge government to rethink the media regulations so that journalists — and their lawyers — do not make the error of imaging that buried deep inside Clause 11, lurks a register in disguise.

20th
5/11/88
2/2/88

PARLIAMENT has risen on a nearly-completed 1988 session in which, once more, it reacted to events rather than shaped them.

President Botha used the time to entrench his executive authority and focused on forging a new economic policy that was announced from Tuynhuys.

The policy, involving a de-regulated and privatised economy aimed at broadening rather than heightening economic activity, has been generally welcomed for its content — but criticised for its tardy implementation.

The growing distance between the President and Parliament echoed what many of his party members see as an increasing alienation of the National Party caucus from the policy foundations of Government.

"The caucus has become a platform for announcements," complained one Nationalist MP.

Also outside Parliament, South Africa's escalating involvement in the Angolan war loomed, causing increasing anxiety among the public

Stifled parliamentary session produced more reaction than action

and politicians alike.

South Africa's strategic interests in the southern African region received little opportunity for critical evaluation. The various parties' defence groups followed the progress of the war from announcements by the defence ministry, while diplomats negotiated an undisclosed packet of settlement proposals in several international capitals.

Internally, the country entered its third successive state of emergency. Apart from police action against political violence, the Government concentrated on combating the "climate for

revolution" — mainly by tightening the boundaries in which the media operate.

The already restricted flow of information choked further and in Parliament there was a sense that what could be said, already had been said. The political parties concentrated instead on using the parliamentary platform to promote their policies for changing the foundations of South African society.

At times the prospect of October's nationwide local authority elections seemed to overshadow all the parties'

with old-style apartheid and helped the NP present its race-based policies as the moderate alternative.

In consolidating this image, the Government played its reform trump card at the end of the session: Legislation to establish a national forum that will design a new political framework including all South Africans.

But at the end of the debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, the Government appeared to be left with less than a winning hand. While the Labour Party supported the creation of a national council, the only comment it aroused outside Parliament was from homeland and other black leaders who said they would not participate.

Another aspect of the new parliamentary system that has fallen by now into well-oiled ways is the workings of standing committees.

MPs demonstrated this session they had become resigned to the fact that the most intense, and most meaningful, debate on legis-

By
LESTER
VENTER
Political Correspondent



lation takes place in the committee rooms. By the time Bills emerge in Parliament for open debate, points of conflict have either been resolved — as in the design of the consensus system — or the first opposition attacks have already been played out.

And the appetite for avoidance of open controversy seems to be growing. A Labour MP said at the end of the session that Labourites had been asked to trash out their opposition outside the committee rooms because they "only gave the CP more ammunition".

The tricameral system found itself pitched into a further struggle to maintain its credibility as the Indian House of Delegates descended into an unseemly and, to outsiders, incomprehensible bout of mud-slinging.

Some stability came to the disturbed House at the close of the session with the suspension of the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Amichand Rajbansi, following his suspension from the Cabinet. The party that appeared to gain most from the session was the PFP. It made maximum use of the opportunities a parliamentary sitting provides for penetrating Government actions with formal questions, and the close proximity of Ministers and top officials for taking up specific issues.

The PFP's high point came when pressure applied by its MPs caused the Government to appoint a judicial commission to examine alleged irregularities in the Department of Education and Training.

Parliament reconvenes on August 22 when its main business will be to process the legislation that both relaxes, and tightens up the Group Areas Act.

All the Government's critics allege that the clampdown is inspired mainly by its fears of losing to the CP at October's polls.

Still for separate beaches, amenities (304A)

Blacks in towns to stay, concedes CP (4/17/85)

The Conservative Party (CP) has conceded that South African blacks are permanently urbanised, according to interviews with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP, published in the July issue of the news magazine *Inside South Africa*.

Dr Treurnicht also conceded that the CP "might have to negotiate" with blacks about the final borders of a "white" South African state.

The main question facing South Africa was the political accommodation of the blacks outside the national states, said Dr Treurnicht.

"This isn't a simple question because you still encounter ethnic differences in towns. There is still a cultural and ethnic consciousness even in Soweto. I say it's only fair that people should have a vote.

"There's no reason why, if I can be elected to Parliament by people living 1 500 km away, why people in Soweto can't vote for a parliament in Ulundi.

"I'm testing my own ideas. This is a difficult one. I think the fear of what may happen is out of proportion to the danger. I'm not unaware of the danger."

Mr van der Merwe, MP for Oervaal and CP spokesman on the Group Areas Act, said in another interview that he was "a realist" and had to acknowledge that black people could not be removed from the towns.

"I realise that I can't 'remove' a million people, but at least we can confine their numbers."

He also said that he would not object if Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, lived next door to him.

"But I want a say in who lives next door to me. I would not object to Professor Gerwel, but that's an over-simplification. If I concede to open residential areas, blacks will swamp white areas."

"Cut out Hillbrow"

He acknowledged that "mixed" areas would continue to exist — against the will of the CP — and that the CP "might have to cut Hillbrow out of our white state".

He said the CP still felt strongly about some aspects of Verwoerdian-type apartheid, such as separate beaches and other amenities "that form part of my community life".

Mr van der Merwe also said that he did not believe that Afrikaners had "pure" white blood, because "there is no 'pure' nation on earth".

"We have this funny way, the Afrikaner," Mr van der Merwe concluded. "We want to be separate. I like to play my own concertina and have my own funny braaivleis in my own back yard."

Plea for gesture in reply to blast

Staff Reporters

Opposition parties on the political Left today strongly appealed to the Government to create an atmosphere for negotiations about the country's political future instead of violently hitting back at the African National Congress after Saturday's Ellis Park bombing.

But the Conservative Party urged prompt retaliation. CP spokesman on defence Mr Moolman Mentz welcomed possible Government counter-action against the ANC. "We hope the Government will act strongly against the ANC. The ANC should be killed at its origin, even if it is in London or Lusaka," he said.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, today appealed to the Government to release Nelson Mandela as an indication of its seriousness about negotiation politics.

"If there is a genuine desire to talk, one of the best signals would be to release Nelson Mandela. That would be a significant gesture not only to the ANC, but to moderate leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi," Mr Eglin said.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, called on the Government to release Mandela as a gesture of its seriousness about negotiations.

However, "that should not take place in a vacuum", he said. "A process of realistic, workable negotiations should urgently be entered into, because that is the only way in which violence can be stopped."

In Johannesburg today, one of the 12 Ellis Park bomb blast victims still in the Johannesburg Hospital, was in a critical condition.

Mr Phillip Johnson is in the intensive care unit with severe head injuries. Mr Gordon Eddy and Mr Roger Hagerty, who each had a leg amputated after the blast, are stable and satisfactory.

The nine other victims are in a satisfactory condition. They are Mr Casper Lombard of Roodepoort, Mr Jose Pais of Ellis Park, Graham Theck (16) who went into surgery yesterday to have his wounds cleaned, Mr Stevenson Rudd of Triomf, Mr Koos van der Merwe of Windhoek, Kevin Weller (15) of Bedfordview and his father Mr B Weller who went into theatre yesterday, Mrs Gezina Ferreira (28) and Michael Hansen (16).

The acting superintendent of Johannesburg Hospital, Dr A Flax, said Mr Hennie Pietersen of Roodepoort was admitted overnight on Saturday for concussion and has since been discharged.

Ms Alina Monoto and Ms H Monoto were transferred to Hillbrow Hospital and discharged yesterday.

Also in the Johannesburg Hospital is a victim of last week's amusement arcade blast, Mrs Michelle Ebrahim, and Mrs Rozanna Grobbelaar, injured in the recent Roodepoort blast.

Suzman says she is staying in Assembly

Staff Reporter 2040 Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, says she will stay in Parliament until the next election if it takes place within the next year.

Reacting to speculation that she would resign to make way for Dr Zac de Beer, tipped as the new leader of the PFP, Mrs Suzman said that, if a general election were held next year, she would not wish to force a by-election in the interim.

"I have no short-term plans to resigning, but it is completely misleading

to say that I will not stand down for Dr de Beer, who, if elected as leader of the PFP, at the congress in August, will have my full support."

She declined to say when she planned to resign, but said it would not be in the immediate future.

She also refused to comment on whether she would stand in a general election.

A headline in The Saturday Star on July 2 stating that Mrs Suzman would not stand down for Dr de Beer was misleading, she said.

Call for Chinese voting rights

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The Government has been urged to give the vote to South Africa's 5 000 Chinese, the only group in South Africa which is totally disenfranchised, said Mr Clive Gilbert, Progressive Federal Party candidate in Ward 29 (Orange Grove/Linksfeld).

"It is incomprehensible that we are discriminating against this community representing one of the oldest civilisations in the world.

TURNED DOWN

"Until two years ago these people, who include some of the best trained in the country, suffered the humiliation of having to obtain permits to acquire and reside in a house when they wanted to buy property.

"Contrary to the apartheid policy

of every group living in each own area, the Department of Community Development then consulted a map to see how many Chinese had already been allowed in. If there were more than 30 the request was turned down.

"Applicants also had to disclose details of assets and liabilities, part of an interrogation which was nothing less than an invasion of privacy second only to the questions posed by the Receiver of Revenue," said Mr Gilbert, the director of an estate agency group.

"The Chinese are treated like whites in all other spheres of life and I believe the Government should act now so they can be registered immediately, not as a token of good faith because we trade with the Far East, but as a matter of common decency to a neglected group," he said.

INKATHA'S CAVALIER WHITES ON ELECTION

So we can 5/7/88

3040



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

INKATHA'S 1.5 million members have called on white South Africans to express themselves clearly in favour of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in the October municipal elections.

This was one of the resolutions Inkatha adopted at its annual conference in Ulundi at the weekend.

Delegates decided to continue supporting the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's constitutional proposals in principle "because their inherent merit is not

changed by the South African Government's rejection of them".

Indaba sources would not say what the significance of the municipal elections resolution was.

Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, relaxed, shared several laughs with delegates in his main address. Besides re-affirming his political position, Chief Buthelezi said:

• The ANC had said it would have to destroy Inkatha, its main enemy in South

Africa.

• Attempts were being made to renew attacks against Inkatha in the greater Maritzburg area.

• Inkatha would be radicalised if necessary with the times, or it would become more accommodating with the times.

• President Botha was more blameworthy for the problems South Africa was suffering than he was praiseworthy for attempting to solve the problems.

Never before had there been such white disunity and such deep divisions in white politics. This was not advantageous to black people, though, because of black disunity.

Chief Buthelezi would not participate in the National Council unless Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mthembu and other political prisoners were released.

Chief Buthelezi said that on Friday he had received a facsimile-machine message from Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning saying that he had sent him a letter about the Indaba which should arrive this week. Chief Buthelezi did not know what the letter would say.

Votes or credibility — Options for ailing PFP

17/12/1988
JMF
204A

THERE are those who see the change in leadership in the PFP as the panacea for all its problems.

This is, however, a shortsighted view.

The problem is where it is to be led — the direction upon which it should embark.

This problem of direction is in no way unique to the PFP. It holds true for most of the parliamentary opposition groupings to the left of Government.

Simply put, there are two courses open to such opposition groupings. Firstly, there is the power option — striving for maximum electoral growth to ensure it becomes the new Government, or at least part of Government. Secondly, there is the credibility option — limiting white electoral growth to remain credible in the eyes of black South Africans.

Whereas those who choose the first option will happily sacrifice some black credibility to gain one or more extra white seats in Parliament, those who choose the second course will instead sacrifice one or more white seats to remain relevant in the larger South African society.

This division should be seen as the root cause of the tensions that have been present in the PFP since the 1983 referendum on the tricameral constitution. The PFP was not only divided on whether it



The resignation of Colin Eglin (left) as leader of the Progressive Federal Party has plunged the party into yet another crisis. But the PFP's problem is not who should lead it, but in which direction it should be led. A political analyst examines the problem

vote in the referendum, but it was also divided on whether the PFP should participate in all three Houses of the new tricameral system. Its decision not to decide (on the "Coloured" and "Indian" houses) and to leave the choice to the respective communities, truly mirrored the divisions within the PFP on the issue.

To believe that a new leader — even someone of the standing of Dr Zac de Beer — can bridge this divide is asking too much. Therefore, to speak about creating unity to the left of Government is senseless since this would imply uniting people who have widely divergent opinions on the course such a united opposition should embark on.

Both groups are fairly strongly committed to their respective strategies. Although the strategy "to become part of Government" failed dismally in the 1987 general election, it has not really been buried. Policy decisions by the Party are still subjected to the "Omo" test — whether it washes with the white electorate. This serves to further alienate the two wings from one another.

And, to the extent that a new leader might decide to increase the PFP's commitment to big business interests — something that will increasingly put it in a position of direct confrontation with organisations such as the Congress of South Africa Trade Union (Cosatu) — the north-south divisions in the PFP will increase.

The power option and the credibility option also exists outside the PFP.

While Dennis Worrall primarily represents the power option and therefore emphasises white parliamentary politics, Wynand Malan has stressed the importance of engaging both the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary field.

As the crisis in South Africa intensifies, the present fluidity in opposition politics left of Government will increase forcing white politicians to an increasing extent to either side with the repressive Botha regime or with the democratic majority. Treading water in between will become tiresome.

two streams in the PFP around a common commitment to liberal democratic values and a rejection of both the repressive government and the increasingly radical black leadership (because they frequently resort to the use of "illegal methods") will not succeed in keeping the Party together. Instead, if it should succeed even partially, it will paralyse the Party into further inaction.

It will be far more realistic to expect the Party to increasingly split.

The more conservative power group in the PFP, largely Transvaal based, will easily find common cause with the style of a Dennis Worrall, while the more progressive Western Cape wing of the PFP (due to its close proximity to an active interaction with the black communities) will find natural allies in Wynand Malan and Co.

Splitting the PFP along these lines would give a re-grouping in the opposition left of Government a tremendous boost. For any leader of the PFP to try to bring about unity would do the cause of real change and the creation of a new dynamics in opposition politics a grave disservice.

By providing a new home for those opposition voters inside and outside the PFP, who are basically Nats, but for a variety of reasons — none of them ideological — do not want to join the Nats, Dennis Worrall and his jazzed up United Party will offer an obvious home.

In the process he will remove from the progressive opposition ranks those people — voters as well as MPs — who have prevented the progressive opposition from finally burning its bridges with the Botha government and allying itself with the broad democratic movement.

Attem pts b/ some to unite the

THE latest round of four-party talks in Cairo produced little in the way of concrete progress and no spectacular breakthroughs in the search for a peaceful resolution to the seemingly interminable conflict in south-western Africa.

Just how fragile the modest advances achieved in Cairo really are has been dramatically laid bare by the bloody clashes between the Cubans and the South African Defence Force in southern Angola barely 24-hours after the three-day talks had been wrapped up.

But while the negotiations produced few concrete results, the intrigue, gossip, controversy, behind-the-scenes manoeuvring and frequent colourful sidelights that marked the talks had journalists covering the affair working over-time.

And to complicate matters still further, most of the delegations in Cairo had come to the exotic venue with hidden agendas that had little to do with the search for peace *per se*.

In the case of South Africa, the pilgrimage to Cairo was also a major public relations drive carefully designed to boost Pretoria's international profile and generate a flood of publicity, most-

ly positive, about South Africa's programme of pathbreaking visits to ideologically hostile African capitals.

South African officials on the trip could hardly disguise their excitement over the symbolic significance of their chartered Boeing 747 becoming the first South African plane in a quarter of a century to fly directly overland to north Africa.

The unusual sight of a Jumbo jet with a flying springbok on its tail ostentatiously parked at Cairo airport for the duration of the talks had tongues wagging in Cairo — and generated feelings of smug satisfaction among the South African delegation keen to break down the Republic's increasing international isolation.

The trips to Brazzaville and more recently Cairo have also allowed Pretoria the opportunity to cross new diplomatic and trade frontiers.

However, contacts with government officials and businessmen on such trips are increasingly

Talk wasn't the point of the talks

The Cairo talks didn't make any great breakthroughs, but the South Africans made better progress in quiet deals on the side.

taking place secretly, in a bid to save host countries embarrassment and deflect criticism from other delegations who resent the propaganda value and practical benefits Pretoria is able to extract from such piggy-back meetings.

An index of the importance the South Africans attached to its "pathbreaking agenda" was the frank admission by one senior member of the delegation that even if the talks produced no concrete advances on the peace negotiations front, the related spin-offs accruing from a visit to the symbolically significant Cairo venue would have

made the trip worthwhile.

In the case of the Cubans, whatever proposals they brought to the conference table, it was clear from the outset that they had received a clear brief from a miffed President Fidel Castro to give the South Africans a bloody nose to improve Cuba's international image and restore some of the pride lost in recent months on the Angolan battlefield.

During the first brief session of the conference, the Cubans laid into South Africans with what one conference source described as a "highly acrimonious" barrage of "dialectical tripe" which came close to sparking a breakdown in the talks.

The South Africans, while clearly non-plussed by the the Cuban verbal assault, claimed that the tactic had fallen flat at the end of the day.

The Angolan delegation, while formally linked to the more strident Cubans, appeared to have an additional agenda of American "appeasement" at the talks.

Americans have been working on ways to make the prospect of Cuba recalling its 50 000 troops in Angola less traumatic for Havana.

The disruption to Cuban life that the sudden return of masses of effectively unemployed former foreign currency earners is apparently appreciated by the Americans.

In order to ease the dislocation inherent in such a move, the Americans — according to top conference sources — are looking at an incentive package for Havana in terms of which the US will accept 25 000 Cuban civilians in return for a similar number of troops being brought back home to Cuba.

All these complicating cross-currents aside, the conference got off to a tempestuous start with some vitriolic exchanges between the South Africans and the Cubans, who had clearly entered the soothing green conference hall spoiling for a fight.

After being baited by the Cubans on issues largely unrelated to the central question — foreign troop withdrawal and Namibian independence — Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha



Pik Botha

finally let rip and proceeded to give his detractors a long lecture ranging from Aids to comparative political and human rights in Africa and beyond.

The Americans appeared powerless to keep the talks on track and after just an hour the grim-faced South African delegation strode from the conference hall looking like death warmed up.

Questions fired by the hordes of awaiting international journalists as to whether the talks had collapsed were met with a brusque "No comment."

That night, a Soviet rescue mission in the form of Vladimir Vasev (the head of the Africa department of the Soviet foreign ministry) stepped in and brought the talks back on course.

Six hours of serious bargaining the next day saw the belligerents producing two sets of proposals that were sufficiently close to warrant a further meeting at which technical experts will try to hammer out a compromise plan.

However, as events this week at Calneque demonstrate, the measure of agreement reached in Cairo is brittle, without any guarantees that hostilities have been suspended.

By the end of the negotiations, something of a rift had appeared between the two, with the Angolans more willing to seek compromises, spurred perhaps by the practical need for continued petro-dollars in Cabinda.

The Angolans also agreed not to table the highly contentious issue of United States support for Unita during the conference, apparently in deference to US sensitivities about the matter.

At the end of the conference Cuba and Angola ended up holding separate press conferences — and took different views on the thorny issue of Cuban troop withdrawal, with the Cubans taking the more hardline approach.

The US, which chaired the talks, faced the difficulty of having to overcome pre-conference publicity questioning its ability to perform the task of honest broker and neutral arbiter while at the same time actively taking sides in the Angolan war.

There were also questions about how the need to reach a pro-US result to the negotiations before the Reagan term of office expires in November might predispose the Americans to steer the

Charter up for discussion

30-4-78
5-12-78
The Freedom Charter will be discussed at a two-day seminar hosted by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Cape Town.

Starting on July 15, the conference will attempt to expose white South Africans to the charter, and to provide a clearer picture on how the document will affect a post-apartheid South Africa socially, politically and economically.

The charter's contents will be debated by prominent speakers including Idasa directors Dr Alex Boraine and Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and church leader Dr Beyers Naude.

Other speakers include Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town's political studies department, community leader Dr Nthato Motlana and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement.

Is dual sovereignty South's path to unity?

BY COUNT LABIA

SOUTH AFRICA is facing one of the most intractable dilemmas in its history. There is universal agreement that reform must proceed but the reforms of the past, however praiseworthy, were directed at reducing white privilege — eliminating job reservation, allowing free movement to the cities, removing the ban on organized unions and similar measures. They in no way impinged on the essential security of whites.

Future reform must be concerned with political rights — hence with the whites' ability to control their own destiny. Thus reform must go on — but can it be made acceptable to all, worldwide?

The tragedy of apartheid is that it has masked a real problem by focusing attention on a superficial one: that of colour prejudice. No-one pretends this is insignificant but apartheid created the impression that South Africans were obsessed with colour alone. The real divisions in South Africa lie a good deal deeper than skin colour.

In the words of Professor Hermann Jillemee, the conflict in South Africa is a communal conflict in which Afrikaner and African nationalists struggle for control over the same historic homeland. Sunday Times, August 2 1987. It is similar in nature to communal conflicts in Lebanon, Cyprus, Ulster and Israel.

The next stage in reform, it is widely held, is power-sharing but between whom? The conventional answer is between colour groups defined in terms of the Population Registration Act. This is doomed. Not only does it perpetuate the distorted world image of South Africa, it is also an approach which is logically as well as morally indefensible.

Yet the problem exists, as it does elsewhere. It may not be the one the world sees in South Africa but the conflict is no less real, its solution no less urgent. Territorial division has been tried. It cannot work where individuals of different cultural backgrounds are widely dispersed geographically. This dispersion is indeed the kernel of the problem of communal strife. A fresh approach is essential.

There would seem to me to be two main problems in tackling the question of effective and fair power-sharing.

Firstly, there is the problem of deciding on criteria for dividing the population into the groups who are to share power. Secondly, there is the problem of devising a system which would make the sharing of power not only effective but also politically and legally acceptable, at home and abroad.

As regards the first problem, I feel the classification suggested by Prof Jillemee is too narrow. It seems that, looking at the broad sweep of South African history, there are two main cultural patterns: firstly, cultures stemming from Africa itself and those from outside, particularly Western Europe. This is the criterion I propose for distinguishing the two groups who are to share power in South Africa.

The relevant distinction would thus be between those classified as black and those classified as white, coloured and Asian.

Having decided on the nature of the groups most relevant to South Africa's background and history, one must next consider how may power be shared acceptably between the two groups?

One method might be through a modification of the present system. Parliament might consist of two instead of three houses, one to represent the European-Asian group, the other the African group. Legislation would have to be passed by both houses. A basic objection is that such a system would imply a retention of the Population Registration Act, even though the classification would be based on culture rather than colour. The Population Registration Act has been condemned as widely and as strongly as the Group Areas Act.

The way out is, I suggest, that the concept of ethno-nationalism should be taken to its logical conclusion and that it be accepted that there are de facto two South Africas, one composed of individuals of European-Asian culture and the other of African culture. The two states would exercise joint sovereignty over the territory of the South Africa of today.

Clearly a national convention would be required to set the ball rolling. On the assumption of basic agreement all South Africans registered as white, coloured and Asian would become citizens of a state called South Africa and all those registered as blacks, citizens of a state called Azania. Thereafter the Population Registration Act would cease to exist. Citizenship would pass the descent from one generation to the next. In the case of parents of different citizenship, the children could opt for the citizenship of their choice.

A major change would have been brought about. Instead of a distinction between individuals on the basis of colour, a concept totally rejected by the world, there would be a distinction based on citizenship, a citizenship which, in turn, is derived from cultural, linguistic and historical factors. And it would be an inalienable right of a citizen of either state to reside, work and buy property anywhere within the confines of what is South Africa today. The unloved Group Areas Act would be consigned to the dustheap of history.

Each state would have sole sovereignty only over its capital city — Pretoria in the case of South Africa and a city to be chosen in the case of Azania — and over a small pocket of land, of a few square kilometres, which encircles the capital. Over the rest of the country sovereignty would be exercised jointly by the two national states.

How would such a system work? Look first at the legislative function. Each national state would have a single-house Parliament with members elected to represent constituencies on the basis of one man, one vote. Each constituency would thus have two hats — one South African and one Azanian. Both Parliaments could be in a neutral city — perhaps Cape Town. For legislation to be effective, it would have to be approved by both bodies. A joint committee with members drawn equally from both Parliaments would attempt to reconcile differences of opinion and to make measures acceptable to both Parliaments. In regard to executive power, each Par-

liament would elect the State's executive head, the State President. Each State President would choose ministers to form a cabinet. This body, with the State President as chairman, would constitute the government of the state in question.

What powers would be exercised by such a government? Each government would be responsible for matters regarded as of cultural, historical or security significance to the state concerned. This would include schools and universities which at present cater for the cultural groups making up the national state in question. But with the switch to a citizenship criterion, schools and universities would not be reserved for the children of citizens of a particular state. Admission would depend on residence and on cultural and educational background.

Each state would have its own police, defence force and public service. Appointments and promotions would be done by the national governments. With in each capital and its small surrounding area, both defence and police units would be responsible purely to the national government. Elsewhere, as discussed below, joint control is envisaged.

An essential feature of the proposed system is the recognition that certain public affairs are either of a technical nature, or else concerned with problems that cannot effectively be handled separately by the state governments. In the first category, are roads, telecommunications, postal services, community health, and so forth. In the second, are included defence of the common frontiers, maintenance of law and order and foreign affairs. To meet these needs the two national states combine to form a confederation. The confederation envisaged would not in itself be a sovereign state but would exercise defined powers delegated by the national states. The precise functioning of the confederation would be a matter for negotiation, but what I have in mind is for a Confederal Ministers' Council to be set up which would be the confederation's supreme executive body.

Both states would be represented equally in this council. The chairman of

the council (who would be South African and Azanian in alternate years) would be designated Head of the Confederation of South Africa and Azania. His role would largely be that of a figurehead symbolizing the partnership of the two states.

The confederation, acting through the council, would be responsible for the general matters suggested above. Of particular significance would be the question of defence. In this sphere the confederation would perform the kind of role undertaken by Nato in the defence of Europe's frontiers. The confederation would also have important fiscal functions. In general, it would be the duty of the state administrations to collect taxes from their respective citizens. However, in view of the integrated nature of the system, it would be desirable for the same rate of taxation to apply to all individuals in any given income group, irrespective of citizenship. These rates could best be fixed by the confederal council.

The council would also have to decide on the proportion of total revenue to be channelled into confederal spending and on the way in which this would be broken down. In some cases, for example education, it would be desirable for all funding to be done by the confederation in order that uniform standards be maintained.

Is there any reason to expect this system of the various possible alternatives to be acceptable both here and abroad? The system is unlikely to make for efficiency, or quick decision-making. This, possibly, is one of its strengths. It is the very dispersion of power which prevents abuse. In general, there should be a feeling of security. Though neither community will dominate, by the same token neither can be dominated.

However, the dual sovereignty concept should not be regarded as the end of the road. Ultimately the bonds of common interest and of a shared homeland must prove stronger than the divisive forces of culture and language. A single citizenship will then emerge. The dream of a broad South Africanism will at last become reality.

Count Labia taught economics at UCT.

Target

Nationalist

Black Viewpoint

LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

1.3408 7/2/88

AFTER 40 years as a powerful and eloquent spokesman for Israel, South African-born Abba Eban has been ousted from Israeli politics.

A cartoon published after Eban was shouldered off the electoral list of the Labour Party and out of the mainstream of Israeli politics last month showed his tubby figure tethered Gulliver-like to the ground. Nearby, one Lilliputian figure is saying to another: "You can see he's not one of us."

Eban, former Foreign Minister and Ambassador to the UN and the US, is in many ways the least Israeli of Israelis.

For one thing there is his polished manner and Cambridge-nurtured accent, which led one British commentator to note: "Abba Eban is rather grand. By Israeli standards almost impossible grand."

He also has an irritating habit of telling home truths.

What Eban says is often little more than elegantly-phrased common sense. But with Israel in its present defensive mood, his utterances can sound shocking — almost unpatriotic — to some of his fellow citizens.

This habit of note-spotting undoubtedly contributed to his ousting from the Labour Party's list of candidates for the Knesset elections, due in November.

For the first time since the state of Israel was founded, he finds himself beached on the margins of Israeli political life and he does not like it.

On the other hand, his new position allows him to do more of what he already does very well: analysing and criticising, pricking the conscience of the nation that he did so much to create and sustain, but which nowadays he hardly looks at home in.

Recently, he spoke at length for the first time since his ousting about Israel past, present and future.

Ousted Eban has more home truths for the Israelis

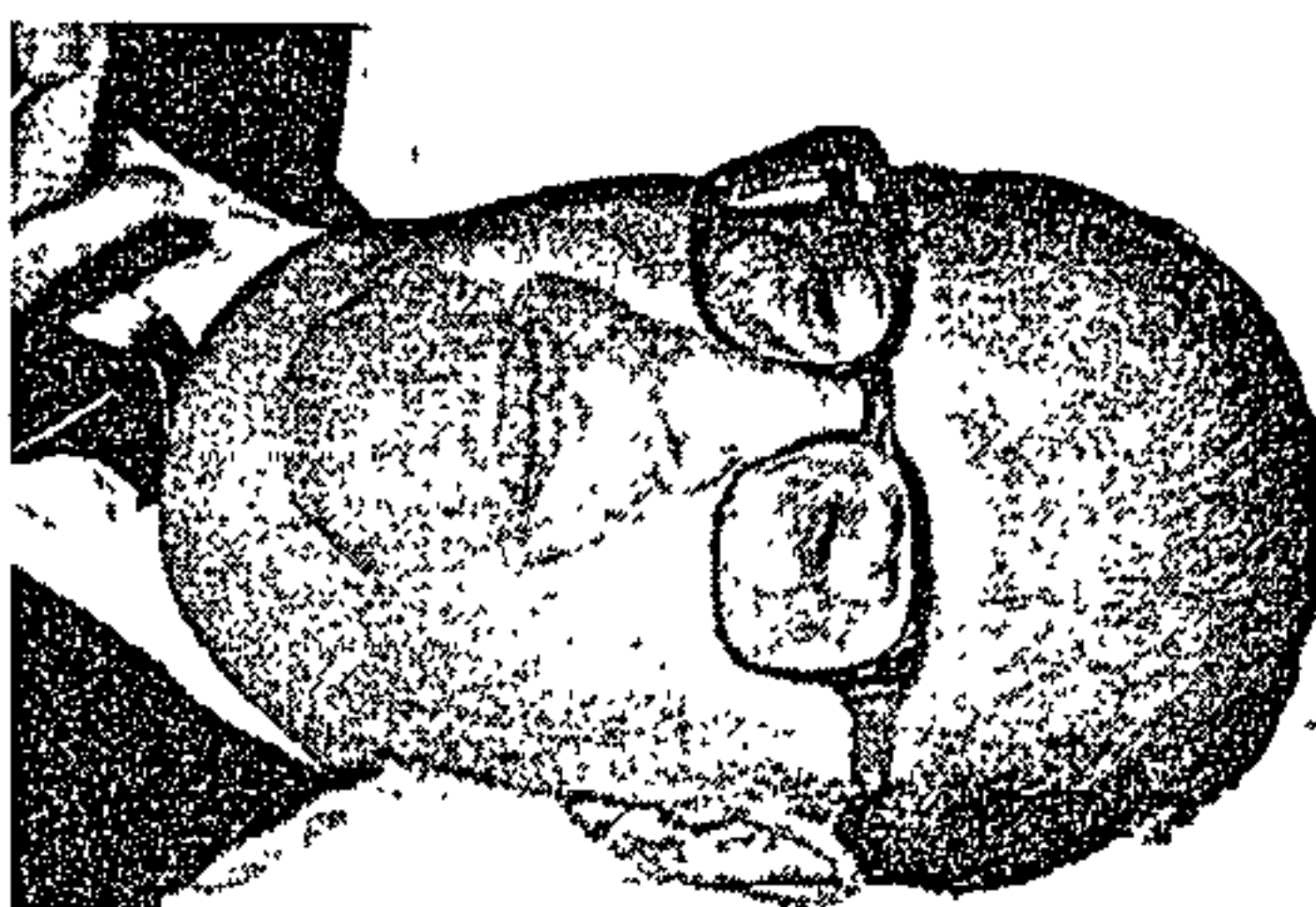
PATRICK BISHOP in Jerusalem

"At the end of 40 years we've never been stronger in material terms and never been more confused about our structures and values," he said.

The ideologies that went into the Zionist brew — Herzian liberalism, Weizmann's scientific rationalism and Ben Gurion's pioneering socialism — have lost their strength and their flavour and given way to a widespread irrationality.

"One of our great paradoxes in Israel is the gap between our actual strength and our feeling of vulnerability. This talk that our neighbours can destroy the state of Israel is nonsense, ridiculous."

More could the Palestine Liberation Organisation destroy us. You could get the armed men of the PLO into Madison Square Garden and it would still be only half full. They can threaten our security but not our existence.



□ EBAN ... 'crucial years ahead'

"The question is how we can communicate to ourselves the fact that our enemies are unlimited in their

malice, but not in their might."

Inevitably, he links Israel's malaise to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the failure to find a solution to the Palestinian problem.

"I don't think we can go on for another 20 years occupying, ruling, imprisoning, beating," he said.

The belief that Israel can continue to hang on to the Occupied Territories, Eban believes, betrays the original nature of the state.

"The Jewish people fail to understand that there was something contractual in our entry into the world. We promised to share the territory."

If we had said we wanted 100% of the land and 100% of the sovereignty, how many votes would we have got at the UN? Zero.

"The present position is a deviation from our birth. I never knew of a country that could successfully throw its birth certificate away."

Eban was one of the authors of UN Resolution 242, which called for the withdrawal of Israel from the Occupied Territories in return for the recognition of their sovereignty and right to live in peace inside secure and recognised boundaries.

"Resolution 242 says to the Palestinians: 'OK, you want the territories, let's have peace.' It says to the Israelis: 'You want peace, give back the territories'."

"Territory for peace is the only possible formula."

Eban said that "rationality, democracy and tolerance are more threatened than before, but not to the point where we should give the whole thing up."

But there is much that bothers him: the attitude of the young, for instance, towards rioting Palestinians ("Why don't you slap them harder?"); the stubborn refusal of the Jewish diaspora to settle in their home state.

In the November election, he believes, will be the most important in Israel's history, bringing with it the opportunity of installing a Labour government that will start proposals for withdrawing from the territories.

Still smarting from the brusqueness of his departure from the Knesset, Eban will not be taking much of a part in the campaigning.

He is not ready to abandon public life yet, however. After the election there is the hope of a ministerial post or special envoyship which does not require membership of the Knesset.

"The years 1989 and 1990 are going to be crucial, in which for good or ill there will be lots of clashes and conflicts and a great necessity for explaining ourselves to our friends."

THE regular Thursday feature on foreign exchange by David de Kock appears today on Page 8.

Dear Sir

Monday July 7 1988

10 000 in SA are disenfranchised

Call for Chinese vote is welcomed

848 7/7/88 304A

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

This week's appeal for voting rights for South Africa's 10 000-strong Chinese community (6 500 in Johannesburg) has been welcomed and "a solution was awaited with interest", said Mr Rodney Man, chairman of the Chinese Association.

He was commenting on an appeal to the Government by Progressive Federal Party candidate Mr Clive Gilbert to give the Chinese the vote because they were the only disenfranchised group in the country.

Mr Man said the Chinese viewed the situation philosophically.

"It is not a pressure point although

we have had discussions with the Government.

"If one takes a wider view of the issues in South Africa, then there are much more fundamental challenges ahead, such as drawing all people together into a political structure acceptable to all.

"What was important in the past was the Group Areas Act and the Mixed Marriages Act, which affected our economic and social mobility."

The community was so small and spread around the country that it could not vote en bloc to exert any significant influence on the evolving processes in South Africa, Mr Man said.

The Chinese did not slavishly follow any particular position but favoured individual freedom for all.

"We do not want labels, merely as many rights as anyone else," he said.

Indaba spreading its wings into ^{304A} Cape, Transvaal

DURBAN — The kwaZulu-Natal Indaba is expanding its operations beyond the borders of the region into the Transvaal and the Cape.

An Indaba office has already been established in Johannesburg, and one will be opened in Cape Town next month, it was announced here yesterday.

"These expansions reflect the Indaba's extensive national support, evidenced by market research surveys, as well as the demand for further information from organisations and the public nationwide," said Indaba communications director Mr Peter Badcock.

"The Johannesburg office will cater for the considerable human and financial support we receive from the Transvaal, while the Cape Town office will concentrate on stepping up interaction with Government and those who influence Government."

At the same time, Mr Badcock said, the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba would close its office in Maritzburg and centralise its regional communications programme at its Durban headquarters.

"The structural changes in the organisation reflect our realisation that the Government's ultimate response to the Indaba will in large measure be determined by the attitude of people throughout South Africa, not just in kwaZulu-Natal," he said.

"We are aware that an increasing number of highly placed South Africans nationwide are viewing the Indaba process and model, which if adapted, could provide a basis for a national constitutional solution."

— Sapa

Thursday, July 7, 1988

THE Government wants to appoint a black Cabinet Minister and the man tipped for this position—could be Mr John Mavuso, vice-chairman of the constitutional committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

Recently, Mr Mavuso became the first black man to take part in a joint debate with white, coloured and Indian parliamentarians in the extended public committee on provincial affairs in the Transvaal.

The debate was in Pretoria on May 29.

Mr Mavuso told the parliamentarians that as a black man, he was not bitter and that the National Party administration was genuine in its efforts to find solutions to the problems of South Africa.

Meetings

"I am also not bitter about the past," he said.

People working close to him, mainly black councillors, said several meetings were held behind closed doors in the past month between the State President, Mr P W. Botha, and Mr Mavuso to discuss his possible appointment as a Cabinet Minister.

The meetings, we have been informed, were also attended by senior government officials and members of the TPA. Other meetings are planned for the future.

The Bill that would enable Mr Botha to appoint a black Cabinet Minister when passed, stalled in the House of Representatives two weeks ago when it was

Now sky seems the limit for John

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

opposed by the Labour Party.

For the time being, the possibility of a black Cabinet Minister being appointed hangs in the balance until Mr Botha makes his next move.

The question still remains. What will his duties be in Parliament? Will he have any say in the policy making of this country? Will his voice be heard?

Coloured and Indian MPs have failed in the past to bring any changes in the country's present government system.

What weight will his lone voice carry in the Cabinet?

Not long ago, Mr Mavuso was a businessman and a top official of the Inkatha Movement.

Executive

But just two years ago, he was appointed vice-chairman of the constitutional committee of the TPA, a position he still holds today. He is the only black serving in the TPA's executive.

In Inkatha, he was in the central committee. When he was appointed to the TPA, Inkatha fired him from its central committee.

He is still an active member of the organisation.



Mr JOHN Mavuso . . . first black Cabinet Minister?

Mr Mavuso says he does not regret joining the white system. In an interview last July he said by joining the TPA, he was fighting for the improvement of the standard of living in black townships.

He said that his decision to participate in a government created structure, followed the true tradition and spirit of black liberation politics, especially the African National Congress.

Objective

"Since the founding of the ANC in 1912, its main objective was to get blacks into the running of the country. That is what I am presently doing," he said.

After his appointment, Mr Mavuso appealed to black leaders to come forward and use the avenues opened to them by the Government—like serving in black local authorities.

His main concern at the moment is for the coming municipal elections in October.

Mr Mavuso has repeatedly pleaded with blacks to take part in the elections, saying that they stood a better chance of changing the present system of government.

He presently serves on three committees of the

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TPA constitutional committee. He is chairman of the Housing and Community Development Committee; vice-chairman of the Local Government, Library and Museum Services and committee member of the Regional Services Council.

Born

Mr Mavuso was born in Pongolo, Natal. He attended school in Ermelo. In 1945 he settled in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg.

When he arrived in Alexandra, he joined the ANC and was in its youth league. In the early 50's he was elected secretary of the Alexandra branch of the youth league.

While serving in the ANC, Mr Mavuso was once charged with treason because of his involvement in the "liberation struggle". He was later acquitted. After leaving the ANC, he became a businessman and also joined Inkatha. Two years ago he was appointed to the TPA.

And now this.

Rightist groups to 'enforce' apartheid

CAPE TIMES 7/7/88
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By CHRIS BATEMAN

RIGHT-WING Afrikaans organizations yesterday said that if the Group Areas Amendment Bill was passed they would carefully monitor enforcement and actively point out transgressors if it "became necessary".

The bill provides for property owners who allow the wrong population group to occupy a home to be fined R10 000 or be jailed for five years. Tenants face fines of R4 000 or two years in jail.

Inspectors will enforce the law and offenders will be evicted even if they do not have alternative accommodation. The state will buy illegally occupied property.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, said his organization "expected" the law to be strictly enforced.

Conservative Party spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said the CP would "actively point out transgressors and those reported to us".

'Ensure offenders are removed'

Mrs Anna Boshoff, executive vice-chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag, said she did not see reporting transgressors as falling outside the organization's founding principles.

A spokesman for the Cape Western Region of the PFP said his executive would form a crisis committee to oppose the bill.

Sapa reports that a fight is brewing in Durban between a right-wing organization threatening to act against 9 000 group areas transgressors and 150 lawyers who have promised to defend them free.

Durban's chapter of the Blanke Bevydingsbeweging (BBB) has welcomed the tough Group Areas Amendment Bill and said it would enforce the act. "If the proper powers do not take the necessary steps themselves to enforce the laws, we will ensure that the offenders are removed," a BBB member said yesterday.

PFP

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Waiting for De Beer

Zach de Beer, who will almost certainly be elected Progressive Federal Party leader at the PFP's federal congress in Cape Town next month, faces a daunting task.

Not only must he pull the demotivated party up by its bootstraps, he has to try to stop the further disintegration of the moderate opposition to government's Left (see *People*).

Colin Eglin's decision not to stand for re-election was expected. He reluctantly stepped back into the breach when Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert quit parliament in 1986

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and has never appeared particularly comfortable. His position became more difficult after the reverses suffered by the party in last year's general election.

In spite of the speculation that De Beer may be opposed as leader by, among others, Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Greenpoint, PFP stalwarts are confident that when the time comes he will be elected unopposed.

They are also confident that he will provide the sort of leadership the party desperately needs. Apart from his 11 years' experience in parliament (United Party MP for Maitland from 1953 to 1961 and Progressive Party MP for Parktown from 1977 until he retired in 1980), De Beer's impeccable record in business leadership is expected to boost the PFP's image.

How he will cope with the problem of uniting moderate opposition groups on the government's Left remains to be seen. As part of a three-man task force (the other two being Eglin and former MP for Albany, Errol Moorcroft), De Beer has been in contact with Independent Party leader Denis Worrall for some time. He is expected to maintain a working relationship and possibly move towards a greater accommodation of mutual interests.

Although getting De Beer back into parliament is regarded by the PFP as a priority, he is not expecting any sitting MP to resign to force a by-election for his sake.

A possible winnable seat would be Hillbrow if the sitting MP, Leon de Beer, who is currently on trial for alleged election irregularities, is unseated. The PFP's parliamentary veteran, Helen Suzman, has denied that she will step down in Houghton to make way for De Beer, and party sources dismiss speculation that Marius Barnard will retire to make De Beer's old Parktown seat available for him once again. ■

VERKLARENDE MEMORANDUM WETSONTWERP OP DIE UITBREIDING VAN POLITIEKE DEELNAME

Klousule 1: Woordomsrywings

Hierdie klousule bevat woordomsrywings.

HOOFSTUK 1: VERKIESINGS

Klousules 2 en 5: Afbakening van streke

Die Staatspresident word gemagtig om die Republiek, uitgesonderd die Selfregerende Gebiede, in streke te verdeel en in daardie streke verkiesings uit te vaardig vir die kies van lede van wetgewende rade vir die Swart inwoners van die betrokke streke.

Klousule 3: Raadpleging voor verkiesings

Alvorens die Staatspresident 'n verkiesing in 'n streek uitvaardig, moet hy die stemgeregtigdes van daardie streek raadpleeg. Hy doen dit deur 'n kennisgewing te publiseer waarin hy relevante inligting verskaf en die stemgeregtigdes van die gebied uitnoui om vertoe en kommentaar daaroor voor te lê. Nadat hy sodanige vertoe en kommentare oorweeg het, kan die Staatspresident 'n verkiesing in die streek uitvaardig.

Klousule 4: Stemgeregtigdes

Kragtens hierdie klousule is elke Swart Suid-Afrikaanse burger wat minstens 18 jaar oud is, binne 'n streek woon, nie skuldig bevind is aan 'n onwettige of korrupte verkiesingsbedryf nie en nie deur 'n onbevoegdheid bedoel in artikel 4 (1) (a) en (2) van die Kieswet, 1979, geraak word nie, geregtig om in so 'n verkiesing te stem. Die onbevoegdhede vermeld in die Kieswet sluit in kranksinnigheid, moord, hoogverraad, misdrywe ingevolge wette wat die bekamping van kommunisme en terrorisme ten doel het en misdrywe in verband met dwelmmiddels. Hierdie stemregkwalifikasies stem basies ooreen met dié vir die ander bevolkingsgroepe.

Klousule 6 en Bylae: Verkiesingsregulasies

Die voer van die verkiesings sal by regulasie gereël word. Voorsiening sal onder meer gemaak moet word dat organisasies met politieke oogmerke kan registreer vir doeleindes van deelname aan die verkiesings, vir die nominasie van kandidate, die wyse van stemming, ensovoorts.

HOOFSTUK II: WETGEWENDE RADE

Klousule 7: Instelling van wetgewende rade

Nadat die aantal lede wat die Staatspresident in die verkiesingsproklamasie bepaal het, verkies is, stel die Staatspresident 'n wetgewende raad bestaande uit daardie lede vir die betrokke streek in. Die Staatspresident bepaal ook die kworum, setel en ander verwante aangeleenthede in verband met 'n wetgewende raad in die instellingsproklamasie (*Klousules 23 en 29*). Elke wetgewende raad bepaal sy eie naam [*Klousule 7 (2)*].

Klousule 8: Wetgewende bevoegdhede

'n Wetgewende raad kan ingevolge *Klousule 8 (1)* wette maak vir die Swart inwoners van sy streek met betrekking tot die volgende aangeleenthede:

1. Maatskaplike welsyn

Alle welsynsaangeleenthede, insluitende maatskaplike pensioene, maar onderworpe aan enige wet van die Parlement met betrekking tot—

- norme en standaarde vir die verskaffing of finansiering van welsynsdienste;
- beheer oor die insameling van geld en ander bydraes van lede van die publiek vir welsynsdienste of liefdadigheid; en
- die registrasie van maatskaplike werkers en beheer oor hul beroep.

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM EXTENSION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BILL

Clause 1: Definitions

This clause contains definitions.

CHAPTER 1: ELECTIONS

Clause 2 and 5: Delimitation of regions

The State President is empowered to divide the Republic, excluding the Self-governing Territories, into regions and to call elections in those regions for the election of members of legislative councils for the Black inhabitants of the regions concerned.

Clause 3: Consultation before elections

The State President must consult the entitled voters of a region before calling an election for that region. He must do so by publishing a notice containing relevant information and inviting the entitled voters of that region for their representations and comment. After consideration of such representations and comment, the State President may call an election in that region.

Clause 4: Voters

Under this clause every Black South African citizen who is at least 18 years of age, resides in a region, has not been convicted for an unlawful or corrupt electoral practice, and is not subject to any disqualification referred to in section 4 (1) (a) and (2) of the Electoral Act, 1979, is entitled to vote in such election. The disqualifications mentioned in the Electoral Act include mental illness, murder, treason, offences in terms of laws which have as their object the combating of communism and terrorism and drug related offences. These qualifications correspond basically to those for other population groups.

Clause 6 and Schedule: Election regulations

The conduct of the elections will be arranged by regulation. Provision will *inter alia* have to be made for organisations with political objectives to register for the purposes of participating in the elections, for the nomination of candidates, the manner of voting, etc.

CHAPTER II: LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

Clause 7: Establishment of legislative councils

After the number of members determined by the State President in the election proclamation have been elected, the State President will establish a legislative council for the region concerned consisting of those members. The State President shall also determine the quorum, seat and other matters related to a legislative council in the establishment proclamation (*Clauses 23 and 29*). Each legislative council shall determine its own name [*Clause 7 (2)*].

Clause 8 (1): Legislative powers

A legislative council may make laws for the Black inhabitants of the region concerned in respect of the following matters:

1. Social welfare

All welfare matters, including social pensions, but subject to any act of Parliament in respect of—

- norms and standards for the provision or financing of welfare services;
- control of the collection of money and other contributions from members of the public for welfare services or charity; and
- the registration of social workers, and control over their profession.

KENNISGEWING 464 VAN 1988**DEPARTEMENT VAN ONTWIKKELINGS-
BEPLANNING****WETSONTWERP OP DIE UITBREIDING VAN
POLITIEKE DEELNAME**

Die volgende Wetsontwerp word hierby vir algemene inligting en kommentaar gepubliseer. Enige persoon, organisasie, instelling of belangegroep wat kommentaar op die Wetsontwerp wil lewer of vertoë daaromtrent wil rig, moet dit asseblief nie later nie as 1 Augustus 1988 aan die Hoof: Staatskundige Ontwikkelingsdiens, Privaatsak X644, Pretoria, 0001, stuur.

WETSONTWERP

om voorsiening te maak vir die instelling van wetgewende en uitvoerende rade vir Swart gemeenskappe; die verkiesing van wetgewende rade en verbandhoudende aangeleenthede; die bevoegdhede, funksies en pligte van wetgewende en uitvoerende rade; en om voorsiening te maak vir bykomstige aangeleenthede.

DAAR WORD BEPAAL deur die Staatspresident en die Parlement van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, soos volg:

Woordomskrifings

1. In hierdie Wet, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

- (i) "Grondwet" die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983); (ii)
- (ii) "hoofverkiesingsbeampte" die hoofverkiesingsbeampte aangestel by proklamasie uitgevaardig kragtens artikel 2; (i)
- (iii) "instellingsproklamasie" die proklamasie bedoel in artikel 7; (v)
- (iv) "Minister" die Minister van Staatskundige Ontwikkeling en Beplanning; (vii)
- (v) "organisasie" 'n organisasie wat ingevolge regulasies uitgevaardig kragtens artikel 6 geregistreer is vir doeleindes van verkiesings ingevolge hierdie Wet; (ix)
- (vi) "stemdag" die dag of dae waarop die verkiesing gehou moet word soos bepaal by proklamasie uitgevaardig kragtens artikel 2; (x)
- (vii) "stemgeregtigde" 'n persoon bedoel in artikel 4; (iv)
- (viii) "streek" een van die streke waarin die Republiek, uitgesonderd 'n gebied wat ingevolge artikel 26 van die Grondwet van die Nasionale State, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971), tot 'n selfregerende gebied verklaar is, by proklamasie uitgevaardig kragtens artikel 2 verdeel is; (xi)
- (xi) "uitvoerende raad" 'n uitvoerende raad bedoel in artikel 30; (vi)
- (x) "verkiesingsproklamasie" die proklamasie bedoel in artikel 2; (iii)
- (xi) "wetgewende raad" 'n wetgewende raad ingestel kragtens artikel 7. (vii)

HOOFSTUK 1**VERKIESINGS****Verkiesing van lede van wetgewende rade**

2. Behoudens die bepalings van hierdie Wet kan die Staatspresident by proklamasie in die *Staatskoerant* bepaal dat 'n verkiesing in 'n streek gehou moet word om lede van 'n wetgewende raad vir daardie streek te verkies.

NOTICE 464 OF 1988**DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING****EXTENSION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BILL**

The following Bill is hereby published for general information and comment. Any person, organisation, institution or interest group wishing to offer comment on the Bill or to make representations thereon, should kindly submit it to the Head: Constitutional Development Services, Private Bag X644, Pretoria, 0001, not later than 1 August 1988.

BILL

to provide for the establishment of legislative and executive councils for Black communities; the election of legislative councils and related matters; the powers, functions and duties of legislative and executive councils; and to provide for incidental matters.

BE IT ENACTED by the State President and the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:

Definitions

1. In this Act, unless the context otherwise indicates—

- (i) "chief electoral officer" means the chief electoral officer appointed by proclamation issued in terms of section 2; (ii)
- (ii) "Constitution" means the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983); (i)
- (iii) "election proclamation" means the proclamation referred to in section 2; (x)
- (iv) "entitled voter" means a person referred to in section 4; (vii)
- (v) "establishment proclamation" means the proclamation referred to in section 7; (iii)
- (vi) "executive council" means an executive council referred to in section 30; (ix)
- (vii) "legislative council" means a legislative council established under section 7; (xi)
- (viii) "Minister" means the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning; (iv)
- (ix) "organization" means an organization registered in terms of regulations made under section 6 for the purposes of elections in terms of this Act; (v)
- (x) "polling day" means the day or days upon which the election shall take place as determined by proclamation issued under section 2; (vi)
- (xi) "region" means one of the regions into which the Republic, excluding any area declared to be a self-governing territory under section 26 of the National States Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971), has been divided by proclamation issued under section 2. (viii)

CHAPTER I**ELECTIONS****Election of members of legislative councils**

2. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the State President may by proclamation in the *Gazette*, determine that an election shall be held in a region in order to elect the members of a legislative council for that region.

ZAC DE BEER

Return of the prodigal Prog

It is a wry comment on the state of liberal opposition in SA today that a man who wrote his own political epitaph in 1980 is now frontrunner for the vacated leadership of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP).

The man is Zac de Beer, the personable executive director of Anglo American Corporation and chairman of both Southern Life Association and LTA. Eight years ago he buried his party political career, saying, "He might have succeeded if he'd had the will."

It was a surprising admission from the man who was perceived to have everything — personal charisma, professional talent and success. And he'd certainly had plenty of political opportunities.

De Beer wrote himself into the history books by becoming, at 24, the country's youngest-ever MP. He was even regarded as having the potential to become SA's William Pitt (the youngest ever PM), until he forsook the old United Party (UP) and became a founding member of the PFP.

"My biggest problem," he has said of himself, "is that I see both sides all too easily."

Born in Woodstock in Cape Town of a British mother and an Afrikaans father, he was educated at Bishops' College and the University of Cape Town. After qualifying as a doctor in 1951 he set up in private practice with his father and simultaneously launched into politics for the UP.

Until 1961 his frantic lifestyle combined medicine and politics. But then he lost his Maitland seat, Helen Suzman became the only Prog candidate to be returned and De Beer moved into the unlikely world of advertising.

He concentrated on business for a while, eventually becoming a director of the P N Barret Advertising Agency "where I learned about company marketing and planning — and more about people."

Then he joined his friend and former political colleague Harry Oppenheimer at Anglo, and from 1968 saw service in the public relations, marketing and industrial divisions. In 1972 he was seconded to Zambia as MD of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines.

"They were the most enjoyable years of my working career. I had a defined responsibility and saw the workings of a new and developing African state."

Three years later he was back in SA. He stood for Parktown in the 1977 election — "I wanted to see the parliamentary session through" — and in 1980 officially retired from parliamentary politics. He was then chairman of Anglo's Insurance Holdings and of LTA.

Speaking at a series of emotional farewell parties in Cape Town and Johannesburg, he said of his twin careers: "I've been doing both jobs badly. My retirement's been on the cards for a long time."

De Beer's retirement wasn't exactly retirement. He has never really been out of the political spotlight, campaigning solidly for businessmen to involve themselves in things political and for the promotion of the free enterprise ethic.

In 1983 he was calling for a No vote in the



De Beer ... it could be a case of third time lucky

referendum. He was in the headlines two years later in 1985, first when he called for the scrapping of the statutory minimum wage (a reversal of the stand he took in 1970) and again as one of the group of businessmen who visited the ANC in Lusaka. In 1986 he hit the front page with his declamations on one man, one vote.

Through his speeches and his writings, De Beer's political philosophy emerges as more romantically idealist than realistic or pragmatic. He follows his conscience first — as he did when he broke away from the UP and as he did again over the minimum wage issue.

And he has been characterised — by both political friends and foes — as "contaminated by radical chic."

His thinking has certainly been radical enough in the past:

□ "Suspension of violence is not an essential precondition for negotiation or dialogue to begin in SA." (1985);

□ "Formerly, white domination of SA poli-

tics was reprehensible but feasible. Increasingly now it is impractical and indefensible." (1986);

□ "A one man, one vote system must be adopted if SA is to achieve political or economic stability. There is room for negotiation on how the franchise would work, but we must move in that direction." (1986); and

□ "Sooner or later it will become necessary to talk again (with the ANC) simply because the ANC is an important political reality." (1986)

Yet he sees himself as "a realistic pragmatist. I get up in the morning, I do a job and I go to bed at night. I do what has to be done rather than worry about what might have been."

He also loves his wife and his children and his dogs, and even cooks for the family when he has the time.

Now his on/off party political career is on again, but he's being very coy and careful about public pronouncements. He accepted the leadership nomination and has now been officially anointed by the so-called Young Turk faction of the PFP, but he's playing his own cards quietly.

"I think it's important that I not start behaving as though I was the head of the PFP while Eglin is still in and while I am still a businessman running companies. Colin's position has to be preserved with dignity, and people still have to do business with me for the next four to six weeks.

"At one stage, after I accepted the nomination, I thought I would have to resign all my jobs. But my colleagues have very kindly said they will make arrangements so that I can carry on with everything, which is very nice of them."

One colleague, though, will not be there to help carry the load. Deputy Southern Life CE Morris Bernstein (formerly MD of Anglo American Life) has resigned after four years with the group.

He intends to emigrate, and is busy finalising a company restructuring before leaving by year-end.

That gap has already been plugged, however, and there is no doubt that Anglo is backing De Beer all the way.

In other words, there is nothing but time between De Beer and the PFP leadership. The questions arise after the party congress. Can he pull the floundering party together? Can he unite the disparate opposition groups of the Left? Can he make a better job of his politics than he did last time round?

If De Beer tackles the PFP the way he tackles his business problems, he could still emerge as a force in SA politics. It is his last opportunity.

It is the right time to step down — Eglin

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

"THIS is an appropriate time to close a chapter and to open a new one," Mr Colin Eglin says as he gazes out of the window of the parliamentary office he will vacate soon — as he vacated the office of the Leader of the Opposition after the last election and after Dr van Zyl Slabbert was chosen Progressive Federal Party leader in 1977.

Mr Eglin chooses his metaphors carefully. Although rumours persist that he was under pressure to give up the job after the party's setbacks in the May 6 election last year, and recurrent problems since then, he insists that he did not jump nor was he pushed.

Instead, he chose the appropriate time "to pass on the baton". Leading the PFP, he says, is not like running the mile. "It's like a relay race where four people run the quarter mile."

The decision was his own and he is angry about his impending departure being reported as a resignation.

"I do not want it said that like Van Zyl Slabbert I walked out on the party. I am not resigning. It's just that in the normal course of events I am saying that when the re-election of the leader comes up at the federal congress in August, as it does at every federal congress every two years, I will not stand."

Mr Eglin said he had made up his mind earlier this year that the time was ripe to pull out but was persuaded to stay on until the end of the parliamentary sitting just ended.

He felt it was right to leave now — "to give someone else time to shape the party in his own way before the next election", which is due by early 1990 at latest unless the constitution is changed.

The time was chosen not to suit himself "but to fit the party cycle". Politics went in election cycles, he said, and he had to ask himself whether it was appropriate to "lock" himself into the next cycle of about six years.

"I had no intention of dying with my boots on, and I would be

around 69 when the next cycle came to an end."

Unlike some other political leaders who "grasp at power", he did not choose the leadership.

"In a sense the position came by surprise and in difficult circumstances when Van Zyl Slabbert pulled out. I never saw it as a long-term career. I believed that I had a job to do and when I had discharged it I would get out."

His duty, as he saw it, when he took over the party for the second time in February, 1986, was to see the PFP through the next general election — which the party expected no sooner than 1989.

"Our whole election strategy was based on that. The whole concept of alliance politics was based on an election in three years' time. Had there been no election in 1987 and it was still to be next year I would have stayed on until after that."

Mr Eglin said the PFP's major setbacks in the election did not influence his decision to stand down. "Had the 1987 election gone better I don't know if I would have done differently."

In any case, the August federal congress of the PFP was the appropriate time to step down because it was half-way between elections and the party was in fairly good shape.

Cohesive image

"The election didn't go well and we had splits from the party afterwards. But for the last six months the party has been going well. The parliamentary team is presenting a fairly cohesive image."

Mr Eglin conceded there was a risk in a change of leadership.

But a change also provided the opportunity for someone else to give the party a new thrust.

Mr Eglin refused to back Dr Zac de Beer — the man widely tipped to replace him as leader — because he said he did not want to play the role of kingmaker. He would give his support to whoever the federal congress chose.

But whoever took over would face two critical challenges — rigidly to maintain the PFP's commitment to non-racial politics but at the same time to be flexible on strategy to ensure that as many like-minded people as possible were brought together.

Unless the current divisions with the liberal parliamentary opposition were healed before the next general election, Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Party would win no seats and the number of PFP seats would be reduced further.

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PFP slams new Bill on black councils

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Legislation for the establishment of black legislative and executive councils to exercise authority over own affairs was published today in the Government Gazette "for comment".

The legislation has immediately been criticised by the PFP for duplicating powers and extending the principle of own affairs.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, announced that the aim of the Extension of Political Participation Bill was to establish elected legislative and executive councils for black communities outside the self-governing territories.

The councils would exercise authority on a regional basis over own affairs matters such as education, welfare, local government and community development, which would include housing and town development.

Elected black executive councils would be able to pass laws on own affairs matters and would be empowered to amend or repeal Acts of Parliament.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on constitutional development and planning, said the proposed legislation was "one of those hopeless efforts to avoid the realities of the South African situation" since it only extended the concept of own affairs.

"The duplication of structures to run this country has become totally absurd."

She doubted whether legitimate representative black leaders would be prepared to participate and added that the huge powers given to the State President regarding the legislation could not be condoned.

Mr Heunis said the Government's view was that all communities should participate in the government process on the different levels and that the necessary structures must be developed through negotiation. — Political Reporter and Sapa.

Dominder

Why Eglin is 'passing on the baton'

BY PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff
Mr Colin Eglin who has stepped down as leader of the Progressive Federal Party says he neither jumped nor was pushed out of office.

"This is an appropriate time to close a chapter and to open a new one," Mr Colin Eglin says as he gazes out of the window of the parliamentary office he will vacate soon — as he vacated the office of the Official Leader of the Opposition after the May elections and after Dr van Zyl Slabbert was chosen PFP leader in 1977.

Mr Eglin chooses his metaphors carefully. Though rumours persist that he was pressured to give up the job after the party's setbacks in the May 6 elections last year, and recurrent problems since then, he insists that he neither jumped nor was pushed.

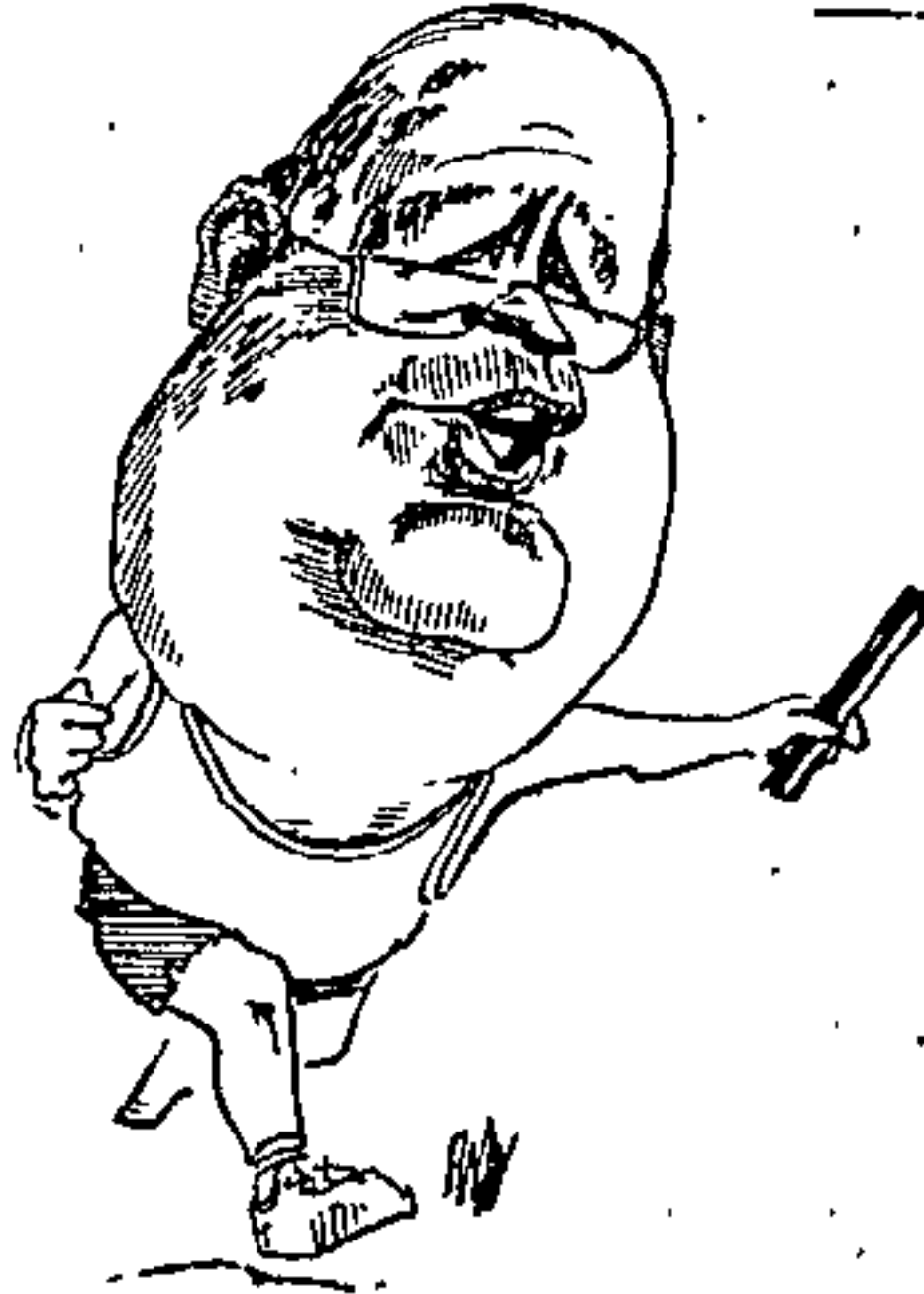
Instead, he chose the appropriate time "to pass on the baton". Leading the PFP, he says, is not like running the mile. "It's like a relay race where four people run the quarter mile".

The decision was his own and he is angry about his impending departure being reported as a "resignation".

"I do not want it said that like Van Zyl Slabbert I walked out on the party. I am not resigning. It's just that in the normal course of events I am saying that when the re-election of the leader comes up at the federal congress in August, as it does at every federal congress every two years, I will not stand."

Mr Eglin said he had made up his mind earlier this year that the time was ripe to pull out but was persuaded to stay on until the end of the parliamentary sitting.

He felt it was right to leave now — "to give someone else time to shape the party



in his own way before the next election" — due by early 1990 at the latest, unless the constitution is changed.

The time was chosen not to suit himself "but to fit the party cycle".

He says that "unlike some other political leaders who grasp at power" he did not choose the leadership.

"In a sense the position came by surprise and in difficult circumstances when Van Zyl Slabbert pulled out. I never saw it as a long-term career. I believed that I had a job to do and when I had discharged it I would get out."

His duty, as he saw it, when he took over the party for the second time in February 1986, was to see the party through the next general elections — which the party expected no sooner than 1989.

"Had there been no election in 1987 and it was still to be next year I would have stayed on until after that."

Mr Eglin says that the PFP's major setbacks in the May 6 1987 elections did not influence his decision to stand down.

Mr Eglin conceded that there was risk in a change of leadership. "Every time you have an election or a change of leadership there is a certain shake-up effect."

"And in transition a party is more brittle than otherwise."

Mr Eglin refused to back Dr Zac de Beer — the man widely tipped to replace him as leader — because he said he did not want to play the role of king-maker.

He would give his support to whoever the federal congress chose.

But whoever took over would face two critical challenges — rigidly to maintain the PFP's commitment to non-racial politics but at the same time to be flexible on strategy to ensure that as many like-minded people as possible were brought together.

Unless the current divisions with the liberal parliamentary opposition were healed before the next general elections, Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Party would win no seats and the number of PFP seats would be reduced further.

He believed in a short-term strategy of election agreements and alliances among the parties, but in the end unity was the only answer.

Mr Eglin said that polls showed that the combined support for the liberal opposition had not dwindled. In June 1986, the PFP commanded the support of 18.9 per cent of the electorate, in March 1987 the PFP, New Republic Party and independents polled 24 percent and now the PFP, IP and NDM together could still count on 23 percent.

Idasa — the quiet trouble builders

by ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

DO not be deceived by the relatively low public profile the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) has adopted during the first 18 months of its existence.

This is not because the national organisation, pioneered by disenchanted ex-Parliamentarians Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, has battled to get off the ground. Far from it, its leaders say.

Idasa, sometimes favouring discreet avenues in a volatile political climate, has made significant strides in winning over scores of people who were previously loathe to forge new alliances.

Although the concept of "breaking down barriers" has become a well-worn cliché in South African politics, Idasa acknowledges that this is a primary objective.

But, says national co-ordinator Mr Wayne Mitchell, there is an important extension to this principle: "We are working desperately hard to get people beyond rhetoric; the phrase has been used before without necessarily leading to constructive moves."

To this end, Idasa has been instrumental in co-ordinating dozens of workshops, seminars, forums, township tours and visits beyond South Africa's borders.

Not many people know, for instance, that 18 student leaders from Afrikaners campuses are due back today from a five-day excursion to

Harare for talks with fellow-leaders and academics at the University of Zimbabwe.

It was part of an ongoing programme, encouraged by Idasa, to build contacts in frontline states and dispel much of the negative propaganda circulated in South Africa on these countries.

The students, from Rand Afrikaans University and the universities of Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Stellenbosch and Port Elizabeth, were accompanied by the Transvaal regional director of Idasa, Mr Steve Fourie.

IDASA'S yearning to make contact north of the Limpopo, however, goes back a lot further to July 9, 1987, when more than 60 South Africans, mainly Afrikaners-speaking, left for widely-publicised talks with the African National Congress in Dakar, Senegal.

The talks catapulted Idasa onto the political map in more ways than one. While the initiative was lauded in many circles, it generated biting criticism from the Government and right wing organisations.

Delegates and Idasa officials insisted upon the return of the party — and the vast majority still hold this view — that the experience was a priceless one.

Idasa's official news bulletin *Democracy in Action* commented: "We have demonstrated that discussions can be constructive. It is possible to meet the ANC around a table rather than on a battlefield, where there are no winners."

Secondly, we showed that Africa is open to

South Africans, black and white, who have abandoned apartheid and are genuinely searching for a non-racial democracy.

"But we have also struck a blow for negotiation politics; we have tried to point towards the possibility of a negotiated settlement which will end the violence which has become endemic."

IN November 1987, Idasa facilitated a visit to Zimbabwe by eight South African journalists. And the organisation further bolstered its international profile with a visit by Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine to Mainland China soon afterwards.

Domestically, Idasa has also made significant strides. In August last year, its Stellenbosch office helped host a 10-day film festival which focused mainly on socio-political aspects of South African life.

In September, the Northern Transvaal branch, under regional director Professor Braam Viljoen, involved itself in troubled KwaNdebele, a region some authorities wish to see permanently "independent."

Idasa said its purpose there was to disseminate information about the region's crisis and to set up negotiations or consultations where the voice of KwaNdebele's people would be heard.

It hopes to initiate a larger forum, involving other non-independent "homelands" in the Transvaal, where the search for a "democratic alternative" will be pursued.

Also in September last year, Idasa's Western Cape branch organised its first "township tours project" involving about 80 mostly white partic-

ipants. They visited Crossroads, KTC, Nyanga Bush, Mpetla Square and Khayelitsha.

In December, the Western Cape office engineered another barrier-breaking exercise, a high school camp on the outskirts of Stellenbosch for pupils from different cultural and racial backgrounds.

One of the speakers who attended the camp, Moulana Fared Esack of the Call of Islam, said afterwards: "I had met two white pupils at the event, Graham and Jeremy, and found them interesting enough to consider the possibility of going up the mountain with them, about six weeks later."

"When I phoned Graham, a black man answered. Graham later told me it was a friend from a township. Was he one of the participants at the camp? Yes, he was."

"Perhaps this is what facilitating is all about."

In April this year, Idasa broke new ground in a city seminar on "The economy beyond apartheid" attended by 150 delegates.

NEXT week, the organisation is due to hold a major conference entitled *The Freedom Charter and the future — a critical appraisal* at the University of Cape Town. It will include academics, trade unionists, religious leaders and the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, MP.

Mr Mitchell said Idasa was heartened by black interest shown in the event, in spite of the fact that it was aimed specifically at whites.

"People appear to be getting themselves back on their feet. The state of emergency badly

hampered black participation in Idasa's affairs for a considerable time.

"The fact that structures moved underground and individuals were reluctant to come out publicly set us back quite a bit. But people are coming out of their shells again."

Idasa has felt the emergency pinch in more ways than one. Last year, Border regional director Mr Eric Mntonga was brutally murdered. His body was found dumped near King William's Town in the Ciskei. No arrests have been made.

In December, Mr Monde Mfanga of Idasa's Eastern Cape office was detained under the emergency regulations.

But Idasa had soldiered on with what it regards as its mainly "educative" role. Mr Mitchell says: "The organisation regards itself as a service to the community."

"We are not in the game of mobilising for our own political power. Our work is to convince the white population that there is a democratic alternative and to indicate how they can work towards a viable, post-apartheid set up."

The organisation knows that it will always receive flak from the State. In the words of Dr Boraine: "It is very difficult for Idasa or any other organisation to resist State action."

"If the State is determined to block any initiatives other than its own, it has the power to do so."

"I very much hope that wisdom will prevail and Idasa will be allowed to continue doing work which we believe is vital to the resolution of the ever-deepening conflict in our society."

W/E Argus

9/7/88

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— IDASA IN PROFILE —

THE organisation is not a political party or mass movement; it is registered as an institute and therefore has no membership facility.

Besides directors, Idasa has employed fieldworkers and administrative staff in most provinces.

It describes its goals as:

- **HELPING** those South Africans of all races who reject apartheid to discover an alternative that is non-racial and democratic in the true sense of the word.

- **REASSURING** those who are fearful of a post-apartheid South Africa and involving them in working towards that alternative.

- **MOBILISING** the skills, knowledge and experience of all those who can help communities in the crisis areas of South Africa.

- **PROVIDING** forums and opportunities on a nationwide basis so that solutions to South Africa's problems can be sought in confidence and without prejudice.

Idasa describes the main thrust of its activities as a series of workshops, seminars and conferences at regional and national levels.

Organisations and individuals who can play an important role in constructing a non-racial democracy, it says, will be identified and brought together so that their problems, views and proposed solutions can be shared.

On another key activity, gathering and dissemination of information, Idasa says: "There is an enormous communication void in South Africa. It concerns such vital issues as white ignorance of black circumstances, white fears of black participation in alternative structures and black scepticism of white intentions."

"To counter this, Idasa will create a fund of accurate and unbiased information and make it available to all concerned parties — universities, churches, voluntary organisations and individuals."

Idasa's directors are: Dr B Naude, Dr A Borsine, Professor A du Toit, Professor J Gerwe, the Most Rev D Hurley, Mrs S Moshale, Dr N Motlana, Professor S Saunders, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, the Rev de Villiers M Soga, Professor P Vale.

NP must change system to avoid a defeat by CP

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Government is facing a constitutional snag which could jeopardise its plans for a sweeping re-allocation of constituencies in the provinces for the next general election.

The re-delimitation of Parliamentary seats has long been seen as the Government's trump card against the perceived threat of significant right-wing gains in the platteland areas of the Transvaal in the next election.

The problem has arisen after a threat by the Labour Party to block proposed legislation for increasing the number of seats in Parliament — until talks have been held with the Government on the general constitutional set-up.

If the Labour Party carries out its threat it will mean that a new delimitation of parliamentary constituencies will have to be based on the old allocation of seats in the provinces, which has become outdated as a result of population shifts.

All three

In terms of the constitution, the Constitution Second Amendment Bill, which provides for increasing the number of seats in Parliament, must be passed by all three Houses as it involves changing

certain entrenched provisions of the constitution.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse confirmed this week that his party intended to veto the Bill until its demand for talks had been met. The Bill was published shortly before the end of the recent session of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse also confirmed that the LP still stood by its earlier refusal to pass constitutional legislation for postponing the white general election — unless the Government agreed to scrap the Group Areas Act.

One of the most important changes proposed in the Constitution Second Amendment Bill is to increase the number of elected white seats from 166 to 182. The Transvaal will gain all but one of the 16 extra seats, increasing the province's quota from 76 to 91.

More seats

Natal will gain one seat, increasing its quota from 20 to 21 while the Cape will retain its 56 seats and the Free State its 14.

The number of seats in the coloured and Indian Houses will also be increased in terms of the Bill's provisions.

As the situation stands now, the constitution compels the Government to hold the next parliamentary general election by 1989 — or at the latest early 1990 — if the Government can-



Mr Peter Hendrickse

not pass the legislation to postpone elections.

A general redelimitation of seats — in the case of the House of Assembly the first since 1980 — has been expected to start later this year to pave the way for the general election. Such a delimitation can take from six to eight months to complete.

Tough stand

But meanwhile some election analysts believe the Government's election prospects, already weakened by Conservative Party inroads, could be weakened further by the setbacks in its election plans due to the Labour Party's tough



Mr Peter Soal

stand on the required constitutional legislation.

The analysts do not think the Government at this stage is in danger of being defeated at the next parliamentary election, but they expect its position to be considerably weakened. Some believe the Government could be toppled by the Conservative Party and its rightwing allies in a subsequent election.

Even the proposed 15 extra white seats in the Transvaal are now not expected to make much difference to the Government's position as a substantial proportion of these are expected to be taken by the CP.

Political scientist Professor Albert Venter of Rand Afrikaans University says the Government will have to change the election system if it were to avoid defeat by the CP in future general elections.

The big threat to the Government's strength lies in the Transvaal where a major part of the platteland region as well as some urban working-class areas are said to be predominantly CP territory.

Election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie, of Potchefstroom University, said this week the proposed allocation of 15 extra seats for the Transvaal was unlikely to help the Government at all, because the CP stood to gain a substantial number of such seats and could even be better off than the National Party as a result of the allocation.

A delimitation, if favourable for the NP, could re-arrange constituency boundaries in such a way that the NP could win a large number of seats with relatively small majorities. But even then a slight swing away from the NP towards the CP could enable the CP to make considerable gains.

Marginal seats

This was what happened to the old United Party when it lost power in the 1948 general election. At that time the UP lost a large number of marginal seats which it had held with relatively small majorities.

Professor Laurie said a factor that could help the Government hold on to power was the Angolan war situation. It had been shown that serious war situations, such as Britain's situation in the Falklands war, tended to make people support the governing party in elections.

The only way in which the CP could become a real threat to the Government in the next election was if a further serious split occurred in the NP, with NP members defecting to the CP, but this seemed unlikely.

Professor Laurie expects that after the next parliamentary general election the NP will have between 100 and 110 of the 180-odd seats in Parliament and the CP will have between 40 and 50.

Drastic changes

He thinks it will benefit the Government to postpone the elections and this may be done in the end if the Government succeeds in settling its differences with the Labour Party.

Pretoria political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said constituency boundaries, especially in the Transvaal, would be a crucial factor in the next parliamentary election.

Drastic boundary changes would have to be made in the Transvaal if further inroads by the CP were to be prevented.

Last year's general election left the Government with a wide field of about 20 marginal seats in the province and subsequently the by-elections won by the CP showed that further inroads could be expected.

Marginal

Professor Kleynhans said this could mean that even more Transvaal seats would be in the marginal category and could be captured by the CP in the next parliamentary election.

However, the NP's strength was likely to be increased by a continuing fragmentation of the parties and political groupings to the left of the Government. If this fragmentation continued, the NP stood to gain PFP seats to make up for the losses it suffered at the hands of the CP.

The overall prospect was that the Government was fairly secure for the next election.

Progressive Federal Party analyst and former MP Major Reuben Sive said it seemed as if the next election might have to be fought on the basis of the old delimitation — unless the Government could come to terms with the Labour Party.

PFP MP Mr Peter Soal said almost the entire Transvaal platteland had become CP and the seats of several Cabinet Ministers were in danger.

He said the CP would not win the next parliamentary general election but could get between 40 and 50 seats.

Some arrangement would have to be made by the parties to the left of the Government to get together for the election, otherwise they would tend to "wipe each other out".



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN Masters Degree in Adult Education: 1989

Applications are invited for the Masters programme in Adult Education, which will focus on project and programme evaluation. The course requires one year of full-time study and includes both course work and a dissertation. Applicants should have an Honours degree or an equivalent qualification and appropriate professional experience. Bursary support may be available.

Further details and application forms may be obtained from The Faculty Officer, Education Faculty, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch 7700. The closing date for applications is 31 August 1988.

Bates Wells Recruitment C7 ● 534C

Your worship wins his case with costs

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — A part-time black magistrate has been awarded R14 000 compensation after British Airways was found guilty of racial discrimination for refusing to allow him time off to carry out his court duties.

Mr Eddie Bharath, 56, a personnel officer with the airline, told an industrial tribunal he had been ordered to work extra hours to make up for the time he spent on the bench. This had not been asked of white part-time magistrates working for the airline.

The tribunal also awarded Mr Bharath R1 000 towards his costs.

IS BIG BOET

by DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Reporter

market for these coins in Britain

BIG BROTHER'S got more "What I was discussing"

The men SER 7/7/88 who may be picked by PW (3047)

SATURDAY STAR
CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — Professor Abram Nkabinde, Rector of the University of Zululand, is one of two people at the centre of growing speculation that they could become South Africa's first appointed black Cabinet Ministers.

The other man is Transvaal MEC Mr John Mavuso, vice-chairman of the Transvaal Provincial Administration's constitutional committee.

Professor Nkabinde has previously been offered an ambassador's post.

He declined on the grounds that he was not a voter.

The professor was in Durban yesterday and unavailable for comment, according to one of his colleagues.

He said the professor was preparing a circular to his staff saying he had no intention of leaving the university.

Mr Mavuso, a former ANC member and later a top Inkatha member, has said the National Party administration was genuine in its efforts to find solutions to the country's problems.

The Bill enabling the appointment of black Cabinet Ministers has been delayed in the House of Representatives.

It is known the Natal Provincial Administration would like to appoint a black MEC, but has not done so yet. One of the reasons for the delay is that Inkatha and the kwaZulu government are opposed to the idea.

Inkatha is also opposed to appointed black members of the South African Cabinet.

Indaba letter still a secret

204000) SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — An announcement on the future of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba is expected soon, following a letter from the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Heunis alerted Chief Buthelezi about the letter on July 1, the Chief Minister said at the Inkatha conference last weekend.

The letter arrived on Thursday. But at this stage people are remaining tight-lipped about its contents.

National Party, Inkatha and Indaba sources would not speak about the letter.

Mr Heunis's office declined to reveal the contents. One official who could have helped was attending a political studies conference in Johannesburg, which was also attended by Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the Indaba.

One source said a response could be expected from kwaZulu soon "as they cannot sit on the information for too long".

New Perskor chief slams NHK-CP link

w/LEAGUES 9/7/88 (48) (268) (3049)
By DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

THE Nederduits Hervormde Kerk theologian who has been appointed editor-in-chief of Perskor's Afrikaans daily newspapers has distanced himself from his church's "tragic" association with the Conservative Party.

Dr Gerrit Velthuysen, associate professor of dogma and Christian ethics at Pretoria University, described himself as "politically left of centre".

He said he was on record as an opponent of his church's Third Article, the "whites only" position of the NHK.

Dr Velthuysen described the article as "notorious" and said he believed his appointment by Perskor as editor-in-chief of the Vaderland and the Transvaler was not because of his association with what was regarded as a conservative church.

"It was more likely the opposite," he said.

The link between the NHK and the official Opposition CP was a "tragic misconception" in which there was no truth.

Dr Velthuysen said his opposition to the Third Article — something about which he had always had "strong feelings" — probably made him a liberal within the confines of his church. But he voiced his criticism in solidarity with his church and as part of its body.

"Not easily dug out"

"I am a reformist in what I believe to be the true and good sense of the word, but I am also an Afrikaner and my sentiments lie there in the first instance. These are one's roots, which cannot be easily dug out."

Dr Velthuysen regards his appointment to the Vaderland and the Transvaler as a great opportunity. As a theologian and academic in dogma and Christian ethics he has no specific media experience but is "no stranger to the written word" and has published articles in newspapers.

He believed this is how Perskor spotted him.

Asked why, in his view, the newspaper company had chosen him, Dr Velthuysen asked if he could reply by stating his political stance: "I'm not a conservative by any stretch of the imagination. But I'm not a way-out liberal either. I am left of centre."

Although he was not a "specialist", he was prepared to tackle a role in the media because he had always tried to avoid the "cardinal sin of tunnel vision".

"I regard journalism as more or less a mirror in which the whole of reality is reflected, and in this way every position in life can prepare you for it in some way."

Municipal Reporter

The kwaZulu-Natal Indaba has urged its supporters to offer themselves as candidates in the forthcoming municipal elections.

But as it is not involved in party politics, it will not nominate, support or finance candidates or enter into any alliances with political parties.

The Indaba director, Professor Dawid van Wyk, said in a statement the Indaba recognised the importance of local government and believed the "spirit and process" of the Indaba should be extended to local government level.

Indaba tells supporters 'get involved in municipal polls'

ba should be extended to local government level.

The Indaba will encourage its supporters to question candidates closely regarding their attitude to the Indaba and other reform initiatives, and advise them to vote according to the candidates' stance on real reform, irrespective of party affiliation or lack of it.

The Indaba vision of local

government in kwaZulu-Natal runs parallel to its vision of provincial government.

Its fundamental starting points include: power-sharing and shared decision-making involving all people in the community, while protecting the legitimate interests of all groups, the removal of discrimination and the provision of equal opportunities for all.

NDM supported in Pretoria area

Political Reporter

The National Democratic Movement (NDM) enjoyed substantial support in Pretoria's 13 constituencies, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan concluded after a meeting of the organisation's Pretoria regional committee held last week.

The NDM would continue with the development of committees and party structures in these constituencies.

It would finally decide in which of these constituencies NDM candidates should take part in the next general election, Mr Malan said.

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'Black leaders will not take part'

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11/7/74 By Esmaré van der Merwe, (30417)
Political Reporter

The "tattered image" of the proposed National Council would be further undermined by the Government's latest constitutional plans to involve blacks in "own affairs" political structures, Progressive Federal Party spokesman Mr Peter Soal said today.

Proposed legislation providing for legislative and executive councils for blacks outside the self-governing areas was published for comment in the Government Gazette last week.

The Extension of Political Participation Act, provided for legislative authority over matters such as education, welfare, local government and community development.

Mr Soal said the National Council's task would be to find structures for the inclusion of blacks in political processes. That task would be overruled by the latest proposals for regionalised structures.

"The Government will simply not get genuine black leaders to participate in these dummy structures."

"This yet again amounts to efforts to co-opt people into the apartheid system, because an entrenchment of own affairs is nothing more than the continuation of apartheid."

The alternative to the Government's proposals was to bring "everybody into a central legislature which should be worked out by all the leaders of all the political groupings of the country", Mr Soal said.

SPECULATION OVER *Sowetan 11/7/86* FIRST BLACK MP *30407* TO BE APPOINTED

PROFESSOR Abram Nkabinde, rector of the University of Zululand, is one of two people around whom speculation is building that they could become South Africa's first appointed African Cabinet Ministers.

The other man named is Transvaal MEC Mr John Mavuso, vice-chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

Professor Nkabinde, rector since 1977, has previously been offered an ambassador's post, but declined on the grounds that he was not a voter.

He was at the weekend in Durban and unavailable for comment, according to a colleague.

However, the colleague said Professor Nkabinde was preparing a circular to his staff

saying he had no intention of leaving the university.

Mr Mavuso, a former ANC member and later a top Inkatha member, has said that the National Party administration was genuine in its efforts to find solutions to the problems of South Africa.

The Bill enabling the appointment of the African Cabinet Minister has been delayed in the

House of Representatives.

It is known that the Natal Provincial Administration would like to appoint an African MEC, but has not yet. One of the reasons for the delay is that Inkatha and KwaZulu government is opposed to the idea.

Inkatha is also opposed to appointed African members of the South African Cabinet.

Blacks will reject Bill, Buthelezi warns

5/2 12/7/88 (30417)

The Government's now-published Draft Bill providing for regional legislative councils for black people outside the so-called "self-governing states" will be rejected by the vast majority of blacks, Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi said last night.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president warned that an elaboration of apartheid's structures would heighten conflict, stimulate further political violence and further polarise the country.

In a special press statement, Dr Buthelezi expressed concern at the extent of new powers given to the State President.

The only thing for the present Parliament to do, Dr Buthelezi added, was to "legislate itself out of existence" and legislate a new and just dispensation after consultation with blacks.

Dr Buthelezi accused the National Party of inconsistency: on the one hand it insisted that different ethnic groups could not work together in one political framework, yet it was now "thrusting Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Pedi, Tswana groups together at regional level simply because it suited its plans".

"In taking this step the Government



Chief Buthelezi . . . Nats not even in line with their own policies.

was not even paying lip service to proper consultation with blacks," said Dr Buthelezi.

He said he was not consulted on the proposed legislative councils although he had existing jurisdiction over nearly seven million Zulus.

"I have rejected the politics of prescription throughout my political life. I find this latest imposition of Government hair-brained schemes on black South Africa very disheartening," he said.

It was tragic, said Dr Buthelezi, that black leaders who were still prepared to work against apartheid and for change by non-violent means have had "the rugs pulled from beneath their feet".

'Govt should take up Tutu's offer'

By Tim Cohen

3047

Archbishop Desmond Tutu's offer to help bring the Government and the African National Congress together to negotiate a settlement should be "accepted with open arms", independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said in Johannesburg last night.

Mr van Eck was speaking at the launch of the End Conscription Campaign's "Know Your Rights" booklet, aimed at informing conscripts of their rights while serving in the SADF.

The venue of the function was moved after a fire bomb, which did not explode, was thrown at the front entrance of the Dawson's Hotel on Sunday night where the event was scheduled to take place.

An unidentified man with a British accent phoned the hotel yesterday and warned that there would be "more of the same" if the hotel allowed the function to continue, a hotel spokesman said.

Mr van Eck said there were four reasons why the Government should take up Archbishop Tutu's offer, which was made after the Ellis Park blast.

- Such a meeting might reduce the number of young South Africans who died in raids and blasts.
- The South African conflict was primarily a civil war between a minority regime and an oppressed majority and as such could only be resolved by negotiation.
- Archbishop Tutu has the kind of standing which would ensure consideration of the proposed negotiations.
- The offer may be the last to come from a credible black leader.

ECC spokesman, Mr Alistair Teeling-Smith, said the "Know Your Rights" booklet was a sincere attempt to assist conscripts. The book would be available at a variety of bookshops.

Four to quit City Council

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CMT Tint's
12/7/88

Municipal Reporter

FOUR Cape Town city councillors have declared themselves unavailable for the October 26 national municipal elections.

They are Mr Peter Parkin, former Mayor Mr Kosie van Zyl and MPs Mr Jan van Eck and Mrs Esmé Chait.

The rest of the councillors are expected to stand for re-election, although two are uncertain: Mr Arthur Wienburg said he had not yet made up his mind and Mr David Bloomberg is out of town.

Two jobs too much

The departure of Mr van Zyl and Mrs Chait means that both seats will fall vacant in Ward 7 (Foreshore, eastern part of Cape Town, part of Salt River, Maitland, Ndabeni, Kensington, Epping Industria and Thornton).

Mr van Zyl is retiring after 13 years' service.

Mrs Chait, with three years' service, said she would be unable to do justice to two jobs. "It is with regret that I have to say that I will not be standing," she said.

Mr van Eck cited a conflict between his ward and constituency boundaries as the reason for his decision to quit Ward 13 (Athlone, Crawford, Rondebosch East, Lansdowne, Wetton, part of Claremont, Kenwyn).



Mr Peter Parkin



Mr Kosie van Zyl



Mrs Esmé Chait



Mr Jan van Eck

"About 90 percent of the ward lies outside my Claremont constituency," he said. "Staying on as ward councillor would mean double work."

Commitments

He said he would not contest any neighbouring wards, which might be more suitable, because the incumbents had a "progressive" approach.

Increasing business commitments were behind Mr Parkin's decision. He represents Ward 10 (University Estate, part of Woodstock, part of Salt River, Observatory, Mowbray, part of Rosebank, Sybrand Park).

"I will be back one day, possibly in Ward 14," he said.

"I would like to add that I have the highest regard for the good work done by the council and in particular its senior officials. It has been a pleasure and a privilege representing Ward 10."

Doing damnedest suited Manley

Star 13/7/88

Asked about the highlights of his career, Mr Les Manley mentions his "do-your-damnedest" speech at the United Nations earlier this year.

Then he says: "It wasn't the highlight of my career. What I would say is that it was one of the many high points in my career."

"I was associated with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for many years and therefore I couldn't possibly say that that one incident was the highlight of my career."

"I can immediately think back to things like the signing of the Nkomati Accord or the visit of the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to Europe in 1984."

"I enjoy my job as a civil servant, first of all. Secondly, I enjoy my job as a diplomat serving all the people of South Africa."

Meteoric rise from CBC

Mr Manley, after schooling at Christian Brothers College in Cape Town and two degrees at the University of the Orange Free State, had a meteoric rise in the foreign service.

He says he has no difficulty in representing South Africa's controversial policies abroad. He makes it sound like child's play.

"I don't feel any particular pressure serving abroad. We go through some difficult times."

"I have said before and I say it again that there are many misunderstandings about South Africa and about the South African Government's policy — about what we are trying to achieve in South Africa."

"I think the frustrations are related very closely to the misunderstandings. It is my job as a diplomat to try to sort out those misunderstandings."

"The outdated concept of apartheid is a problem. But apartheid is certainly not the policy of the Government in South Africa at the moment. The Government's policy is certainly not the concept that is in the minds of so many people abroad."

"And the challenge of being a South African diplomat abroad is to be able to put the Government's policies in perspective."

Mr Manley left the high-profile New York job in a blaze of publicity after his second marriage. Does he have any regrets about leaving New York?

"I think I would miss the opportunity of rubbing shoulders with ambassadors and other diplomats of all the countries of the world."

"That, I think, I'll miss more than anything else."

Mr Manley is adamant that his new posting to Geneva, which he takes up in less than two weeks, is not a demotion.

"It is certainly complementary to the work in New York. I would say one cannot put the one or other job on a higher level. They are similar, yet dissimilar."

"New York is the seat of the Security Council and the General Assembly and therefore has a very high political profile."

"Geneva has a different profile — the profile of the technocrat. It has the profile of the expert in very many areas. Think of the World Health Organisation or the Human Rights Commission in the United Nations context."

"And then out of that context, in the immediate environs of the UN, you have other organisations in Geneva which are equally important to South Africa — for example GATT, the Red Cross, the ILO and many others."

"The profile attached to New York is because of the major political issues which are debated publicly, in the full glare of media attention, whereas in Geneva the issues discussed are equally important to South Africa."

Mr Manley's attitude to his new position is one of wait-and-see.

"At the moment my approach is to go there and have a look at the situation for myself and then we'll see, in consultation with the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Government, where we'll go to from there."

He is equally skilled in explaining the need for a South African mission at the UN.

"Let us talk about the UN in Geneva because I answered the question regarding the UN in New York earlier."

"The advantages for South Africa having a mission at the UN at present far outweigh the disadvantages."

"We have access to organisations in the UN connection which provide

BY ESTHER WAUGH

The former South African ambassador to the United Nations in New York, Les Manley, has no regrets about leaving the Big Apple, after marrying his secretary, to become ambassador to the UN in Geneva. Now in Pretoria, he proves unflappable in an interview.

us with information and knowledge which is useful to us in South Africa — not only to the Department of Foreign Affairs but also to other departments.

But how successful is the mission at the UN in New York?

"I would like my successor to be put in a position to reply to that, but I think our record is pretty good on our ability to communicate with the world community through international politics."

Controversial issues, such as the Sharpeville Six, do not faze Mr Manley.

"The Dlamini Six ... as far as we were concerned in New York, we presented the facts as they were presented to the courts in South Africa."

The art of diplomacy

"We found that in many instances there were fellow representatives of other countries who were not aware of these facts."

"This is the art of diplomacy — to communicate with people and to sort out their lack of understanding of the finer details of an issue."

Questions about cross-border raids into neighbouring countries also don't faze Mr Manley.

"I have not had much difficulty in presenting South Africa's case in the UN and have presented South Africa's case on a number of occasions in the Security Council on these questions."

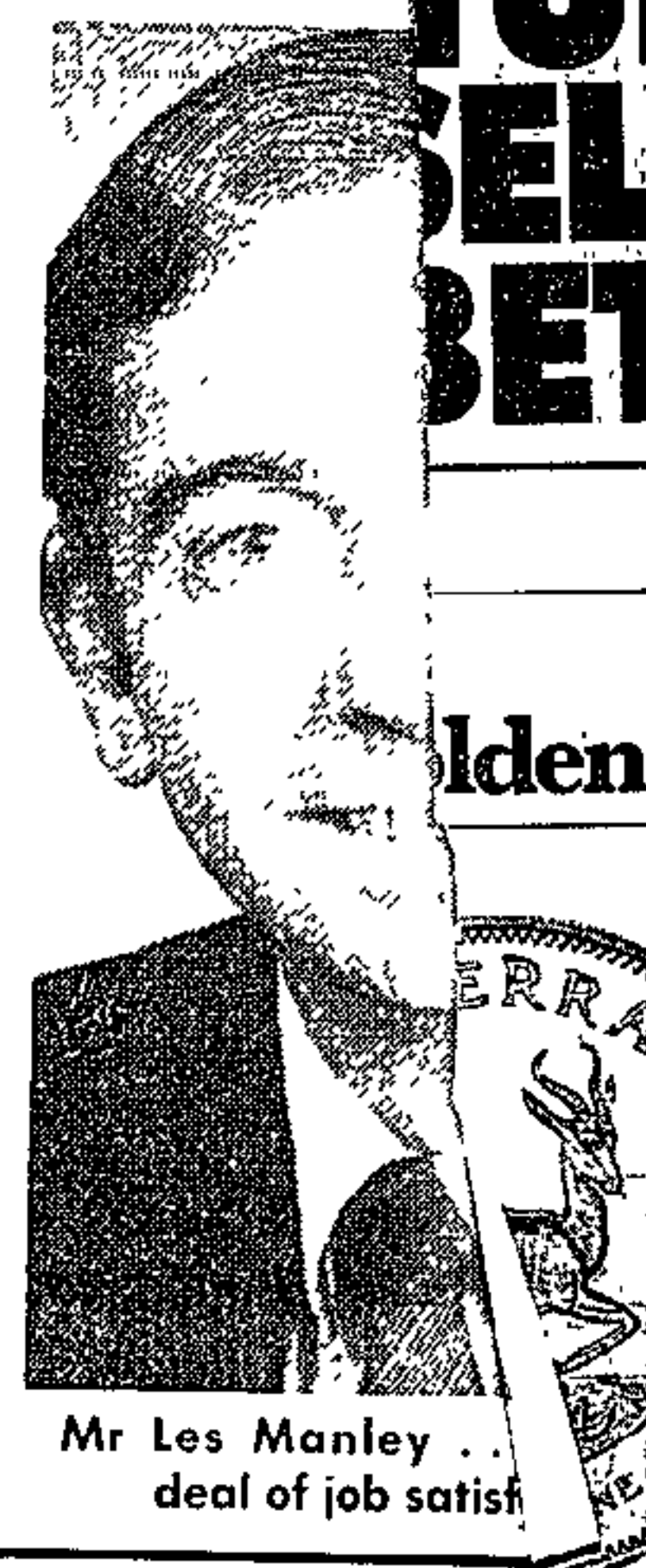
"I don't have much difficulty because they are pre-emptive or hot-pursuit actions."

"There is a recognised principle involved here and, ultimately, this is for the defence of South Africa and all the people of the country."

"One must bear in mind there are more than 50 000 Cubans in Angola. What are they doing there? They are totally extra-continental. They are alien to the region."

"They are there for an ulterior purpose in my view, and therefore when it comes to the issue of Angola and South West Africa (Namibia), I have been able to put South Africa's case in a forthright manner."

Forthright — and unflappable.



Mr Les Manley ... deal of job satisf

Analysing the 'incrementalists'

B/Day 13/7/88

THERE ARE only two ways a ruling group can be induced to relinquish political control — they can be coerced or they can be seduced.

In SA, the realities of military power rule out the former in the foreseeable future. And a ruling elite will relinquish control through secession only when it believes it is in its longer-term interests to do so.

Further, the second method — which is by its nature a slow process — is the only one which makes possible a transition to a relatively democratic society, rather than merely an exchange of oligarchies.

This is one of the key assertions in the book "A future South Africa — visions, strategies and realities," co-edited by Anglo American's Bobby Godsell and Boston University sociology Professor Peter Berger and launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

Common bond

The book is a product of a research project "South Africa Beyond Apartheid," which began in 1985 and was conducted by a group of 20 South African and US academics and writers.

According to the preface, their common bond was a commitment to the abolition of the morally reprehensible apartheid system and its replacement by a democracy and not a tyranny in a process in which the productive capacity of the economy could not be destroyed and where the human costs of transition should be kept to a minimum.

The project set out to identify the key actors in the South African scenario, both local and foreign, and to subject them to a critique in terms of their vision for SA and their "strategic logic".

The co-editors argue, in their chapter referred to above, that the distinction of SA as an authoritarian country rather than a totalitarian one is important in any analysis of strategies for change.

'Space' exists

In totalitarian societies, new institutions immediately threaten the existing order by their mere existence. In SA, despite the undemocratic exercise of power, the "space" exists for churches, unions, artists, academics and new political parties — specifically among the enfranchised — to emerge.

The actors identified and analysed are broadly categorised into government, the right wing, exiled resistance organisations, internally-based resistance groups and foreign governments and groups.

And then there are the members of the group for which the name "the incrementalists" has been coined by the authors of that section, Godsell and Ann Bernstein.

ALAN FINE



□ BOBBY GODSELL



□ PETER BERGER

This chapter analyses what are seen as four of the most prominent groups falling into this category: Inkatha, the Labour Party, the PFP and business.

Godsell and Bernstein argue that while they differ widely in terms of position in society and potential constituencies, they share certain values and attitudes.

They reject apartheid and they reject revolution as the best way of changing the situation. They accept a "multistrategy" approach, in that change will not be brought about by one source alone.

They recognise the enormous power of the existing State and also that an essential condition for change is economic growth. They oppose sanctions and disinvestment, although not necessarily other types of foreign pressure.

A further common feature is that they do not see apartheid and cap-

italism as synonymous, and envisage a future economic system somewhere on the spectrum between the free market approach and social democracy.

They are committed to the rule of law and civil rights, and to negotiation as the best means for resolving conflict in SA. They are opposed to "protest politics" and, finally, accept the place of whites in the struggle for, and their contribution to, a future non-discriminatory society.

Different

The authors argue that there are other actors — such as many trade unions and bodies like the National Education Co-ordinating Committee — who are prepared to engage in negotiations with the authorities and who work as democratically as they can, and are thus also working for incremental change.

However, they see themselves as different to the incrementalists in that they do not participate in State-created political institutions, they support disinvestment, are often committed to socialism and support protest politics.

The authors argue that the incrementalists, by working through a process which has "far less symbolic and dramatic power than the armed force of the State or the dramatic deeds of revolutionaries" depend on great political skill and tactical agility.

Both Inkatha and the Labour Party, for example, face dilemmas arising from their participation in racially-defined institutions with limited power.

Since the beginning of this decade, it has become insufficient for the PFP merely to criticise the status quo. It now has to apply its principles also to the political agenda for achieving a post-apartheid social structure.

Resources

And business, which cannot be seen as a homogenous grouping, can extend its role beyond that of quiet lobbying. It has the resources to undermine the racially-structured status quo through, for example, assisting non-racial residential settlement.

In addition, government's strategy of socio-economic reform requires active business participation, and this gives the private sector the opportunity to use this leverage as a tool for "opening up the system".

The co-editors' message is ultimately a hopeful one: "Neither paradise nor Armageddon awaits SA. Instead, a slow and often painful march towards modernity is on the agenda. A non-racial democratic and prosperous society is possible. South Africans simply have to make it happen."

Cape Freedoms body to stay out of local elections

Staff Reporter

MCAS 13/7/88 304A

THE still-nameless Western Cape umbrella forum which grew out of the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) initiative in Johannesburg will not take a public stand on the October municipal elections, said spokesman Ms Helen Zille today.

This follows a call made by the Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg yesterday that white voters should register and vote in the local government elections.

The Western Cape umbrella provides a discussion forum for organisations and political parties including Cape Democrats, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement, the Black Sash, Jews for Justice, the End Conscription Campaign and PFP Youth.

Ms Zille said participation in the municipal elections had been discussed in this forum for some time and the umbrella would continue to encourage debate. Bodies under the umbrella would take their own public stance on the elections if they chose to but the umbrella itself would not take a public position.

FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier said in Johannesburg today his organisation hoped to influence the creation of an open city through participation in the elections and support for candidates who took a stand clearly in opposition to apartheid.

The FFF in Johannesburg — a very different and more formalised body to the creation it inspired in the Western Cape — has attracted the involvement of many anti-apartheid bodies, including some United Democratic Front affiliates.

FFF call for voters to register

Can Trib. 13/7/8
36A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Five Freedoms Forum here yesterday called on white voters to register for and vote in the October municipal election.

FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier yesterday said the FFF hoped to influence the establishment of an open city through its support of candidates taking a "clear anti-apartheid" stand.

Mr Olivier said that although the FFF's stand was focussed on the white community, it carried the support of all its subscribing organizations and general membership.

Leading anti-apartheid organizations affiliated to the FFF are the Black Sash, End Conscription Campaign, Jodac, Jews for Social Justice, Lawyers for Human Rights, Women for Peace, and Nusas. Various UDF affiliates also subscribe to the FFF.

Although the FFF was not backing any political party or group, Mr Olivier said it could be assumed that most candidates attracting their support would come from PFP ranks.

SA vision: book launched

13/7/88 By Helen Grange ^{skv}

A comprehensive book, "A Future South Africa — Visions, Strategies and Realities", written by Mr Bobby Godsell of Anglo American and Professor Peter Berger, a prominent sociologist, was launched yesterday by Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

The book is the result of a research project called South Africa Beyond Apartheid, which stemmed from the belief of a group of South African and American researchers in the need for a more "faithful description of contemporary realities in South Africa and a more reflective presentation of future possibilities".

'SENSIBLE OPTIONS'

Speaking at his home in Johannesburg at a function to mark the launch of the book, Mr Oppenheimer praised its impartiality, saying it was "a jour-

ney of exploration into the South African situation with a minimum of ideological baggage".

"It explores the aims of the leading protagonists, narrowing and clarifying options open to sensible people.

"It also sets out to explore what South Africa might be like after apartheid, taking all political groups into consideration.

"It is assumed that while political changes are coming about, the economy will be preserved."

Mr Godsell said the book did not try to provide solutions or choose positions. "No politicians are judged."

Professor Berger, professor of sociology and director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture at Boston University, said he received "moral and personal inspiration" for the book from Mr Oppenheimer.

304A
Library

Whites told to exercise vote

SA 13/7/88 By Jo-Anne Collinge

304A

The anti-apartheid Five Freedoms Forum is calling on white residents of Johannesburg to vote in the October municipal election.

However, it is not putting up any candidates itself. Instead it is urging voters to support candidates who come closest to representing the ideas expressed in its "One city, open city" campaign manifesto.

The FFF position statement released yesterday in Johannesburg declares: "Our position is unambiguous. We want to have an anti-apartheid city council in Johannesburg. We encourage people to register as voters (and) to vote for candidates whose policies most closely fit the criteria stated in our manifesto."

The manifesto asserts that people should have a right to live where they choose and have an equal say in local government.

In an open city, the FFF says: "Public facilities, amenities, suburbs and schools will be open to all."

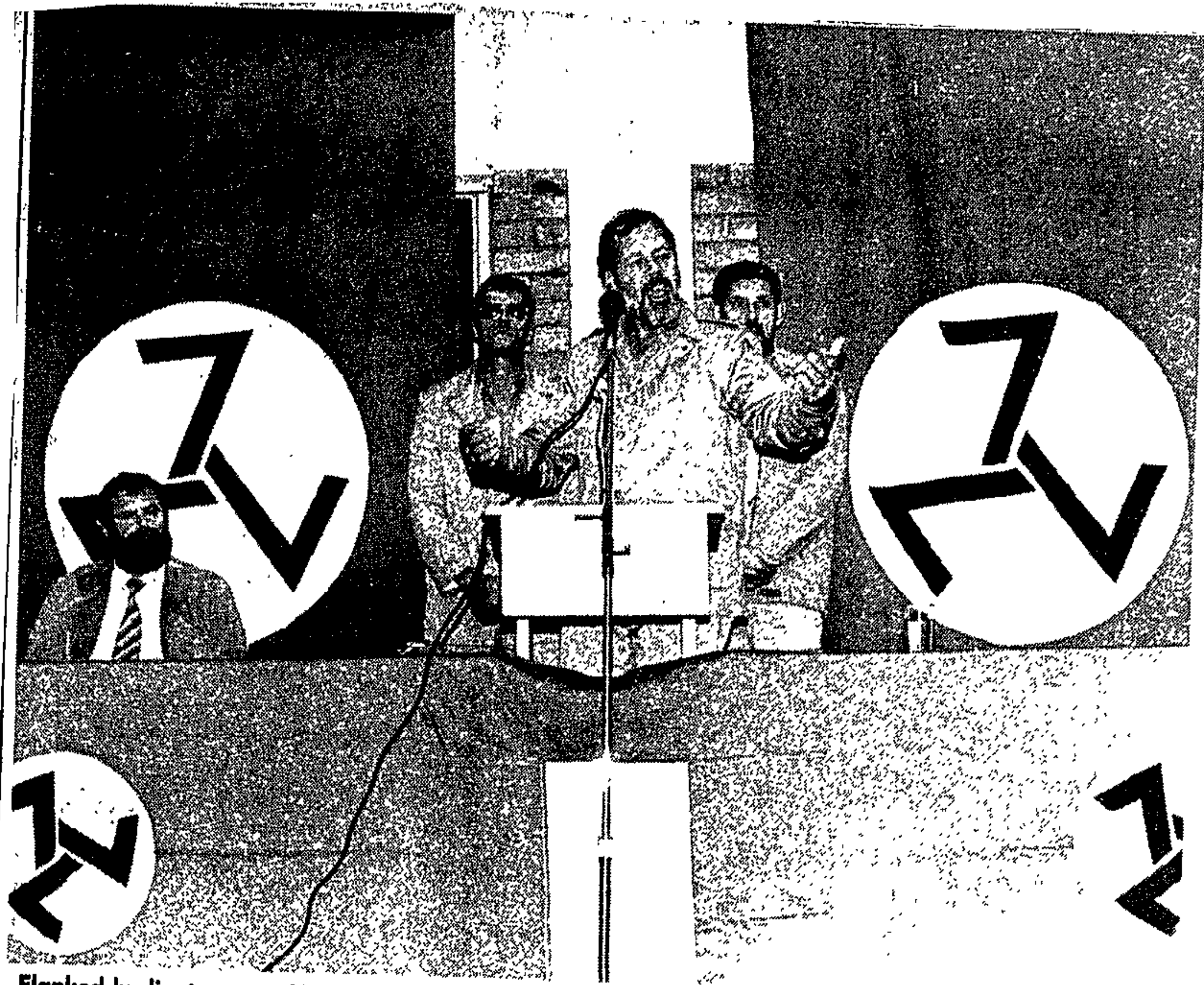
SEGREGATED CITY

The organisation has pledged itself to fight for the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act and to end the control of the Johannesburg City Council "by councillors who continue to support a segregated city".

The FFF stresses its stance does not mean it approves of segregated structures of local government. It adds: "We are in no way intending to criticise those who have decided to campaign for a boycott of the black local authority elections."

But it contends that while boycotts of the polls might be tradition in black areas, in white areas the tradition is one of voting.

● The FFF comprises a range of mainly white organisations, including the Black Sash, National Union of South African Students, Lawyers for Human Rights, Women for Peace, End Conscription Campaign and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.



Flanked by lieutenants, AWB chief Eugene TerreBlanche addresses an enthusiastic crowd in Nelspruit.

AWB leader tells P W: 'Fire the camel riders'

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — The leader of the Afrikanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, has accused the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, of riding camels in Cairo while young South Africans were being killed in Angola.

He told about 1 000 cheering supporters in Nelspruit's Van Riebeeck Hall on Wednesday night: "If Mr P W Botha still has marrow in his bones I would recommend he rids the Cabinet of these two men as soon as possible."

Dressed in khaki and flanked by two

lieutenants, Mr TerreBlanche compared South Africa to a ship at sea. A ship, he said, had one captain.

South Africa had three captains — Mr P W Botha, Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, who were leading the country astray.

"The Government is overloaded with Indians and coloureds and the time has come to rid it of excess cargo before the country sinks," he said.

Mr TerreBlanche denied the AWB was for Afrikaans-speaking South Africans only.

"Any white Christian from England, Germany, France or Holland who settled here to form the Afrikaner nation is welcome in the AWB."

5-21/7/88

W/ Mail

3044

In a major tactical switch, Five Freedoms urge whites: VOTE

In a major shift, the extra-parliamentary opposition group Five Freedoms this week gave the nod to voting during October, reports JO-ANN BEKKER

THE Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) this week called on its supporters to vote in the October municipal elections — a significant departure from the extra-parliamentary opposition's boycott tradition.

At a Johannesburg press conference, FFF leader Mike Olivier said the forum would encourage white people to vote for candidates taking a "clear anti-apartheid stand" who supported the establishment of an "open city".

He said the forum's position had the support of all its subscribing organisations and general membership, although many subscribing organisations had constituencies which might take different positions. Subscribing organisations include the Black Sash, End Conscription Campaign, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, Jews for Social Justice, Lawyers for Human Rights, Women for Peace and the National Union of South African Students.

The FFF stand follows recent reports on a United Democratic Front position paper which, while reaffirming the boycott strategy, said condi-



Urging whites to vote ... Five Freedoms' Gavin Evans (left), Mike Olivier and Gail Neke

tions in white areas differed from those in black townships. "White democrats should use the elections to strengthen the alliances forged in the white community and to win more whites to a mass democratic movement," the paper said.

The forum's stand also follows the Progressive Federal Party's setbacks at last year's whites-only parliamentary elections. An unofficial boycott by whites to the left of the PFP was seen by many to be one of the reasons the PFP lost some of its marginal seats — and its official opposition status. The FFF did not take a stand on participation in last year's elections, saying it was up to its supporters to make up their minds about whether or not to vote.

Olivier said the forum had not considered putting up its own candidates in the elections. Instead it would seek to influence candidates and would monitor closely whether anti-apartheid candidates lived up to their pre-election promises.

He said the forum was also not encouraging people to vote for a particular party. It had held discussions with the PFP, National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party — while at the same time it had met the UDF and the anti-Group Areas Act group, Actistop — and had kept the parties informed about the forum's position.

"Our decision to call on our supporters to vote does not imply an approval of the structures of local level government," Olivier said. "The Johannesburg City Council, as a whites-only body, is a structure infected with the racism implicit in the government's apartheid policy."

"However, despite the inadequacy of these structures, we do not believe that any purpose would be served by calling on whites to boycott the election. While within the black community there is a tradition of boycotting, within the white community there is a tradition of voting."

He said the forum did not criticise

Olivier said the forum believed the elections could be an important vehicle for campaigning against the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

The forum's "One city, open city" campaign envisages a "united and open city which includes all who live in Johannesburg ... where people can live where they choose and have an equal say in local government."

Public facilities, amenities, suburbs and schools would be open to all. No longer would some be under-utilised and others overcrowded.

There would be greater economic and administrative efficiency, preventing "wasteful and expensive duplication."

3044 6/10/84 15/7/86

THINGS WERE so appallingly simple in the Sixties and early Seventies. It was so patently impossible for any liberal — indeed, for any decent person — not to oppose everything that government stood for.

Liberals had no option but to stand aloof from the main stream of events in this country. It was easier then to keep the flame pure and incandescent, untainted by the compromises of practical politics.

Things are different now. One need not be an admirer of the Imperial First Family to admit that SA is in the process of transforming itself into a nonracial state, even though the process is painfully slow and tortuous.

I do not think that this transformation was set in motion by the intervention of this or that politician. If anything, politicians — in and out of power, inside and outside SA — have probably only succeeded in slowing down and distorting the process.

The engine is history itself. It has something to do with urbanisation, with relative affluence, with socioeconomic factors which we should not pretend to understand. Perhaps there is some process of intellectual and ethical maturation at work. But, above all, it has something to do with the waning of ideology.

I should like to say a few words about this.

There was a time within living memory when every one of us, if we are over 45, still thought in terms of the grand simplicities of the 19th Century. We used words like *Marrism*, *nationalism*, *facism* and, yes, *liberalism* as if they actually made the world easier to deal with.

The Second World War was in

Liberalism means reaching out to government, too

SAM VAN DEN BERG

many ways the last great outburst of ideological fervour. Democracy against Facism. Did that war settle anything, did it save a single life? Perhaps, but I have my doubts.

And now, 40 years on, we see things perhaps a bit more clearly. We are beginning to understand that social and intellectual progress has to be worked for, compromised for, suffered for — not on the cross of political martyrdom, but through endless committee meetings, through compromise and, perhaps, even collaboration.

Even in China and the Soviet Union we see ideological thinking in full retreat. The only place where it does not seem to be in retreat is in the darker corners of the AWP, and of the so-called "progressive" organisations on the left.

Is it because they are so dated that the ideological formulas that are still being trotted out — not only by

the alternative Press, but even in so many "scholarly" papers — are so depressing?

It is dispiriting to see post-apartheid society taking shape in the kind of jargon-ridden prose that is going out of fashion almost everywhere else, possibly even in the Soviet Union. Are we doomed to find our future in the 19th Century?

This may have seemed like a digression. It is, in fact, relevant to liberalism. In a sense liberalism has never been an ideology in the usual narrow sense, and yet we liberals, too, have become so obsessed with the great intellectual abstractions that we may at times have lost sight of the simpler needs of ordinary men and women.

We should take heed of the American experience, where the great liberties guaranteed by their admirable constitution have resulted in all kinds of iniquities. And we should be wary of any abstractions in whose name innocents are burned to death.

The terrible truth is that liberals have condoned killings — and I am not only thinking of those confused liberals who find all sorts of reasons why necklacing and the detonating of bombs in public places should be understood in their "historical context"; there are also those who seem to think that terror is less wicked if it wears a uniform or is approved at Cabinet level...

Liberty and democracy have in fact killed. The victims of Dresden and Hiroshima and Vietnam did not die less horribly because they were killed in the name of the great liberal virtues. Or were there no liberals on the committees that ordered or condoned these atrocities? In fact, where were all the liberals then?

I suspect that the true liberal is often careless of the abstractions, and may even occasionally forget to sign the latest petition for Press freedom or the rule of law.

But he cares when ordinary people are starving, or being blown to bits by bombs; he is angered in equal measure by official policies and opposition counter-policies which make it impossible for parents to educate their children in relatively decent circumstances.

The question we should ask ourselves is: are there ways in which we can play some positive role in an era of transition, even if it may mean participating in structures tainted by racism?

Should we not reach out to individuals and groups who are still in sympathy with the ruling party, and see if there is not something to be discussed, something to be said, something to be done?

Some liberals have reached out to the left, and they were right to do so. But we have been reluctant to reach to the centre, and yet that is where there is real power and, paradoxically, confusion and uncertainty. This is where we can achieve so much — if only we could stop for one moment being so certain of our own moral purity, so angry, so damned superior.

On our own, protesting to the left and protesting to the right, we won't succeed even in making a great deal of noise. But if we wish to join the muddy, dirty, ideologically and ethically impure mainstream of a society in transition the question is: how and where?

I leave you with the question. I don't know the answer — but I do know that our place is surely not in the armchairs of fashionable dissent. **VAN DEN BERG** was a member of the defunct Liberal Party of SA.

Cabinet post 'smacks of tokenism' ³⁰⁴¹¹

By Zenaide Vendeiro
Professor Abram Charles Nkabinde (58), rector of the University of Zululand for the past 10 years, says the appointment of a single black member of the Cabinet smacks of "tokenism".

He was, he says, "taken aback and upset" by reports that he is one of two blacks being considered by the State President for appointment to the Cabinet.

He was opposed in principle to such an appointment being made.

FAR CRY

"It is a far cry from what black people are looking for — they want real participation and not something that looks like tokenism.

"What difference would a black Cabinet member make and whose interests would he be representing? Cabinet mem-

bers must be elected and have a constituency."

He confirmed that he turned down the offer of an ambassadorship to Holland early last year because he was not a voter.

"I would describe myself as a pragmatic and don't subscribe to any particular ideology, but I believe that all human beings should be accorded the right to participate in their government," he said.

"Everyone should be given the opportunity to live his life fully — politically, economically and socially."

In any event, he had no intention of entering the political arena, he said. "I have been in education all my life and intend to stay in education."

He spoke of problems and difficulties in his present position — but "moments of satisfaction and achievement".

CAPE Times 15/7/88

Violent change 'not a prospect'

306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THERE are no immediate prospects of revolution or violent change in South Africa, according to Professor Peter Berger, an eminent US sociologist and expert on social change in the Third World.

Prof Berger is touring South Africa to promote his latest book, "A Future South Africa", an analysis of vision for the future held by a wide range of political actors in the country.

The book is a culmination of two years of research by a team of 22 South African and North American academics and experts.

Prof Berger said the strength of the South African government was such that he saw no immediate prospect of violent change being effected by opposition groups inside or outside the country.

He said it was unrealistic "to hope or fear for this" and said the state and its opponents had reached a point of "stalemate".

A timetable for a change in the existing order should be seen in terms of decades rather than years or months.

Professor Berger said it appeared that for the moment the South African state was "fully in control of the situation from the military, police and security point of view."



Prof Peter Berger

Group Areas Act must stay, says FAK chief

304A
STW 1577/88
BB

Own Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM — The Group Areas Act could not be abandoned because this would affect the whole political structure of South Africa and was at present against the wishes of the majority of whites, the chairman of the powerful Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK), Mr Hendrik Sloet, said yesterday.

Addressing a congress of the FAK here, Mr Sloet, who is managing director of Saambou, said he had no problem with free and open areas as proposed by the Government.

"If people want to live together it's fine, but those who do not must have no fear of being pushed out of their areas."

Mr Sloet said the Afrikaner was on another great trek with the Government's search for a new dispensation.

Afrikaners who had lost sight of the future role of Afrikaans-speakers in South Africa were making a mistake, he said.

Afrikaners were seen as hard, dominating, people who did not negotiate.

"As far as the majority of the pres-

ent Afrikaner leadership is concerned this is all wrong," he said.

"The Afrikaner is on another great trek today with the Government's search for a new dispensation. This political corporation must be mirrored in cultural corporation."

Former Transvaal administrator, Mr Willem Cruywagen, emphasised how well the multiracial Transvaal Provincial Executive was working and how it could encourage Afrikaans cultural bodies to follow suit.

This was not accepted by some delegates without murmurs and one said afterwards: "It's all right for the Provincial Executive but not for the FAK which must remain with white membership only."

Black leader opposed to National Council

By Kalzer Nyatsumba

The Government's National Council was formulated without consultation with "key extra-parliamentary organisations" and their leaders and would therefore fail to gain support from black people, Mr E J Mabuza, Chief Minister of kaNgwane and President of Inyandza, said this week.

Mr Mabuza who, in 1986, led an Inyandza delegation to meet the African National Congress in Lusaka, said he was "opposed in principle" to the National Council because it placed emphasis on ethnicity and was formulated in a Tricameral Parliament "to which we are opposed".

NECESSARY FOR BLACK SUPPORT

In an interview with The Star, Mr Mabuza said there were basic "necessities" with which the Government would have to come to terms if it were to win black support for the council.

One of these necessities was that people had to be free to decide whether or not to participate. No genuine negotiations could take place while political prisoners continued to be imprisoned or detained and the state of emergency was still in place, Mr Mabuza said.

"If these basic necessities were addressed by the Government, there might not even be a need for the National Council," he said.

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Weekend

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SOUTH AFRICA RECIPE FOR THE FUTURE?

by HUGH ROBERTSON

THE future of South Africa is possibly more commonly discussed and considered inside the country than any other subject, but rational assessments and conclusions all too often are obscured by political and social predilections.

In an effort to deepen and extend the prevailing debate, and to give some pointers to what may be the country's ultimate fate, a team of specialists have contributed articles to a new book, *A Future South Africa — Visions, Strategies and Realities* (Human and Rousseau/Tafelberg).

It is a formidable and scholarly work, with contributions from some of the most respected academic authorities on the country in South Africa and North America — Heribert Adam, Helen Kitchen, James Leatt, Pieter le Roux, Lawrence Schlemmer, Vincent Maphai, Jakes Gerwel and Paulus Zulu, among others. It was edited by Peter L Berger, professor of sociology at Boston University, and Bobby Godsell, industrial relations and public affairs consultant to the Anglo American Corporation.

One of the virtues of the book is the effort of its contributors to deal with basic principles rather than changeable details and individual politicians; to use broad and well-established trends and exhaustive interviews on which to base their opinions. They have also avoided making emphatic predictions, suggesting instead the likely course of events. They have concentrated, too, on exploding popular misconceptions and offering alternative scenarios.

A CONCLUSION by Professor Schlemmer, for instance, is that a constitutional stalemate, with some co-opting of blacks into administrative structures, "is likely to continue for a long time until the mounting costs of repression force the Government to back down, unless some other route to an acceptable compromise can be found."

Such a route, he suggests, could be "along the lines of regional devolution", an impression he

gained from interviews with Government members in spite of their rejection of precisely such a scenario in the form of the KwaZulu-Natal indaba. But, he warns, such a route would be turbulent and problematic.

Professor Heribert Adam gives a sometimes harsh assessment of some of the major players which, he argues, will mould the future. Of big business he says: "After the Chris Ball investigation, Pretoria has for the time being successfully intimidated corporate heads to avoid their being labelled 'friends of the enemy'."

"Business, on the other hand, has largely failed to educate its own organisations for non-racial alternatives, and for negotiation outside government parameters. A conservative in-house constituency, a fear of overnment action and a political timidity born of prosperity, constrain even the handful of far-sighted entrepreneurs who seek to come to terms with the revolutionary forces."

He believes government repression of black resistance and the criminalisation of the ANC and PAC have weakened both organisations. "It has given the ANC a radical image and bestowed revolutionary expectations on it which will be hard to meet."

BUT there is a danger in this, for Professor Adam adds: "A guerrilla organisation, such as the PAC-inspired Poqo in the 1960s, could easily re-emerge if the relatively moderate ANC fails to deliver its promised liberation. The appearance of a black Terre'Blanche is only a matter of time. The choice the South African Government faces is either to negotiate now, with a still much restrained and highly professional ANC leadership of a widely acclaimed resistance tradition, or face the atomised products of Bantu Education in the townships later."

On whether a future South Africa will have a socialist or capitalist, or "mixed" economy, Professor Paulus Zulu argues that while "expe-

riences of inequality have discredited capitalism", there are still a "significant number of the professionals and older people within the resistance movements who favour a mixed economy."

He also rejects the popular white theory that a moderate black middle class will be a buffer against socialism. "The black middle class is not that large in relation to the population as a whole, and the existence of the middle class does not necessarily equal anti-socialism. For instance, a large section of the middle class is located within the civil services, for example teachers, nurses and clerks. These segments have nothing to lose in the transformation to socialism."

PROFESSOR Pieter le Roux argues that if there is "a long and destructive conflict before the present Government loses power, it seems most likely that a Stalinist type of of transition will take place. War demands authoritarian structures of command, and the economic chaos and destruction caused by a long period of armed conflict and sanctions would undermine the case for social-democratic reconciliation." He warns: "As is often the case in situations of conflict, the extremes gain strength from each other."

His conclusion is that if there is a protracted struggle, "the siege economy, if the Government should commit itself fully to it, will eventually fail, but only after an initial and possibly quite extended period of success. In the end negotiations will be unavoidable. At that stage, a social democracy is unlikely. The resistance groups, sensing victory, will be in no mood for compromise."

Perhaps the closest the book comes to a prediction of the future comes from Professor le Roux, and it is something less than a prediction:

"The South African drama has two possible denouements. In the one, the Government, although it occasionally considers negotiation,

clings to power to the bitter end. Its prediction that the ANC will establish a radical Marxist government will then most likely prove to be self-fulfilling.

"The other possibility is that both sides will begin to realise that a long and drawn-out conflict during the next few years will serve the interests of no-one, and that political and economic compromise will be reached after negotiations which will be at times very difficult.

"Which of the two resolutions is most likely? Economic rationality argues for the second scenario, but political momentum seems to favour the first. A firm prediction, however, cannot be made. In the final analysis the outcome will depend on the choices which both the establishment and resistance participants make during the next few years."

ACCORDING to John Marcum (Professor of political science at the University of California in Santa Cruz), Helen Kitchen (Director of the African Studies Programme for the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington) and Michael Spicer (Divisional Public Affairs Manager at Anglo American), long-term trends "suggest a slow withering of South Africa's regional ascendancy."

"While this withering will probably take place in the context of regional decline there may be counter-trends. Post-Banda Malawi will be less compliant. When finally delivered by political negotiations or by military collapse or victory from paying for a continuing war, Angola should find its oil wealth to be dramatically empowering."

"Western countries may increasingly intercede to defend modest but developing economic interests in the region." But, they add, "at most, the US and the rest of the world will provide an interactive context of constraints and opportunities within which South Africans will determine their own future."

Alliance plea by PFP fails to excite the IP

POLITICAL STAFF

THE Independent Party (IP) has rejected a call by Dr Zac de Beer, likely to become Progressive Federal Party leader, to form a political alliance.

In a cover story interview with the magazine *Leadership*, Dr de Beer said political unity would not be achieved by great personalities but by establishing clear principles and making sure that those people who followed you on the basis of those principles were prepared to "fight and suffer" for them.

Mr Wynand Malan's NDM was committed to "essentially the same principles of non-racial democracy" as the PFP, and IP leader Dr Denis Worrall "has not said anything a good Prog couldn't have said".

IP co-chairman Mr David Gant yesterday said at this stage there were not enough similarities to merit a merger.

"The IP seeks an alliance of moderates across all political spectrums and colour barriers (with) the priority of removing the NP from power.

"To the extent that unification of the creative opposition will achieve this goal, we support the concept."

However, although the IP and the PFP had "much common ground" the PFP had shown "an historical inability to attract traditional Nationalist votes" which was a prerequisite for a change in political power.

Joburg whites urged to vote

THE Five Freedoms Forum, a wide-ranging movement working within the white community of South Africa to help bring about an open society free of apartheid, this week called on its supporters to ensure that they were registered as voters for the October municipal elections and to vote for candidates taking a clear anti-apartheid stand.

This emerged at a Press conference held at the Central Methodist Church, Johannesburg.

FFF chairman Michael Olivier told reporters that the organisation had come to that position in the recognition that the elections for the Johannesburg City

Council would have a major impact on the future of the city. By encouraging people to vote, the FFF could help shape the future.

"In reaching this decision, we are in no way criticising those who have decided to campaign for a boycott of the black local authority elections.

"Furthermore, we are strongly opposed to the denial of freedom of speech implicit in the government's ban on calling for an election boycott," said Olivier.

"Our decision to call on our supporters to vote does not imply an approval of the structures of local-level government. The Johan-

nesburg City Council, as a whites-only body, is a structure infected with racism implicit in the government's apartheid policy.

"Furthermore, the democratic machinery that exists has become increasingly crippled by the government's attempts to impose its will on all levels of government."

However, Olivier said, despite the inadequacy of these structures, the FFF did not believe that any purpose would be served by calling on whites to boycott municipal elections.

"While within the black community there is a tradition of boycotting, within the white community there

is a tradition of voting. We believe the elections can be used as an important vehicle for campaigning against the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation.

"The Johannesburg City Council has considerable power to affect the lives of Johannesburg residents, both black and white, and we are, therefore, resolved to do all we can to ensure that candidates opposed to apartheid are elected," said Olivier.

He stressed that in taking the position, the FFF had the "clear support" from all its affiliate organisations and general membership. — Sapa

CP sharpens knives over ' CAT 714B 37

THE Conservative Party appears set to make a major election issue out of the spectre of a communist take-over in Windhoek if the UN plan for Namibian independence is implemented.

It is not clear yet how this might affect South African government negotiators currently working on a plan for regional peace with their Angolan and Cuban counterparts.

When the warring parties announced last week that an agreement had been reached on broad principles of the withdrawal of foreign troops from the south-western African region and Namibian independence, the Conservative Party launched a scath-

ing attack against the initiative.

Yesterday, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht returned to the fray, saying that once the "so-called peace plan (UN Resolution 435) is introduced South Africa's line of defence would move from the Kunene River to the Orange River within months".

He warned in a statement released in Pretoria that if the plan was carried out communists could control Namibia.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP would support whites in the territory and called on whites in South Africa to register their disapproval.

Observers interpreted Dr Treur-

communist Namibia' issue 714B 30k4

nicht's return to the issue, just days after Mr Koos van der Merwe (the party's defence spokesman and chief information officer) issued a detailed statement on the subject, as an attempt to "milk" the sensitive topic for political gain.

The line of attack to be used by the CP was clearly spelt out by Mr Van Merwe when he argued that "peace which leads to the implementation of UN Resolution 435 means the total victory for Swapo and the humiliation of South Africa".

"What will then have become of the blood, sweat and money used up by 20 years of fighting?"

The CP's second objection to the agreement is its conviction that "nothing will stop Swapo and the ANC from continuing its deeds of terrorism and that South Africa will be compelled to launch hot pursuit operations again".

"This draws a line through this peace," Mr Van der Merwe argues.

In the third instance, the CP was concerned that Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi may be left in the lurch after years of receiving logistical support and supplies from South Africa, as well as the direct backing from SADF troops.

"Has Jonas Savimbi even been consulted?" Mr Van der Merwe asks.

Slabbert cautions on city's Freedom Charter indaba

By DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

Mems
18/7/88
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THE 400 or so delegates who gathered to discuss the Freedom Charter at a two-day conference in Cape Town organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa represented a fairly broad spectrum of interests ... but not broad enough, cautioned Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

It was a pity there had not been a really hard-nosed capitalist sparring with an equally doctrinaire socialist during the crucial part of the debate which focused on the charter and the economy, said Dr Slabbert at the close of the conference late on Saturday.

He warned too against going home with a "warm feeling" after the discussions, of being seduced by the vitality generated at a gathering like this when the South African reality was so different.

There was evidently interest in the Freedom Charter as a document of "absolute political significance and reality" said Dr Slabbert. That the gathering of 400 swelled to about 500 people by the end of the conference, and on a Saturday afternoon at that, was a measure of this interest, he said.

Professor Hermann Giliomee, University of Cape Town political scientist, said the charter, apart from being a "political package", was "also an existential cry of anguish from the majority about the kind of future they'd like".

Pitch that, said Dr Slabbert, against the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who took 1½ hours to explain how you saved democracy by denying people the vote ...

"They call him the M-Net Minister because you need a decoder to make sense of him," added Dr Slabbert.

The challenge with which delegates left the conference was to take whatever they had gained in two days of rather rarefied debate into their communities.

To the white community in particular — Idasa's "target market" — Dr Slabbert's challenge was more specific: get out there and join the struggle by involving yourselves in extra-parliamentary organisations.

"The debate about a future democracy can only take place among the majority of the people," he said, rejecting, in the spirit of all previous speakers, "reform from the top down".

Whatever differences the speakers expressed in their approach to the Freedom Charter, all emphasised its importance not simply as a fixed and historic document but as a dynamic set of guidelines, the process through which they were drawn up — the 1955 Kliptown Congress of the People which drew about 3 000 people articulating the demands of thousands more — being as instructional as the product itself.

There was broad consensus, too, that the demands of the document had to be read as a whole and all flowing out from the first clause: "The people shall govern."

This point was borne out of specific concern that the State was claiming to be satisfying the demands made by the charter and "misleading the people in the townships", as one delegate put it.

He told of security forces distributing copies of the charter in the townships and using it to point out where upgrading programmes and the latest "right to vote" in the mul-

titracial government elections was "proof" that the Government was responding to the needs of people.

No one argued that the charter was a political and constitutional blueprint in itself and Idasa board member Dr Nthato Motlana said he had no doubt that had it not been banned only five years after its drafting, it would have been amended several times.

Speakers argued its strength as a set of guidelines and UCT legal academic Professor Denis Davis said the document set out the basis for a bill of rights. It was only in a fundamentally reformed society and one united by a culture of rights that an authentic bill of rights could evolve, he said.

The Freedom Charter was just the sort of broadly credible document which might serve as a symbol to unite people in a rights culture, said Professor Davis.

Debate among delegates reflected very different perspectives: township activists (some from as far afield as Port Elizabeth) spoke of their experiences and offered these often brutal accounts of life as an oppressed people as an explanation for their unwillingness to compromise on demands for fundamental rights.

White delegates were concerned about the armed struggle and were at pains to show that demographically and economically, a post-apartheid South Africa would face disaster if sweeping nationalisation of industry and land was the order of the day. They were concerned too that standards — particularly in education — would drop.

Yes, standards would have to drop, was the response from a num-

ber of community activists and some speakers. UCT/UWC history academic Professor Colin Bundy spoke about "barefoot academics" — akin to the barefoot doctors of China — coming out of institutions such as UWC even now.

Economically, speakers agreed that the charter again offered no blueprint. The idea of a mixed economy arising out of the charter — an idea that has knocked around for a while now and has become popular if as yet bare of a model which envisions that mix more precisely — prevailed and, as Dr Slabbert regretted, no one took up a really hard line here, socialist or capitalist.

Differences during the debate were mostly polite, but that there was debate at all and across a relatively broad spectrum of the South African community — and this is what Idasa sees itself encouraging — represented an achievement in itself.

The conference was not moved to embrace a resolution, which was not a measure of its failing but more perhaps a prevailing honesty and realism.

As Dr Slabbert cautioned, the pursuit of democracy takes place in a context of increasing State authoritarianism, coercion and co-optation. Perhaps this kind of forum is coming of age with people no longer driven to produce eloquent resolutions which give them that "warm feeling", as Dr Slabbert put it.

Really opposite sides of the spectrum are not confronting each other in debates like this one yet, but it appears that under the over-arching historical significance of the Freedom Charter, 400-plus people found it constructive to share thoughts and differences rather than add more clamour still to the solution industry.

Idasa leader urges democratic activism

Political Staff

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert has challenged South Africans to work through organisations and bodies outside Parliament if a democratic culture is to be developed in opposition to growing State authoritarianism.

Speaking at the conclusion of a two-day conference on the Freedom Charter organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa at the weekend — "and it's the first time I have been to a conference which ended on a Saturday afternoon with more people than when it started," said Dr Slabbert of the some 500 people present — he said white South Africans were terrified that democracy would be lost without the institution of Parliament.

"One of the most pleasant experiences of leaving Parliament for me was that there's more going for democracy outside Parliament than inside," he said.

What was needed was development of a democratic culture within the context of the growing authoritarianism, coercion and co-option of the State.

Debate like that heard over two days about the Freedom Charter could contribute to the development of this democratic culture, but it was not enough to walk away from a conference like this with a warm feeling, said Dr Slabbert.

"You have to work through the bodies and organisations outside Parliament," said Dr Slabbert, urging delegates to take debate on the charter into their communities.

Dr Slabbert said whites had been living in increasing isolation.

Dr Slabbert said he only really discovered "the struggle" when he left Parliament. Just the word "struggle" struck fear into white hearts but there was indeed a struggle going on — for physical survival, for freedom and for future society.

Distinguish between employers unions told

304A Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — While much of the private sector is swinging to the Right, change is likely to come from a small grouping on the Left, according to business executive Mr Christo Nel.

However, he urged trade unions to distinguish between conservative and progressive businesses so that progress in labour relations could be made.

Writing in the influential magazine *Leadership*, Mr Nel, who delivered a paper on economics at talks with the African National Congress in Dakar, said South Africa was experiencing a rise in business conservatism parallel to the rise of the Conservative Party.

Yet, at the same time, he said, a "small, creative minority" was emerging which was ready for "a leap into the future".

Mr Nel said last year's white elections had resulted in the re-emergence of "verkrampes and closet supporters of the Government", and quoted the managing director of a company as saying: "I would never have supported the Nats, but now I feel I must to help keep the Right wing at bay."

However, change in business thinking was "never initially wrought by a majority", Mr Nel said.

COURAGEOUS

It was brought about by a creative minority which showed the "courageous pioneering spirit" needed to break new ground.

But this needed to be matched by differentiation on the part of organised labour between conservative and progressive employers.

"The challenge lies in the development of an understanding of each other's limitations and accommodation of the different dynamics driving each other.

"This could open the way for the creative minorities within business to accommodate non-negotiable positions, while responding to those opportunities for inter-action that do arise."

It could also enable organised labour to "focus its energy more productively on change-minded creative minorities rather than waste time hoping for a cohesive mass response which is not likely to be forthcoming".

Mr Nel argued that the current pattern of indiscriminate labour action which, he said, took no account of individual businesses' positive efforts, weakened the position of progressive businesses while strengthening that of the conservatives.

Above all, the rise of conservative business should not be viewed as an "insurmountable obstacle".

FM 15/7/88

IDASA

Talks on two fronts

The former Northern Transvaal regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), Braam Viljoen, may after all be leaving the group — perhaps at the end of the month. The *FM* has learnt that Viljoen, a professor of modern church history at Unisa until he joined Idasa, has already resigned — but that Idasa is still involved in negotiations with him on his future.

Idasa's Steve Fourie, who recently took over responsibility for the institute's northern Transvaal and Johannesburg regions from Viljoen and former Johannesburg regional director George Pepper, confirmed to the *FM* that Idasa and Viljoen are discussing the matter at the moment. When asked whether Viljoen had in fact resigned, Fourie said: "This is an internal matter and at this stage I cannot say anything."

Fourie stressed that the discussions are not about the direction in which Idasa is moving. Earlier this year the *FM* reported that key personnel might resign from the institute and that there had been some unhappiness, especially among Afrikaans members, about the way Idasa has been annexed by a Left-liberal element, notably those close to Idasa co-founder and director Alex Boraine (*Current affairs* June 3).

After the *FM* report, Viljoen replied that while it was correct to say that restructuring or rationalisation was taking place within Idasa, it was incorrect to conclude that it was cracking (*Letters* June 24). He added that those close to him would know he cannot operate within any form of Afrikaner exclusiveness.

Meanwhile Idasa, which last year organised the controversial Dakar meeting between leading Afrikaners and the ANC, and assisted with National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Malan's recent trip to West Germany, has just completed a fact-finding trip to Zimbabwe.

This time it took a number of students from various Afrikaans universities to visit and have discussions with students of the University of Zimbabwe in Harare. The touring group, composed of students from RAU, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, the Free State and Pretoria, also had discussions with student members of the ANC.

A surprise member of the party was University of Pretoria student council member Carel Boshoff, son of the ultra-conservative Afrikaner Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff, and grandson of the late Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. Boshoff Snr, a former professor of theology at the Pretoria seminary of the NG Kerk, is presently leading the breakaway Great Trek group.

Fourie, who was in charge of the visit, confirmed to the *FM* that Boshoff Jnr, a former theology turned architecture student, had been a member of the group. "A number of students from these universities were approached in an informal way. During their stay they met Zimbabwean students, among them members of the ANC. It was all voluntary," says Fourie.

Viljoen is not surprised at Boshoff's visit. "I find an openness among some conservative and rightwing groups to discuss matters. It is with members of the National Party that we have problems," he says.

More surprisingly, Boshoff Snr takes the same line. "I knew that my son was going to Harare but he is an independent-minded person who likes to investigate things for himself. I understand it was an interesting visit but we haven't had time to discuss it," the conservative leader tells the *FM*.

Perhaps P W Botha, who once took away the passports of Maties planning a Lusaka visit, should take note of Boshoff's words. ■

304A

Slabbert: Take freedom fight to your homes

Political Staff

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has urged South Africans to work through extra-parliamentary organisations and bodies to develop a democratic culture in opposition to growing State authoritarianism.

Dr Slabbert was speaking at the conclusion of the two-day conference on the Freedom Charter organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said white South Africans were terrified that democracy would be lost without Parliament.

DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

"One of the most pleasant experiences of leaving Parliament for me was that there's more going for democracy outside Parliament than inside," he said.

What was needed was development of a democratic culture within the context of the growing authoritarianism, coercion and co-option of the State.

Debate such as that about the Freedom Charter could contribute to the development of this democratic culture.

But it was not enough to walk away from a conference like this with a warm feeling, said Dr Slabbert.

"You have to work through the bodies and organisations outside Parliament," he said, urging delegates to take discussion and debate on the Free-

dom Charter into their communities.

Dr Slabbert said whites were living in a state of increasing isolation and in the past five years had lost access to information to the extent that they knew less and less about more and more.

A STRUGGLE

He really discovered "the struggle" only when he left Parliament. Just the word "struggle" struck fear into white hearts but there was indeed a struggle going on — for physical survival, for freedom and for future society.

Idasa had targeted white South Africans because the issue was how to bring whites into the struggle and to overcome their fear.

The number of people attending the conference on the Freedom Charter — the 400 delegates were joined by another 100 people by the end of the second day — was a measure of the Freedom Charter's significance as a document of absolute political reality and importance, said Dr Slabbert.

Isolation is behind whites' fear of future, Slabbert

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WHITES were increasingly fearful of becoming "part of the future" in South Africa, Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend.

In his closing address to the Idasa-sponsored Freedom Charter conference held at UCT, Dr Slabbert said the "real fear" of the future being experienced by whites was being fuelled by their isolation from the democratic struggle in an increasingly authoritarian society.

The former PFP leader and MP for Claremont said it was only when he left Parliament that he "really discovered that" there was a struggle going on — for "plain physical survival", for freedom and for a new society.

He said an important question facing democrats was: "How do we make whites realize that they can become part of that struggle — because there is real fear in the white community?"

Dr Slabbert said there were two political developments taking place in South Africa:

- The unfolding of a democratic culture and movement towards

a democratic government;

- Increasing authoritarianism, control and "co-optive domination".

He said the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, could spend about an hour-and-a-half explaining about the need to save "democracy" by denying votes to the majority of South Africans.

Question of participation

However, democracy was only possible when there was vigorous and sustained participation by the majority — and then only after a debate about the future was conducted among the majority.

Such a debate would lead to the spreading of a democratic culture in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert did not speak out against participation in Parliament but stated that there was "more going for democracy" outside Parliament than inside the institution.

"Yet whites fear threats to democracy and human values from outside Parliament," he noted.

Dr Slabbert said it was not possible to have a democratic

government without a democratic culture.

He said democratic government was a key issue in the prevention of tyranny, adding that whites were to a large extent insulated from the experience of tyranny in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said whites found themselves in a "what do we do?" crisis, trapped in a situation of increasing authoritarianism.

The rules had changed in South African politics and it would be a particularly painful adjustment for whites intent on becoming part of the democratic struggle, he said.

Dr Slabbert said the Freedom Charter was not "a neat political package" but went on to describe the document as one of "absolute political significance".

He agreed with earlier speakers who described the charter as "an existential cry of anguish of the majority about the type of society they would like to live in".

Dr Slabbert told the 450 delegates that the two-day conference had demonstrated that the world would not come to an end if one said "Freedom Charter" three times in a row.

'Work for democracy'

DR FREDERIK van Zyl Slabbert challenged South Africans to work through organisations and bodies outside Parliament if a democratic culture was to be developed in opposition to growing state authoritarianism.

Speaking at the conclusion of a two-day conference on the Freedom Charter organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — "and it's the first time I have been to a conference which ended on a Saturday afternoon with more people than when it started," Dr Slabbert said white South Africans were terrified democracy would be lost without the institution of

Parliament.

"One of the most pleasant experiences of leaving Parliament for

me was that there's more going for democracy outside Parliament than inside," he said.

3041A

'Time is not ripe' for SA visit by the Pope

17/7/78 The Star's Foreign News Service

ROME — The Vatican has rejected an appeal by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha for the Pope to make a brief stopover in South Africa during his coming visit to five southern African states.

"The Holy Father has no intention of setting foot in South Africa while the present situation there lasts," a Vatican official said yesterday.

The appeal was reported to have been made by Mr Botha last week during a meeting with Vatican-based Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, who was on a short fact-finding mission in South Africa.

Mr Botha is said to have asked the French-born cardinal, who is head of the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission, to pass on to the Pope an invitation to visit South Africa during his travels in southern Africa in September.

COULD CELEBRATE MASS (304A)

He reportedly went so far as to suggest a brief stopover at Jan Smuts Airport, where the Pope could celebrate Mass. It is understood Mr Botha said failing that, the Pope was welcome to visit South Africa any time he wished.

"The time is certainly not ripe," said a Vatican official, who pointed out that the Roman Catholic bishops in South Africa had said repeatedly that the Pope should not go there.

He added: "The Pope has made no secret of his disgust at South Africa's racial policies."

An official spokesman at the Vatican said: "It is obvious that Cardinal Etchegaray personally passed on the invitation to the Pope. Cardinals always give him a briefing when they return from important missions."

"But he is definitely not going to South Africa. There has been no change in his programme ..."

"Circumstances are not mature for him to go to South Africa."

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Phalaborwa and Ermelo.

Son didn't hold talks with ANC, says Boshoff

Pretoria Correspondent
Conservative political circles are buzzing with rumours of a split in the influential Boshoff-Vervoerd family over claims that Mr Carel Boshoff Jun (25) "held talks with" the ANC in Harare last week.

But the rumours were

cause he visited Zim-

babwe.
"Reports that he was part of a group which allegedly negotiated with the ANC in Harare are equally incorrect," Professor Boshoff, who is a member of the CP, said.

He was commenting on reports that Carel Jun had been a member of a party of South African students, which "held talks with" the ANC, in the course of a visit to Harare last week.

"The truth of the matter is that my son was one of a group of 17 students who visited Harare at the invitation of Dr Frederik van zyl Slab-

Doctor's body washed ashore after diving trip

By Inga Molzen

The 27-year-old Potchefstroom medical doctor, who drowned near Hermanus on Friday afternoon, "loved the sea" and went diving in his spare time, his father Professor Stephanus Barnard said.

The body of Dr "Fanie" Barnard was recovered from the rocks at Skulphoek on Saturday after it was found by a Sandbaai resident. Dr Barnard, who was accompanied by a colleague from Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, Dr Basil van Rooyen, had been diving after work for perlemoen (abalone).

Professor Barnard, dean of education at the Uni-

versity of Potchefstroom, said: "They worked together at the hospital. After operating all morning, they decided to go diving off Hermanus. Waves flung him against the rocks — what happened after that no one knows."

He said his son, one of 12 doctors chosen for "Rekies" (the Reconnaissance Commando of South African Defence Force), was completing the second year of his compulsory national service.

Professor Barnard said Fanie, who studied medicine at the University of Pretoria, completed his internship at the Potchefstroom Hospital.

As far as the AV was concerned, it was not prepared to "talk to terrorists".

It was possible that Carel Jun was not a member of the Conservative Party — but he certainly "supported its ideals" and was chairman of the Afrikaner-Volkswag (AV) branch at the University of Pretoria, Professor Boshoff said.

PFP, Worrall slate refusal to free Mandela

Star 19/7/88

304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Opposition parties on the political Left today strongly criticised the Government's refusal to release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela who celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, said the Government was "extremely illogical" about Mandela's possible release.

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said the Government was "totally confused".

Mrs Suzman said the Government was playing "right into the hands of the ANC" by refusing to release him.

While the State President, Mr P W Botha, and various top Cabinet Ministers had stated that it suited the ANC better to have Mandela in jail than freed, the Government still preferred to keep him imprisoned.

Its attitude "does not boost confidence that it will be competent to handle his release".

Mrs Suzman said Mandela was a key figure in a negotiated settlement concerning political rights for South Africa's black population.

Reacting to last night's statement by Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe that the Government did not see its way clear "at this stage" to

release Mandela, Mrs Suzman said he should have been released years ago.

"What civilised country keeps a man in jail for more than 25 years?" she asked.

"This really is the moment to release him and to use him in a negotiating process about the country's political future."

Dr Worrall said the Government had backtracked on its initial stance that political prisoners would be released after denouncing violence.

FUELLED EXPECTATIONS

The release of ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki last year fuelled expectations that Mandela's release would follow, and that had been the Government's intention.

"The fact is that the Government has moved away from that position, which illustrates its total confusion. Its attitude demonstrates its inability to act pro-actively and to anticipate things."

He reiterated the IP's viewpoint that Mandela should be released immediately because he "unquestionably is a major factor in the South African situation" and had served his time.

His continued imprisonment was an obstacle to the negotiation process.

However, the IP was critical of the Nationalist Government's failure to get the negotiation process started even if Mandela were released.

In that regard, his release "will be wasted".

● See Page 3.

Independents robbing Nats of support — polls

Staff Reporter

THE Independent Party, buoyed by polls that show it is gaining ground at the expense of the National Party, has formed committees in three Nationalist strongholds.

At a meeting in the Bellville Community Centre last night committees were formally constituted in Bellville, Durbanville and De Kuilen.

Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said a newspaper

survey had shown that support for the party had increased from 12 to 21 percent in Natal from January to April.

In the same period support for the NP had dropped from 50 percent to 39 percent, he said. In the Cape, support rose four percent to 17 percent, while support for the NP dropped three percent.

The Independents' growth was not at the expense of the Progressive Federal Party.

Business Report



Heather Thistleton, formerly in reservations at British Airways, has been appointed sales executive at BA's Cape Town office.

Assocom calls for agenda of tasks to . . .

Restore peace and prosperity

Cape Times 20/7/88 30kA

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

AN agenda of tasks for both the private and public sectors is needed "to restore peaceful coexistence and prosperity to SA by the year 2000", says the Associated Chambers of Commerce of SA (Assocom) in its quarterly review.

It lists 10 items which should be among those on the agenda, ranging from the ending of the State of Emergency "as soon as circumstances permit", to dealing with urbanization.

Discussing urbanization it says: "The drift to towns and cities is an historic process that cannot be halted.

"It can, however, be retarded by making the rural areas more habitable and pleasing with homes not hovels. And the housing projects in urban areas must be speeded up to avoid the Crossroads tragedy being repeated again and again."

Other items on the agenda, and Assocom's comments, are:

- Negotiate with the real political leaders of all groups and make a success of the national council.

- Foreign relations. Avoid provoking the world. We need friends not enemies, good relations not antagonists, trade missions not armed incursions, diplomacy not confrontation.

- Inflation. Action, not talk is necessary to curb inflation. Steps which should not be taken are price and wage freezes which world-wide experience has proved never works, con-

trolled floor prices for agricultural products, other controls.

Steps which should be taken are to cut government expenditure to a reasonable percentage of gross domestic product, have a flexible bank rate and flexible and positive interest rates to restore value to the currency and to encourage saving and investment.

Hunt and bust cartels where these are against the public interest.

- Markets. Make constructive use of the marketplace and of market-related policies. Encourage administrators to believe that, far from being a dirty word, profit is the most cost-efficient generator of economic growth invented by man.

- Deregulation. Further progress must be made in cutting through the tangle of red tape which not only impedes the operation of formal markets but deters the development of the informal market.

- Group Areas. A flexible approach to this key issue is essential and the changes which have taken place in living patterns should be recognized.

- Schools. SA no longer has the fat to waste its resources. Fill empty classrooms with people who are hungry for education.

- Removals. People want stability and security of tenure so that they can live in peace and earn a living."

Summing up, Assocom says: "These targets are neither impossible nor impractical. They can all be realized if there is the political will and economic thrust to reach the goals set for our society by the year 2000."

IFF attack on pending group areas Bills

Star 21/7/88

304A

By Inga Molzen

Impending changes to the Group Areas Act have been criticised by the South African office of the International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

Positive developments — particularly the creation of racially mixed areas and the provision of a common voters roll through the Free Settlement Areas Bill, and the promotion of local government affairs in the Free Settlement Areas Bill — were "more than offset by those measures which forced South Africa back into an age of racial segregation".

This was the view of the executive director of IFF (RSA), Mr Russel Crystal, who rejected the negative provisions contained in the proposed trilogy of new group areas legislation.

Mr Crystal, a National Party cardholder, who has actively canvassed for the NP in municipal by-elections and who last year assisted former security police spy, Mr Craig Williamson, in his campaign for the Bryanston parliamentary seat, said the proposed legislation went against the grain of the

Government's reform initiative.

The proposed amendment to the Group Areas Act and two associated Bills have come under immediate attack from all opposition quarters. Positive measures to open defined residential areas through the Free Settlement Areas Bill have been condemned by those on the political right.

But, by simultaneously legislating "draconian measures to force people out of existing homes in order to enforce racially exclusive suburbs", Mr Crystal said the Government was clearly attempting to pander to the "racist and collectivist minds of white supremacists".

Mr Crystal said the tightening-up of residential apartheid by an amendment of the Group Areas Act — with more stringent penalties — was "a shortsighted attempt to accommodate right-wing pressure".

Mr Crystal, who headed mysteriously wealthy right-wing groups in his youth before his appointment as executive director of the SA branch of the IFF, said: "The last thing this country needs now is the passage of blatantly retrogressive legislation."

"Such legislation would help force South Africa back into the US presidential campaign."

Former president of the controversial Students Moderate Alliance and the founder of the National Student Federation — an umbrella body for conservative student groups countrywide — Mr Crystal said the introduction of the legislation appeared to indicate a deliberate reversing of the reform programme.

This, he said would "not only damage the cause of peace and stability inside South Africa, but would also bring inevitable international criticism upon this country".

2 500 SA Muslims plan to visit Mecca

Star 21/7/88

By Sue Olswang

More than 2 500 South African Muslims intend making the annual pilgrimage to Mecca this year despite fears for the safety of pilgrims following last year's violent clashes between rioting Iranians and Saudi Arabian police.

The clash left 402 dead and 649 wounded, and has led to a restriction on the number of Iranians attending this year's pilgrimage.

But South African Muslims are not being put off

by last year's events.

A spokesman for the Central Islamic Trust said no restrictions have been placed on the number of South Africans making the journey and he estimated that more than 2 500 would visit Mecca.

The manager of a Johannesburg travel agency, which handles reservations for many local pilgrims, thought between 2 500 and 3 000 South African Muslims would be travelling to Mecca this year.

Leave us alone, Pik tells Dukakis (30/11)

Star 21/11/88
The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned Mr Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Party's candidate in the American presidential election, yesterday to "leave South African alone".

At the press conference at which the Government announced its acceptance of the four-nation proposals for peace in southern Africa, Mr Botha appealed to Mr

Dukakis to fight his election campaign on internal issues.

Reacting to a question on whether the governments involved in the peace talks would try to reach a final settlement before the American presidential election in November, Mr Botha said it was in the interest of the region to reach an agreement "as soon as possible".

By threatening and criticising the South African Government, Mr Dukakis would not "solve the problems of Africa", but complicate peaceful relations between African states.

"Fight your election on American issues. They are important and complicated enough. Leave us alone to solve our problems," was Mr Botha's message.

THE METHOD BEHIND THE MAD ARRAY OF NEW LEGISLATION

THE 9 BILLS WHICH MAY CHANGE SA

THE government has in recent weeks introduced no less than nine related bills which, if passed, will completely transform our constitutional, urban and industrial bargaining order.

Firstly there have been two constitutional laws: the Promotion of Constitutional Development Act; and the Extension of Political Participation Bill.

The six urban Bills can, in turn, be broken down into three categories:

- Residential segregation Bills: the Group Areas Amendment Bill; the Free Settlement Areas Bill; and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill;

- Squatting Bills: The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill; and the Slums Bill;

- Township Bills: The Rent Bill

Finally, there is the law that will drastically alter the industrial relations system: the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

There is method in this apparently mad array of legislation. At the simplest level, these Bills comprise the basic building blocks of what the government now means by "reform" — the co-option of some and the coercion of most.

Those few who choose to pass through the eye of the reformist needle have been promised a new heaven of wealth and power.

The real trick the government needs to pull off is the creation of what Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe calls "a critical mass of moderate support". When enough black "moderates" actively support the government (20 percent of the population, according to some seurocrats), then the remaining 80 percent — the "apolitical masses" — will cease to be the support-base of the radical minority.

The question facing the government is: "How do we win over the potential moderates?"

The answer is simple: make support attractive enough for the few and bludgeon the rest into consenting. The nine Bills are designed to achieve both these objectives.

To effectively organise consent, the state must control the three arenas of black life: national politics, the city and the factory. Only then can it start to build new social relations.

As far as politics is concerned, the State of Emergency and the February bannings were designed to bring an end to the emergence of a mass political movement outside parliament.

This embryonic extra-parliamentary "government" had unilaterally "unbanned" the ANC, sought and found allies in the white establishment at local and national levels, taken control of many townships, initiated new policy thinking and achieved full recognition by the world as the legitimate voice of the black majority.

Smashing this is seen by the state as a *sine qua non* for further constitutional reform. How else can one interpret a policy that bans the most popular political organisations and then five months later proposes legislation entitled the "Extension of Political Participation Bill"?

The city under apartheid has become chaotic. The dividing lines between racially segregated suburbs have been illegally violated by middle class residents escaping the ghettos and by the homeless in search of accommodation.

Squatter camps have mushroomed into enclaves of bitter, poverty-stricken, homeless masses. These camps — seething with discontent — now surround Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. There are 1.5-million squatters in the PWV and 2.5-million around Durban, making the latter the world's fastest growing city.

Formal townships designed during the 1950s and 1960s to house "temporary sojourners" have been hit with rent boycotts as the state attempted to turn them into "self-governing and hence self-financing cities".

And then there were the factories, where a growing black proletariat with new-found economic powers protested against political disenfranchisement through militant trade unions.

With the Emergency taking care of politics, long-

As the building blocks of the reform strategy are laid down, intriguing scenarios are being floated in high places: Like PW stepping down as NP leader, or the temporary suspension of parliament to force through a new constitution ...

By MARK SWILLING

**of the Centre for Policy Studies,
University of the Witwatersrand**

term policies to deal with the city and factory were needed. The Group Areas Amendment Act is designed to impose order on the chaos of "de-racialising suburbs" with higher penalties, more stringent regulations and tighter controls.

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill and the Slums Bill — the so-called "genocide Bills" — are designed to reverse the changes wrought when influx control was scrapped in mid-1986.

Together, these Bills give local officials more power over housing than ever before. Squatters, tenants and residents will be stripped of all the urban rights normally enjoyed by the poor in the rest of the world: the right to shelter, legal recourse, petition in parliament and association.

The Rent Bill is still awaiting the approval of a parliamentary standing committee. If passed, it will give the authorities the power to break the rent boycott without negotiating with the civic organisations. With both political and civic leaders in jail,

The authorities ask: What needs to be done to make reform more attractive to the 'moderate' minority to balance the consequences of tougher clamps on the majority?

and rent boycotts smashed, the greatest danger is that pent-up fury will erupt in the factories.

To prevent this, the authorities have Emergency regulations restricting union activity and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill that will prohibitively raise the costs of industrial action.

With these massive assaults on independent action in politics, the city and the factory, what is left of reform? The authorities ask this question the other way round: "What needs to be done to make reform more attractive to the 'moderate' minority to balance out the consequences of tougher controls over the majority?"

Firstly, black "moderates" stand to gain considerably from the measures designed to control the poor. The Emergency, more stringent squatter controls and the Rent Bill are designed to give councillors unprecedented powers of control over townships.

Secondly, Indian and coloured "moderates" have repeatedly demanded the lifting of Group Areas restrictions and the creation of non-racial local governments.

The Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill provide for these two changes. The former will make possible non-racial suburbs, subject to the willingness of residents, and the latter will enable the formation of non-racial municipalities (a dream of coloured and Indian "moderates").

Finally, there are the constitutional reform Bills. The Promotion of Constitutional Development Act creates the as yet unnamed negotiating council, and the Extension of Political Participation Bill provides for the election by blacks of second-tier regional councils with legislative and executive powers. This legislation is the *coup de grace* of the co-option process.

Four seemingly disconnected pieces of information may combine to explain where this constitutional juggernaut is headed:

- There is talk that PW Botha might soon step down as National Party leader but retain the state

presidency. As "head of state" but unaccountable to the party, he will be able to act without claiming to represent the party;

- The name of the negotiating council will only be established once there is agreement with the "moderates" about what the council will be and do;

- In terms of the Act, the negotiating council has the right to "investigate and consider any matter which in its opinion is of national interest, including existing and proposed legislation";

- The Extension of Political Participation Bill provides for the re-demarcation of new electoral regions at second-tier level. These will almost certainly be the nine development regions.

How does all this connect up? Recent comments in the press by Independent Party leader Dennis Worrall and hints from people close to the government suggest that all this may be leading to the establishment of a "transitional government".

Consider this scenario, which I understand is being floated in some influential government circles:

- PW Botha resigns as head of the party and then exercises his right as State President to suspend parliament in terms of Section 38 of the Constitution;

- The negotiating council is named a "transitional government" and it uses its mandate to review all legislation — including the 1983 Republic of South Africa Constitution Act — during the suspension;

- White, coloured and Indian representatives will be drawn from the tricameral parliament while black representatives will come from the nine black regional councils;

- The "transitional government" develops new constitution, after which the tri-cameral parliament is re-convened to "approve" the document — dissolving itself and creating a new constitutional order in a single stroke.

If all this is done within 13 months (the longest time for which parliament can be suspended), the entire process will have been perfectly constitutional and PW Botha will have achieved the ultimate: the creation of a multiracial constitutional solution to the South African dilemma without negotiating with the African National Congress.

As far as his black "moderate" allies are concerned, they will have positions of tremendous power.

The grand scale of this scenario is what makes it so compelling to those who still treasure the possibility of constitutional negotiations that exclude the ANC. It is not, however, a realistic possibility, for the moment. The structures now being put in place could become the basis for a "transitional government" if, and only if, a severe crisis catapults the major actors into decisive action.

This scenario faces two critical weaknesses at this stage: first, suspending parliament may remove the rightwing's parliamentary platform, but not the growth in their support triggered by such move — and this support is lodged in the state bureaucracy and armed forces.

Secondly, there is no guarantee that the key black "moderates" — Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Enos Mabuza, Tom Boya and John Mavuso — will buy this formula without the fulfillment of their demands: releasing Mandela, unbanning the ANC and lifting the Emergency.

The government's main problem is that the pre-conditions laid down by "moderate" black leaders are not very different from the pre-conditions laid down by the ANC. It is also unclear whether potential benefits accruing to the "moderates" from the harsh squatter, group area and rent Bills will outweigh the consequences of mass resistance to them.

The "winning-hearts-and-minds" (WHAM) programme may secure consent, but it is unlikely to win the kind of spontaneous co-operation required by any state to legitimise its structures.

In the end, reform is the prisoner of its own assumptions: because the state is trying to outflank the ANC instead of coming to terms with it, key "moderates" will not be co-opted, nor will the masses retreat from the centre-stage of the struggle for political power.

AGENDA FOR ACTION

We are living in a state bordering on siege and can't break out unless we change our ways and our thinking, says the latest edition of *Assocom Review*. Financial isolation and a deteriorating balance of payments cannot be remedied by solutions now being put forward.

Import controls "create artificial shortages, leading to price controls to damp down inflation. A still cheaper rand in terms of world currencies is also inflationary (and) higher interest rates are anathema to farmers."

Review urges a longer-term view and an agenda for action. This would include:

- ☐ Negotiation with "real political leaders of all groups";
- ☐ Avoiding provocation in foreign relations;
- ☐ Reduction of government expenditure, flexible Bank rate and flexible and positive interest rates;
- ☐ A flexible approach to group areas;
- ☐ Filling empty classrooms with people who are hungry for education; and
- ☐ Speeding up housing projects to avoid a repetition of the Crossroads tragedy.

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FINANCIAL MAIL JULY 22 1988

What made Cape Town's weekend conference on the Freedom Charter different was that most delegates were white, and few had seriously examined the document before

GAYE DAVIS reports

ARMED procrastination will buy time but not the future, the 450 delegates at the Freedom Charter conference were told.

The conference, convened by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, in Cape Town at the weekend, attracted mainly whites drawn from a range of professions and business. Most of the delegates had never properly examined the charter before.

Over two days, they heard leading trade unionists, legal professionals, educationists, religious and community leaders offer a critical appraisal of the document endorsed by 3 000 people at the 1955 Congress of the People in Kliptown and supported by millions more.

During debate after each of the sessions, white fears and concerns manifested in questions on redistribution of land, nationalisation of industry, the armed struggle and religious freedom.

They were worried standards of living and education would drop: they were told by black participants the standards they enjoyed were much too high — but that their lowering would be a by-product, rather than a goal of the charter's implementation.

"We're here about taking a risk for something better," said the Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu, who was a delegate at the Kliptown congress. "Let us be partners towards a joyful, peaceful future. You're gabbling like goats bound for slaughter. The baby's risk of dying at birth is as high as that of the mother, yet still we breed. Nobody can reveal the future. Why do we not take the risk together?"

"There was much to encourage white delegates to take that risk. All the speakers stressed the open-ended nature of the charter. Rather than a constitutional blueprint, it was a set of guidelines which — unlike the present system — enjoyed mass support and legitimacy and set the basis for a bill of rights, in the words of University of Cape Town law professor Dennis Davis.

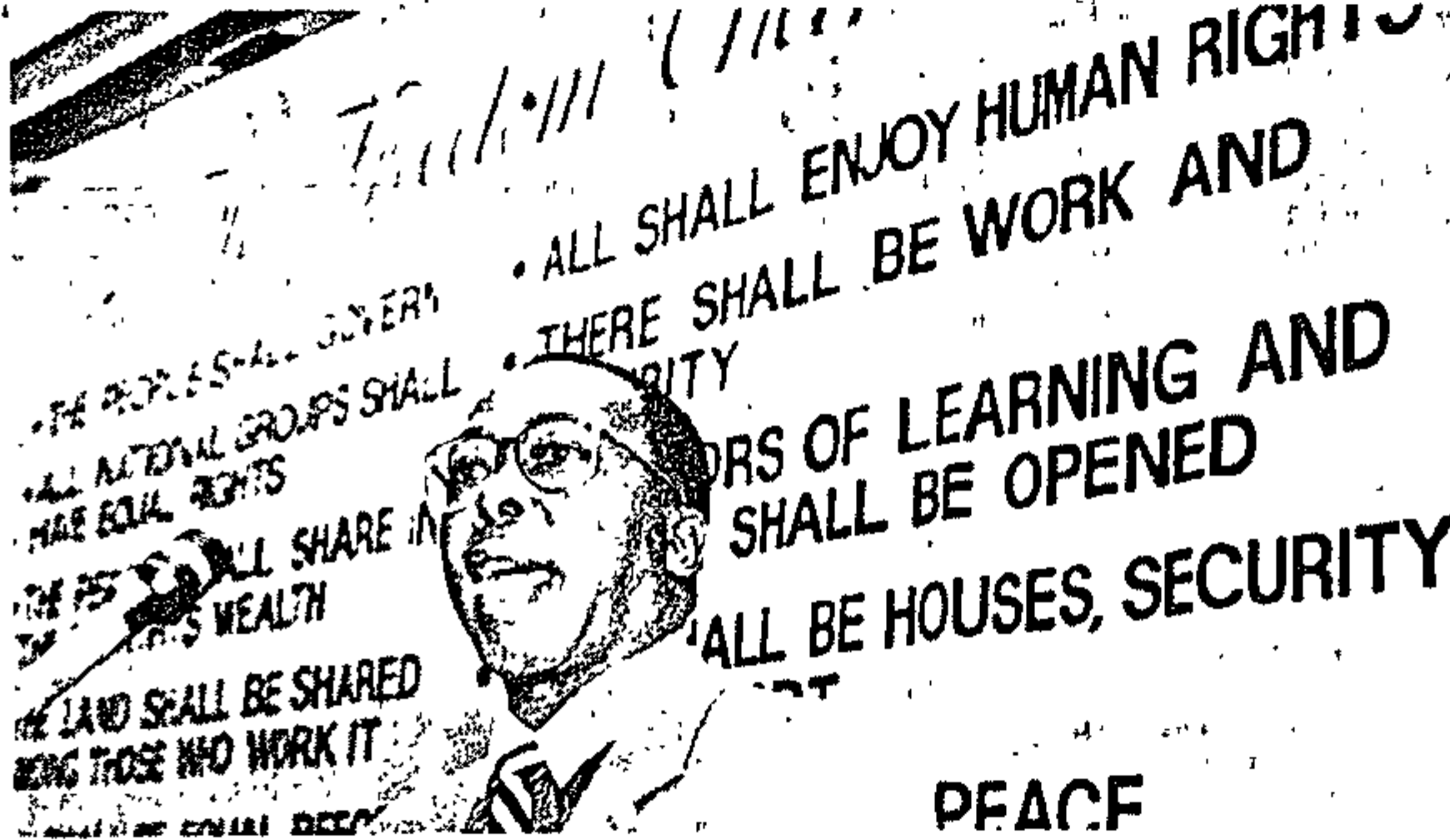
Dr Nihato Mollana, of the Soweto Civic Association, said the African National Congress was closely re-examining the charter: he did not doubt that, had it not been banned five years after its adoption, many amendments would have been made.

Professor Hermann Giliomee, of the University of Cape Town's department of political studies, said while criticism of the charter should not be swept aside it often missed an important point: the charter was a stepping stone for a peaceful future.

Although "idealistic and perhaps impractical in parts" it reflected an existential cry of anguish of black people under apartheid: before there could be peace, whites had to get some sense of this anguish.

The charter was also a powerful symbol of a united and free South Africa where all people treated each other with dignity and respect.

"If whites deride the charter, they humiliate that dream. And if whites and blacks scorn each others' hopes and dreams there is no way out of



Rev Canon Mcebisi Xundu: 'we're here about taking a risk for something better'

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

'Sure, the future's a risk,' said a speaker. 'Let's risk it together'



Musing on the future: a delegate at the conference

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

our mutual nightmare," Giliomee said.

The charter's power, said National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, lay in its ability to correct the anomalies of South African society — and rescue a "chaotic" economy from the brink of the abyss to which "apartheid's high priests" had pushed it.

Attaining the Freedom Charter would "unleash immense productive forces presently fettered by apartheid", Ramaphosa said.

White fears of a democratic future based on the charter were founded in the myth that expropriation would be the order of the day. But the ANC and South African Communist Party were "pragmatic": nationalisation would not proceed blindly.

"First, the people must govern," Ramaphosa said. At the same time, he warned, there would be "no room for the idle" in a South Africa under the Freedom Charter.

Those delegates reluctant to have their "sweet life" soured were forced

to face their alternatives: clinging to white minority rule in the face of growing black demands.

Wits University political scientist Mark Swilling put it succinctly: "Armed procrastination might buy us time, but it's not going to buy us the future." The issue was not whether the country could afford to nationalise industry but whether the present economic structure could remain intact.

He was echoed by Bhekis Sibiya, a director of the Black Management Forum. "The more the capitalists refuse to respond to the call to solve its social cost, the more they will drive people who believe in socialism to extremes. From the look of things, the probable economic framework in a post-apartheid South Africa will be heavily socialistic."

Outright rejection of the charter was as dangerous as setting it up as a shibboleth, said National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Malan. Urging people to have an influence "on the how of its happening as well as the how of its embodiment", he said if anyone could understand what the charter was saying it should be the Afrikaner. When the charter was drafted, even Afrikaners were calling themselves socialists and espousing the nationalisation of the mines and big business.

Theologian Dr Johann Kinghorn, of Stellenbosch University, explained Afrikaner views of the charter as anti-Christian and Marxist in terms of the nature of Christian Nationalism — "a religious-flavoured doctrine of division and isolationism".

The charter explicitly granted religious freedom, he said. But because it espoused integration, it automatically became anti-Christian in the eyes of Christian Nationalists, for whom refuge from a hostile world had to be sought in "one's own" and for whom God had to be "on their side".

People should be wary of becoming trapped in this way of thinking by creating an anti-Christian Nationalism ideology in which God supported the other side, Kinghorn warned.

It was clear from the debates that extreme ends of the political spectrum were not represented. In his closing

address, Idasa director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert lamented there had been no hard-line capitalist or socialist views bolstering discussion of a post-apartheid economy — a debate which never got off the ground.

He left delegates with a word of caution: they shouldn't be lulled into a false sense of complacency by the "warm feeling" they got from discussions "in a little haven like this".

Outside was a brutal reality: whites in particular should get out there and engage.

"The debate about a future democracy can only take place among the majority of the people," he said.

Time to turn the courts around

SOUTH AFRICA'S legal system needs immediate restructuring if it is to survive at all, according to advocate Zac Yacoob.

Yacoob, defence counsel in the Delmas treason trial, was addressing the question of equality before the law at the Idasa conference.

He said the charter clearly addressed people's problems with the legal system at the time it was drafted. Since then, the situation has worsened.

Many more people were being detained and restricted without trial.

People being tried were saying — in his view with justification — that they could not be held responsible for crimes committed in terms of laws passed by an illegitimate government and in whose making they had no say.

Apart from inherent inequities within the legal system, the jurisdiction of the courts was increasingly being eroded.

It could be argued that the courts still safeguarded the liberty of the individual threatened by State of Emergency regulations — but "we are in this ironic situation where the courts, in trying to protect human rights, actually act as advisers to the legislature and police in terms of how the law should be tightened up".

Increasingly, power was being exercised — and expressed in law — by an ever-smaller number of people, while more and more power was being taken away from parliament.

"If the legal system in this country can allow this, then it must be that it has reached the stage where it needs to be restructured — and very quickly — otherwise we will soon reach the stage where we have no legal system at all," Yacoob said.



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PART-TIME

DOCUMENTALIST

State's 'we know better

posture now wearing thin

Verligte

23/7/86

304A

Nats nudge party bosses



Mbeki



Stoffel Botha



Pik Botha



Van der Merwe



Malan

AFTER keeping their heads beneath the parapet for a long time, verligtes in the ruling National Party are beginning to stir.

They even appear to be trying to nudge the party into bolder, more innovative action.

The clearest sign came this week from the influential pro-Government Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld*. Normally fiercely loyal to the administration of President Botha, *Beeld* called for the release of imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

In a dramatic juxtaposition of events, the editorial was published on Mandela's 70th birthday and offered a paradoxical backdrop to the nation-wide crackdown by security forces on people planning to commemorate the occasion.

Beeld's editorial rested primarily on the contention that an jailed Mandela was a greater danger to the Government than a free Mandela.

It buttressed that central point with two supplementary arguments: there was no point in waiting for a more opportune moment because that moment would never arrive; history might never forgive the Government if it allowed Mandela to die in jail instead of negotiating with him "over the aspirations of his people" while it had the chance.

The editorial was clearly in conflict with the tight control over dissidence maintained by authorities ever since the national state of emergency in June

PATRICK LAURENCE

1986, except for a brief interlude when Mr Mandela's co-life prisoner, Mr Govan Mbeki, was released late last year.

Shortly after Mr Mbeki's release, hawks in the Government once more asserted their dominance, imposing restrictions on the ageing ANC leader and later, in February 24, on 18 extra-parliamentary opposition organisations.

The Government's pique at *Beeld's* verligte outburst was manifest when the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, went on television to indirectly but unmistakably criticise the paper.

Asserting incorrectly that Mandela is "a prisoner sentenced for high treason" (he was convicted on multi-counts of sabotage), Dr Van der Merwe said: "It is easy for a newspaper editor to reach a certain conclusion. But one must remember that the editor does not have the intimate knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the issue the Government has."

Beeld was unchastised. It returned to the charge the next day to ask: "What details are there that the Minister of Information has which he would rather conceal than hide?" (*Beeld's* italics).

In another welling up of verligte recalcitrance, *Beeld* said: "South Africans have been complaining for a long time that they hear too little about

what is going on in their land."

It counselled Dr Van der Merwe to discuss the matter with his namesake, Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister of Home Affairs and the man who is rapidly becoming South Africa's chief censor.

It is relevant to recall an earlier warning from *Beeld*, made in March after the National Party suffered a third crushing defeat at the hands of the Conservative Party in a trio of by-elections.

It warned that rank-and-file party members were tired of the Government's "trust-us, we-know-better" attitude and its inclination of respond to public anxiety about the future direction of Government policy by putting the same old Ministers on television to offer the bland, predictable assurances.

Another sign, arguably, of verligte concern in recent weeks came from *Die Kerkbode*, official journal of the NG Kerk, the largest of the Dutch Reformed Churches which was once described as the NP at prayer.

After 12 South African soldiers were killed recently at Caluque in Angola in a clash with Cuban forces, *Die Kerkbode* questioned whether South Africa's "more or less permanent" military presence in Angola could be justified morally and ethically.

That, too, according to political observers, reflected anxiety that the hawks were taking South Africa on a perilous course similar to that traversed by the Americans in Vietnam.

South Africa's willingness to accept the peace principles hammered out for settlement of the Namibian and Angolan conflicts may be another manifestation of the growing verligte strength.

South Africa's current negotiations with Angola and Cuba to end the war in Namibia and Angola recall the prophecy made by a former *Beeld* editor, Mr Ton Vosloo, who is now the managing director of Nasionale Pers.

In 1981 when there were talks between South Africa's Administrator of Namibia and Swapo, Mr Vosloo warned South Africa to prepare itself for an unpleasant truth: the Government would one day have to talk to the ANC.

ONE TIMES. 23/1/88
30 RA

Idasa plans visit to Russia

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AN Idasa delegation of top South Africans from various fields will visit the Soviet Union in the first half of next year.

And the body which extended the invitation, the Africa-Asian Solidarity Committee, has expressed the hope such visits could become an annual event.

This breakthrough in unofficial contacts was triggered by the visit of Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine to the Soviet

Union earlier this month.

Dr Boraine said yesterday: "It is clear that this is going to have all sorts of spin-offs, involving further contacts."

One of these is a conference in Europe later next year between South African and Soviet academics and members of the ANC.

Dr Boraine said the Soviets were "very gracious and kind in their hospitality. We need to see a major power for ourselves wherever possible."

● Full report, Page 5

one Times 23/7/88 30k4

SA group to USSR?

IDASA will lead a delegation comprising a wide cross-section of top South Africans to the Soviet Union next year.

This breakthrough in unofficial contacts between the two nations was sparked by the recent visit by Dr Alex Boraine.

During his two-week stay, the Idasa director held discussions with academics, writers, church leaders, administrators and politicians, including members of the Central Committee and top officials in Soviet foreign affairs department.

Dr Boraine, who found many of his contacts were "terribly interested to learn more about South Africa", was asked if he would bring a delegation from the Republic to the Soviet Union.

"We are committed to doing just that in 1989," said an excited Dr Boraine, adding that although the invitation was extended by the Africa-Asian Solidarity Committee "once we get there we will be guests of the Soviet Union".

Dr Boraine said it was clear that there were going to be "all sorts of spin-offs involving further contact".

One of these was a conference between South African and Soviet academics and the ANC in Europe later next year.

While opposition to apartheid was "total

ANTHONY JOHNSON spoke to Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine about his recent two-week trip to the Soviet Union as a guest of the Africa-Asian Solidarity Committee, a non-governmental organization which renders assistance to newly emerging states.

and implacable" among all those he met, Soviets were "now beginning to distinguish between opposition to the system and feelings about the country".

Many Soviet officials or academics were interested in contact with the SA government, many indicated they would be "more than happy" to meet more opposition figures from South Africa, both black and white.

Dr Boraine said he was astonished to be greeted in Afrikaans by some of his contacts, some of whom indicated they would like to see South Africa for themselves.

Others, like Professor Appolin Davidson of Moscow State University, told him that a number of Russians had fought in South Africa on the side of the Boers at the turn of the century. Prof Davidson, a top historian and South Africa expert, has just completed a book on Cecil John Rhodes.

Dr Boraine said the growing interest in South Africa in the Soviet Union was a reflection of just one of the many changes taking place in Soviet society as a result of the new policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring).

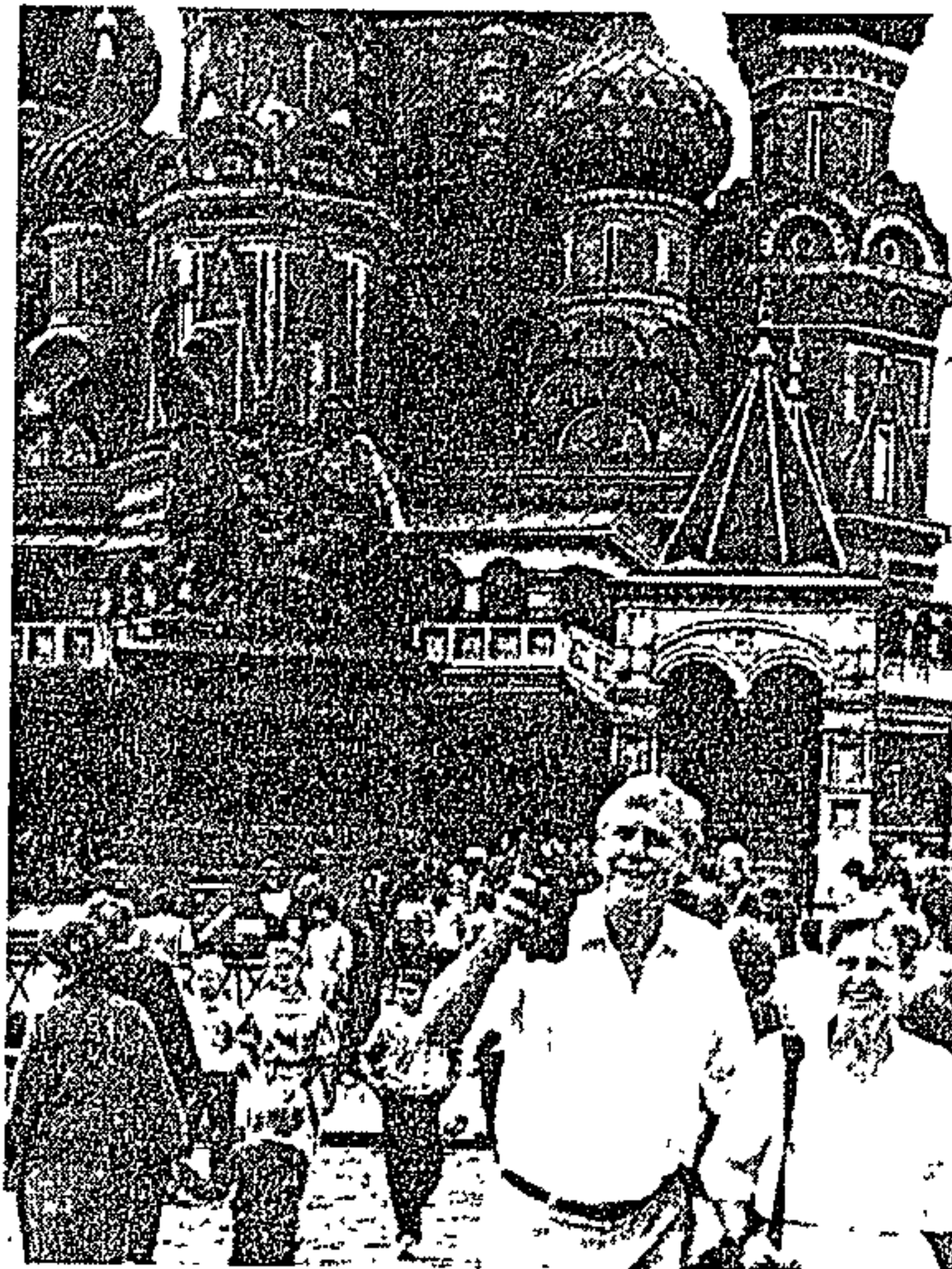
Dr Boraine said the talks he had with high-ranking members of the Russian Orthodox Church indicated that official attitudes towards religion were also softening.

Another reflection of the changing Soviet attitudes was the fact that he and his wife, as white South Africans, were given "completely free rein" in Moscow and Leningrad and were allowed to wander about and speak to ordinary citizens without a guide or interpreter when they wanted this.

Dr Boraine said his overriding impression was that "it is quite tragic that South Africa does not have its own Gorbachev in the sense that Gorbachev is not a member of the opposition or calling for change from a position of little power."

"He is setting the pace, taking risks and unfreezing the situation that has been rigid for so long."

"The tragedy in South Africa is that the man in charge is captive of his party rather than leading it," he said.



BACK IN THE USSR ... Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine and his wife, Jenny, take in the sights at Moscow's Red Square.

Idasa's African tours in demand

Political Correspondent

IDASA's fact-finding tours for South African opinion leaders to the frontline states have become so popular that the organization is battling to keep up with the demand.

According to Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine: "Every time we send a specialized group of 20 or so over, 50 more people say they also want to go and see for themselves." However, Idasa is planning to keep up its busy programme of sending influential young South Africans, particularly young Afrikaners, to obtain first-hand experience of conditions and people in neighbouring countries.

Following the successful Idasa-sponsored trip to Zimbabwe by senior journalists last year and student leaders earlier this month, the organization plans to assist another group of 20 young Afrikaans student leaders to visit Mozambique in September.

Dr Boraine said: "At the heart of Idasa's work is the objective of helping bring people together in Southern Africa who may have different 'starting points'."

Dr Boraine said Idasa was trying to expose South Africans, particularly whites, to what was really going on in countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

"This is all the more necessary to counter the excessive propaganda put out by the government and its media which often reinforces opposition to change among whites. There is a genuine hunger for hard news and first-hand information."

Unity on political left is high on PFP agenda

By Esmaré
van der Merwe

The creation of unity on the political left and the engagement in practical ways of building a non-racial South Africa are two key issues that will be addressed at the Progressive Federal Party's annual congress in Cape Town on August 5 and 6.

Other issues that took priority among the 51 resolutions submitted to the party's national office are security, law and order, group areas legislation, education and participation in governmental structures.

Of significance is a resolution proposed by the

PFP's Helderberg constituency that the PFP declares itself willing "to merge into a new, united progressive party which is committed to the liberal values the PFP has so stoutly defended in the past".

In the resolution, the PFP is urged to facilitate progressive unity because a united left-of-Government opposition is in the best interest of all South Africans and because there are "genuine opportunities to weaken the system from within".

Another resolution, proposed by the Waterkloof constituency, calls on the party to establish lines of communication

with other like-minded groups, to initiate joint involvement in specific issues and campaigns, and to take the necessary steps to "bring about purposeful and visible co-operation" between all organisations seeking the non-violent removal of apartheid and the building of a non-racial democracy.

Concern about the PFP's public image is expressed in some of the motions, released to the media on Friday. One resolution urges the correction of the PFP's "negative, almost anti-South African image", which had been created mainly by the NP.

PFP to study security

Star 26/7/88
Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party's stance on security — often regarded as the party's weak point — will receive considerable attention at its annual congress in Cape Town.

Nine of the 51 resolu-

tions submitted for discussion at the August congress deal with security, conscription and law and order.

Most of the resolutions stem from the PFP's Security Commission Report which will be sub-

mitted to the congress.

The report, drawn up under the chairmanship of PFP veteran Mrs Helen Suzman, will serve as background information to delegates.

One resolution argues that military conscription should be phased out on the grounds that it presently only applies to white males, that it disrupts family lives and careers and that it promotes the brain drain from South Africa.

The defence of the country can most effectively be undertaken by a strong, non-racial, motivated and well-equipped Defence Force.

In another resolution, concern is expressed about the escalation of military conflict in southern Africa, the presence of large numbers of expatriate and foreign forces in the subcontinent, and the volume and sophistication of military equipment in the region.

The Government is urged to respect the territorial integrity of states and to reject "military, economic and political destabilisation wherever this occurs".

In a resolution dealing with the South African Police, the Government is urged to review the structure, function, report-lines, recruitment procedures and training of police forces.

Now Relly spells it all out

Sowetan 26/7/88

304 A

CHAIRMAN of Anglo American Corporation Mr Gavin Relly has commented publicly for the first time on the promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

The Bill, to create an all-race statutory body to examine and formulate new constitutional proposals for South Africa, was put before Parliament and debated by a joint-sitting of all three Houses recently.

The future of the country could not be determined unilaterally, and the open agenda under which this body would operate, gave scope for the examination of all constitutional alternatives.

What SA requires now is majority law

304A

Star 27/7/88

"What can I do for my country — when I am not allowed freedom of expression; when criticism can be construed as a crime against the State?"

"Alas, there appears, now, nothing to be done for my country. I must live in impotent isolation, or leave. All else of pith leads surely to incarceration."

"I dread no black man's aspiration — not so the (white) minority's closing years."

"Oh, what has my countryman done to me!"

So writes a 50-year-old,

white, English-speaking South African, a "God fearing" professional man "who lives well, pays taxes, keeps the economy going — and loves SA."

Like too many correspondents, he does not want me to use his name. (I believe we surrender something precious by resorting to pseudonyms, and I appeal to you to avoid them.)

But "Law-locked" explains his stance.

"I am politically petrified," he writes. "Worse, I am frustrated by my own impotence to influence government thought or policy. How did one get like this — coming from stock that for centuries revered individual political awareness and civic activity for the common good?"

"In 1988 one realises that one got to this position by law — *minority law*!"

"At junior school, Afrikaans school friends were 'legally' removed from King Edwards. That's how it started. Now, 40 years on ... I recall the repugnance felt when studying the edict denying the legality of blacks to lay bricks — what manner of mind conceived that law, designed not for public good but another desperate attempt to dominate?"

"How do you answer: 'Why didn't you English do something besides making money?' — a question somehow sad-



Readers' response so far is a committee chairman's nightmare. It is too varied for concerted action; too unorthodox for constitutional decision-making. Which makes it as refreshing as it is interesting.

THE EDITOR examines an example. You are invited to contribute.

dling collective guilt for our now disastrous position.

"But ... conveniently forgotten are the thousands arrested over the years; in 1953, 1960, 1963 ... 90 days, 180 days — and now perpetual detention without trial or legal representation. 'Total Onslaught' has, ironically, come true."

"So what can I do for my country? One must ask what does my country need — from all of us? It needs *majority law*."

"Law-locked" argues that cultures of strength and integrity maintain themselves, regardless of numbers and percentages, but that, so long as the farce of "own states", "own affairs" and the rest are foisted upon South Africa, viable sustainable group identity is threatened — for everyone except, in the short term, the perpetrators of "minority law".

He asks: "What can I do for my country when the very act of putting these thoughts to paper could place me and mine in jeopardy?"

Optimism from both sides of the political and colour divisions appears in the majority of contributions so far.

One reader offers specific steps to solutions, but it is a document that will need to be examined at another time ... despite the fact that this reader wishes to be anonymous.

People, not Government, dictating pace of change

Predictions that the Government is moving inexorably towards a system of multiracial elitism in which segregation will be abandoned but effective white political control remains intact underestimate pressures within the Government and in white politics for segregation, says researcher Mr Steven Friedman.

In a 51-page publication, "Reform Revisited", in which he discusses current trends in Government thinking, Mr Friedman says there are potential openings for desegregation.

"At present these are limited, the extent to which they remain so may depend on the willingness on the groups outside the Government to press for desegregation and to adapt strategies which recognise both the obstacles awaiting them and the possibilities which may continue to emerge."

In his conclusion to "Reform Revisited", the author notes that Government positions on issues such as group areas, education, local government and regional government confirmed that movement towards desegregation would continue to face substantial opposition although he identifies some areas in which a continuing move away from apartheid is likely to take place in these four areas.

Pace of change

Examining the process of change in South Africa, the publication points out that some political commentators still assume that the Government alone dictates the pace of change.

This, however, overestimated the power of the Government.

Mr Friedman points out that while the Government is under no direct threat from its opponents, it is not always able to control events in society.

"The pace of change depends primarily therefore on the extent to which pressures on existing policies build up outside the Government's control," he writes.

Mr Friedman says that one of the flaws which "often underlies thinking about change is the tendency to see it as an event, rather than as a process" and a belief that change would openly begin when power was transferred to a majority government.

"Change is thus seen as a single, millenarian event — the transfer of power — and strategies for change are designed to ensure that the millenium occurs as quickly as possible."

"This view is akin to that of a school history textbook which declares that change in the United States began with the Boston Tea Party and in France with the storming of the Bastille."

Staff Reporter

There are potential openings for desegregation in South Africa, according to new research by Institute of Race Relations analyst Mr Steven Friedman, but there is a pressing need to go beyond slogans for meaningful reform.

"In reality, of course, both events were merely culminations of complex and usually lengthy processes, which were far more important than the events themselves."

Mr Friedman says that in South Africa any change that renders racial separation less workable or which strengthens organised black influence will increase pressure on apartheid and strengthen momentum for its replacement.

He points out that the experience of the trade union movement, and of community organisations in the mid-1980s, confirmed "that the perception of powerlessness will only be overcome when collective action achieves gains, however limited".

He points out, however, that a counter-argument is that reform, particularly if accompanied by tougher security restrictions on groups committed to political change, would deflect pressure for change by making the system workable while its opponents were prevented from challenging it.

In the event, he argues that political change is likely to become a realistic prospect "only when there has been further significant erosion of the manifestations of apartheid, creating the conditions for more effective black bargaining power and removing the powerlessness which hampers black organisation".

Pressure for reform

This erosion will be a consequence not of any Government initiative but of pressure for reform in which the Government can make concessions without yielding power.

Mr Friedman writes that outbreaks of unrest in 1976 and 1984 led many to predict confidently that "the system" was about to collapse.

Such predictions were replaced by equally confident assertions that even partial change had become remote once the unrest had been quelled.

Mr Friedman emphasises, in the opening argument in his book, the pressing need "to go beyond slogans" in South Africa.

"The question now is whether latent or actual pressures exist which can strengthen the prospects for limited structural change."

Thorny issues confront PW's men

Vital Cabinet session as SA faces future

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Pressing political and economic issues faced the Government today as the full Cabinet reconvened in Pretoria for the first time after Parliament's winter recess.

High on the list of issues to be addressed were the peace proposals for south-western Africa which were last week accepted by the governments of South Africa, Cuba and Angola, and the imminent changes to group areas legislation which will be at the centre of debate when Parliament reopens on August 22.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, who underwent a minor operation to his knee yesterday, was able to attend the meeting at the Union Buildings, chaired by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Other major issues facing the Government as the Cabinet reassembled included

Deadline extension

● The constitutional future of blacks. Legislation providing for black regional councils, which has been published for comment this month, has met with little enthusiasm.

Expectations are that the end-of-the-month deadline for response to the proposed legislation, which provides for black legislative and executive councils with authority over "own" affairs, will be postponed.

● The economy — while the Reserve Bank faces mounting pressure from banking circles to increase interest rates to prevent future economic problems, consumers will be hard hit by any increase.

● The release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. International and local pressures are mounting against the prolonged imprisonment of Mandela, who last week celebrated his 70th birthday in jail.

● The fate of the Sharpeville Six. Assocom today warned the Government that it could expect severe reaction from Western Europe if it allowed the Six to be executed. The European Community, it said, had ready a programme of diplomatic and economic punitive measures it planned to swing into action against South Africa.

● International sanctions and disinvestment. Worldwide demands for political reform are increasing, with the South African situation continually making international headlines, specifically in America where South Africa has been turned into an election issue for the November presidential election.

Although the 14-point set of principles for a settlement in Angola and Namibia was hailed as an important milestone in the ongoing negotiations about stability in the region, details of the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola and the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence still have to be thrashed out at the next round of four-party talks in Geneva on August 2.

Names of Cresta centre dead released

The names of the construction workers killed and injured in yesterday's Cresta Shopping Centre tragedy, in Randburg, have been released.

The dead are Mr Richard Ndlovu, Mr John Moraba and Mr David Thomelang.

Mr John Bushyelo and Mr Johnson Mathumba are still in hospital.

The other injured are Mr Sizwe Keyi, Mr Francesco Estanqueiro, Mr John Nkgasi, Mr William Mongoane, Mr John Bushyelo and Mr Johnson Mathumba.

Three construction workers were killed and eight hurt when scaffolding at the centre collapsed while workmen were pouring concrete into ceiling reinforcements on the lower ground floor of the complex.

One of the injured has a suspected spine fracture.

Emergency and construction workers battled for more than two hours to free the dead and injured from a morass of wet cement and scaffolding which collapsed at about 11 20 am.

● See Page 9.

Hospital



Fun and games... occupational Marianne Garden encourages M

Sanctions will peace, says T

The Star Bureau

LONDON — British Prime Minister Thatcher has reaffirmed her strong opposition to any measures which would be made towards peace in south-western Africa.

She was replying to a letter from Mr Neil Kinnock — who has just returned from a tour of the Frontline states — and reconsidered opposition to comprehensive sanctions.

Accompanying his letter was a statement which stressed that "above all, peace".

Mr Kinnock underlined his belief that the only way to bring an end to apartheid was the total dismantling of the system.

Mrs Thatcher replied that her government would take positive steps towards peace, but would do all it could to encourage peace.

"The parties to the negotiations in south-western Africa have announced an important search for a comprehensive regional settlement. Zambia and South Africa are making their efforts to revive the Nkomati dialogue."

Now Breedts faces

The gulf between Transvaal players has widened following a report that Bok No 8 Jannie Breedts could be player to be axed this season.

Last week's controversy over the half John Robbie in favour of new players and last Saturday's Currie Cup caused simmering tensions.

● See Back Page

Reform is key to economy

— De Beer

CAPE TOWN — Political reform and economic liberty were Siamese twins that should be tackled simultaneously, according to Dr Zac de Beer, heir apparent to the leadership of the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr de Beer said yesterday South Africa should set aside the "intensely costly racial system" that hindered economic growth.

"We need to have good training for workers," he said. "A large section of the labour force has a legacy of bad education.

"People who travel three or four hours to work are not likely to be productive." — Sapa.

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TO ACHIEVE personal security in SA, the PFP believes in maintaining a strong police force which is well disciplined, well trained, well equipped, well paid, well managed, adequately staffed and accountable for its actions.

The SA Police perform a difficult and frequently dangerous task, for which they deserve recognition. Because the police, in addition to their ordinary duties, are called upon to implement laws which are widely perceived to be unjust and discriminatory, they are in many instances regarded as oppressors rather than protectors of the public. Therefore, it is essential for the police to be, and to be seen to be:

- Involved in their primary task of preventing crime and apprehending criminals; and

- Non-partisan and apolitical in the execution of their duties.

The activities of the police riot units have in recent years given cause for concern, and it is essential that policemen engaged in unrest control be properly trained and equipped.

Another factor which brings the police force into disrepute are some of the activities of inadequately trained special constables (kitskonstabels). While the party accepts the necessity for additional policemen, these must be properly trained and integrated into the ordinary police structures.

In-service training and public relations courses should be provided for policemen on an ongoing basis.

The security police need to be properly accountable to the public and instances of abuse of power need to be firmly dealt with.

Because of the breakdown in neighbourhood crime prevention, the optimal utilisation of the resources of civic government is necessary to ensure the safety of residents. The PFP therefore encourages the creation of municipal police forces and the promotion of neighbourhood crime watches to supplement policemen on the beat.

Ever since the National Party took power in SA, the distinct issues of the security of the state on the one hand, and the maintenance of the interests of the NP on the other have increasingly and deliberately become fudged.

The existing security legislation — and particularly the emergency regulations — brings the law as a whole into disrepute. These laws and regulations need to be overhauled and brought into line with accepted tenets of the rule of law.

The PFP accepts that central gov-

PFP commission firms up party's security policy

The Progressive Federal Party security commission, chaired by Helen Suzman, has drawn up the party's first detailed policy on defence and internal security. The document will be considered by the PFP federal congress in Cape Town on August 5 and 6. Here is a summary of the recommendations, which the commission says should be seen against the background of the party's fundamental beliefs

ernment should be able to deal quickly and expeditiously with threats to the internal security of the State. The party is concerned, however, that the structures which the present government has instituted purportedly to perform this function — the National (Security) Management System — appear to have a distinctive internal political agenda which goes beyond what is generally accepted in Western societies as legitimate.

The structures are non-elected, are not accountable for their actions to anyone save the Executive, and are secretive in their operation.

The PFP opposes the executive banning of individuals and organisations, and believes that the present banning orders against such organisations and individuals should be lifted. At the same time, the party believes that no organisation or individual should be permitted to engage in, foment or advocate violence, terrorism, insurrection or revolution. Such organisations or individuals ought to be dealt with firmly and expeditiously through the courts and in terms of the ordinary law of the land.

If the ordinary law is insufficient to deal with the criminal prosecution of organisations, the PFP would support legislation which would enable the courts to prohibit them from operating.

The PFP believes that freedom of



□ SUZMAN... chaired commission

association, speech and assembly are fundamental to the proper functioning of a democratic society, and the PFP would enact a justiciable Bill of Rights guaranteeing these freedoms.

The PFP recommends that legislation which outlaws incitement to racial hostility, the use of threatening or insulting language against ethnic or religious groups ought to be retained, and be amended so as also to outlaw the employment of provocative symbols. The party also favours legislation to outlaw racial discrimination in all its manifestations.

The PFP believes SA requires a strong, non-racial, motivated, well-trained and well-equipped Defence Force, consisting of a professional

standing army backed up by volunteer reserves.

Its function should be primarily to defend the Republic from outside aggression, and to defend our borders and coastlines. It believes that the Defence Force should be a truly national institution, free from party politics and any form of discrimination.

In order to preserve the SADF's national character, to ensure its political neutrality and to promote accountability for its actions, the PFP believes that a standing committee of Parliament should scrutinise the policy and review the activities of the SADF.

The PFP is committed to phasing out military conscription.

The SADF admits that it regularly receives far more applications to join the Permanent Force than it is able to accommodate, and this without serious recruitment campaigns.

Where recruitment of high-level and skilled manpower to the SADF constitutes a problem, service conditions for members of the Permanent Force will have to be improved.

A person whose interests and talents incline him to a military career will make a keener, more motivated and more professional soldier than an unwilling conscriptee.

The PFP believes that the proposed regular standing army should be backed up by volunteer reserves, recruited on a non-racial basis, to provide reserve troops in cases of

sudden escalation of threat, and to preserve the military traditions of the part-time forces, which have enriched the SADF enormously over the years.

Until the system of compulsory military service has been phased out, the PFP recognises the right of individuals who do not wish to be conscripted into the Defence Force, to specified alternative service on application. Such service should be longer than the period of military service, but ought to be productive, and where possible, should make use of the qualifications and experience of the individual concerned.

The PFP believes that the SAP should, in normal circumstances, be the institution which upholds the law and maintains public order.

However, there may be exceptional occasions (e.g., when law and order has completely broken down and the police are no longer able to guarantee the protection of the public) when the SADF may be required to act in a supportive role to the SAP.

If called upon to render such assistance, the SADF should act as a clearly identifiable structure, under its own commanders. This will reduce the danger that such action will politicise the SADF and damage its reputation, which has already occurred in some instances.

The PFP recognises that there are legitimate security concerns implicit in the presence of expatriate and foreign forces in large numbers in the frontline states, and of the volume and sophistication of military equipment in such states.

The PFP respects the territorial integrity of foreign states and rejects military occupation of foreign territory for any length of time.

The party recognises, however, that use may have to be made of limited pre-emptive cross-border operations against forces with demonstrably aggressive military or other violent designs towards SA, as well as of hot-pursuit operations in accordance with international practice.

In addition, SA should not itself be instrumental in the escalation of regional conflicts.

The PFP rejects military, economic and political destabilisation. It thus rejects the involvement by SA in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states, irrespective of the ideology or practices adopted by those states. We support the formation of economically stable and peaceful neighbouring states and encourage respect for their territorial integrity.

□ The commissioners were Helen Suzman, Roger Burrows, Brian Goodall, Tian van der Merwe and James Selfe (secretary).

the dismantling of their command

Suzman, NP in clash over security policy

Star 28/7/68 Political Staff

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — The National Party and the Progressive Federal Party have clashed over the PFP's proposed detailed security policy.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP Law and Order spokesman, accused the National Party yesterday of attempting to discredit the policy with a "series of downright untruths".

Her accusation followed a statement issued by Mr Hennie Smit, chairman of the NP parliamentary law and order study group.

Mr Smit repeated accusations that the PFP had a "nonchalant attitude to national security" and claimed the new proposals were aimed at retaining party left and right-wing elements.

He claimed the PFP regularly changed police spokesmen, changed its position on the number of policemen needed, did not condemn the violence of radicals and that crime figures were no higher than the average Western country.

Mrs Suzman, who pointed out that she had been the PFP Law and Order spokesman for as long as she could remember, said the PFP had not changed its basic principles on security.

"We have not deviated one iota."

The PFP had always condemned violence whether "it is institutionalised violence ... or the mindless violence of terrorism".

PFP challenges CP on Hillbrow

The political slanging match in Hillbrow has been further fuelled by a Progressive Federal Party challenge to the Conservative Party to spell out how it would carry out its threat to move 70 000 illegal blacks from the area.

Mrs Gene Gunther (PFP Ward 26), Mr Clifford Garrun (PFP Ward 31) and Mr James Dryja (PFP Ward 30) called

^{Stand 28/7/88}
on the Government to "stop pussy-footing around" about the greying of the area and remove uncertainty for the residents.

(3047) (BWW)
They also tackled Mr Fred Rundle, CP regional chairman and candidate in Ward 30 (Joubert Park) to come clean on making the area a whites only suburb. — Municipal Reporter.

Govt spending under fire

Finance Staff

The economy is inherently sound and strong enough to afford a good and rising standard of living for all its people. This implies that there should always be opportunities for entrepreneurs, says Dr Zach de Beer, executive director of Anglo American.

He told the SA Megatrends Conference in Johannesburg yesterday both declarations of faith assumed sensible management of the economy.

Reviewing gross domestic product (GDP) in the years from 1960 to 1987, Dr de Beer said that really healthy growth, ce and prosperity were sustained until 1974.

"Since then, apart from one or

two 'purple patches', the performance has been miserable," he said.

Since 1980, real living standards had actually been falling and gross national product (GNP) per capita had decreased by more than 11 percent.

Looking to the future, Dr de Beer said figures showing the rate of fixed investment were relevant.

From a peak in 1981, annual investment had fallen by no less than 31 percent.

"This, I am afraid, simply reflects the waning confidence of investors both inside and outside South Africa," he said.

Double-digit inflation was one of the reasons why South Africans were not saving and why

others were nervous about investing in SA.

Governments brought inflation under control by adjusting the policies of the central bank so as to reduce the amount of money in circulation.

But if the money supply was to be held down without "throttling" the productive private sector, then the public sector's expenditure had to be reduced.

"We must all get this message — heavy government expenditure makes it difficult or impossible to control money supply and inflation."

Unless there was sharply improved financial discipline in the public sector, business in the Nineties might continue to be quite difficult, he warned.

New parties could inherit PFP's problems

Liberal white voters are divided into "serious reformers" who remain rooted in white interests, and those who are angry and impatient about reforms which do not meet black demands.

This, says Professor Schlemmer, is the most serious problem facing opposition parties to the left of the Government.

"Their emotions regarding change are significantly different. They cannot really empathise with each other's sentiments, yet their objective political goals put them in the same party," Professor Schlemmer says.

Surveys by Market and Opinion Surveys on some 2 000 whites have shown white liberal ambivalence. Between 1985 and 1987 there was a significant section of liberal opposition which supported or empathised with the Government. In 1987, just before the last general election, 49 percent of PFP supporters said they would vote for the National Party in a contest between it and the CP.

But, says Professor Schlemmer, the PFP has lost support consistently from 20 percent of all white voters in February 1987 to 9 percent in May, 1988.

"The Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall has grown to marginally exceed the PFP support, standing at roughly 11 percent at the moment, while the National Democratic Movement of Mr Wynand Malan has won some 4 percent of white voter support."

Liberals divided in their anxieties

3044
28/7/88

White opposition parties, heading for a test of strength in the October municipal elections, are vying for two kinds of "liberal" voter — those who believe in the Government's reform policies, desiring more extensive change but fearing radical transformation, and those who feel reform does not meet minimum black requirements, says **PROFESSOR LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER** in an article in *Indicator*, the journal of the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal.

He says the PFP has been "purified" by its shrinking support to the point where more than 80 percent support its policies on group areas and open schools.

The ambivalent support between "white interest" and "black interest" liberals has gone to the new parties of Dr Worrall and Mr Malan.

Professor Schlemmer says a substantial proportion of opposition voters would like to see "pragmatic, constructive and non-antagonistic opposition".

He says: "A future without the National Party holds many uncertainties for these white voters, both

the danger from the Right and the perceived risks of black political empowerment create anxiety.

"They are rational and fairly far-sighted people, however, and also see the need for parties which can be catalysts for more rapid reform by Government."

But, he says, Dr Worrall and Mr Malan, by taking positions in sharp opposition to the National Party and by dividing the small liberal and liberal conservative vote, may have ended up inheriting the very same problems which weakened the PFP.

"The real excitement and sense of challenge in white parliamentary

opposition lies in the area of conciliation with extra-parliamentary groupings like the ANC... Regrettably, however, between 80 and 90 percent of white voters are too cautious to give this platform their full endorsement."

Professor Schlemmer says ambivalent left-of-centre voters are likely to increasingly support the National Party centre against the right-wing threat. The already considerable confusion among white liberal opposition is likely to deepen.

The vast majority of voters need reassurance that change will not bring greater anxieties.

"The challenge for liberal opposition parties is to combine their goals with the kind of reassurances that the majority of their potential voters need.

"Perhaps the only way to accomplish their objectives is for the parties to give as much emphasis to practical plans for transition as to ultimate goals," Professor Schlemmer says.

Apartheid 'destroys prospects'

Political Reporter

The continuous efforts of the Government to "ram apartheid down the throats of blacks" would destroy prospects of democratic change, kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

In a speech read for him at the SA Megatrend conference, Chief Buthelezi said the "script writing of the constitution was tragically wrong".

During the next five to 10 years, the period he predicted for the total

abolition of apartheid, the Government would have to abandon attempts to negotiate with blacks within the four corners of the present constitution.

FATALLY FLAWED

Draft legislation for the National Council and regional black legislative councils was "fatally flawed by this contamination", he said.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, would end up with inadequate black leaders and inadequate

agendas if he continued to base any future political rights on the present constitution.

"If only the State President and the National Party would stop looking at themselves as an Afrikaner party ruling for Afrikaner interests before all else, the goodwill that does exist would enable us to draw together a substantially working majority of South Africans of all races who could deal with the far right and the far left," he said.

Pressures from outside Govt dictate the pace of change

Star 28/7/85

304A

Predictions that the Government is moving inexorably towards a system of multiracial elitism in which segregation will be abandoned but effective white political control remains intact underestimate pressures within the Government and in white politics for segregation, says Mr Steven Friedman.

In a 51-page publication, "Reform Revisited", in which he discusses current trends in Government thinking, Mr Friedman says there are potential openings for desegregation.

"At present these are limited. The extent to which they remain so may depend on the willingness on the groups outside the Government to press for desegregation and to adapt strategies which recognise both the obstacles awaiting them and the possibilities which may continue to emerge."

NOT ALWAYS IN CONTROL

He notes that Government positions on group areas, education, local government and regional government confirm that movement towards desegregation will continue to face substantial opposition, although he identifies some areas in which a continuing move away from apartheid is likely.

Some political commentators still assume that the Government alone dictates the pace of change, he says, but this overestimates the power of the Government.

While the Government is under no direct threat from its opponents, it is not always able to control events in society.

STAFF REPORTER

There are potential openings for desegregation in South Africa, according to new research by Institute of Race Relations analyst Mr Steven Friedman, but there is a pressing need to go beyond slogans for meaningful reform.

"The pace of change depends primarily therefore on the extent to which pressures on existing policies build up outside the Government's control."

One of the flaws which "often underlies thinking about change is the tendency to see it as an event, rather than as a process" and a belief that change would openly begin when power is transferred to a majority government.

"Change is seen as a single, millenarian event — the transfer of power — and strategies for change are designed to ensure that the millenium occurs as quickly as possible."

"This view is akin to that of a school history textbook which declares that change in the United States began with the Boston tea party and in France with the storming of the Bastille"

Mr Friedman says that in South Africa any change that renders racial separation less workable, or which strengthens organised black influence, will increase pressure on apartheid and strengthen momentum for its replacement.

The experience of the trade union move-

ment and of community organisations in the mid-1980s confirm "that the perception of powerlessness will only be overcome when collective action achieves gains, however limited".

He adds a counter-argument that reform, particularly if accompanied by tougher security restrictions on groups committed to political change, would deflect pressure for change by making the system workable while its opponents were prevented from challenging it.

In the event, he argues that political change is likely to become a realistic prospect "only when there has been further significant erosion of the manifestations of apartheid, creating the conditions for more effective black bargaining power and removing the powerlessness which hampers black organisation".

This erosion will be a consequence not of any Government initiative but of pressure for reform in which the Government can make concessions without yielding power.

Mr Friedman writes that outbreaks of unrest in 1976 and 1984 led many to predict confidently that "the system" was about to collapse.

Such predictions were replaced by equally confident assertions that even partial change had become remote once the unrest had been quelled.

Mr Friedman emphasises a pressing need "to go beyond slogans" in South Africa.

"The question now is whether latent or actual pressures exist which can strengthen the prospects for limited structural change."

Little change in SA

THE South African Institute of Race Relations' recent research underlines its long-held belief that change in South Africa is neither as imminent nor as remote as predicted.

In a fifty-one page publication researcher Steven Friedman notes that outbreaks of unrest in 1976 and 1984 led many to confidently predict that "the system" was about to collapse.

"Such predictions were replaced by equally confident assertions that even partial change had become remote once the unrest had been quelled".

The publication, entitled *Reform Revisited*, is a follow-up to an earlier paper by Friedman, *Understanding Reform*, in which he argued that the Government's reform plans were reactions to a loss of control which had driven it into uncharted territory. This had created new space for further erosion of State control.

In his conclusion on *Reform Revisited*, Friedman notes that Government positions on issues such as Group Areas, Education, local government and regional government, confirmed that movement towards desegregation would continue to face substantial opposition.

Moving towards elitism

He also cautions against analyses which suggest that the Government is moving inexorably towards a system of multiracial elitism in which segregation will be abandoned, but effective white political control will remain intact.

Such analyses, he says, underestimate the pressures within the Government, and in white politics, for the retention of segregation in schools and living areas, not to mention local and national political structures.

Friedman emphasises, in the opening argument in his book, the pressing need "to go beyond slogans" in South Africa. Examining the process of change in South Africa, the publication points out that some political commentators still assume that the Government alone dictates the pace of change.

"This, however, overestimates the power of the Government. While the Government is under no direct threat from its opponents, it is not always able to control events in society.

"The pace of change depends primarily therefore on the extent to which pressures on existing policies build outside the Government's control," he writes.

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Murder

Parliament could go way of the dodo

Star 29/7/85

Several correspondents, including June Virtue of Blairgowrie, Randburg, and Joan Lewis of Hillbrow, think it is necessary to help change personal attitudes of South Africans, the majority of whom seem to be belligerent, fearful or deeply pessimistic. These readers offer ideas based on faith and optimism instead.

Then there is realism.

It comes from a number of top academics whose work is about to be published under the aegis of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). At this stage I have only some selected quotes from the forthcoming book, "Challenge of Reform".

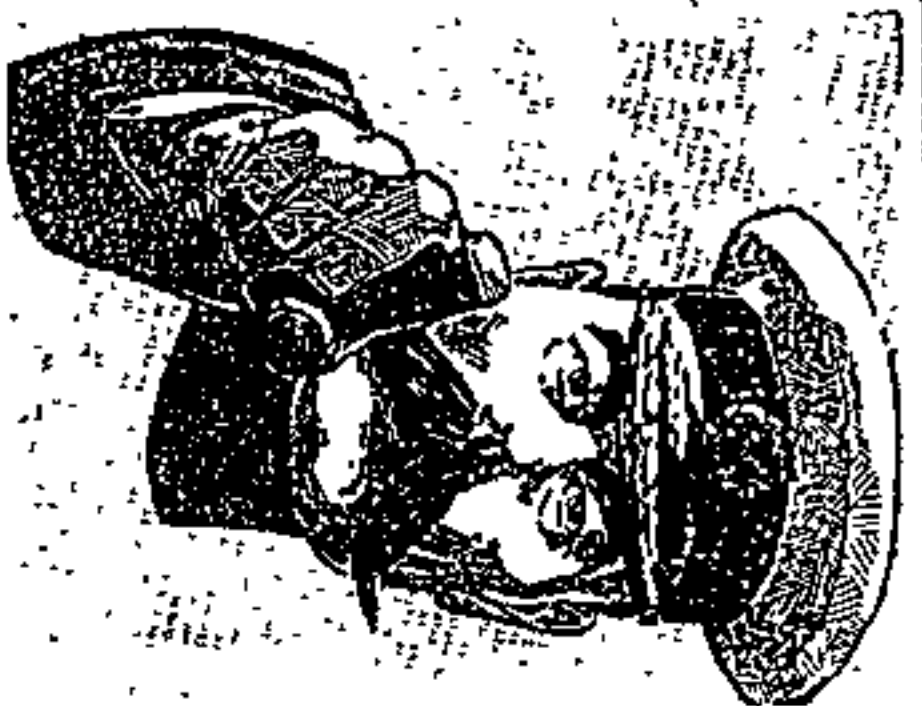
The most powerful and urgent message it offers is this: unless present trends change soon, the South African judiciary and Parliament will become extinct.

Position of power

It is as stark as that. Two of the authors, Professor Henrie Kotze and Mr Eugene Lourens of Stellenbosch University, say Parliament could become irrelevant in two ways. The policy of "repressive reform" might bring some reform but Parliament will shrivel under the security apparatus.

Or: "by linking parliamentary government to co-optation and illegitimacy... the State is ensuring the rejection of this form of government by the resistance movements. Should the resistance movements thus one day attain a position of power, the idea of parliamentary government might well have been lost."

Professor H M Corder, professor of public law at the University of Cape Town, writes that "people's courts", the behaviour of spectators and even the accused at some trials, and isolated expressions of public discontent provide pointers to "a growing



*Ask not what
your country
has done to
you, but rather
what you can
do for your
country*
With apologies
to the
late JFK.

What can you do? You can help increase awareness of the challenges — and the opportunities — by following this series, and perhaps contributing ideas. Here **THE EDITOR** examines some of the latest views, both at institutional and individual level.

disenchantment with the whole legal process...". He says: "If the courts are not trusted, they will not be used, and they will become irrelevant, both now and in any future constitution."

A confidence lost cannot easily be restored, and he submits that "the South African judiciary urgently needs to restore itself to its former position... through traditional common-law fairness, equal treatment and substantive independence".

HSRC deputy president Dr H C Marais writes that the main thrust of any attempt at legitimising Government reform will have to involve genuine and fundamental negotiation.

Among the guidelines for proper negotiation, he suggests that public rhetoric should emphasise this rather than confrontation. He says there is still hope for breaking the "reform-violence spiral". According to an HSRC survey, he says, a majority of whites are indeed willing to share power, and the majority of blacks would prefer a dispensation of power-sharing with checks and balances.

Which brings us back to the individual citizen.

Mrs Lewis, who believes communication between people is a key to finding understanding and changing attitudes, says she learnt her philosophy from "a lady I met by chance in the Makgadikgadi salt pan of Botswana. Her name, in my language, is 'Only God Knows'."

Destructive attitudes

Mrs Virtue writes: "One of the most destructive attitudes prevalent in my beloved South Africa is, that we can achieve change by force; that we can make people act in a different way by force. We might quieten them, but we can change behaviour only by providing a positive motivation."

"This, to me, can be achieved by allowing more freedom and letting people choose the positive route because they want to. Positive, fearless attitudes can be learnt as early as nursery school, and that is where I should start..."

She adds: "There must be hope. A return of investor interest in South Africa, as suggested by the Editor, would go a long way in this regard. If people were sure of a job and a wage or salary when they reach earning age, they would have, at least, a fighting chance — and that's hope."

* South Africa: The Challenge of Reform, to be published soon by Owen Burgess Publishers, Pinetown, as part of a series of publications by the HSRC.

Benefits of sanctions can lure the black radicals

By Tim Cohen

Sanctions could be vital for the success of black opposition movements, Mr Tom Lodge, senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, told the SA Megatrends conference this week.

He said the African National Congress was unlikely ever to be a mil-

itary match for the South African Defence Force, nor are the politics of demonstrations, civil disorder, strikes and street fighting ever going to overcome the resources of the security forces.

"In combination with sanctions, though, black opposition can be expected to have an exhausting and attritional effect, which could constantly raise the costs of defend-

ing the status quo, while simultaneously reducing its benefits to whites."

Mr Lodge put forward six basic propositions about South Africa's likely political development in the 1990s. They were:

- A government based on the concept of group privilege is unlikely to negotiate away the power that conserves this privilege unless it is forced to do so.

- The Government at this stage is not prepared to negotiate anything really substantive in the area of political rights.

- The argument that a sustained period of rapid economic growth is needed to supply the basis of a general prosperity to lessen the material costs to whites of conceding power finds few admirers among radical opponents of minority rule.

- South African does not have the potential to generate or attract the kind of external investment which would be needed to have a material effect on the political dispensation.

Dealing with the proposition that State power will be conceded only by a State under compelling pressure, Mr Lodge said: "The crucial preliminary to a negotiated transfer of power ... will be a progressive deterioration in white living conditions and white security."

"This deterioration will be equalled, and probably exceeded, by the economic misery that sections of the black population will experience."

"This future tragedy needs to be placed side by side with the appalling deprivation which so many black people experience today, not as a consequence of sanctions or adverse world economic conditions, but as a consequence of apartheid."



**Abrahamse ... Angolan peace
talks spell hope**

levels necessary to provide employment. The rand was viewed in a bearish light and sanctions and disinvestment, while not likely to sabotage the economy, were seen as an impoverishing blow which would dent business confidence. In the circumstances, there was concern that the "interventionist" lobby in the economy — represented, he said, by Sanlam's Fred du Plessis — would emerge victorious over its free market opponents. This, said Abrahamse, was viewed with apprehension overseas.

Political perceptions had taken a turn for the worse over the past eight months, he added, but cautioned that these views were expressed by critics ahead of the latest accord in Angola: "It saddens me, but I detect an increasing scepticism as to whether the government has the will or capacity to reform. This is attributed to fear of the right-wing on one hand and the extreme rhetoric of the black nationalists on the other."

International critics were genuinely concerned that the bannings of 17 organisations on February 24 were symptomatic of a deep malaise in the country — "namely, that any form of dissent will not be tolerated and under such circumstances there is not even a prospect of communication, let alone negotiation."

This gave rise to the fear that an ultimately ostrich-like mentality might triumph, in the suicidal belief that SA could "go it alone." However, against this sobering background, the fragile accord reached on Angola and Namibia presented some hope, Abrahamse felt. ■

POLITICAL REFORM

Straws in the wind

Elder statesman of SA business Len Abrahamse believes a collective sigh of relief has gone up around the world's commercial capitals following the latest peace initiatives in Angola (see *Leaders*).

Addressing a meeting in Durban last week of the SA Institute for International Affairs, Abrahamse said the opportunity now existed for South Africans to positively alter world perceptions of the country. Since local business practice, planning and lobbying should be primarily focused on regaining access to foreign capital markets, such a development was to be welcomed. But, he warned, a great deal more was required before this goal could be realised.

Abrahamse, who addressed the meeting in his capacity as president of the SA Foundation, is a former chief executive of Shell SA. Among the appointments he maintains is that of non-executive chairman of Syfrets. He is also a member of the board of governors of the Urban Foundation.

According to Abrahamse, the view held by businessmen and politicians who are sympathetic critics was that SA's economy remained vulnerable to inflation and government controls and there were grave doubts that economic growth could be sustained at

FM 29/7/88

Helen accuses Nats

29/7/88
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THE National Party and the Progressive Federal Party have clashed over the PFP's proposed detailed security policy.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP, PFP law and order spokesman, yesterday accused the National Party of attempting to discredit the proposed policy with a "series of downright untruths."

Mrs Suzman's accusation follows a statement issued by Mr Hennie Smit MP, chairman of the NP Parliamentary Law and Order Study Group.

Mr Smit repeated accusations made during last year's white elections that the PFP had a "non-chalant attitude to national security" and claimed the new proposals were aimed at retaining the left and right wing elements within the PFP.

THE fact that black majorities will be involved at all levels of government sooner or later is one of South Africa's essential realities.

The other one is that white minorities will claim their place in the systems of the future.

The question can justifiably be asked whether this argument has a racial element. Doesn't the future of SA lie in a non-racial democracy? And isn't it this racial element of our politics which, in fact, causes rejection locally as well as internationally?

The answer to all three questions is yes.

The point I would like to make is that non-racial politics is ideally correct, but the fact is that we will have to grow into it over a long period. It cannot happen suddenly because of its lengthy history in SA, and the fact that it is a too great emotional reality at present.

At the outset the whites must be regarded as an ethnic group. As a group — and this applies across the language borders and political affiliation — the whites are adamant about guarantees, such as: no domination; maintenance of



Willen de Klerk

standards; values and living styles; meaningful participation in the systems of the future in every field of society; a definite say in political processes; and the maintenance of democratic norms, for example, a legal state instead of a power state, and the free market system instead of socialism. The whites base this atti-

tude on the inalienable right that they are entitled to be in SA.

This right was acquired by the fact that whites are not colonial settlers or, for that matter, first or second generation descendants of settlers — they are a native population. White history, experience, inputs and numbers confirm their claim to significant partnership in power-sharing.

Such a political attitude cannot be wiped out by a counter-claim that only a non-racial set-up is acceptable before negotiations can take place. It would simply not be practical politics.

On the other hand, it would not be practical politics not to accommodate the black majorities in future structures of majority government.

Against this background I think one can safely acknowledge the following:

● Negotiation can only start with representatives of racial groups as actors. The round table will initially be an ethnic round table. One of the compromises

SA power structure

will stay racial

will be the acceptance hereof.

● The content of negotiations can then centre on the ultimate design of a non-racial constitutional model, but a kind of racial model will probably be in order in the interim.

● Even if the post-apartheid system finds structure, group identity will be racially bound for a long time before non-racial political group formation becomes a reality in the long term. I certainly do not advocate the

racial federation model of government as the final solution. Valid objections thereto were summarised earlier in this column. What I favour is the practical politics of starting with racial representation in negotiation.

But an explicit statement of intent must then be made that negotiation is directed at a non-racial final model. In this model provision must still be made for group representation in the structures in order to serve specific traditional group interests.

This means that we must move in the direction of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba model which offers a bulwark to black majorities and cultural groups.

The model, therefore, remains power sharing between groups, but as an interim phase over the medium term, groups in SA will maintain a racial connotation. This is real politics.

● This is the last in the series of columns written for the Sunday Times by Dr De Klerk

Media campaign launched to sell October local elections

By S'BU MNGADI

THE October municipal election campaign got under way in Durban this week, with the authorities using the media to sell the elections to the public.

As part of this campaign, the Natal Provincial Administration has filmed a seven-minute video that urges black voters from Natal's 18 townships to cast their votes on October 26.

Only 18 townships in Natal fall under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu homeland.

Voters are first advised to register as voters at local authority offices before August 26.

The video begins with a scene from Lamontville township, where two youths - one with a radio slung over his shoulder - swagger down the road.

They sit down under a tree and switch the radio on.

The announcer says: "This is the latest news bulletin brought to you by Radio Zulu.

"Municipal elections.

"In order to vote in the forthcoming local authority elections on 26 October, black voters are urged to register at their local authority offices before 26 August.

"Any man over the age

of 18 years, living in one of the following places will be eligible to cast his vote," the announcer says, and lists the 18 townships.

Meanwhile, the camera pans in on a poster tacked to a tree, that reminds people to register before

August 26.

The Radio Zulu "news bulletin" is part of the government's election campaign that is using radio, television, billboards, and posters to sell the elections to the black community.

This, according to gov-

ernment authorities, will cost R4 million.

On the video, a youth and a passer-by then discuss the importance of voting. The one says:

"We must vote for councillors. This town is getting bigger and bigger. Somebody will have to plan to make this a better place to live in.

"Obviously people living here know more about developing our town. We are talking about houses, better roads, sports fields and stadiums, clean water and electricity to our homes, big things like that."

According to Alicia Hessel, training officer of the NPA's department of community services, the video will be shown at the local municipal offices of the 18 affected townships.

Hessel denied it would be part of the canvassing kit of candidates.

She estimated the total cost of producing the video to be R200.

Natal announces dates for municipal poll nominations

By GUGU KUNENE

THE countdown to the Natal municipal election campaign has started with the nomination dates having been announced by the Natal Provincial Administration.

NPA public relations officer, Pat Adderley said the nomination dates for hopeful candidates were from August 29 to September 16. Prospective voters must be 18 years old and over and should be on the voters' roll before August 26.

Adderley said candidates should be registered voters. They must not be in arrears of three months or more with rental or service charges.

They must not have been convicted of any major offence.

They must also not have suffered from

mental illness or have been detained in a "reform" school.

Candidates who stand for elections must not be under the age of 21 and should not have been previously been disqualified from participating in any local government election for any specified reason.

In Natal, elections will be held at Chertville (Durban), Lamontville (Durban), Hambanati (Tongaati), Shakaville (Stanger), Sobantu (Maritzburg), Klaarwater (Pinetown), Steadville (Ladysmith), S'Bongile (Dundee), Bhokuzulu (Vryheid), S'Thebile (Glencoe), Nkanyezi (Colenso), Shayamoya (Umzinto), Bhongweni (Kokstad), Dumbe (Paulpietersburg), Bruntville (Mooi River), Enhlalakahle (Greytown), It-sokolele (Matatiele), Kwamevana (Howick) and Msingizi (Cedarville).

Worrall to see minister about teargas at meeting

304A
by
1/12/80

POLICE held and questioned several people after the teargas attack which disrupted Independent Party leader Denis Worrall's meeting in Benoni on Tuesday night.

They were later released, police said yesterday, but investigation would continue.

Worrall said yesterday his impression, and that of one of his organisers, was that the ring-leader of the group who disrupted the meeting was identified.

He said he would be making representations to the responsible minister on the incident.

"It is not for political parties,

BRUCE ANDERSON

when arranging meetings and exercising their right of assembly, to arrange security measures. The state has that responsibility," said Worrall.

Despite official denials by the AWB and CP, that any of their members were responsible, Worrall was adamant that the people who disrupted the meeting "identified themselves as AWB and CP".

An AWB spokesman said he was sure no AWB members were involved.



"Biko's death leaves me cold. He died after a hunger strike," proclaims the actor playing Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger to a National Party rally.

The actor playing Steve Biko, with only a mat under his head, lies on the floor of a police vehicle which will speed through the night to Pretoria.

In this scene from the film, police raid the Crossroads squatter camp and take away those without the necessary documents.

Until now, despite the world's apocalyptic view, South Africans have not done badly. Rich and poor, black and white, have steadily improved their standards of living. Until now.

Today we face the following prospects:

- Being banned from even *watching* the Olympics.
- Being banned from seeing modern films.
- Being banned from visiting more countries.
- Being isolated economically and squeezed by sanctions.

● Being bombed and maimed by extremists.

● Being taxed more heavily to pay for "security".

● Being oppressed by "security".

But taxes, isolation, violence, decreasing wealth, and humiliation are as nothing compared with the main threat to our country, our values, our system of government.

Therefore, when political scientists from the Afrikaans university that educated most of South Africa's prime ministers warn that the entire parliamentary system and our judiciary could become extinct, it's time some voters took notice.

Deterioration

The idea that the nation as we know it is on the verge of destruction is not a revolutionary one. It comes not from terrorists and ineffectual revolutionaries: it comes from within the Establishment, and is more than an idea. It is a distinct possibility.

Already there is evidence of serious deterioration. The signs have been there for years, have been published often enough. But somehow the electorate manages to avert its gaze.

Voters' blindness is blatantly increased by "security" and by "emergency" measures... but, as Professor Henrie Kotze and others point out, it is the "security" apparatus that threatens to kill the Republic of South Africa. It is "security" that threatens the Constitution and, possibly, the courts.

The reasoning is set out in a forthcoming book,

"South Africa. The Challenge of Reform" and was referred to on the editorial page on Friday — the very same day the film "City Freedom" was passed by the Publications Appeal Board... but then banned in the name of "security".

The film about the late Steve Biko (and the banned Donald Woods), whatever its blemishes and normal Hollywood-style hyperbole, portrays everything most blacks believe about South Africa and everything most whites do not want to believe.

It has little effect on black viewers, except to make them feel warmer for external (white) supporters, but has an immense effect on local white viewers, who are left feeling very cold indeed.

The blood runs cold as the film ends, rolling off a list of people who have died in detention. The list names each individual, held without charge, without access to lawyers or family, the date of his death in prison, the official reason for his death: "Fell down stairs"; "Hanged himself"; "Fell 11 floors"; "Suicide"; "Self-strangulation"... the list rolls remorselessly on, while the viewer remembers Biko lying chained and morally injured in a dark cell.

Are all of these dead people the victims of police torture? Is any of them? Is the list, in general terms, a propaganda lie? Or a gruesome truth? "Security" forbids you to know. "Security" ensures that nearly the entire world is convinced that the general picture of brutality in the cells is true.

"Security" encourages all of humanity to associate "white South Africa" with Nazi-style atrocities. It also encourages the likelihood that every voter will one day have to try to plead, "Well, I didn't know."

Are you happy not to be able to know about what is happening in the interrogation centres? Are you

Can you bear those cries?

COMMENT

By HARVEY TYSON

Voters' blindness is increased by "security" and by "emergency" measures — but it is the "security" apparatus that threatens to kill South Africa.

comfortable that you are forbidden information about the arrest, the detention, the release — or the death in custody — of "political people"?

Do you believe this form of "security" can prevent unrest? Do you believe such powerful, blanket authority — and secretiveness in the face of accusations of torture and death — are worth more than your discomfort? Or do you accept the blindness as healthy, the silence as golden?

Then be reminded of the "Memorandum on Security Police Abuses on Political Detainees".

Seven years ago an organisation was formed to help the families of people cut off by detention from all contact. Six years ago that organisation, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, was challenged to prove allegations of torture — or face charges under the Police Act.

The international Human Rights Watch has now published a summary of the DPSC report, which detailed 72 cases. It listed the location of torture sessions, the types of torture, the rank of the police officers who took part.

Among forms of physical torture detailed were assault, electric shock, suffocation, being forced to strip naked and immersion in cold water.

The DPSC memorandum also listed psychological torture (death threats, no sleep, etc) and alleged that 95 security police officers, many of whom held the rank of major, took part in the torture sessions.

Despite these allegations, despite the Police Act's penalties for publishing false information, despite the fact that the DPSC memorandum was released to the public, the official response was simply to brush the allegations aside. Since that time any further approaches by the DPSC for discussions with the authorities have been rebuffed on the basis that the DPSC had no *locus standi* — in fact did not exist.

The DPSC, which until its suspension proved to be the only effective public monitor on police actions, was gagged "for the sake of security".

How will all this look in the records of history? And if the facts are not all correct, how will it look without proper correction?

Equally disturbing, why has the "security" response, or lack of response, been so apparently insensitive and stupid? Perhaps it is because "security" is not responsible to the electorate, and the Government is sensitive only to the "opinion" of the silent minority. Any other explanation could be appalling.

Then there is the sad performance of Government public relations in dealing with detained children. The silence, the censorship, the arrogance of officialdom in dealing with inquiries helped the "Free the Children" campaign immeasurably.

South Africa's name stinks overseas in this regard... yet children are locked up for political offences in Northern Ireland and in Israel. Do the Ministers of

3044

also

1/8/88

Secret power

All these things are done in the name of "security". "Security" no longer means the SA Defence Force or the SA Police. It has nothing to do with personal or public safety. It is more like the SS — secret "security" for the sake of secret power.

But secrecy has gone too far. It is damaging normal security as well as blackening SA's reputation.

The obvious counter to any anti-South African propaganda is to open a door on the systems of detention and interrogation and get rid of the "over-kill" in secrecy.

History suggests that if "security" is not curbed soon, very soon, the Cabinet — let alone Parliament — will not have the power to control its own creature. Parliament has already lost that power. Possibly the Cabinet has too.

No wonder that political scientists are warning us that... "Parliament as we know it today will eventually shrivel into a mere appendix of the security apparatus". And the courts are being circumvented by "security" laws and "emergency" legislation.

Soon it might be too late, even for Government MPs, to cry "Freedom".

NP's approach to reform bound to fail, says Worrall

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall held an incident-free meeting in Pretoria last night following the teargas attack on his meeting in Benoni on Tuesday.

He told an attentive, capacity audience of 750 at the Pretoria Boys High School that he intended making representations to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

He said the State should ensure that all political parties could hold meetings without "the type of thuggery" that happened in Benoni.

There was no visible police presence at last night's meeting.

Dr Worrall said the Government wanted to monopolise the reform process, but its approach to negotiation has failed and would continue to fail. The Statutory Council had been rejected by every major black leader.

Half the Cabinet members did not agree with the banning of "Cry Freedom," and most of them did not agree with the seizure of the most recent edition of the *Weekly Mail*.

"The National Party has be-

come the biggest obstacle to a non-racial, democratic, prosperous South Africa," said the former ambassador to London.

Many people said the party has existed for 40 years, and it looked as though it could continue forever.

However, all institutions had limited life cycles, and the National Party could not escape this process.

It had been created to realise Afrikaner nationalism, which it had done successfully, "but the challenges are now different, and require a new style and approach to politics".

The country required a political realignment which reflected the shared values, ideals and hopes of the great majority of South Africans of all races, and which would attract the thousands of Nationalists who knew that the NP was doomed.

The present course the country was on would lead to a Marxist, one-party state, Dr Worrall warned.

He said the IP would refine its policies at its congress at the end of this month. — Sapa.

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Missed
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birth of her 3rd Grand-
child, a son born to Jef-
frey and Annette in Syd-
ney, N.S.W.

Early polls 'will prevent intimidation'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

At a press conference after the third meeting of the action committee for the co-ordination of local government affairs, he announced the voting regulations approved by the committee for the October 26 elections. The administrative regulations provide for prior votes to be issued from October 10 to 22. Polling stations for those votes

will be announced by the returning officers at municipal offices in a particular ward.

Mr Heunis said the prior voting system would be tested with a view to expanding these procedures to future general elections.

He said the protection of voters who could be intimidated not to cast their

votes was only one of the reasons for the introduction of a prior voting system.

Local government bodies had for many years requested such a system and it would allow people who lived far from their working place, such as farmers, to cast their votes.

The handling, opening

and sealing of ballot boxes for prior votes were further provided for in the regulations to ensure that irregularities did not occur.

A penalty clause stipulated that people who contravened the regulations could receive a maximum fine of R4 000, or imprisonment for a maximum period of 12 months

'United, non-racial SA must be the goal of any new plan'

Two homelands snub Govt

Political Staff

A new attempt by the Government to persuade the six self-governing homelands to participate in the proposed National Council was firmly rejected by at least two leaders yesterday.

And the two homelands, kwaZulu and kaNgwane, have rejected other Government attempts to expand black political participation, including further moves to try to put blacks into the electoral college that chooses the State President.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, invited the homeland leaders to a meeting

Metal workers set to strike tomorrow

Mass meetings of shop stewards from International Metalworkers' Federation unions at the weekend endorsed recommendations of the IMF's negotiating committee for strike action in the metal industry from tomorrow, a statement from the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa said today.

The decision followed the steel and engineering industries Federation of South Africa's (Seifsa) "refusal to make any further move on the wage offer it agreed with minority unions".

The statement said the IMF represented the majority of organised workers in the industry and its members rejected Seifsa's wage offer which "does nothing to reduce the wage gap in the industry".

"This gap is a result of job

at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the proposed council and other measures to extend political participation to blacks.

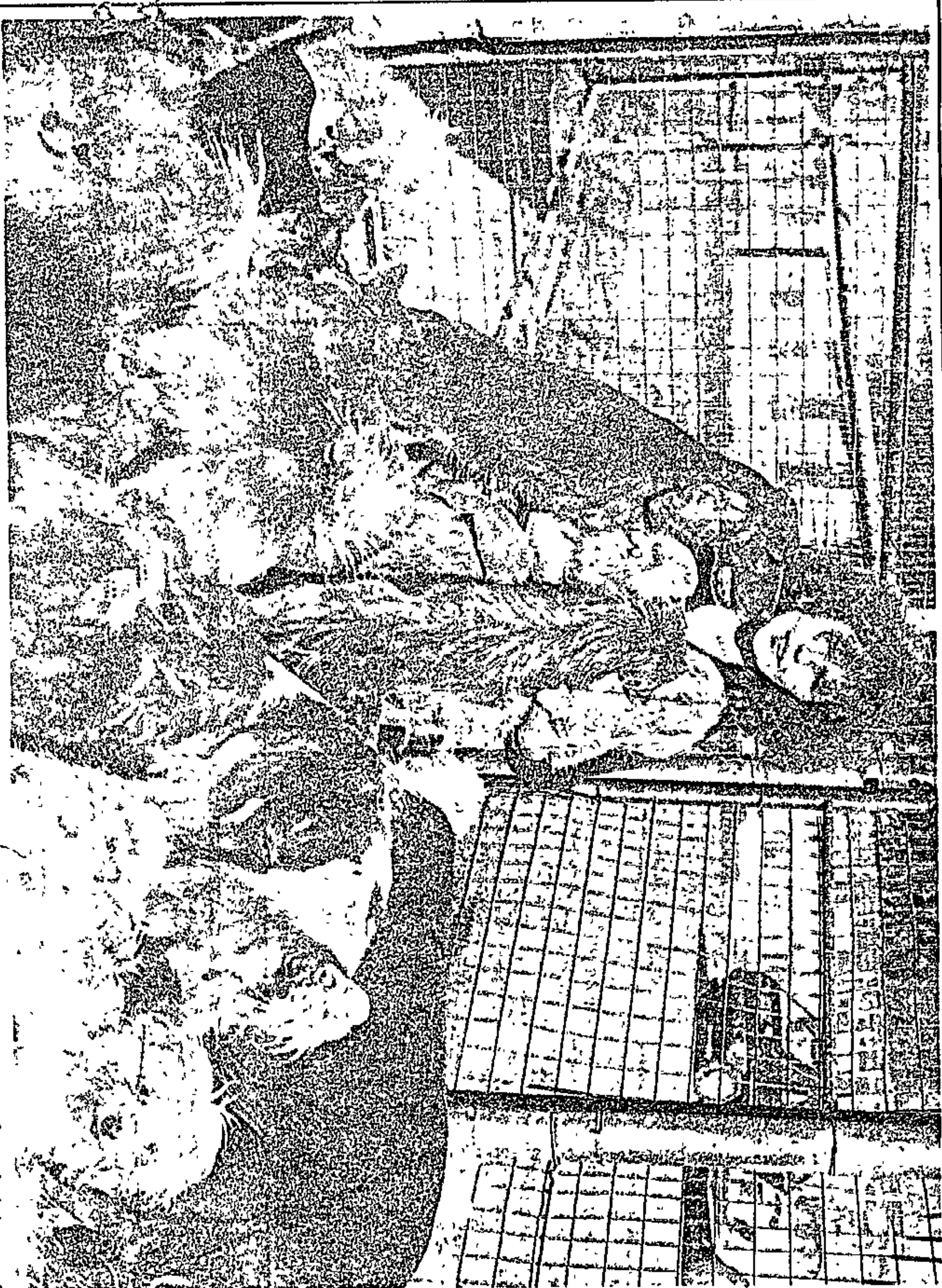
But kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to attend, while Mr Eros Mabuza, Chief Minister of kaNgwane, attended but issued a statement in which he rejected the agenda.

From Mr Mabuza's statement it seems that an earlier Government proposal to bring blacks into the electoral college that chooses the State President was also on the agenda.

Mr Mabuza said it was "pre-mature" to discuss black representation - such as the proposed National Union and the amended electoral college - while the homelands and the proposed legislative and executive councils for blacks outside the homelands formed the basis of a future constitution.

"These all represent structures based on the Government's group concept, the very stumbling block which excludes most South Africans from participation."

Mr Heunis refused to comment on the meeting because he said the participants had agreed



League plans action on man with 71 dogs

It's a dog's life... Miss Sandra Sloan, of the Animal Anti-Cruelty League, with some of the 71 dogs confiscated from the home of a Rasettenville man on Friday. The league now plans legal action against Mr Willie de Waal, a schoolteacher, after confiscating the dogs and nine cats.

"I had just arrived home from holiday and gone out when the Animal Anti-Cruelty League raided my home," said Mr de Waal. "I am seeing my lawyer."

A league spokesman said child welfare and health authorities were also investigating.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Anglican bishops will

Kentridge will

...

Star

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The statement said the IMF represented the majority of organised workers in the industry and its members rejected Seifsa's wage offer which "does nothing to reduce the wage gap in the industry".

"This gap is a result of job reservation, of the exclusion of black workers from collective bargaining in the past, and the continued practice of Seifsa to sign agreements with predominantly white minority unions and refuse to bargain properly with the majority unions..."

66 COMPANIES

The statement said the "legal strategic strike action" would occur primarily in the major industrial areas and at some of the companies which are important in Seifsa decision-making.

"The action is scheduled to begin on Wednesday August 3."

Numsa said 66 companies had decided to move away from Seifsa's position.

Wage increases close to the IMF's demand had been agreed in most of the 66 companies and they were not expected to be included in the strike.

Other companies which made acceptable offers on the IMF demands before tomorrow would also be excluded, the statement said.

The IMF was looking for an average wage increase of 23 percent and wanted to exchange two other public holidays for June 16 and Sharpeville Day.

Seifsa had offered increases of between 14 and 17 percent and had agreed to May 1 as a workers' holiday.

A spokesman for Seifsa was not immediately available for comment. — Sapa.

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"These all represent structures based on the Government's group concept, the very stumbling block which excludes most South Africans from participation."

Mr Heunis refused to comment on the meeting because he said the participants had agreed not to issue any statements.

Unacceptable

Mr Mabuza also complained that the way in which the agenda for yesterday's meeting had been drafted "unilaterally" by the Government was unacceptable because it relegated Chief Ministers to "junior status".

Mr Mabuza reiterated the conditions for participation that should be included in any agenda relating to constitutional proposals. These included scrapping the Population Registration Act, the end of the state of the emergency and the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The Government should also set a broad constitutional goal based on the principles of a united, non-racial South Africa.

Mr Mabuza said Chief Buthelezi had written to him about yesterday's meeting, stating he could not attend under a state of emergency.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, kwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, said Chief Buthelezi had refused to attend the meeting mainly because it would "create the impression that meaningful negotiation is taking place with the Government while they are really just trying to force their ideas down our throats".

● The other self-governing homelands are QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu and kwaNdebele.

Govt rivals scoff at poll campaign

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The second phase of the Government's municipal election advertising campaign has drawn negative reaction from opposition political parties, while the animated advertisements went almost unnoticed by the public.

Colour comic strips featuring two squirrels appeared in Sunday newspapers under the heading "Voting tales — the story of how you can make it happen by nominating the right candidate".

The campaign, conceived by the McCann advertising agency, is aimed at informing voters about the election and motivating them to go to the polls on October 26.

Launched

The second phase of the R5 million multi-media campaign was launched in the print media on Sunday, while the television campaign will start on August 10.

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on information, Mr Peter Soal, dismissed the squirrel campaign as "a waste of money".

"I am very much politically aware and read all the main Sunday newspapers without noticing the advertisement," he said.

Commenting on the campaign in general, he said: "The Government can

throw all their money into such campaigns, but people will simply not accept apartheid any longer. The Government has as little credibility as its two squirrels."

Dr Pieter Mulder, the Conservative Party's spokesman on information, said it was "unbelievable" that McCann — in a confidential report leaked to the CP and revealed in Parliament earlier this year — found that animated characters would have more credibility than Government leaders.

Dr Mulder also said he did not notice the advertisement in the Sunday papers.

"My main criticism, however, is that taxpayers' money is used to fund the campaign," he said.

"The National Party must either use its own party funds for such a campaign, or reflect all other party policies if public funds are used."

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the Minister of Information also responsible for the SABC and the film industry, said animated characters were chosen because they were politically neutral.

McCann vice-chairman Mr Tim Bester said the advertisements should not be "judged on first exposure".

As the characters would be used in a range of high-frequency advertisements, the public would become familiar with the two squirrels and notice them more easily, he said.

Coloured and Indian voter registration soars

By Shirley Woodgate
Municipal Reporter

BOOK

3000 Jan
The number of coloured voters in Johannesburg has increased by 121 percent since 1984 and there are 30 percent more Indian voters registered than for the previous municipal elections.

Nomination day for the October municipal elections is expected to be in mid-September.

Final registration figures released yesterday by Johannesburg election registrar Mr Hennie Geldenhuys show that in some wards totals have increased more than tenfold.

There were 9 001 registered coloured voters in 13 wards in 1984. Now there are 19 910.

There were 8 593 Indian voters in 1984, now there

are 11 910 in seven wards.

The Indian Ward 7 recorded the highest increase — from 266 in 1984 to 1 140 now — due partly to a new old-age home. The number of voters in the coloured Ward 6, where the new extensions of Eldorado Park are going up, increased from 155 to 1 855.

Statistics for white registration are expected to be available later this month after local authorities have extracted the information from the parliamentary rolls.

Informed sources say the Government's registration campaign, increased politicisation of coloureds, and the creation of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives are largely responsible for the increase in registrations.

Commission to dispel notion that PFP is soft on security

304A
3/8/88

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA needs a strong and efficient police force as well as a strong, non-racial and motivated defence force, the Progressive Federal Party's security commission has stated.

"The PFP believes that it is essential for society to be protected from crime and lawlessness," the commission said in its report which is to be discussed at the party's federal congress in Cape Town on Friday and Saturday, August 5 and 6.

It also said no organization or individual should be permitted to engage in, foment or advocate violence, terrorism, insurrection or revolution.

Organizations or individuals who engaged in or advocated violence "ought to be dealt with firmly and expeditiously through the courts and in terms of the ordinary law of the land."

"If the ordinary law of the land is insufficient to deal with criminal prosecution of organizations, the PFP would support legislation which would enable the courts to prohibit them from operating," the commission said.

Commanders

It added that in "exceptional circumstances, for example when law and order has completely broken down and the police are no longer able to guarantee the protection of the public", the defence force may be required to act in a supportive role to the police.

"If called upon to render such assistance, the SADF should act as a clearly identifiable structure, under its own commanders. This will reduce the danger that such action will politicize the SADF and damage its reputation, which has already occurred in some instances."

The commission was chaired by Mrs Helen Suzman, the MP for Houghton and the party's spokesman on civil rights. The other members were Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point and the party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Roger Burrows, the MP for Pinetown and the PFP's Natal leader, and Mr Brian Goodall, the former MP for Edenvale and the party's former defence spokesman.

The commission's report is aimed at putting the PFP's policy on security issues into an unambiguous framework to distinguish its approach from that of the government and from that of the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups.

unemployment undoubtedly contributed to the crime rate, the PFP believed it was essential for society to be protected from crime and lawlessness.

"In order to achieve this, the party believes in maintaining a strong police force which is well disciplined, well trained, well equipped, well paid, well managed, adequately staffed, and accountable for all its actions."

It encouraged the creation of municipal police because of the breakdown in neighbourhood crime prevention.

The police performed a difficult and dangerous task, "for which they deserve recognition", but were also called upon to implement laws which were widely perceived to be unjust and discriminatory. Because of this, the police were often regarded as oppressors rather than protectors of the public.

"Therefore, it is essential for the police to be, and to be seen to be, involved in their primary task of preventing crime and apprehending criminals, and non-partisan and apolitical in the execution of their duties."

The activities of the police riot units had given cause for concern and some of the activities of the inadequately trained kitskonstabels, or special constables, also brought the police into disrepute.

"While the party accepts the necessity for additional policemen, these must be properly trained and integrated into the ordinary police structures."

"The activities of some members of the police, chronicled in numerous unchallenged affidavits, alleging torture and other malpractices, and excessive use of power, as well as court findings bearing out some of these accusations, do the police force as a whole incalculable harm."

Disrepute

"In particular, the security police need to be properly accountable to the public and instances of abuse of power need to be firmly dealt with."

It was not difficult to escape the conclusion that the government, when it chose, used the formidable apparatus of its internal security machine to act against political opponents, and not only against subversion. The existing security legislation, particularly the emergency regulations, brought the law as a whole into disrepute.

These laws and regulations needed to be overhauled and brought into line with accepted tenets of the rule of law, including the right to a fair trial.

Cape Times

3/8/88

304 A

By accepting that law and order have to be maintained at all times and that the government has to have the means to do this, the party clearly hopes that government accusations that it is "soft" on security will be dispelled.

Its emphatic rejection of violence as a political strategy and its acceptance that the government has to act against people who advocate violence will distinguish it sharply from the ANC's approach.

Violence

In the white election last year, National Party strategies of associating the PFP with the ANC and accusing the party of being "soft" on security contributed to its setbacks in the election.

The security commission report clearly aims at rectifying these misconceptions. At the same time, the PFP's long-standing commitment to civil liberties is re-affirmed by the commission's call for full legal rights for everyone.

So, the commission "rejects violence in all its forms, from whatever source it comes and whatever justification is offered for it. This applies equally to the mindless violence of terrorism and to institutionalized violence on the part of the government."

But at the same time it says the PFP "believes that the rights of individuals must be protected by the rule of law, which means that no person should be deprived of his liberty or property unless charged and convicted in an ordinary court of law after proper defence."

Real and lasting security would only be attainable when new political and social structures are brought about by negotiation and consent.

"Although it is likely that there will always be some who wish to subvert the political system by force, the current political, social and economic injustices which characterize South Africa are a significant cause of revolutionary activity. Therefore, these injustices must be addressed as a matter of urgency."

South Africa had a very high crime rate and while structural problems, such as poverty, poor education and

and to habeas corpus, the right of access to legal representatives, safeguards against abuse of power by investigating officers and protection against inhumane and degrading methods of interrogation.

In regard to defence, the commission endorses much of existing PFP policy: it wants conscription phased out and replaced by a regular standing army backed by volunteer reserves.

It said conscription was a wasteful and inefficient means of recruiting manpower, disruptive to family life and careers and promoted the brain-drain from South Africa.

It also recognized the right of individuals to do alternative service but said this should be longer than military service.

"The PFP recognizes that there are legitimate security concerns implicit in the presence of expatriate and foreign forces in large numbers in the frontline states, and of the volume and sophistication of military equipment in such states.

"The PFP respects the territorial integrity of foreign states, and rejects military occupation of foreign territory for any length of time.

"The party recognizes, however, that use may have to be made of limited pre-emptive cross-border operations against forces with demonstrably aggressive military or other violent designs towards South Africa, as well as of hot-pursuit operations in accordance with international practice."

It rejected involvement by South Africa in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states.

The function of the defence "should be primarily to defend the Republic from outside aggression, and to defend our borders and coastlines. It believes that the defence force should be a truly national institution, free of party politics and any form of discrimination".

AS South Africa's beleaguered currency once again approaches its all-time post-Rubicon low, the economic alarm bells are starting to ring in the corridors of Pretoria.

And if a nation's economic health is to be measured by the state of its currency — an international accepted yardstick — then the South African Government's economic planners need to take urgent action to prevent an ailing patient from becoming terminal.

It is three years since the State President delivered his ill-fated Rubicon address — an event which dashed confidence in the country's political and economic future and sent the rand plunging from US 53c to a US 38c trough in the short space of five months.

At US 41c, the rand is challenging that low, thereby questioning the sustainability of the current economic upswing and casting doubt upon authoritative statements that the economy is inherently sound enough to afford a rising standard of living for all its people.

Any solace that might be taken from a rand still above its post-Rubicon slump is confounded by the revelation that against all other major currencies it is at its worst-ever level.

Thus at the end of 1985:

- You need R380 to buy £100 sterling. Today you need R420 to buy the same amount of British currency.
- You got one German mark for one rand. Today you get a mere 0,76 marks for your rand.
- You bought 80 Japanese yen for one

GOVT IS URGED TO ACT QUICKLY

FOCUS

Sowetan Correspondent

rand Now all you get is 54 yen.

Nor is the rand's collapse confined to the past three years. Its weakness is endemic, for, going back to the beginning of 1981, the rand has fallen 68,5 percent against the American dollar, 62 percent against sterling, 72 percent against the mark and a massive 80 percent against the yen.

The implication is that in the last seven-and-a-half years, the South African economy has worsened by an average 71 percent relative to the world's major industrial nations.

Confidence in South

Africa's economic outlook, it seems, is confined to a few economists and businessmen who can't or won't accept reality.

It must be recognised that much of the rand's sickness stems from political factors. National Party policy has hardly endeared itself to foreign investors.

Symptoms

Yet the two factors at work — economics and politics — are symptoms of the same malady, with the economy being bled in order to maintain a political system which is anathema both to the international community and to most South African citizens.

Financing an increasingly bloated bureaucracy to police the political system has necessitated growing demands on taxpayers. Standards of living have collapsed in the face of double-digit inflation propelled by a mammoth shift in scarce

Rand's weak state stems from political factors

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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PRESIDENT Botha... Rubicon speech.

resources from an efficient private sector to a bungling public sector.

And the collapse in the value of the rand has unfolded in tandem with mushrooming State expenditure, rocketing taxation and soaring inflation.

It is difficult to comprehend that a relatively short 18 years ago, inflation was running at an annual rate of 3 percent.

That was when the Government was happy to allow the private sector to get on with the business of wealth creation. It was a time when the consumer enjoyed a measure of the after-tax disposable income that today goes into the taxman's insatiable maw.

The alarm bells are reaching crescendo proportions because South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves are shrinking rapidly.

A substantial portion of the country's gold holdings has had to be pawned to service and repay foreign debt — a drain exacerbated by the dwindling value of the rand, since every decline in the rand's value means

the nation has to work that much harder to earn the income needed to pay for its imports.

Capital from overseas is not forthcoming and further large loan repayments are scheduled for next year.

The economic recovery must be truncated to ensure that the rising trend in imports is reversed, thereby conserving the foreign exchange needed to service and repay foreign loans.

It is for this reason that Thursday saw another increase in the Bank rate — a step designed to cool down the economy by making money more expensive and expansion more difficult, thereby helping to choke off demand for imports.

It is a measure of the authorities' concern for the gold and foreign exchange reserves that the Bank rate was hiked ahead of October's municipal elections. Increased money costs are not going to be popular among a civil service deprived of salary adjustments this year.

Against such a background, confidence in South Africa's economic future is surely misplaced.

What's to be done?

The Government itself has — very belatedly — hit upon the solution by setting the following objectives:

- Cut back on State spending.
- Do away with all the red tape that hampers the private sector's efforts to enhance the nation's wealth.
- Sell State and semi-state enterprises to the private sector, in the process reducing the Government's need to bleed the taxpayer and placing these enterprises on a more efficient footing.

Pretoria has got the theory right. But it hasn't put the theory into practice.

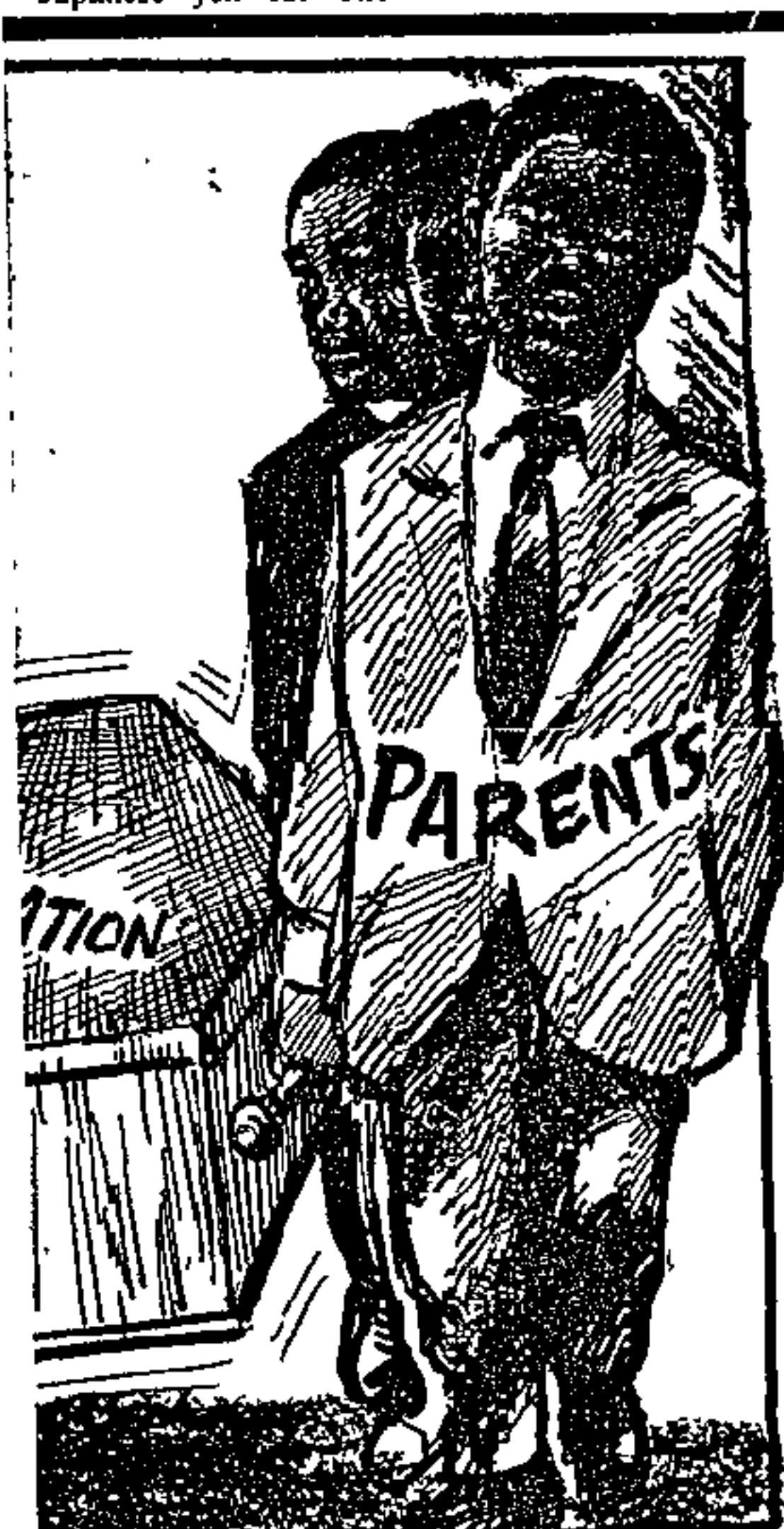
Why all the heel-dragging? Because the correct economic medicine doesn't dovetail with political expediency. South Africa's economic future is being sacrificed on the altar of petty party political interests.

Cabinet Ministers' empires will be eroded, votes will be lost in the wake of the short-term unemployment problems that will follow the Government's abandonment of inefficient employment practices. Pretoria's bungling will be exposed once private enterprise transforms loss-making operations into lean and profitable ones.

If the nation is to avoid economic catastrophe, the measures so confidently enunciated by the State President six months ago must be implemented right now.

Nor are privatisation, deregulation and smaller government exclusively long-term solutions to the country's economic ills.

They are steps which could electrify the economy into action.



Sowetan

Blackballing could lead to mass resignations

Blade (304A)
MARITZBURG — Mass resignations are expected at the Victoria Club if the blackballing of Chamber of Commerce president Kay Makan is not reconsidered.

There were shocked reactions in business circles yesterday to Monday night's decision and several members have resigned, although many have decided to stay on until the special meeting. And all committee members have resigned but are still club members.

Makan, who would have been the first black club member, had received more than 50 messages of support by lunch time yesterday, including one from mayor Mark Cornell.

Yesterday, the club's dining room was almost deserted at lunch time and one business had cancelled its board of directors club lunch for today.

Minority

A former chamber president, who seconded Makan's application, said he would approach Makan to reconsider his application if the vote was rescinded. Makan was unavailable for comment.

The chamber's first vice-president, Rob Pater, said he believed the committee's resignation indicated it was a minority decision and the fault lay with the voting system which allowed an absolute minority to preclude certain members.

A club member said a minimum of 150 voting members had to cast a vote when an application was considered. One blackball in 10 precluded the applicant from becoming a member, which meant the applicant had to get a 90% majority.

The date of the special meeting will be given shortly. — Sapa.

Government 'recognises the problems' causing violence

Staff Reporter *AKW 4/8/8*

THE government admitted that some violence in South Africa was the result of frustration among blacks, Deputy Minister of Health Dr M H Veldman said today.

Opening a symposium on violence organised by the Institute of Clinical Psychology, Dr Veldman said: "If we are honest with ourselves we must admit that some of the violence which is seen in South Africa is due to frustration which a large majority of the population experience because their expectations are not satisfied.

"I can assure you the government is aware of the many genuine causes of frustration and we do not regard violence as the healthy option available in relieving frustration or conflict. In the South African context it can be addressed by reform."

Dr Veldman said the government had made many changes in black

health, education and housing in an attempt to satisfy people's needs.

"I do not wish to say that everything required has been done ... but we have made important advances."

He said reform would be accompanied by "disequilibrium" but violence of another kind was perpetrated by terrorists.

South Africa was often accused of being the perpetrator of violence, but "the facts are that the government responds to such violence as is directed at it".

"Where the government has to act against the type of violence perpetrated by terrorists, it attempts to use as little violence as possible.

"While we recognise and are aware of the shortcomings in our society which have especially influenced the quality of life of our black population in a negative way, let us not foment the hatred which has stemmed from it."

PFP congress meets to elect new leader

Political Correspondent

THE election of a new PFP leader will enjoy pride of place at the party's crucial federal congress which starts in Cape Town tomorrow.

However, the party will have to address a number of other decisions which could affect its direction and ultimately the PFP's survival in its current form.

Among the key issues facing delegates will be the image of the party, particularly in relation to security matters.

The tone of many of the resolutions and the party's recently released security commission report suggests that delegates will grapple with ways to regain the confidence of the white electorate which deserted the party in droves during last year's parliamentary elections.

Another major discussion point is likely to deal with strategies for consolidating the increasingly fragmented opposition to the left of government, including the possible eventual merging of the PFP with other parties holding similar philosophies.

The election of the new leader is expected to play a pivotal role in this regard.

The only serious contender for the job to emerge so far has been Anglo executive Dr Zach de Beer.

Some factions within the party have voiced misgivings about the way in which the press and certain party members have assumed from the outset that Dr De Beer would take over the reins.

Some violence due to feelings of frustration

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Some of the violence in SA was due to frustration felt because of unsatisfied expectations, Health Deputy Minister M H Veldman said yesterday. He told an Institute for Clinical Psychology symposium on violence that government, however, was aware of the genuine causes.

The education budget for blacks had been increased nearly three-fold since 1984 to R1,63bn; the Act enforcing job reservation had been withdrawn; civil service salary differentiation based on colour had been phased out; and the removal of influx control made it possible for families to live together.

As well, more than 50% of all housing loans had been allocated to blacks in the past year.

Veldman said state funds to uplift living standards in townships had been increased. This year alone R480m had been allocated to black housing.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Kevin Davie. Headlines and sub-editing by Gordon Amos. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

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DEPARTEMENT VAN ONTWIKKELINGS- BEPLANNING

No. R. 1548

5 Augustus 1988

REGULASIES BETREFFENDE DIE UITBRING VAN VOORAFSTEMME VIR VERKIESING VAN LEDE VAN PLAASLIKE OWERHEIDSLIGGAME

Kragtens artikel 8 van die Wet op Voorafstemme vir Verkiesing van Lede van Plaaslike Owerheidsliggame, 1988 (Wet 94 van 1988), vaardig ek, Jan Christiaan Heunis, Minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en Beplanning, die regulasies in die Bylae hiervan uiteengesit, uit.

J. C. HEUNIS,

Minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en Beplanning.

BYLAE

Woordomsrywings

1. In hierdie Regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken "die Wet" die Wet op Voorafstemme vir Verkiesing van Lede van Plaaslike Owerheidsliggame, 1988, en het enige ander woord of uitdrukking waaraan 'n betekenis in die Wet geheg is, daardie betekenis.

Aansoek om 'n voorafstem uit te bring

2. (1) Elke aansoek om 'n voorafstem uit te bring, moet voltooi word wesenlik in die vorm in Bylae A of B uiteengesit.

(2) Die vorm in subregulasie (1) bedoel, word by die kiesbeampde ingedien by 'n stemburo deur die kiesbeampde ingevolge artikel 3 (2), (3) of (4) van die Wet ingerig gedurende die ure vermeld in artikel 3 (6) van die Wet.

(3) Die kiesbeampde hou al die vorms wat hy ingevolge subregulasie (1) ontvang, in veilige bewaring totdat hy versoek word om daarmee te handel volgens die voorskrifte van hierdie Regulasies.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

No. R. 1548

5 August 1988

REGULATIONS REGARDING THE CASTING OF PRIOR VOTES FOR ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF LO- CAL GOVERNMENT BODIES

Under section 8 of the Prior Votes for Election of Members of Local Government Bodies Act, 1988 (Act 94 of 1988), I, Jan Christiaan Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule hereto.

J. C. HEUNIS,

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In these Regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates, "the Act" shall mean the Prior Votes for Election of Members of Local Government Bodies Act, 1988, and any other word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Act shall bear that meaning.

Application to cast a prior vote

2. (1) Each application to cast a prior vote shall be completed substantially in the form set out in Schedule A or B.

(2) The form referred to in subregulation (1) shall be handed in to the returning officer at a polling station established by the returning officer in terms of section 3 (2), (3), or (4) of the Act during the hours mentioned in section 3 (6) of the Act.

(3) The returning officer shall keep all the forms received by him in terms of subregulation (1) in safe custody until he is required to deal therewith in accordance with the directions of these Regulations.

Parliament 'no longer sacred'

DURBAN — Parliament has always guarded its privileges and severely punished anyone who breached these — ever since the tumultuous and epic conflict it had with the Stuart monarchs in the 17th century.

The most notorious attack on the privilege of the House of Commons occurred in 1642 when Charles the First, accompanied by 300 or 400 armed cavaliers, stormed into the House of Commons to arrest five leaders of the Remonstrance.

These leaders had, however, got wind of his intentions and had fled. Charles, on seeing they had gone, departed unceremoniously. As he did, MPs murmured "Privilege! Privilege!" Charles's action was one of inept bravado and incalculable folly, which heralded the onset of civil war.

When parliamentary government was established in the Cape Colony in the mid-1800s, the revered traditions of Westminster government became part of the constitutional paradigm of South Africa.

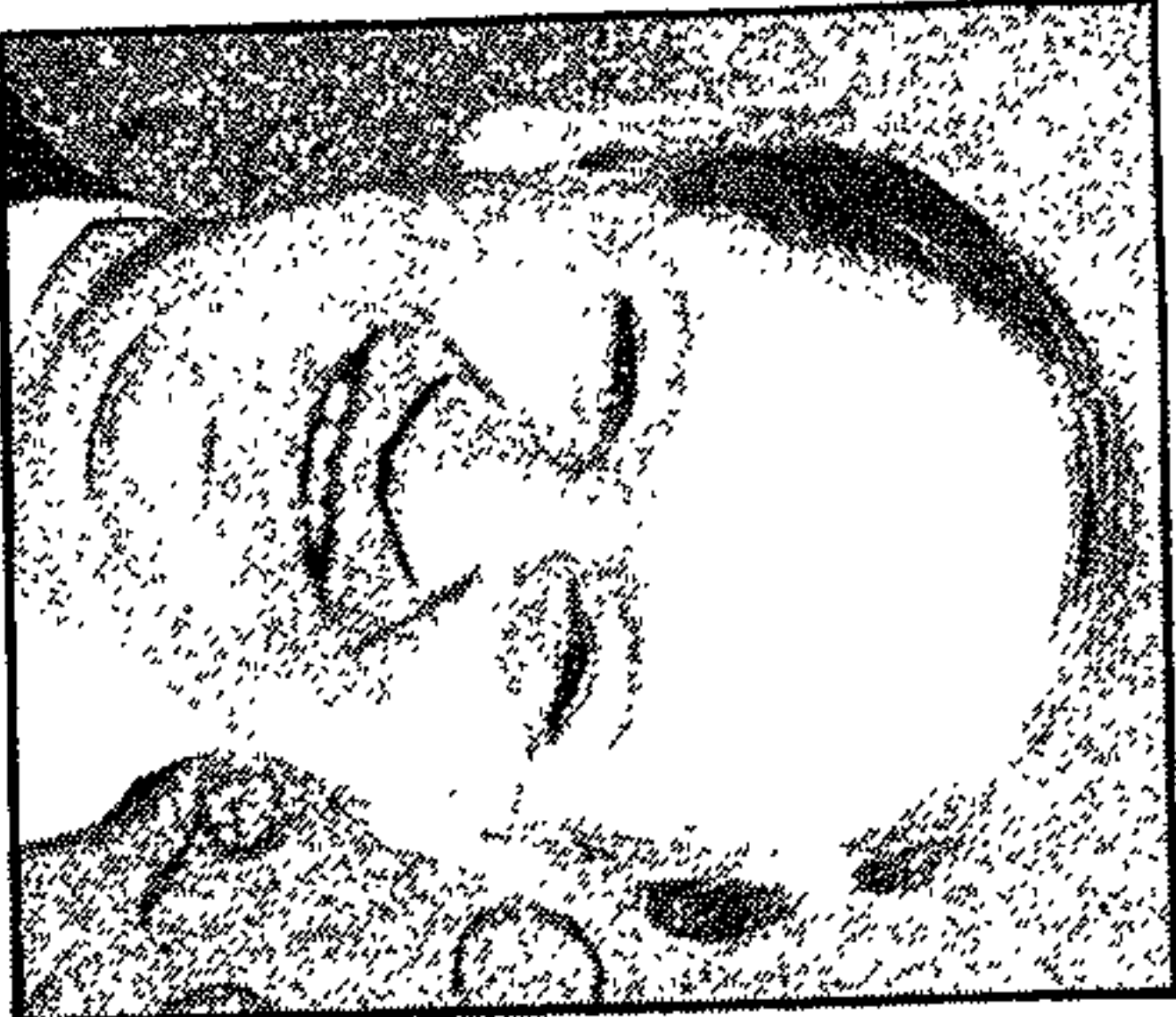
John Fairbairn

Just after the inauguration of the Cape Parliament, one of its most distinguished members, John Fairbairn — renowned as the father of the press and the champion of press freedom in South Africa — introduced and succeeded, in 1854, in getting a motion passed for securing freedom of speech and debate in the proceedings in Parliament and for giving protection to people employed in the publication of parliamentary papers.

But it was only in 1863 that the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act was passed to supplement Fairbairn's Act of 1854. The former provided for the attendance of witnesses, the punishment for contempt of the House and the exemption of members from service as jurors and witnesses and from civil suits in any court of law while attending Parliament.

After union, the Union Parliament passed a law in 1911 encapsulating the powers and privileges of the two Houses, which corre-

Powers, privileges are facing a potential threat



DR GEORGE DEVENISH, a senior lecturer in the Department of Law at the University of Natal, Durban, recently submitted a memorandum to the joint parliamentary committee inquiring into the question of parliamentary privilege.

sponded very closely with those of Westminster.

This law conferred specific powers, privileges and immunities on the Union Parliament and its members including the power to punish for contempt.

After the establishment of the Republic, the South African Parliament enacted the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act of 1963, which substantially re-enacted the provisions of the Act of 1911, leaving most of the sections virtually unchanged.

Freedom of speech is an esteemed parliamentary privilege. It is essential for MPs to have absolute immunity from the threat of defamatory actions so they are able uninhibitedly to express their views on the affairs of the nation and the body politic. Obviously this absolute freedom of speech is open to abuse, but the possibility of such abuse is considered to be the lesser of two evils. Today MPs have complete freedom within the Houses of Parliament, subject only to the rules of debate.

Parliamentary privilege has become a controversial political matter in South Africa and is being investigated by a joint select committee of Parliament. It has become so contentious because, inter alia, it apparently extends only to MPs and not to the executive State President, Mr P W Botha, who is not an MP, yet participates in parliamentary debates. He is an executive President, as was the previous Head of State, the Prime Minister, who was an MP and was thus directly responsible to the House of Assembly. So there is some uncertainty as to whether or not the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act confers parliamentary privilege on the executive State President.

A controversial parliamentary speech made by Mr Dave Dalling has also focused attention on the powers and privileges of Parliament. This speech contained the nature and extent of Mr Chris Ball's financial involvement with newspaper advertisements calling for the legalisation of the proscribed African National Congress, the impartiality of Mr Justice Munnik as the chairman of the commission of inquiry instituted to investigate these matters, and his relationship with both the State President and Barclays Bank.

Since Mr Dalling had commented adversely on the conduct of both President Botha and Mr Justice Munnik, parliamentary privilege was alleged to have been breached.

As a result of Mr Dalling's speech, a select committee of Parliament was set up to investigate whether or not he had committed contempt of Parliament or a breach of parliamentary privilege. This committee found that there was legal uncertainty in regard to parliamentary privilege and recommended that the matter be investigated by a joint select committee of the three Houses of Parliament and it told Mr Dalling to apologise.

Action was speedily taken against Mr Dalling for an alleged breach of parliamentary privilege. However, in a notorious incident, the late Dr Connie Mulder, nearly a decade earlier, denied any financial involvement in the *Citizen* newspaper by the State when asked about this by Mr Japie Basson in Parliament. Dr Mulder's denial transpired to be untrue and thus was *prima facie* contempt of Parliament. Nevertheless, no action was taken against Dr Mulder, even after his re-election to Parliament.

The issue of the powers and privileges of Parliament is not merely parochial; it is a matter of national importance.

Profound interest

Therefore the South African press has a profound interest in parliamentary privilege as it is allowed, without any legal inhibitions, to report and publish parliamentary debates. A restriction on the press in this regard would be a further severe and most inadvisable erosion of press freedom.

Parliament as an institution is no longer sovereign because of the deadlock-resolving role of the President's Council in the event of an irreconcilable disagreement between the three Houses. And the scene of the exercise of political power has shifted and continues to shift inexorably from Parliament to Town-hus.

De Beer has PFP leadership in bag

Chk 7/10/88 5/8/88 3064

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ALL potential challengers to Dr Zach de Beer for the position of PFP leader had retreated into the wings by the time delegates began gathering in Cape Town last night for the party's crucial federal congress.

But a number of keen tussles are expected for the other leadership positions when the 300 delegates meet at the Podium Hall of the Cape Town Civic Centre this morning.

Party sources indicated yesterday that Mrs Helen Suzman would step down as national chairman of the PFP, paving the way for a two-way contest for the

post between outgoing party leader Mr Colin Eglin and the MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe.

And in another surprise move, the MP for Johannesburg North,

Mr Peter Soal, is expected to challenge the existing chairman of the federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, who has held the key position since the shock resignation of Dr Alex Boraine from Parliament in 1986.

Observers were yesterday characterizing the expected contest between Mr Eglin and Mr Van der Merwe as a battle between the current establishment and the new breed of up-and-coming leadership within the party.

One party source said that if both Dr De Beer and Mr Eglin got

elected "it would appear as if the old guard is still running the show" and rated Mr Van der Merwe's chances as "quite good".

The expected challenge for the position of chairman of the federal executive from Mr Peter Soal was also seen by some observers as a contest between a relative newcomer and a party member who was more closely associated with last year's "turbo-charge" election strategy.

Regional competition between the Transvaal and the Cape for control of the party could well re-emerge during debate on a Transvaal Provincial Congress-sponsored resolution calling for the relocation of the PFP national office from Cape Town to Johannesburg "as a matter of urgency".

Zac has a crack at the logjam

CAPE TOWN — Break the political logjam. Get out of the fish-bowl world of white-dominated politics. Come to grips with the real issues.

These, in essence, are some of the challenges facing the new Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Zac de Beer, as seen by well-wishers inside and outside his party.

The PFP's leadership change has given rise to fresh speculation about the future role of liberal-minded opposition forces and a possible re-assessment of their priorities.

Among priorities suggested this week by academics and politicians to the Left of the Government are:

- Unification of liberal-minded groupings inside and outside Parliament.

- Intensification of the fight against apartheid and its vicious circle of growing international isolation, impoverishment and internal conflict.

- A major information effort to counteract Nationalist propaganda and expose Government strategies aimed at dividing and confusing opposition forces.

- Exposure to the public of the real nature of South Africa's crisis in the political and economic fields.

- A determined effort to break the country's constitutional deadlock and to seek proper negotiations for a new non-racial constitution.

Leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), Mr Wynand Malan, said a major priority was to focus on the interests, not of political parties, but of the country and its entire population.

Instead of commenting on society, opposition should become part of the social process.

It should move from symbolic position-taking to political effect through involvement in the political process.

Professor Sample Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch, said an important role for the opposition was to tell the public the truth about South Africa's situation — something which was being withheld by Government.

He said, "There is a great information and educational task for the opposition to break through the make-believe world in which we are living."

"The people should know about our country's deteriorating situation internally and internationally."

Professor Terreblanche said that after 40 years of NP rule it

New leader's priorities go beyond revitalisation of the PFP

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

ought to be obvious to any objective observer of the South African scene that "a white promised land is not, and never was, attainable."

It should also be obvious that transition to a non-racial South Africa was impossible as long as the NP remained in power.

He expected, however, that the NP would remain in power for a long time to come "despite its paralysis and inability either to identify the full dimensions of the mounting crisis or do something truly effective about it."

Professor Terreblanche added: "Consequently, South Africa is doomed to remain an apartheid society for the foreseeable future. 'It will become more isolated and more divided.'"

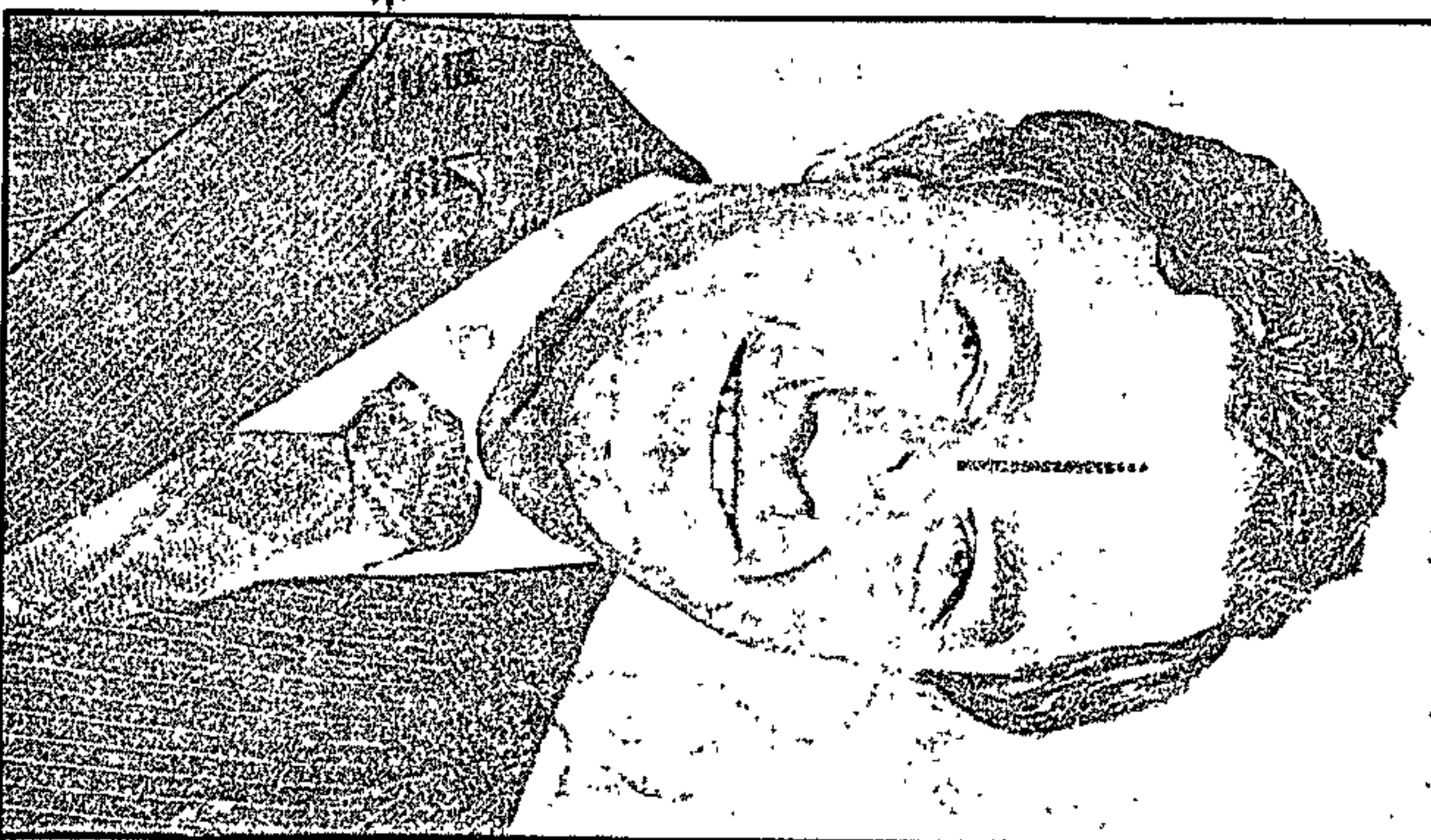
The opposition's task should be to persuade people inside the NP that conditions cannot continue the way they are and that Government policy is morally indefensible, said the professor.

He continued: "The public should know what price we are paying for continued NP rule and what the consequences are in terms of strutting per capita income."

"The right to know how critical our situation is should be the watchword."

"Dr de Beer's main task should not be to revitalise the PFP, but to expose the NP and to strive for a re-grouping of all truly reform-minded people."

A unification of all reform-



ZAC DE BEER: Believes there's common ground with genuine non-racialists.

-minded people to the Left of Government is also seen by Professor Hermann Gilmore of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town as a top priority.

He said this should be done on the basis of a set of common principles on which all could agree instead of fighting against one another.

Another priority, according to Professor Gilmore, was to mobilise the electorate, thereby

liamentary groupings on the other

A man who has gone through the mill of opposition leadership under the present system — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — has underlined the deep dilemma of liberal opposition and the challenge facing it if it is to survive.

Although he declined this week to comment on the task awaiting the new PFP leader, his earlier analysis in a recent article in *Leadership* magazine contained advice and criticism of some white liberal attitudes.

He saw the PFP's credibility crisis as something not of its own making but as a consequence of the racially-based tricameral system and the revolt against it.

Constitutional politics under the present system, in his view, was not geared to restore democracy but to adjust, rationalise and refine white domination.

For Dr Slabbert, Parliament became a waste of time because "the rules of the game had been rewritten and its arena redesigned."

Nothing dealt Parliament and accountable government a more fatal blow than the change to the tricameral constitution, he wrote.

The centrality of racially compulsory groups as fundamental elements in any constitutional developments was entrenched in this new scheme of things.

Because of the constraints of the system, there are liberal white voters and politicians who are trapped in "the fishbowl world" of white parliamentary politics.

Meanwhile, the great divide in South African politics, according to Dr Slabbert, was between the co-optive politics of the State and those trying to work for a non-racial, democratic alternative.

He believed the wider and more urgent debate was on whether democracy was possible and what it means.

How well equipped is Dr Zac de Beer to cope with the dilemma and challenges facing white liberal opposition?

As a former parliamentarian and opposition politician, he is well acquainted with the political scene.

As executive director of Anglo American Corporation and one of the country's most prominent businessmen, he has significant links with the business world, al-

though he has indicated that he will resign from his executive offices in business after taking over as PFP leader.

Dr de Beer sees himself as a marketing man, having made his mark in advertising during his business career. With such experience he should have the know-how and ability to get the PFP's message across to the right people, to build up the party's image and set in motion an information drive to combat Government's formidable propaganda machine.

He believes the business and financial world is experiencing the heavy cost of apartheid as never before.

He is confident businessmen are overwhelmingly in favour of reform away from apartheid. His business experience should also stand him in good stead in negotiation politics.

He has already publicly stated his intention to do everything in his power to bring together people of all races, in and out of Parliament, "who believe in the same things as we do."

As far as parliamentary politics is concerned, his ideal is a full merger of existing liberal-minded parties into a single party on the left of the Government.

He recognises the importance of extra-parliamentary political groupings. He has made it known that he believes the PFP must find time, energy and money to devote to contacts in the extra-parliamentary area, while he also recognises the immediate priority of promoting the party in the electoral area where the PFP has in the past year been "fighting for its life."

Dr de Beer has first-hand knowledge of the thinking inside the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF). He has had discussions with them and found them "very friendly."

He believes there is common ground between them and the PFP and sees them as "genuine non-racialists."

He says he will always oppose violence as a political strategy, but can understand why the ANC reacted in the way it did when it adopted violence.

Dr de Beer has a high regard for the outgoing PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, and says they have never had a difference on principle.

Harry O doubts PW plan

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Harry Oppenheimer yesterday said he had the "gravest doubts" whether President P W Botha's latest privatization and deregulation programme would be "carried through".

Mr Botha unveiled the government's new economic policy amid great fanfare at the opening of Parliament at the beginning of this year.

However, that policy was already "crumbling", Mr Oppenheimer told the federal congress of the PFP in Cape Town.

Mr Oppenheimer said: "The running of the country in a free way is not reconcilable with a form of government in which the country is not free."

Neo-apartheid was just as irreconcilable with a sound economy as was old-style Verwoedian apartheid.

South Africa was basically a poor country and could not afford laws like the Group Areas Act.

"A sound economy requires an end to acts like that — they are not only bad and immoral but also enormously expensive."

He said SA could also not afford "to spend millions on shoring up corrupt Bantustan states".

Nor could millions of rands be spent

on decentralized development that was not related to economic need "but attempts by government to buy off opposition and to support economic policies that are completely unsound and untenable".

South Africa could not afford policies that alienated the country from its major trading partners "and when we do we cannot invite them to do their damndest".

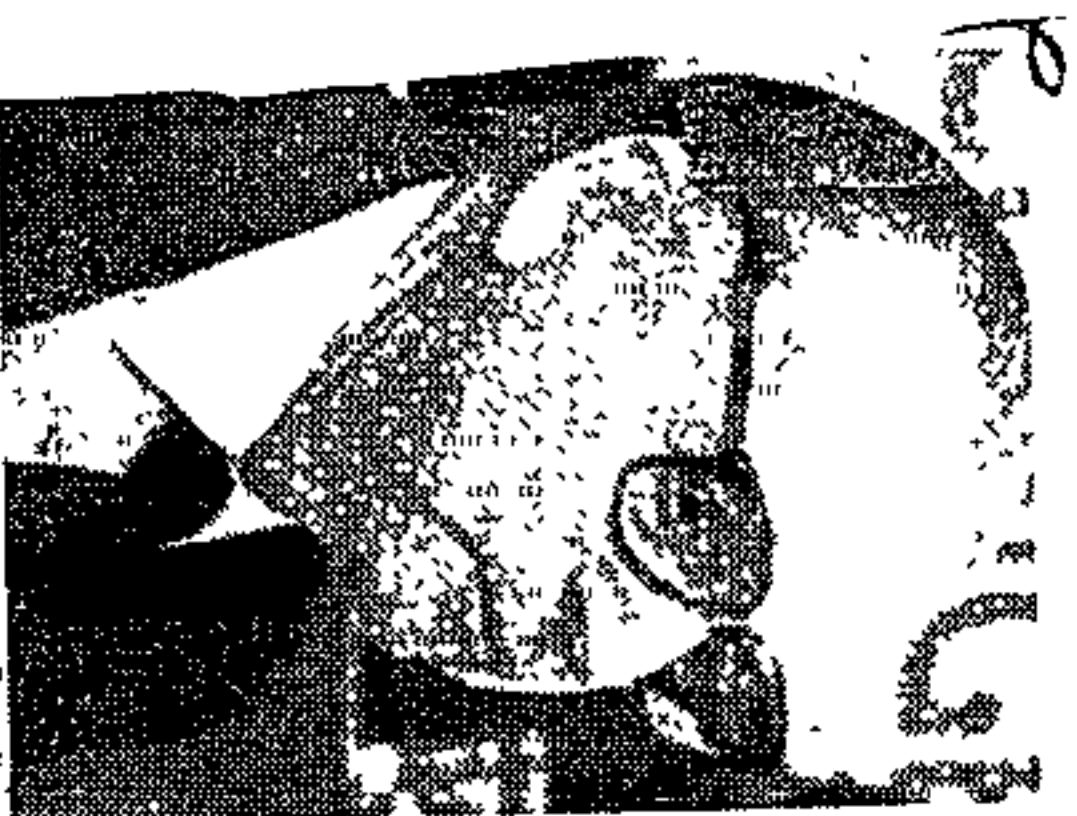
Mr Oppenheimer said that while the state needed to spend sufficient money to defend the country in an effective manner, "there is no reason why we should follow policies that make defence as expensive as we possibly can".

"We want to see a free and progressive economy but this is not possible unless we have a free and progressive country."

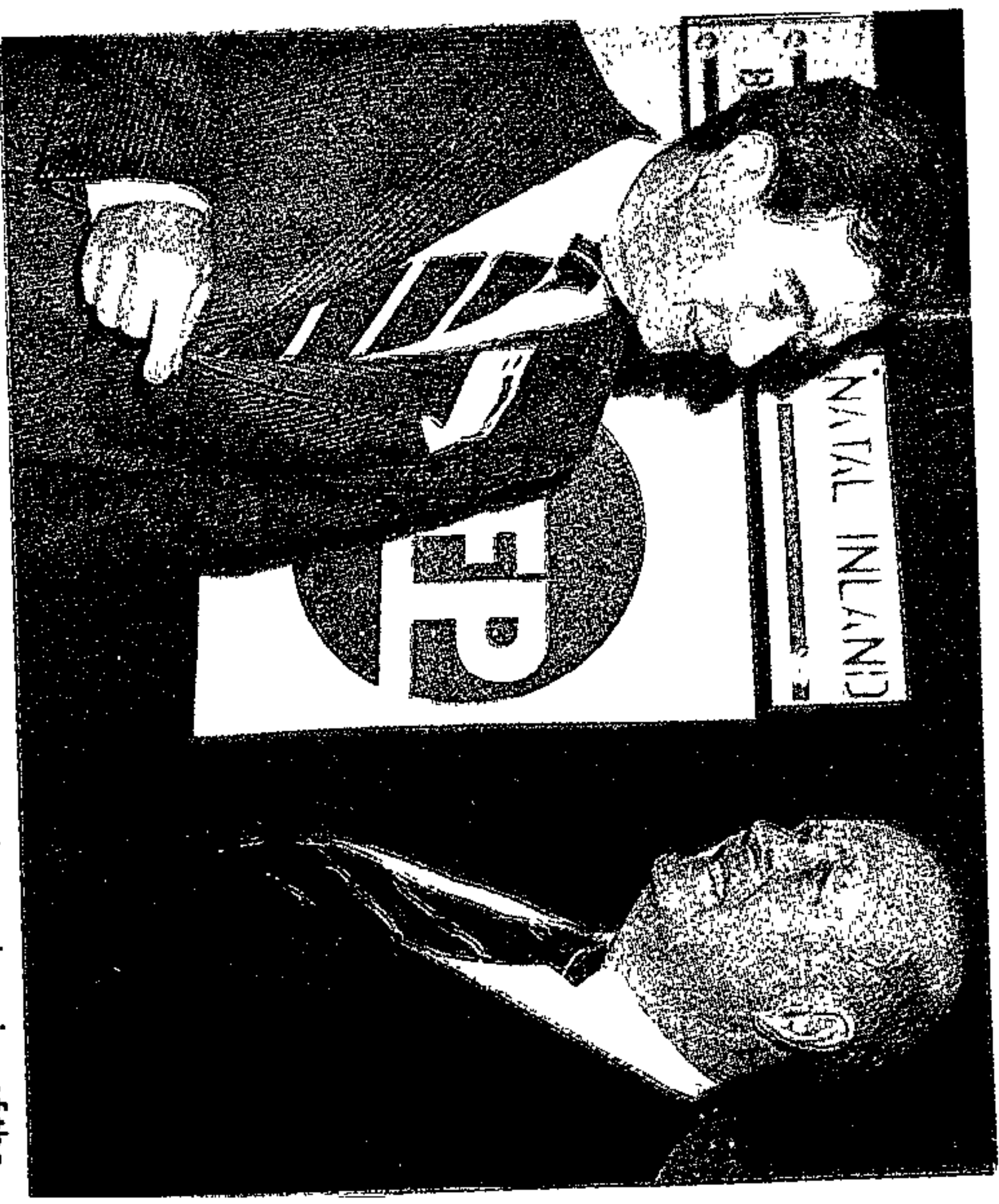
Mr Oppenheimer said disparities could be reduced through growth in the economy — and the chief priorities for growth were education, housing and health services, "particularly for the black masses of the country".

South Africa did not need "an immensely expensive effort to retain parts of old apartheid policy".

There was no point in "ruining the economy" so that ultimately "if it comes to the crunch decisions can be taken in the caucus of the National Party."



Mr Harry Schwarz



HANDING OVER... Mr Colin Eglin (right) handed over the reins of the PFP leadership to Dr Zach de Beer at the party's federal congress in Cape Town yesterday.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Schwarz warns on AWB 'takeover' aims

THERE were indications that right-wing organizations such as the AWB were aiming to "take over" commando regiments, Mr Harry Schwarz, Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville and Honorary Colonel of 15 Squadron in Durban, warned yesterday.

Participating in a debate at the party's federal congress on a resolution to phase out conscription, Mr Schwarz said there were indications that right-wing groups had been urged to join various commando units in different

parts of the country with the aim of taking them over.

Speaking on the conscription issue, he said that while it could be argued that many people accepted the phasing out of conscription, it could not be phased out "in the existing realities".

He said a citizen force was one of the best protections a country could have against a coup d'état by the military.

Coups that had been carried out in different parts of the world had largely been executed by

professional armies, and a citizen force was one of the best guarantees against this happening.

One of the provisions called for by the conscription resolution was the establishment of a professional standing defence force, backed up by a volunteer reserve.

But Mr Schwarz queried the possibility of volunteers, and asked whether the defence force would get the number and categories of people it needed.

De Beer declares his party's intent

Political Correspondent

THE PFP's new leader, Dr Zach de Beer, yesterday spelled out four "major tasks" facing the party under his stewardship.

Dr De Beer was elected unopposed at the PFP's federal congress in Cape Town yesterday.

He will resign as executive director of Anglo American and chairman of Anglo American Porphyries, LTA and Southern Life at the end of the month to give his full attention to party matters.

In a "statement of intent" released after his election, Dr De Beer said that the first task facing the PFP and its leadership was to restore the party "to full strength and health".

This was a matter of mobilization, organization and fund-raising, and of effective presentation of the party's policies for a new, post-apartheid South Africa.

Dr De Beer said he intended to tour the country next month attending to party organization, fund-raising and "revving up the party's activities generally".

The second task was to "bring together those who belong together" because of their inner convictions. "Our principles are equal human dignity and rights, personal freedom and the rule of law. Millions of South Africans in different groups believe in these things. They all belong in one strong organization."

However, he acknowledged that Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall believed that it was best for parties to the left of the government to retain their separate identities for the time being. The third task was to reassure blacks who were despairing and whites who were frightened.

"Policies based on freedom and dignity can work. Indeed, they represent the true alternative to the chronic conflict and creeping poverty which are the only present prospect."

The fourth task would be to create "a wide South African unity" aimed at a "strong free-market economy and a negotiated democratic constitution".

Eglin gets in as national chairman

Political Correspondent

OUTGOING PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin narrowly won a two-way contest for the position of national chairman of the party at its federal congress in Cape Town yesterday.

Party sources said he pipped Green Point MP Mr Tiaan van der Merwe in a secret ballot by 113 votes to 109.

Shortly before the contest, Mr Eglin received two standing ovations from delegates during an emotional final speech as party leader.

He told delegates that "no one can deny" that the PFP had gone through a "damned difficult period" since its last federal congress in November 1986.

However, the setback the party had suffered could not be seen in isolation.

"Make no mistake about it, the reality is that liberalism and liberal values are under assault in our country."

"As the violence mounts, as militarization increases, as the struggle for power intensifies, so liberal values and those organizations and institutions that are committed to them come under increasing pressure."

"At a time of conflict, in an atmosphere of violence, neither the repressors nor the revolutionaries have much respect for concepts such as individual freedom, civil liberties or the rule of law."

"In fact at times of conflict both the banners and the bombers regard these liberal and civilized concepts as obstacles in their way rather than as guiding principles to their behaviour."

However, circumstances such as these did not make a party like the PFP irrelevant but made its task as a key custodian of liberal values all the more urgent and important.

THE CHALLENGE FACING ZAC

FOCUS 2

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

BREAK the political logjam. Get out of the fish-bowl world of white-dominated politics. Come to grips with the real issues.

These, in essence, are the challenges facing the Progressive Federal Party's new leader, Dr Zac de Beer, as seen by well-wishers in and outside his party.

The leadership change has given rise to fresh speculation about the future role of liberal-minded opposition forces and a possible re-assessment of their priorities.

Among top priorities suggested this week by academics and politicians to the left of the Government are:

● Unification of liberal-minded groupings inside and outside Parliament;

● Intensification of the fight against apartheid and its vicious circle of growing international isolation, impoverishment and internal conflict;

● A major information effort to counteract Nationalist propaganda and to expose Government strategies aimed at dividing and confusing opposition forces;

● Exposure to the public of the real nature of South Africa's crisis in the political and economic fields; and

● A determined effort to break the country's constitutional deadlock and to seek proper negotiations for a new non-racial constitution.

NATIONAL Democratic Movement (NDM) leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said a major priority was to focus on the interests not of political parties but of the country and its entire population.

Instead of commenting on society, opposition should become part of the social process. It should move from symbolic position-taking to political effect through involvement in the political process.

His movement had in the past had several discussions with Mr Colin Eglin and Dr Zac de Beer. "We believe that in future, with continued discussions, there will be a further convergence of aims and strategies."

He believed a total re-alignment of political forces, including a faction of the Government's present power base, was "realistically possible in the not too distant future on the basis of the NDM's platform and strategy".

The NDM was aiming for a representative democratic system, and this involved the crossing of the dividing line between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics. It also involved political activities and on-going talks across the entire political spectrum.

"This is the only way in which the political stalemate can be broken," Mr Malan said.

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch, said an important role for the oppo-

sition was to tell the public the truth about South Africa's situation — something which was being withheld by the Government.

"There is a great information and educational task for the opposition to break through the make-believe world in which we are living. The people should know about our country's deteriorating situation internally and internationally."

After 40 years of NP rule it should be obvious to any objective observer that "a white promised land is not, and never was, attainable." It should also be obvious that the transition to a non-racial South Africa was impossible as long as the NP remained in power.

Yet, he expected the NP to remain in power for a long time to come — "despite its paralysis and inability either to identify the full dimensions of the mounting crisis or to do something truly effective about it. Consequently South Africa is doomed to remain an apartheid society for the foreseeable future. It will become more isolated and more divided."

The Government would become more autocratic and the country much poorer.

The country's per capita income has declined steadily over the years, and the process of impoverishment was due in large measure to the country's growing international isolation.

The opposition's task should be to persuade people inside the NP that conditions could not continue the way they were and that Government policy was morally indefensible.

"The public should know what price we are paying for continued NP rule and what the consequences are in terms of shrinking per capita income. The right to know how critical our situation is should be the watchword."

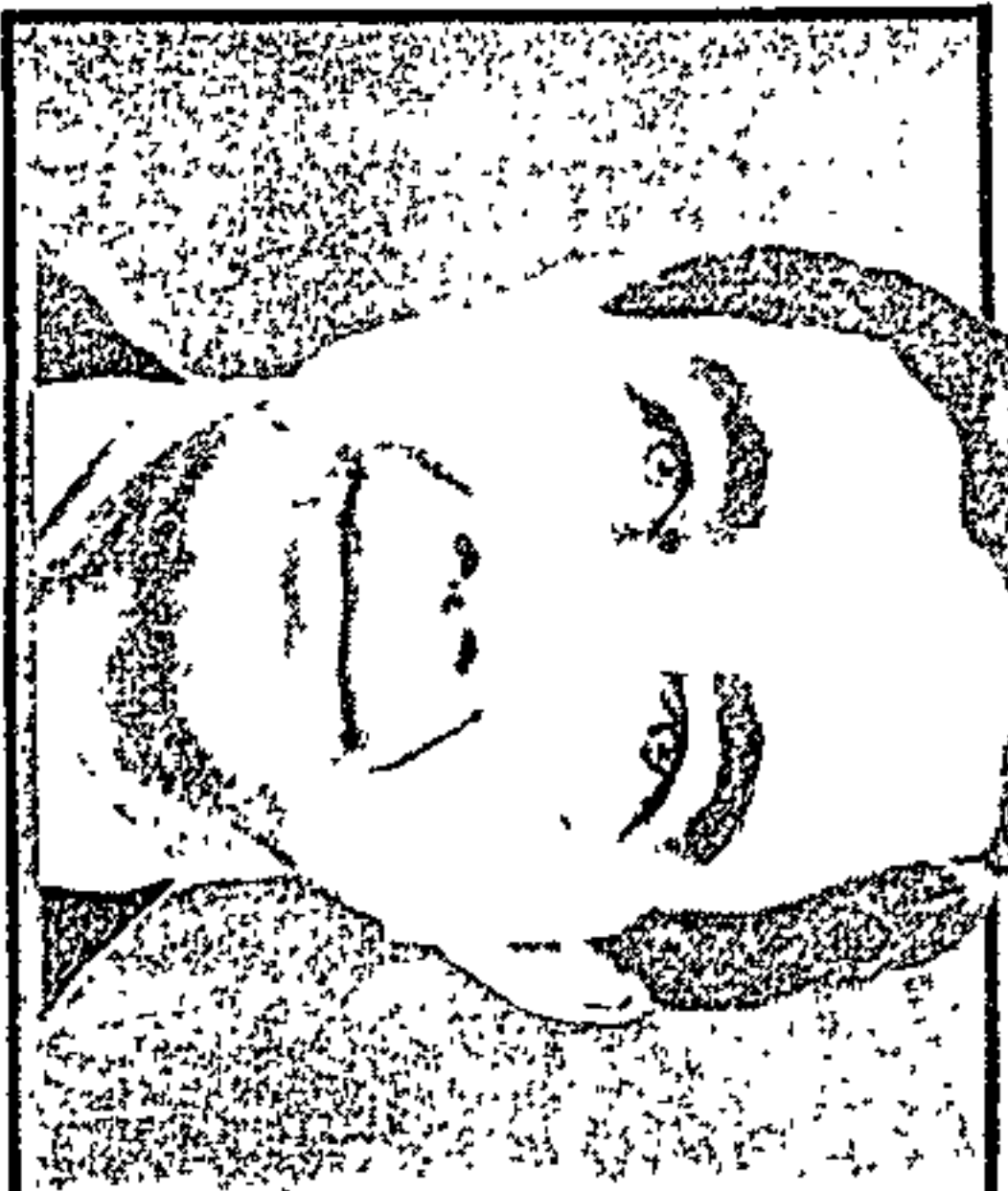
"Dr De Beer's main task should not be to revitalise the PFP, but to expose the NP and to strive for a re-grouping of all truly reform-minded people," said Professor Terreblanche.

UNIFICATION of all reform-minded people to the left of the Government is also seen by Professor Hermann Gilmore, of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town, as a top priority. He says this should be done on the basis of a set of common principles on which all can agree instead of fighting against one another.

Another priority, according to Professor Gilmore, is to mobilise the electorate, thereby strengthening the "middle group", consisting of people of all races in South Africa's political spectrum. This would counteract the process of polarisation of the political extremes.

The opposition to the left of the Government should also act as "honest brokers" in negotiations between the main political groupings of all races. Professor Gilmore suggests talks between the NP and its allies on one hand and extra-parliamentary groupings on the other.

MAN who has gone through the mill of opposition leadership under the present system — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — has underlined the deep dilemma of liberal opposi-



tion and the challenge facing it if it is to survive.

Although he declined this week to comment on the task awaiting the new PFP leader, his earlier analysis in a recent article in *Leadership* magazine contains significant advice and criticism of some white liberal attitudes.

He sees the PFP's credibility crisis as something not of its own making but as a consequence of the racially-based tricameral system and the revolt against it.

Constitutional politics under the present system, he says, is not geared to restore democracy but to adjust, rationalise and refine white domination.

For Dr Slabbert Parliament became a waste of time because "the rules of the game had been rewritten and its arena redesigned."

Nothing dealt Parliament and accountable government a more fatal blow than the change to the tricameral constitution, he says.

The centrality of racially compulsory groups as fundamental elements in any constitutional development was entrenched in this new scheme of things.

Because of the constraints of the system, there are liberal white voters and politicians who are trapped in "the fishbowl world" of white parliamentary politics.

Meanwhile the great divide in South African politics, according to Dr Slabbert, is between the co-optive politics of the State and those trying to work for a non-racial democratic alternative.

He believes the wider and more urgent debate is on whether democracy is possible and what it means.

Dr Slabbert sees this as not simply an intellectual exercise, but as "a practical problem that is being hammered out in many sectors of our society, in labour, management, education and religion."

"It is a debate that whites in particular must join because I believe the quality of their involvement can make an important contribution to the growth of democratic culture in South Africa."

A necessary first step for whites into this debate is "to bury all Great White Hope illusions."

The Great White Hope, according to Dr Slabbert, is a persistent myth in white electoral politics. It is the hope that an enlightened white political figure will emerge to mobilise non-reactionary white voters in sufficient numbers to unseat the governing National Party or somehow decisively influence democratic reform from "above".

"Part of this myth is the often unstated assumption that all politics in South Africa is about whites deciding who gets what, when and how."

HOW well equipped is Dr Zac de Beer to cope with the dilemma and challenges facing white liberal opposition?

As a former parliamentarian and opposition politician, he is well acquainted with the political scene. As executive director of Anglo American Corporation and one of the country's most prominent businessmen, he has significant links with the business world, although he has indicated that he will resign from his executive offices in business after taking over as PFP leader.

Dr De Beer sees himself as a marketing man, having made his mark in advertising during his business career. With such experience he should have the know-how and ability to get the PFP's message across to the right people, to build up the party's image and to set in motion an information drive as effectively as possible against the Government's formidable propaganda machine.

He believes the business and financial world is experiencing the heavy cost of apartheid as never before. He is confident that businessmen are overwhelmingly in favour of reform away from apartheid.

His business experience should also stand him in good stead in negotiation politics. He has already publicly stated his intention to do everything in his power to bring together people of all races, in and out of Parliament, "who believe in the same things as we do."

As far as parliamentary politics is concerned, his ideal is a full merger of existing liberal-minded parties into a single party on the left of the Government.

He recognises the importance of extra-parliamentary political groupings. He has made it known that he believes the PFP must find time, energy and money to devote to contacts in the extra-parliamentary area, while he also recognises the immediate priority of promoting the party in the electoral arena where the PFP has in the past year been "fighting for its life".

Dr De Beer has first-hand knowledge of the thinking inside the African National Congress (ANC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF). He has had discussions with them and found them "very friendly". He believes there is common ground between them and the PFP and sees them as "genuine non-racialists".

He says he will always oppose violence as a political strategy but can understand why the ANC reached in the way it did when it adopted violence. Dr De Beer has a high regard for the outgoing PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, and says they have never had a difference on principle.

W/E
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PFP in emotional debate on army service

306/11
6/8/88

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party has agreed that conscription should be phased out, but is divided on openly supporting objectors and campaigns to end the call-up.

Its central congress in Cape Town yesterday narrowly defeated a move to commit the



Oppenheimer has 'grave doubts' about PW's plan

PAGE 5

party to publicly supporting objectors and campaigns aimed at ending conscription.

After an at times emotional debate, the amendment was defeated by 10 votes — 88 to 78.

During the debate Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, was hissed by sections from the floor. Amid interjections he rejected assertions that the Defence Force was upholding apartheid.

The PFP's vote on the issue came after a long debate in which the party agreed that conscription should be "phased out" and that an alternative community service to military service should be instituted.

Delegates made it clear they believed the present system was too limited but agreed that alternative service might have to be longer than the normal period of military service.

But there was strong opposition to this as well.

Mr Isaac Smuts argued with strong support that if the party believed conscription should be phased out and that people should have an alternative choice, it would be wrong to penalize them for exercising their right.

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Zac spells out PFP's four goals

W/E Argus 6/8/88 304 A

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff
THE Progressive Federal Party's new leader, Dr Zac de Beer, has listed four major tasks which await the party and those who lead it.

In a "statement of intent" issued at a news conference after his unanimous election at the party's federal congress yesterday, he said the tasks were:

- To restore the party to "full strength and health";

- To bring together "those who belong together because of their inner convictions";

- To reassure "blacks who are despairing and whites who are frightened"; and

- To create a wide South African unity aimed at a strong free-market economy and a negotiated democratic constitution.

Dr de Beer said the task of strengthening the party was a matter of mobilisation, organisation and fund-raising and of "the effective presentation of our reasonable, practical,

workable policies for the new, post-apartheid South Africa".

On the question of bringing together those who belonged together, he said the PFP's principles were equal human dignity and rights, personal freedom and the rule of law.

Millions of South Africans in different groups believed in these things and all belonged in one strong organisation.

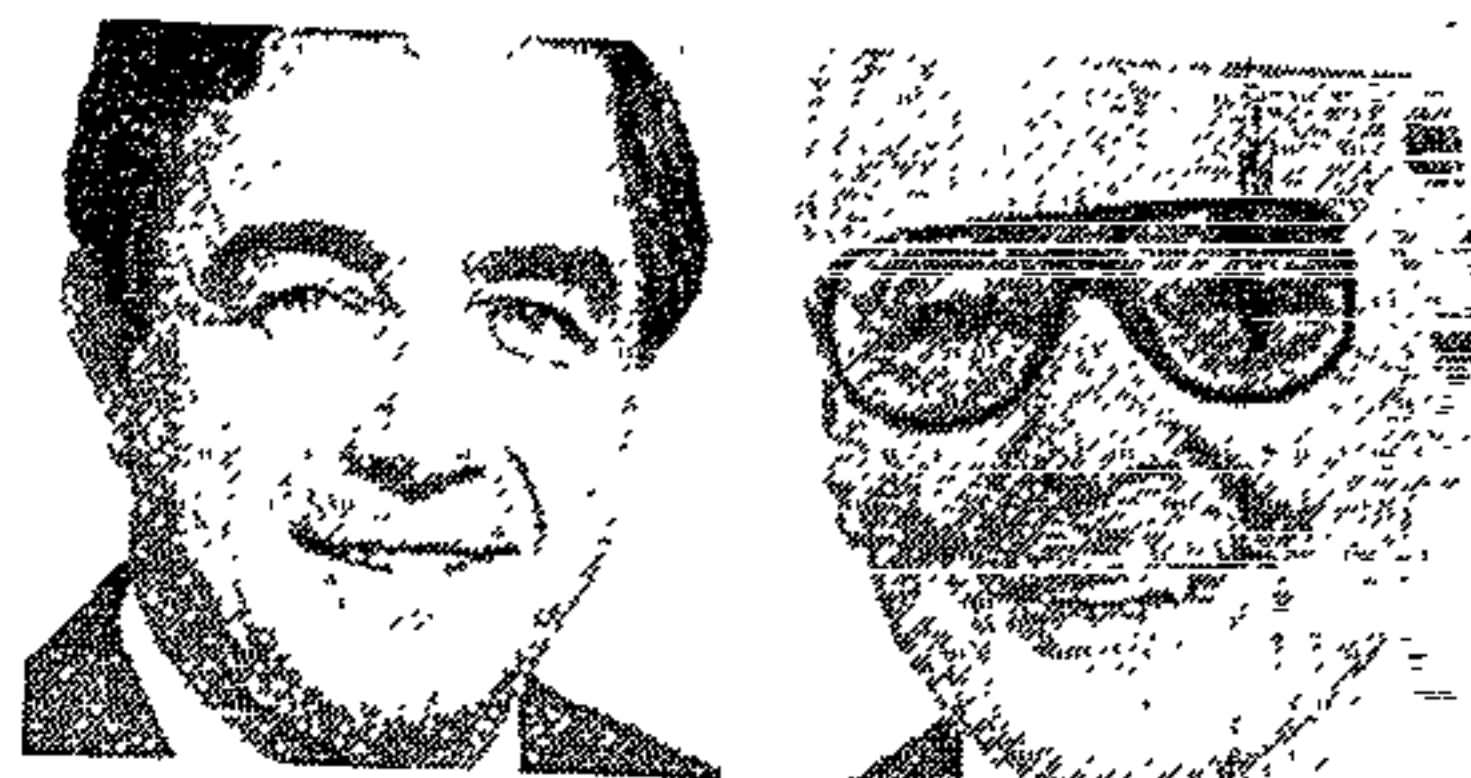
Dr de Beer said policies based on freedom and dignity could work. They represented the true alternative to "chronic conflict and creeping poverty".

He did not regard himself as a stronger or better leader than Mr Colin Eglin and would strive to continue what Mr Eglin had done.

Questioned about unity of the liberal-minded opposition, Dr de Beer said he intended to continue talks with Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement and Dr Denis Worrall (Independent Party).

His intention was to remain in Johannesburg and the PFP's head office would remain in Cape Town.

■ See page 16.



Dr Zac de Beer Mr Oppenheimer

'SA economy linked to world'

Political Staff

THE National Party government would neither satisfy nor mollify critics here or abroad with its current neo-apartheid policies, Mr Harry Oppenheimer has warned.

And he told the Progressive Federal Party congress they were "absolutely right not to be satisfied or mollified".

He also warned that South Africa could not survive economically without co-operation with the rest of the world, strongly condemning Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha who earlier this year told the world "to do its damndest" in response to sanctions threats.

Mr Oppenheimer said it was because of the government's policies that the economic policy announced by President Botha earlier this year was already starting to crumble.

"The economy cannot be isolated from the way the country is handled and governed."

For 40 years this "disastrous" government had sought "to square the circle". There was a complete contradiction between apartheid policy and the economic potential of South Africa, Mr Oppenheimer said.

"Basically poor"

The neo-apartheid of the current government was "just as irreconcilable as Verwoerdian apartheid", he said, giving as examples the Group Areas Act and the decentralisation of industry to prop up the homeland concept.

"South Africa is basically a poor country and we cannot afford acts like the Group Areas Act, even if modified with grey areas.

"They (group areas) are not only bad and immoral but also immensely expensive and negative for the development of a sound economy.

"We can't afford to spend millions shoring up corrupt Bantustan states or millions on decentralisation which is not based on the economic needs of the country but on attempts by the government to buy support for economic policies that are not sound."

'Right infiltrating commandos'

by BRUCE CAMERON
 Political Staff

RIGHTWINGERS, including the AWB, are volunteering for commando units, intending to dominate them, Mr Harry Schwarz, MP, said at the Progressive Federal Party federal congress.

General Magnus Malan was not available for comment but government sources said they were aware of the moves.

Mr Schwarz warned in an interview that there could be considerable risk.

Although he would not disclose his evidence, he said he had sufficient to convince him that there was a definite

plan by rightwing organisations to "dominate" the commando units.

One reason for the move was to give their members "the necessary training and experience at the cost of the taxpayer".

He did not object to people with rightwing views volunteering for military service — "but I do object when it is done to dominate a military unit."

Politics should not play a role in the composition of military units.

Mr Schwarz declined to say if he had raised the issue with the Defence Force.

Group areas: Nothing will change, PFP warns

Political Staff

THE government has no intention of "going soft" on the Group Areas Act, says the Progressive Federal Party MP for Groote Schuur, Mr Jan van Gend.

Speaking at the PFP congress in support of a motion calling for the immediate scrapping of the Act, Mr van Gend said there was no reason to welcome aspects of the proposed alterations to group areas legislation like the Free Settlement Areas Bill.

Aspects of the proposed legislation would lead to "inquisitions" not unlike those held in the days of the race classification boards. People accused in

terms of Group Areas legislation would have to endure having the texture of their hair examined and their fingernails would be scrutinised, he said.

Mr van Gend warned too that marauding bands of rightwingers hunting out people of the "wrong colour" would result in mass ejections long before one free settlement area was proclaimed in terms of the legislative provisions.

Three hundred delegates voted in support of the motion, which called for the immediate scrapping of the Act and for the rejection of the latest amendments.

New leader will quit business

by DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

Dr Zac de Beer says is to retire from business at the end of the month.

Dr de Beer, 59, is an executive director of Anglo American and chairman of Anglo American Properties, LTA and the Southern Life Association.

He will also resign from bodies like the Urban Foundation.

Dr de Beer is to lead the PFP from outside Parliament until he can find a seat.

He intends using the next few months to meet as many people as possible and pay particular attention to organising and fund-raising.

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6/8/88

NEWS

PARTY ELABORATES ON CONCEPT FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

by Frans Esterhuyse
Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party's concept of a new constitution for South Africa has been re-stated in policy proposals considered by the party's federal congress in Cape Town today.

The proposals are contained in an interim report from the PFP's constitutional review committee under the chairmanship of Professor Nic Olivier.

The committee, appointed by former PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin in August last year, includes Dr Zac de Beer, elected unanimously yesterday as the party's new leader.

A feature of the committee's proposals is an extension of the human rights concept to emphasise also constitutional rights. This is contained in a proposed "declaration of fundamental human and constitutional rights" which forms part of the committee's constitutional proposals.

Nothing final

Professor Olivier emphasised in an address to the congress today that the report was merely of an interim nature and nothing in it was final.

He said the thrust of the committee's thinking was to move away from the "perceived prescriptiveness" of the party's constitutional model for South Africa. The model to be presented would be considered alongside other models that should be considered by a national convention.

There was also a need to emphasise the importance of negotiation in seeking constitutional solutions.

The report said that very early in

the committee's deliberations it was recognised that the party's constitutional policy was poorly understood and had been widely misrepresented.

The committee had unanimously reaffirmed the party's fundamental policy that a new constitution should be drawn up by negotiation among accepted political leaders of all communities and political groups in South Africa.

The only non-negotiable principles on which there was to be no compromise were:

- Full citizenship rights for all, without discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex and religion; and

- No domination or persecution of one group by another.

Other key policy proposals include:

- The country's constitution must be based on, reflect and preserve "a truly liberal democratic form of government;

Voluntary basis

- Participation in the political process must be based on the principle of voluntary association — which would exclude the possibility of enforced membership of groups;

- The constitution should ideally be based on the principle of consensus;

- The party rejects violence as a means of achieving constitutional change;

- Because it rejects violence and subversion as a means of change, no organisation which, at the time a national convention is convened, advocates or uses violence or subversion would be invited to send representatives to the convention.

Theories lack 'sex appeal' party is told

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party's constitutional policy did not have the same "political sex appeal" as the Freedom Charter because it did not provide a vision of nation-building, said UCT political scientist Professor Andre du Toit.

Addressing the PFP's eighth federal congress on its second day in Cape Town today, Professor du Toit said there was little in PFP constitutional thinking to which a sane and reasonable South African could object.

So why did it not have greater political impact, he asked.

It was more than just a question of not having power that put the PFP's constitutional policy in the shade: without governing power the Congress Movement and the extra-parliamentary opposition broadly had used the

Freedom Charter to rally even organisations such as the Cape Professional Teachers' Association.

"The Freedom Charter shows how a document can serve as a mobilising instrument in ways in which your own doesn't succeed. The question is why not?"

Conflict emphasis

PFP constitutional thinking was based on the diagnosis that the problem in South Africa was conflict. PFP thinking sought to provide an alternative to political violence found through negotiation.

Conflict was without doubt a problem, said Professor du Toit, but there was a "defensive, insecure tone" in PFP policy.

On the other hand, the Freedom Charter tackled the very central problem: nation-building.

Epy the Beloved (white) Homeland

W/E Angus 6/8/88 204A

by JAAP BOEKHOOF

Weekend Angus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd is the man with the best-known surname in Morgen-zon, a spacious hamlet on the eastern Transvaal High-veld.

Like his late father, he is essentially a man of smiling, old-world courtesy.

"Dedicated" — the adjective most used during Dr Verwoerd's lifetime — fits the son perfectly.

In these days where some politicians are starting to pick up the word "volksstaat" with the ease their wives pick up new garden-party hats, the bearded Mr Verwoerd has become the prophet Moses of the white homeland movement.

A few months ago, he put his money where his mouth was and moved lock, stock and barrel with wife Alida and five children into a rented home in Morgenzon.

Optimistic

The band of Afrikaner Israelites we met there is still tiny. Even if they grow from the present 32 white homelander to 40, they will form a mere one-thousandth of one percent of all Afrikanerdom.

Never mind, says the beaming Mr Verwoerd, it is the molecule of an idea that can only spread until finally large parts of the eastern Transvaal and the north-eastern Free State become the Promised Land for whites from where blacks will vanish like dew with the first rays of the "morgenzon".

Mr Verwoerd, seated in his office behind a bookstore, where no black is allowed to cross the doorway, is all sweet reason as he explains his grand plan and kibbutz-like independence ideals.

Unconsciously you hear echoes of his father's voice unfolding his grand-apartheid design, of how the "Bantu" would start streaming back from cities to homelands by 1976 or so.

Suspicious

Sometimes there is a hint of criticism of the father, who had not foreseen the need for a white homeland, and one feels the son tries to be more Verwoerdian than Verwoerd, in the way that Albert Hertzog outdid his father, General Barry Her-



Guru and Moses — that's Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, namesake son of the late Dr Verwoerd and the Oranjevewerker supremo, has moved to Morgenzon to take his Israelites out of the multi-racial desert into a secure, peaceful white Canaan.

zog, in rightwing ideology.

HFV's Oranjevewerker secretary, Mr Ben van den Berg, is tacturn and suspicious. He says newspapers have made him and many Oranjevewerkers this way with all their "sink-stories" about the white homelander of Morgenzon.

Mr Verwoerd, by contrast, is friendly. "To realise our ideal," he says, "we'll have to make sacrifices in the short-term to enjoy the benefits in the long-term."

"And look at our right to a white volksstaat. If the traditionally scattered Ndebeles can have their Kwanabele, we Afrikaners have an even more natural right to a homeland as

well, and we've told the State President so in our request. "My late father would have agreed with our ideal now that his life's work of a white heartland has been abandoned. "As you know, my mother, Mrs Betsie Verwoerd, is honorary president of the Oranjevewerkers. "We have shown we can create white employment through our R50 000 glassfibre factory and that we don't need black workers here. "In my mother's house when I was a child, we used white domestics, together with a black garden worker. It is the same here.

DETERMINED TO FIGHT INVASION



Mr Gerhard Engelbrecht, a staunch CP scion, has vowed to fight Oranjevewerkers on all fronts, including his village stand, which he says has become worthless since Morgenzon was "invaded". "They've turned the clock back 100 years."

"White domestics have worked in our homes in Morgenzon and my eldest daughter, Marie, worked as a domestic for a professor's family in Pretoria. "Alida, my wife, runs her own boutique here in Morgenzon with white labour only. We don't sell to blacks... we just tell them this shop is for our own people and they accept it. "The volksstaat will come. But its size will depend on how the idea is accepted by our people and by English-speakers who identify with us.

"Yet, I believe we'll see important things in our lifetimes. In Morgenzon, the ratio of blacks to whites is still a relatively favourable four to one, but if we get a few hundred

white families to settle here the blacks will naturally move away to wherever there is work. "The bar of the Marnico Hotel represents the only nightlife of Morgenzon (apart from Street Buzz Takeaways Cafe with its black crowds — but, it turns off its lights at 8 pm). The visitor to the Marnico bar causes an instant riot when he innocently mentions the name Verwoerd or the colour Orange. When these townsfolk start discussing what they call the "lemoenmanneijes", the cacophony is loud and unprintable, the abuse overt and the "shinder" as hot as the roaring anthracite stove. "They've made a fool of our

START OF THE BIG EXODUS?



A black worker, plastic bag in hand, strolls out of town towards Ermelo, symbolising the great black exodus envisaged by the Oranjevewerkers.



Mrs Alida Verwoerd in her "no blacks allowed" boutique with a homelander assistant.

town all the way into Parliament. We don't need them. Since they came here, my sister and I can no longer sell our town plots," says Mr Gerhard Engelbrecht, staunch CP man and born-and-bred Morgenzonner, wiping the beer and foam from his imperial Kitchener moustache. "Did you hear what they did to Mrs X... please don't mention her name... when they came to her store and said stop

what to do.

Even the local Nederduitse Gereformeerde dominee is said to have become involved since giving a sermon from the Moe-derkerk pulpit in which he suggested even black helots must be accepted in Christ ("Sies" hissed some).

Meyrou Dominee's servant was kicked out of the Oranjevewerkers' bookstore because, like the boutique, it's for whites only.

Moreover, the parish has lost some 20 percent of its income since the Orange-men hived off to the all-white offshoot of the NGK, the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk. It has sermon readings, but no dominee yet, in the local primary school on Sundays.

Mr Engelbrecht continued: "You can guess how much tension and intrigue there is as a result of all this, especially in the town council. The lemoenmanneijes put up a candidate, Joos Jonbert, although not officially, during our May by-election, but they got a drubbing because the town's man, Louis Roux, beat him by 143 to 34 votes.

"Now, I've challenged their Dr Willem van Heerden to stand for the council in October under their own flag, so they'll get a second beating.

"It shows the town doesn't want these nosy outsiders. They're trying to set the clock back not 20, but a 100 years.

Stuck with erf

"Everybody knows that not one business here will make a living without blacks. Mrs X sells 75 percent to blacks and so it is all over town.

"With all this noise, the building societies don't want to give loans for houses any more and I'm sitting with an erf I will never be able to sell."

Together, we drove to the Oranjevewerkers' industrial showcase in Morgenzon, the white dorp-state on which they feel the sun will keep on rising, while the hecklers predict an early Orange sunset. It is Jortie Jordaan's fibreglass factory, into which the Oranjevewerkers sank R50 000.

A white worker met our inquiry and said: "Mr Jordaan? He's not here. Comes only once a week. He works in Brits. We just carry on alone making these water tanks, about three a week."

KwaThema residents form association to boost elections

By LULAMA LUTI

A RATE-PAYERS association has been formed in KwaThema to encourage people to go to the polls in the October municipal elections.

The organisation will be formally introduced to the public at a residents meeting at the HH Ngakane Hall at the KwaThema Civic Centre at 1.30pm tomorrow.

Spokesman for the association's interim committee, Steven Mbatha, said the meeting would discuss the duties of residents regarding the October elections.

He said various organisations had been invited to the meeting.

Mbatha said the association had been formed by concerned KwaThema residents who were responding to complaints about the personal ineffi-

ciencies of some members of the present town council.

"It will then be up to the community to decide whether the association is a worthwhile course or not," he said.

He said the reason behind the formation of the association was to involve residents in the civic matters of KwaThema. It was not only looking for councillors to take over where the others left off.

Mbatha said councillors had not accounted to the residents who elected them five years ago.

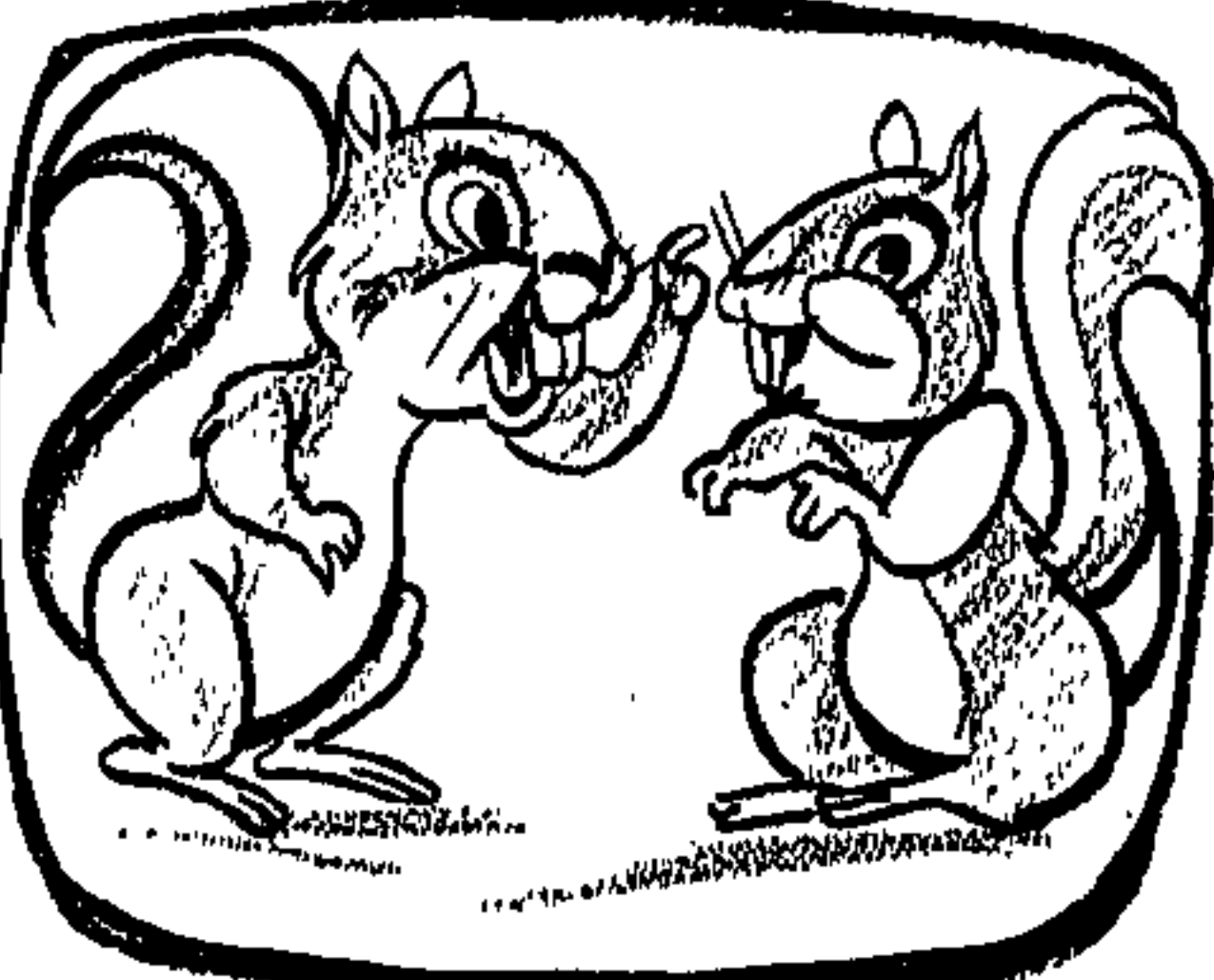
He said: "No mandate or action should be carried independently of the feeling of the residents - councillors should contact residents at all times."

● Law prevents City Press from publishing anti-election views.

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THE GOVTS NOVEL IDEA TO USE
SQUIRRELS IN THEIR TV CAMPAIGN
TO PERSUADE PEOPLE TO VOTE
IN THE OCT. MUNICIPAL ELECTION
MAY BE A FORERUNNER TO
OTHER TALKS...

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7/8/88



IF WE DO AS WELL AS CLIFF
SAUNDERS THEY MAY ASK US



TO TALK TO THE SOWETANS ABOUT
THE RENT, THE STRIKE, AND
THE CASPIRS... OR



THE ANC ABOUT RELEVANT
MATTERS

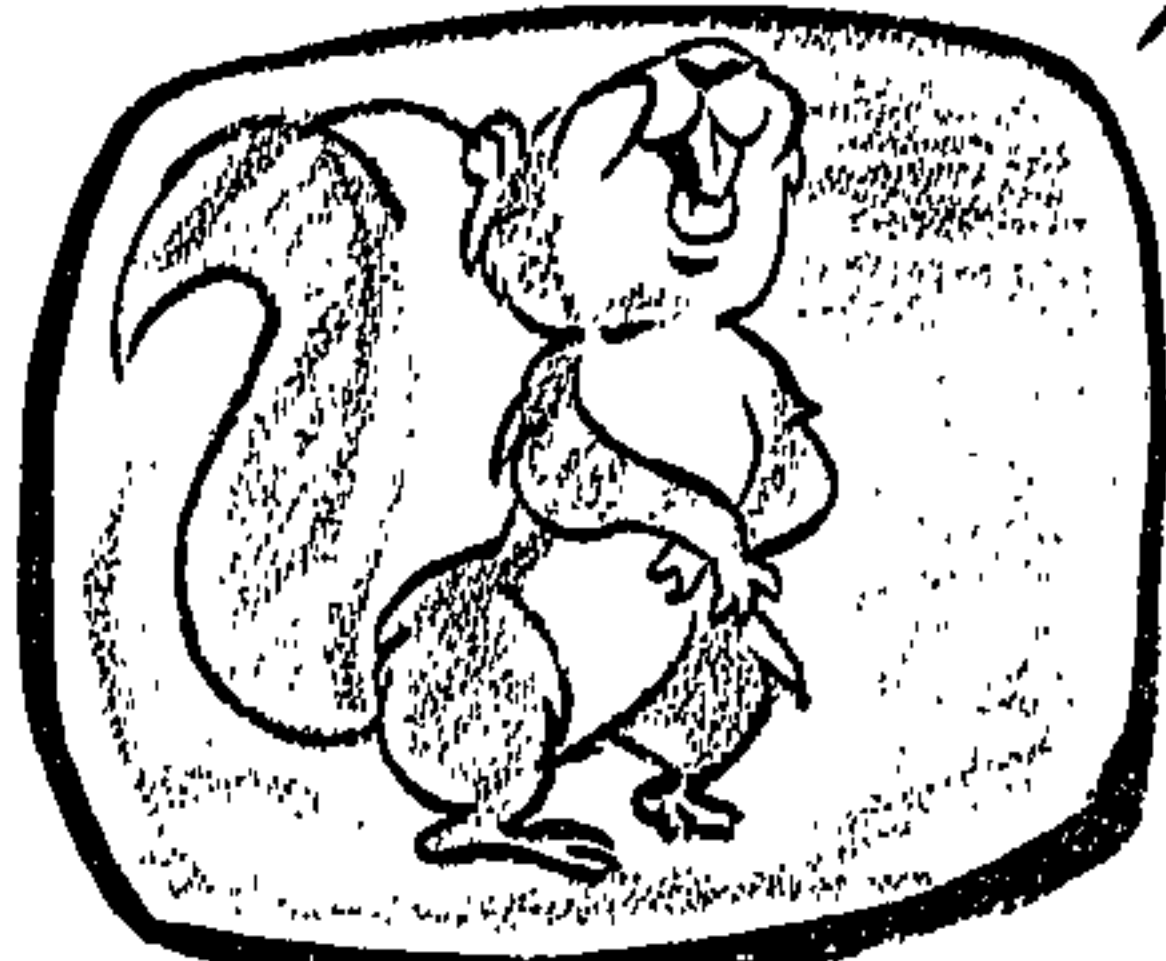
ME



OR TO ASK SIR RICHARD ATTENBOROUGH
NOT TO MAKE ANY MORE FILMS..OR



TO TELL S.AFRICANS TO STOP
SEEING PIRATE COPIES OF
"CRY FREEDOM"



OR TELL THE WORLD
TO GO TO HELL
AND SANCTIONS ARE BAD
FOR THE BLACKS

Bloody
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BUSINESS DAY, Monday, August 8 1988

'BLACK MINISTERS TO PAVE THE WAY'

GLEN SHELTON

GOVERNMENT proposals for the inclusion of blacks in the Cabinet could help prepare white opinion for more far-reaching change and lead to negotiations with "real" black leaders.

So argues Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre of Policy Studies at Wits, in a paper on various political or ideological strategies in a changing SA, released last week.

Schlemmer says the inclusion of black Ministers or Deputy Ministers in a general affairs Cabinet will be greeted with cries of outrage, both nationally and internationally, since it will be seen to threaten the prospects of participation of the "real" leaders of black people.

"On the contrary, it may facilitate eventual negotiation with the real leaders," he says.

Reassurance

One may postulate that so-called moderate blacks in the SA Cabinet will reassure many hesitant white voters that at least some black politicians can be on their side (a very necessary concept for any form of effective power-sharing).

It will make the idea of a mixed government seem increasingly 'normal' and it may even induce some of the recognised extra-parliamentary black leadership to begin thinking concretely about terms of negotiation.

He says the ultimate interest of white power will become increasingly vexed.

Schlemmer describes his article as a contribution to the critical assessment SA of strategies which are taken for granted or came from ill-thought-out popular wisdom.

He says there is a growing sense of the need for "more flexible, creative and realistic" strategies for change among key opinion-leaders within SA.

1988
NEW APPOINTMENTS AT

No kangaroo court for SABC man

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IRATE delegates attending the PFP's federal congress at the weekend had to be blocked in their bid to set up an impromptu "kangaroo court" to "try" SABC political correspondent Mr Andre le Roux.

During a heated debate on the SABC, delegates — incensed at what was described as "the distorted and blatantly misleading reporting of the first day of the congress" — started shouting interjections like "liar" and "coward" at Mr Le Roux.

Loud cheering greeted a suggestion by advocate Mr Isaac Smuts that Mr Le Roux, whose 90-second report of the previous day's proceedings was replayed to the congress, should be invited to explain to congress "what he perpetrated".

At this point, party chairman Mr Colin Eglin was forced to intervene, saying he did not feel it was appropriate to goad and taunt people invited to the

congress. He told congress that while he understood that feelings were running high, he did not think Mr Le Roux should be humiliated.

"But he humiliates us," a delegate interjected.

Mr Eglin responded: "Yes, I understand that, but we can't run kangaroo courts of the press here."

The party's information spokesman, Mr Peter Soal, said to applause: "For an instant medium to behave in this way is disgraceful and totally unacceptable."

"We should demand the right to answer what was done to us (the PFP) on television."

In his closing address to the congress on Saturday afternoon, the new leader of the PFP, Dr Zach de Beer, wore a protest sticker on his lapel proclaiming: "SABC news is still biased."

Parts of his address were carried on SATV that night, but there were no close-up shots of Dr De Beer, making it impossible for viewers to read the text of the sticker.

Govt in bid to list 'thought'

THE government's latest bid to create a register for journalists in SA was really a "thought register", the former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Raymond Louw, said at the weekend.

Speaking at the PFP's federal congress in Cape Town, Mr Louw said that unlike other professional registers, the register for journalist was not designed to lift standards.

Rather, it was intended to act against those who uncovered and published information the government wanted to keep secret.

'Desegregate all colleges'

THE waiting list of about 8 000 aspirant black teachers could be cut by half immediately if white teacher training colleges were opened to all races, the PFP's congress in Cape Town was told at the weekend.

This could be done at no extra capital cost because tens of millions of rands' worth of facilities at the white institutions were unused now, Mr Ken Andrew, the party's black education spokesman, said.

The congress unanimously approved a resolution calling on the government to desegregate teachers' training colleges and allow all races to train together.

Andrew still has position

MR Ken Andrew has retained his position as chairman of the PFP's federal executive, after a challenge for the key spot from Mr Peter Soal at the party's federal congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

Congress also elected three newcomers to the federal council. They are: Mr Mahmoud Rajab, MP for Springfield in the House of Delegates; Mr Bobby Godsell, labour consultant for Anglo American, and Professor David Welsh of UCT.

No rest for busy De Beer

Political Correspondent
THE PFP's new leader, Dr Zach de Beer, will become a pensioner at the end of the month.

But he has committed himself to a hectic schedule in a bid to rejuvenate his party.

To do so, Dr De Beer will resign as executive director of Anglo American and chairman of Anglo American Properties, LTA and Southern Life.

His busy schedule started almost immediately after his election on Friday with a series of interviews with local and international broadcast media, speeches, meetings and a press conference.

Policy has no sex appeal, says Prof

Political Correspondent

THE PFP's constitutional policy does not have the same "political sex appeal" as the Freedom Charter, according to Professor Andre du Toit of UCT's political science department.

In an address to the PFP's federal congress at the weekend, the professor outlined a variety of reasons why the party's constitutional policy was "not at the heart of political debate and practice in South Africa".

Professor Du Toit argued that one of the reasons why the PFP constitutional thinking was less popular was because its underlying diagnosis of the problem facing South Africa was conflict.

While conflict was indeed a basic problem, this nevertheless gave the PFP's policy a "very defensive, insecure tone".

The Freedom Charter, however, saw "nation building" as the central issue.

● The PFP's constitutional review committee is currently reviewing the party's policy.

Focus on seat for De Beer

CAPE TOWN — Zach de Beer, unanimously elected PFP leader at the weekend, takes up the reins with uncertainty over how he is to re-enter Parliament.

It seems he has set himself a year-end deadline to resolve this problem.

"One cannot lead (the party) indefinitely from outside Parliament," De Beer said on Friday.

He indicated he hoped to have resolved the issue by the time Parliament reconvenes next year.

It emerged from the PFP's federal congress here that no sitting PFP MP was prepared to give up his seat in deference to the new leader.

De Beer also made clear he did not intend to follow the easy route of taking the nominated seat held by Nic Olivier.

De Beer said he would certainly con-

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

sider Hillbrow should there be a by-election in the constituency.

Some party members said Parktown — De Beer's old constituency — might also be a possibility.

Current MP Marius Barnard has long expressed disenchantment with Parliament, and there are indications colleagues are pressing him to "put his money where his mouth is".

At a Press conference in Cape Town, De Beer said he would be relinquishing all his business ties and directorships at the end of the month to tackle the PFP leadership role full time.

His immediate task, he added, would

● To Page 2 ➡

Focus shifts to constituency for De Beer

be to "rev up" the PFP's fund-raising activities and to take a leading role in attempting to spread the party's leadership and influence to other left-of-government political groupings inside and outside of Parliament.

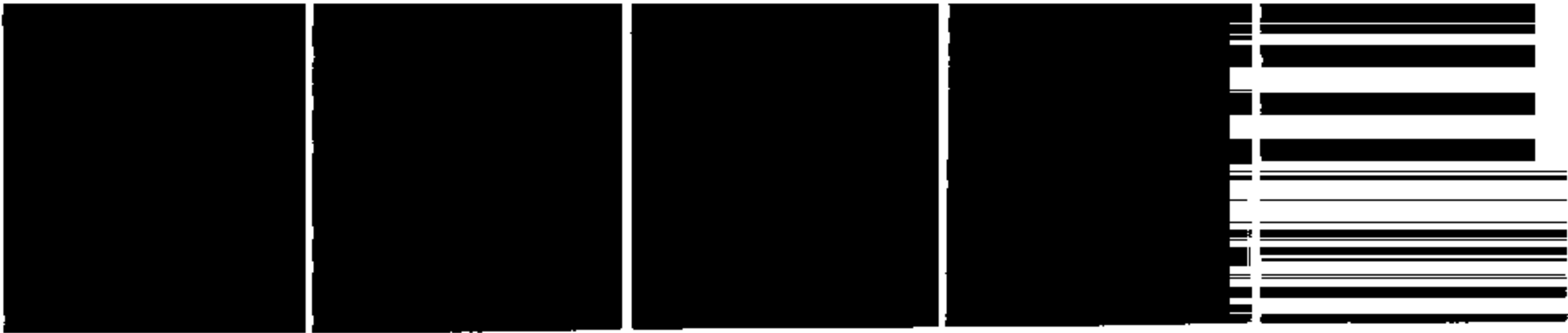
This would be in line with resolutions passed at the federal congress, and the sentiments also expressed by departing PFP leader Colin Eglin, who was appointed national chairman by a small majority over Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe.

De Beer said he would detail his own

policy approach as PFP leader at a public meeting in Cape Town tomorrow night. But he stressed that while his style may differ from Eglin's, his approach would not be substantially different.

From the tone of the congress, there is no doubt the PFP under De Beer's leadership is to concentrate on correcting its image on security and to push for developing a broad opposition alliance.

● See Page 4



The PFP's biggest headache continues

REC'd 8/8/88 (3044)

By BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party's future did not look any brighter after its leadership-changing national congress here this weekend, but its delegates were firmly convinced that the party's principles were the right ones and that they were non-negotiable.

Reports, particularly by the SABC, of major divisions in the party, were grossly exaggerated. Differences of opinion there certainly were on issues such as security, national service and co-operation with other political parties, but delegates of all persuasions scoffed at suggestions that the party was about to divide.

And SABC Political Correspondent, Mr Andre le Roux, found himself as a unifying factor after creating the impression in a television report that there were major divisions.

The congress as whole turned on him for what it considered one-sided and misleading reporting.

For years the major difference in the party, and the one that has raised more emotions than any other, has been the Defence Force and security generally.

And again at this congress the issues were raised, but this time both sides felt they had gained ground.

The youth wing of the party, which has been pressing hard for the scrapping of conscription and its replacement with alternative service, feels it has made significant gains with the acceptance for the first time as party policy the principle that there should be alternatives to military service for more than religious reasons.

The right wing of the party was quite happy to accept this. And it was even happier that for the first time a firm security policy was spelt out.

Anger

On top of this there was a motion endorsing the principle of hot pursuit and another saying the courts should be allowed to ban organisations whose members were found guilty of engaging in, fomenting or advocating violence, terrorism, insurrection, sedition or revolution.

The one public display of anger came when Mr Harry Schawrz, MP for Yeoville, who is considered the party hawk, reacted with irritation to a delegate who described the SADF as an "instrument of apartheid."

And a number of delegates, as has almost become standard practice over the past few years, hissed in return.

Problem

There is clearly growing concern amongst PFP members about the use of the SADF, particularly in the townships.

The reports of division in fact detracted from the congress and the attempts to tackle the problems facing the party.

The delegates accepted that the major problem of the party was the white public perception of the PFP as a

party that would sell them down the river — and the SABC's apparent strategy to maintain this perception.

But the congress did not manage to come up with any firm solution to the problem.

Outgoing PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said at the start of the conference that the party was based firmly on the principal of individual freedom, and all that this entailed, such as the rule of law. Under no circumstances should there be compromise on this issue, he said.

This was particularly the case in attempting to find some accommodation with other parties to the left of the government.

To a greater or lesser extent, delegates favoured working in closer co-operation with other political groupings both in and out of the parliamentary structure.

Impatience

But it was clear that there was growing impatience with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party.

Delegates conceded that Dr Worrall was ahead of the PFP in public opinion polls but felt that the IP was basically a "one-man show" that would be unable to fight elections effectively on a broad front.

Dr Zach de Beer's election as the new leader was unanimous. There was division, however, over who should be the party's chairman. Almost half the delegates, clearly looking for a new crown prince, sought to elect the younger Mr Tian van der Merwe, as party chairman. He lost out, surprisingly, by only four votes, to Mr Eglin.

PFP proposes united alliance

CHAI 7/1/58
8/19/58
304A

Political Staff

PROSPECTS of a multi-racial united opposition gained new momentum at the weekend with an offer by the Progressive Federal Party to merge for that purpose.

The concept has the backing of the three main liberal white parties.

But while Dr Zach de Beer of the PFP, Dr Denis Worrall of the Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement, all see it as an ideal, there is clearly a long way to go.

'Liberal values'

The PFP voted at its federal congress to "merge" if necessary into "a new non-racial, progressive party committed to the liberal values that the PFP has so stoutly defended in the past."

However, Dr Worrall saw the need for more than a merger and opted rather for a "realignment of forces across the colour line and one which can attract support away from the Nationalists."

Mr Malan was against "unification simply for unification's sake... but we would be the happiest to unite those with the same value systems".

The first referendum would be to



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Mr Malan was against "unification simply for unification's sake... but we would be the happiest to unite those with the same value systems".

The first requirement would be to bridge the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups before there could be a convergence of ideas.

He had had talks with the leaders of the PFP and would continue to seek common ground with them and others including those in the extra-parliamentary field.

He, like Dr Worrall, believed a "realignment was necessary".

Dr De Beer said in an interview after the congress: "While loyalty to a party is important, loyalty to principles is even more important."

He had been part of two previous opposition party mergers and what the end result was called was not important.

"What it stands for is," he said.

He wanted to "bring together those who belong together because of their inner convictions".

The PFP believed in equal human dignity, human rights, personal freedoms and the rule of law.

There were millions of South Africans who believed in the same things and all belonged in one strong organization.

Dr Worrall said yesterday that he was not dogmatic about what shape the co-operation between parties and movements took.

"For me what is absolutely essential is that it should be across the colour line... otherwise we are simply recycling the opposition vote."

Asked if he thought the PFP's clearer stand on security would enhance its own image and the possibility of a unified left opposition, Dr Worrall said it would depend on the perception of the public.

● No kangaroo court for SABC man — Page 2

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SA business alliance

JOHANNESBURG. — A consultative business alliance, which allows concerned business people "to play a more effective role in opposition to apartheid", has been formed after top-level talks between business, Cosatu and the United Democratic Front at the weekend.

The meeting took place over two days at an undisclosed venue outside Johannesburg. An alliance of businessmen, the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), was formed.

Mr Christo Nel, the workshop co-ordinator, said it had been encouraging to see businessmen getting to grips with political issues. He said that for many the meeting had been an eye-opener on the nature of grievances felt by these organizations. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Government should take long, hard look at itself

This Government should take a long, hard look at itself. Perhaps it would then be good enough to inform the long-suffering public whether it can find any connection between its actions and reason, logic, sanity, humanity and any understanding of the situation into which it has dragged South Africa.

Certainly it is difficult, if not impossible, for anyone outside the ever-narrowing corridors of power to discover a connection.

The Group Areas Amendment Bill, the Squatters Amendment Bill and the Slum Clearance Amendment Bill are on the Order Paper.

These are all designed to control with the utmost severity where people live, in the process destroying existing homes and evicting people who have nowhere else to go.

Open areas

The Government has become more hard-nosed than ever in its pursuit of apartheid, which it itself has declared dead.

The recognition of a few open areas, not for any humanitarian motives but because it is incapable of unscrambling the egg, is a recipe for overcrowding, exploitation and the creation of those very conditions it professes to be seeking to prevent — slums, squatting and fudged group areas.

Only the total abolition of the Group Areas Act will begin to provide the opportunity to house the homeless and avoid slums, although in itself it is insufficient to solve the crisis of homelessness.

But faced with such a crisis the solution settled upon by the Government is to destroy existing housing!

BY JOYCE HARRIS

Black Sash, Transvaal Region

If the Government cannot do better than it does, it should not be governing. And we know it. But we do nothing about it and some of us even vote for it!

To demolish shelters, no matter how pitiful, which people have erected for their families, is not only inhuman, it is also totally illogical. Upgrading existing housing, combined with the allocation and servicing of sufficient land, is part of the answer.

So much for the Government's handling of the housing problem — eviction, demolition, denial of meaningful access to the courts, influx control without even the few protective rights which existed before it was "abolished".

Then there is the ever-recurring issue of freedom of the press, which the Government obviously believes should be only as free as conforms with its own requirements. And so it bans and muzzles and closes down and now it is attempting to make all journalists register so that it can arbitrarily withhold their jobs if they talk out of turn.

It is presently having a rethink because it professes not to have meant what it said or said what it meant, but there is no guarantee these restrictions will not be implemented.

And what an unbelievable hash has been made over the film "Cry Freedom". It was always perfectly obvious that this film would never be seen by the general public. It points too strong a finger at the Govern-

ment and its methods.

But one would be hard put to find a more ham-handed method of withdrawing it from the public gaze than the invasion of cinemas by the police.

In any other "democratic" country Ministers of State responsible for such behaviour would feel constrained to resign, but here they continue to draw enormous salaries, enjoy all the perks of the job and the rewards of a golden handshake should they ever remove themselves from the scene.

It is therefore not surprising that they have become incapable of evaluating the repercussions of their actions or recognising the inhumanity, illogically and downright menace of so much that they do.

The Nationalist Government has destroyed this country. The economy is on the skids. Race relations are worsening by the day. Violence is endemic. There is no freedom. Everyone's rights are curtailed.

Divided house

But with its control of the media, especially radio and television, it is apparently still able to brainwash the public into believing that security lies in its hands, that it is blameless and hard-done-by, always right, knows all the answers and that the only threat to the country is from the right and the extreme left.

The Opposition should get its befuddled, divided house in order, work together and get this Government out, replacing it with a consortium that can try to right the wrongs perpetrated by 40 years of National Party rule.

9/8/88 Star 304A

LOCAL '88
ELECTION

Voting for a system

argues 9/8/88

3044

THE more you look, the more the October 26 municipal elections seem to rise from the mists of central government like Medusa's head.

Look long, although at your peril, because such is the complexity and confusion of the scheme that it threatens to seize the brain and turn it to stone.

On the other hand, look not and you run the equal risk of falling prey to the dangerous illusion that this is a municipal election like any other.

Clearly, it is not.

The major difference between this election and those of the past is that constitution builder Minister Chris Heunis has identified local government institutions as the crucial building blocks at the very foundation of constitutional development or "reform".

Unless local authorities of all population groups have their houses in order and functioning — separately — as planned, Mr Heunis' grand plan will not have a credible and legitimising base in the community ... or something like that.

Co-option

Interpreting Mr Heunis' design reveals that credibility is gained for reform when people see — and experience — local level representation in their "own" interests as democratic expression and self-determination.

In short, all population groups should now feel empowered at this level of government: they see the very people they have elected to office controlling sums of money destined to improve their immediate environment.

Some see it as a co-option strategy which identifies moderate black leaders (while popular black leadership is in jail and popular movements are hamstringed by the state of emergency) and furnishes them with money to promise and provide upgrading and services in their community for which these moderate leaders in turn win credibility.

The promise of "decision making at the highest level" — again, "for all South African's population groups" — is held out also through a complexity of other fragmentary bodies, some well entrenched.

The October 26 local authority election begs numerous questions. In this the second of a series of special articles DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Political Staff provides some of the answers to assist readers in piecing together a picture of this third tier government complicated by its division into four racially separate groups.



Chris Heunis

but wobbly on credibility, and some yet to be established.

These include the multi-racial Regional Services Councils, the houses of the tricameral Parliament and, in respect of blacks, through legislative and executive councils in the making to provide regional and "own affairs" authorities outside the 10 self-governing territories.

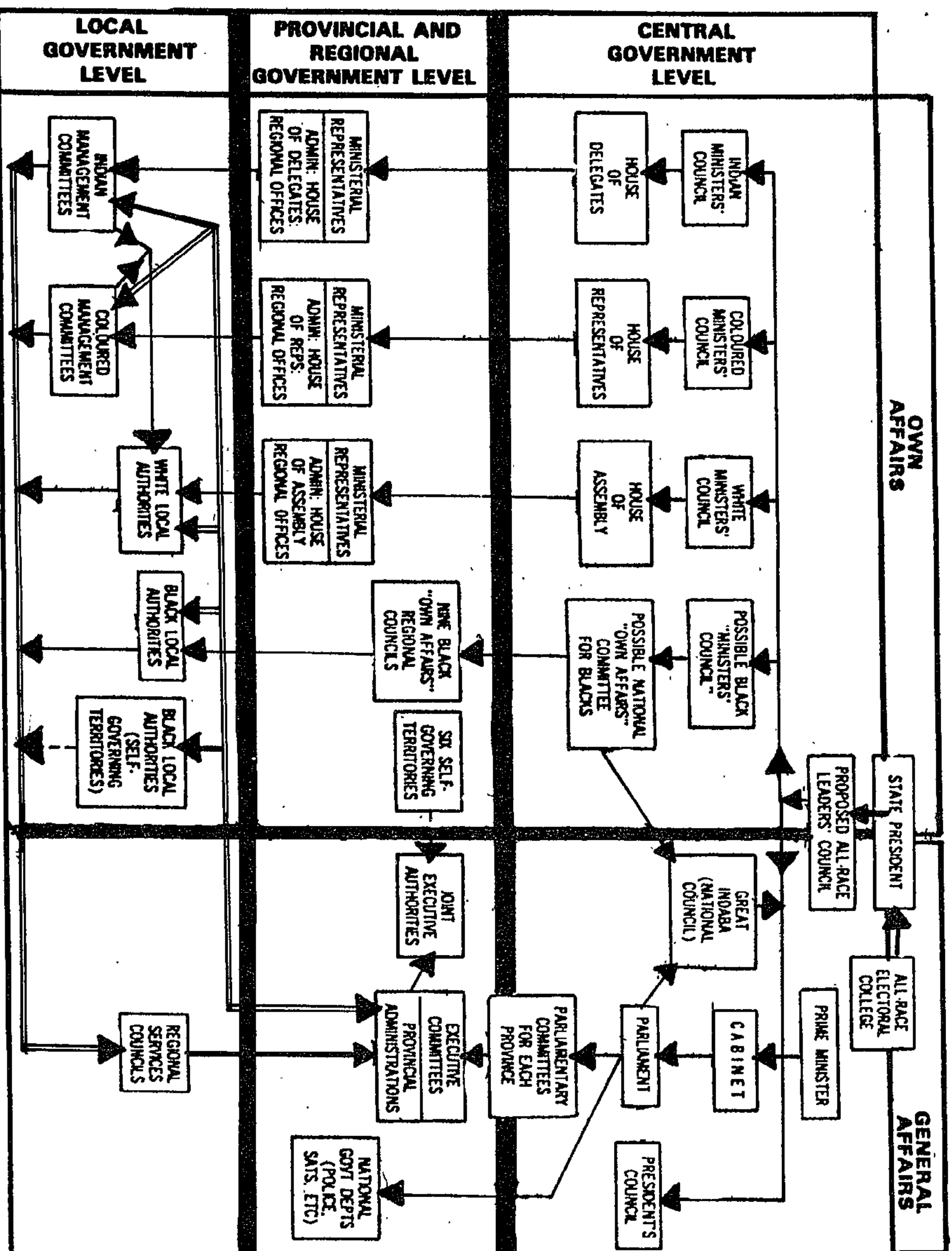
Catch-all term

But right at the bottom of this constitutional tower-in-the-making are those building blocks, the PLAs (primary local authorities) for which all South Africans go to the polling booths on October 26 to elect some 7 600 local authority representatives.

And the fact that all South Africans are doing it on the same day has been made much of in government circles.

But overshadowing the rhetoric of everyone doing it together is *consociationalism*, the clever catch-all term which both illuminates and obscures government political philosophy.

What this model means in its Heunis-adaptation is that all South Africans will indeed



This chart shows how the various levels of government are intended to relate to one another. The black bodies at provincial and central level (excluding the self-governing territories) are still in the proposed stage in terms of new legislation which envisages their creation.

be doing it on the same day but they will be doing it in four racially "own", divided and exclusive groups and in their "own" racially separate areas as determined by the Group Areas Act.

Unlike majoritarianism which, in effect, means one person, one vote, and unlike geographic federalism which accommodates regional differences across racial barriers, consociationalism offers the vision of a multi-cultural society in which political stability can only be achieved if the autonomy of each cultural group is maintained.

This is the thinking which

gave rise at the outset of all this constitutional shifting and shuffling and making in 1983 to that inelegant addition to the language: "own" and "general" affairs.

This introduces a confusing contradiction though: black local authorities are "own affairs" bodies because, clearly, they look after black interests. Strictly thought, in terms of the constitution, they cannot be "own affairs" bodies because they do not have representation within the tricameral system; they fall instead directly under Mr Heunis' department at central government.

Critics identify this as modernised apartheid and indeed, when you substitute "race" for "culture" as is the reality of this scheme in South Africa, the essential differences between apartheid and consociationalism become mere quibbles.

A political scientist at the University of the Witwaters-

rand Mr Mark Swilling offers a firmer grip on the meaning and implications of the consociational model:

"Own" affairs structures are created to facilitate the self-determination of each group at local, regional and central level. However, these cultural groups are also part of a single 'nation' and 'country'.

"It follows that structures are required to facilitate joint decision-making" at local, regional and central level — hence we have 'general affairs' authorities. In short, for consociational theory, political stability is ensured by fragmenting power vertically

into cultural pillars that are simultaneously autonomous and co-existent."

This, concludes Mr Swilling, is what the government means when it comes out with words like "co-determination" as opposed to classic Verwoerdian (and currently Conservative Party) self-determination on the one hand and majoritarianism on the other.

With PLAs all installed at the bottom of the constitutional structure, the great and complex diagram into which the country is to be made to fit starts to look a little tidier for its creators, a little more orderly as they would wish it.

9/8/88 P. Sawefan

Business to fight apartheid

gpa

A CONSULTATIVE business alliance — which allows concerned business people “to play a more effective role in opposition to apartheid” — has been formed after top-level talks between business, Cosatu and the UDF at the weekend.

A delegation of 40 business and professional leaders met with 40 members of “progressive” organisations including Cosatu and the UDF.

The meeting took place over two days at an undisclosed venue outside Johannesburg. an alliance of businessmen, the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), was formed.

According to the spokesman for the “progressive” group, former SACC chairman, Dr Beyers Naude, the formation of the CBM “represents a step forward in that it allows concerned business people to better engage with the forces for change and to play a more effective role in opposition for apartheid.”

According to a joint statement issued by Mr Christo Nel, who is the workshop co-ordinator, the workshop “was part of the business group’s ongoing consultative process aimed at exploring issues affecting the economy.”

Delegates to the workshop were not named but it is believed the businessmen included Mr Chris Ball, of First National Bank, Mr Mervyn King from Tradegro, Mr Naas Steenkamp from Gen-cor, Mr David de Villiers, a former Nasionale Pers MD and members of the Cape Bar, and a representative from Barlow Rand.

'South Africa is a society in conflict, a conflict that stems essentially from the recognition by many of the country's main actors that Verwoerdian apartheid has been a mammoth failure.

The reassessment of the values and norms which have guided South Africa politically, socially and economically for 40 years has in itself been destabilising...

The situation has been exacerbated by Government's grudging and painfully slow reform programme, threats posed by an increasingly bellicose and unrealistic rightwing, the near annihilation of extra-parliamentary groupings to the left of government and its inevitable consequence of boosting the pro-violence lobby, sanctions and disinvestment and the growing isolation of South Africa, politically, economically and culturally...

All this is reducing South Africa to more of a Third World society than a First World one — a recent newspaper article on the state of the rand concluded that in the last seven-and-a-half years the South African economy had worsened by an average 71 percent relative to the world's major industrial nations.

The tragic reality of all this is that South Africa is becoming a less attractive place in which to live for us all. Yet somehow we must muddle through this conflict, debate and rhetoric in pursuit of that dream — the post-apartheid society.

But there is no guarantee that post-apartheid South Africa will be a non-racial, industrial democracy — we may

THE HOUR HAS COME



MR Peter Wrighton

Black businessmen are told

well end up swapping one totalitarian regime for another, where

- The economy still does not grow quickly enough to meet demands;
- Where skilled people continue to leave the country in alarming numbers;
- Where productivity levels remain abysmal; and
- Where foreign investment is just a memory.

Avoid

How do we avoid this very real possibility? Business generally, but particularly black business, should now grasp the nettle of responsibility and gradually start taking the lead.

Some have already done it on their own,

FOCUS

others with the help of specialist organisations such as the Small Business Development Corporation, job creation, financial institutions and other organisations committed to liberating South Africa's entrepreneurial flair.

The quite dramatic rise of the South African Black Taxi Association is the perfect example of just what can be achieved. It has some 45 000 members and there are an estimated 60 000 unlicensed operators. And consider how it has spawned a range of support industries, from vehicle washing services to spares operators.

Ladies and gentlemen, we need more of the same. It is now time for you to step out of the shadow of paternalism and take your rightful place in the economy.

Learn

Black entrepreneurs should learn from 'establishment' big business as much as it can. They should look for possibilities for joint ventures... perhaps large corporations can sub-contract out certain services to independent operators which will provide additional employment opportunities.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thiboloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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ADDRESS by Mr Peter Wrighton, chief executive of the Premier Group at the Nafcoc 1988 conference at Sun City this week.

Entrepreneurs should carefully study the mission statements of the large corporations, and press them to live out those philosophies.

I would also like to see the trade union movement encourage its leaders to move into management positions... while this may sound heresy to some unions, and crazy to some businessmen, I believe it would have hugely beneficial consequences to both business and the union movement.

Wish

It is my earnest wish that a black man, on merit, will take my job one day as head of Premier. Because only then will the free enterprise system be safe in South Africa and the so-called 'white' companies lose their racial tag.

Labour/management interaction represents one of the few working examples of negotiation in South Africa, and it seems to me to be logical to extend this process even further.

Whatever the rhetoric, our future will not be built on smashing what exists in the romantic belief that a new order

can easily be created. Our future depends on developing a new approach to business, a new business culture, by building on the strengths of the past.

We desperately need to move away from present day strategies where business and the trade union movements see themselves as opponents... we need to move away from the sterile war of words on capitalism and socialism... neither is a holy cow, and what we ought to be doing is finding common ground and developing a new economic system that provides a South African solution to a South African challenge.

We have to recognise that black businessmen and women have laboured under almost impossible circumstances for decades... and it is really only in the last 10 or so years that gaps have emerged, that a window of opportunity has begun to show itself.

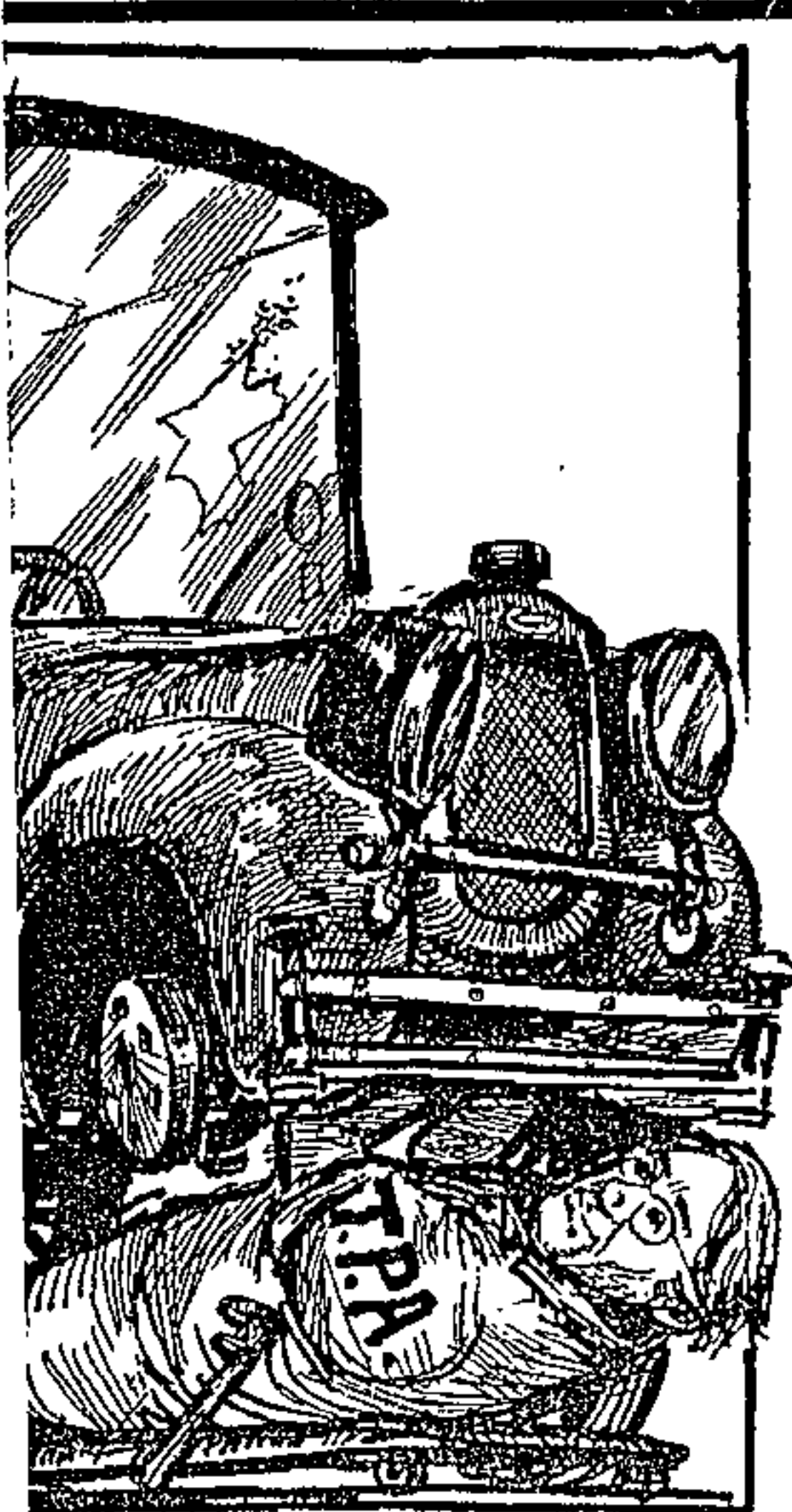
The response gives hope for the future.

Black entrepreneurs have hungrily taken advantage of opportunities that have emerged... thousands of carpenters, metal workers, dress-makers, upholsterers and other low capital intensive, independent manufacturers have staked their claim to a place in the sun.

Soweto Civic Association leader Dr Nthato Mollana told a business challenge seminar in Johannesburg earlier this year that blacks need to make money too.

Ladies and gentlemen, the future has already begun... the process has started towards the society we are striving for. Whatever investments we are making, be they good or bad, will inevitably affect the future society we are all waiting for.

Let us grasp that future now and steer it to a brighter deal for us all!



BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, August 10 1988

Political alliances are new PFP leader's main aim

CAPE TOWN — PFP leader Zach de Beer said last night one of his main objectives was to use his position to forge new alliances with political groupings to the left of the NP.

In his first public policy speech since being elected to the PFP leadership, De Beer emphasised the main task he had set himself was to "bring together (all) those who by inner conviction belong together".

De Beer told a public meeting he

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

believed party loyalty was both desirable and valuable.

But he also said in the final instance "the highest value in politics is not loyalty to party, but loyalty to principle".

Taking a leaf out of the dictum according to past NP leader D F Malan, whom De Beer described as perhaps one of the most successful party leaders, he said it was now the PFP's

intention to strive to "bring together those who by inner conviction belong together".

"That is the task I am setting myself. Every South African who truly believes in equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law belongs with us."

The PFP would continue to strive to apply these three principles politically under his leadership.

De Beer said equal dignity implied

equal rights — and as long as equal dignity was denied, he feared peace would elude SA.

In the case of personal freedom, De Beer said some progress had been made in this regard in SA, with the dismantling of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts by President P W Botha's government but, at the same time, the "great example of a personal freedom that is still denied is the Group Areas Act".

IN BRIEF

Continued stringent controls 'unacceptable'

LOCAL
ELECTION '88

In Search of credibility

The October 26 local authority election begs numerous questions. In this the third of a series of special articles DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Political Staff provides some of the answers to assist readers in piecing together a picture of this third tier government which is complicated by its division into four regionally separate groups.

ON October 26, voters might, in the tradition of good faith, elect someone to municipal office because they believe he or she will represent them well in respect of most essential municipal services. Technically though, their representative might lose control of those essential services the very day after the election. If not, the likelihood that their representative will still control these services at the end of the new five-year term of office seems slight indeed.

The sword of Damocles hanging over this primary local authority (municipal) election and unseen by all but the most suspicious is the looming presence of Regional Services Councils in the constitutional design for local government.

RSC legislation makes provision for these newly created third-tier levels of government to take control of some 21 important local government functions plus a broad 22nd catch-all category.

Agency basis
These services to be absorbed are presently, for the most part, controlled by white municipalities and it is the administrator in each province who decides which services shall be taken over by the RSCs.

There is provision too for the RSCs to take control of the services but to employ the local municipalities (which, after all, have the existing infrastructure) to carry on providing these services on an agency basis.

It is argued by the creators of RSCs that they are on the same level as primary local authorities and in horizontal relationship to these bodies.

If one accepts the logic that a local government body is presently empowered by the services it controls and provides, and that the provision of these services has enormous implications for its financial strength, then the RSCs must obviously be a

threat to the strength of primary local authorities which are destined to lose service control to RSCs.

Now all this might not be so bad and might be seen simply in the interests of regional rationalisation if the RSCs were democratically elected bodies, and if they were directly accountable to the people they serve.

This, however, is not the case. RSC members are appointed from the ranks of primary local authorities and their chairs are appointed by the administrator.

When RSCs were first introduced they were intended as local government extensions of the tricameral system. Black local authorities were to be separate and self-financing autonomous bodies linked to the homelands through which blacks were to have political expression and national level "rights".

Mistake

Clearly this was a mistake, as illustrated by the township rent and service boycotts which began in 1984 and which a number of analysts argue were a direct response to the key state subsidy cuts which forced black councilors to increase rent and service levies.

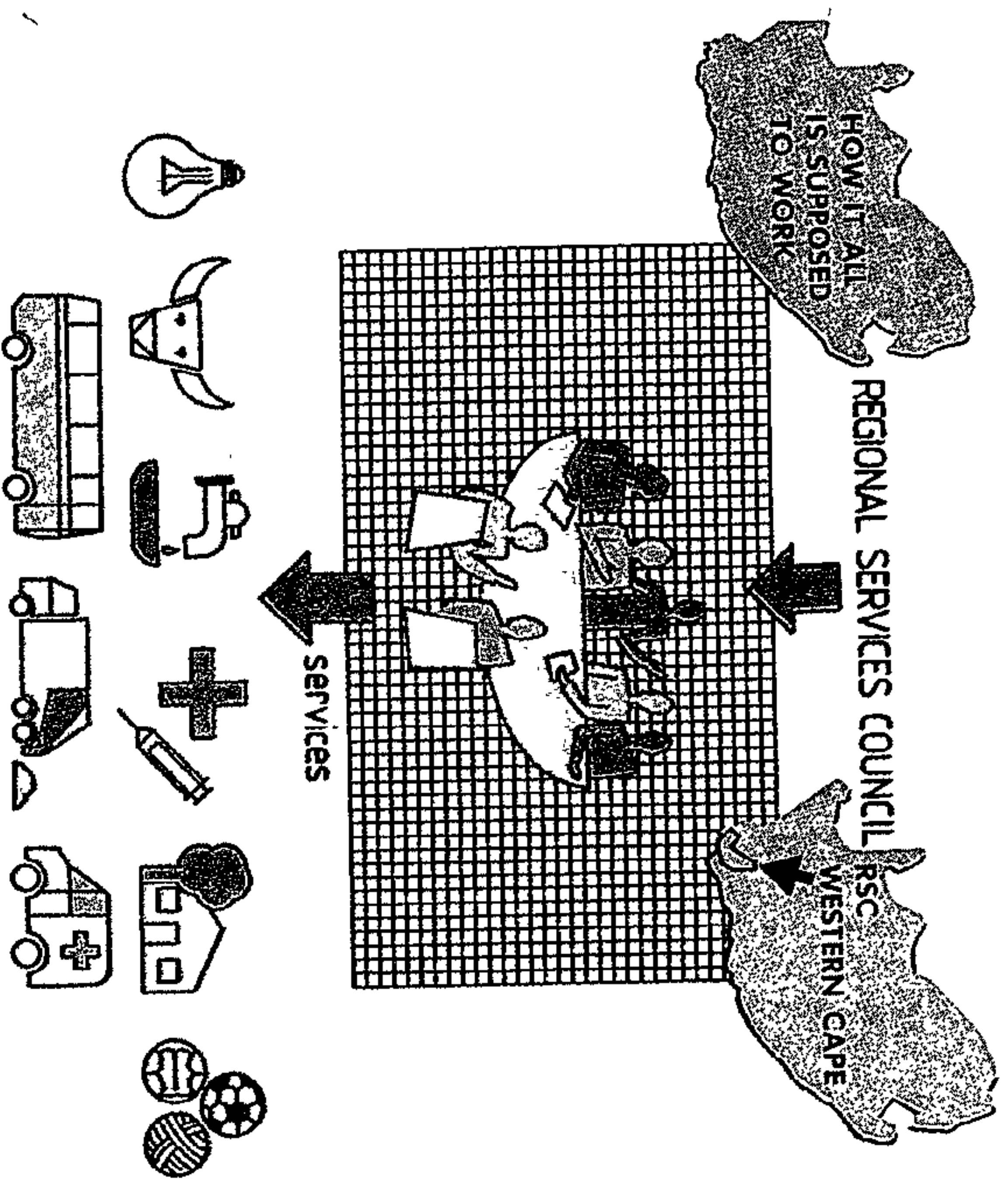
So black local authorities were incorporated in the RSC plan and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis introduced this legislation saying RSCs were intended to look after the joint provision of services, the redistribution of wealth to poorer black and

coloured areas and to facilitate multi-racial, consensus politics.

The government of course makes much of the multi-racial boast, but the voting powers of each local authority on the RSC is determined by the amount of services consumed by that area introducing an immediate bias in favour of the wealthier areas.

In the Western Cape, the character of the RSC has proved to be significantly different from its Transvaal and Free State counterparts because of the continued existence here of the huge Divisional Council bureaucracy, observes UCT political scientist Robert Cameron.

"You've got a massive bureaucracy just sitting there waiting to take over RSC functions and it will apply pressure to absorb as many of these as possible to feed that bureaucracy," says Mr Cameron. "It's obviously the RSC's intention to become a strategic body."



In the Transvaal and Free State, the RSC bodies are more preoccupied with the other part of the RSC brief — the directing of funds for the upgrading of black townships.

The provision of funds to black local authorities cannot be taken simply at face value. Mr Cameron's voice is joined by Wits political scientist Mark Swilling and many others in the analysis of this as a means of co-option of moderate black leaders and, in turn, as a means of winning political credibility for them and hence political credibility for the government's reform strategy.

This is very much a part of the WHAM — winning the hearts and minds — thinking integral to the cloaked actions of that other aspect of government, the Joint Management Committees which fall under the National Security Management System.

There is obviously no official relationship between the RSCs and the JMCs, but logi-

cally a few questions are begged here. And given the relationship between RSC and primary local authorities, the nature of municipal elections begins to look a little more sinister.

"The government has got to win legitimacy for black local authorities if it is to establish political legitimacy," says the whole dispensation," says Cape Town city councillor Mr Clive Keegan.

Squirrels

Black local government is in a state of total collapse and everything possible has to be done to re-establish this base, says Mr Keegan. (This must at least in part explain the squirrel advertising campaign orchestrated by the Bureau for Information and the fact that government officials have twice so far invited themselves on to black radio nationwide to field questions about the elections.)

Mr Keegan too affirms the view that the development of

SERVICES and functions which legislation provides might fall under the control — direct or indirect — of a Regional Services Council.
Bulk water supply; bulk electricity supply; sewerage works and mains; land usage and transport planning; roads and storm-water drainage; passenger transport services; traffic matters; abattoirs; refuse dumps; fresh produce markets; cemeteries and crematoriums; ambulance and fire-fighting services; health services such as clinics; airports; civil defence; libraries; museums; recreational facilities; environmental conservation; promotion of tourism; the provision, upgrading and maintenance of other infrastructural services and facilities; other regional functions.

SERVICES and functions of which primary local authorities (and a presently powerful body like the Cape Town City Council is a primary local authority) remain in control once RSCs have taken over some or all of the functions which the RSC legislation says they may:
Housing; the setting and collecting of services and rates; parks; local reticulation of water and electricity; local roads; local health; business licensing; local beaches and recreational facilities.

economically backward areas is a security issue and obviously black local authorities are an indispensable player in the upgrading strategy as delivery fronts for improvements and as bulwarks against radicalism.

Mr Keegan concurs further with Mr Cameron's analysis of the differing roles played by the RSCs.

"In the Western Cape, the infrastructural function of the RSC is just not happening because it is so utterly burdened with the old Divisional Council."

Among the important "general affairs" functions which the RSC sword of Damocles may chop after the election and take over either directly or indirectly are bulk water and electricity supply, sewerage, planning, big roads, transport, libraries and of course, the collection of regional tax.

Primary local authorities are designed to look after "own affairs" housing, the setting and collecting of services and rates, parks, local reticulation of water and electricity, local roads and local health and, therefore, compared to the functions of the old municipalities, could have

considerably diminished powers in the future.

Mr Cameron argues that while all the attention given to the restructuring of local government levels is claimed to be in the interests of decentralisation, the more Mr Heunis' plan is put into operation, the greater the centralisation.

The RSC Amendment Act gives the Administrator discretionary powers to re-appoint votes on the RSC and also to compel the chairman (who the Administrator appoints anyway) to refer any matter on which a majority cannot be obtained to him for a final decision.

Says Mr Cameron: "It is highly likely that these amending clauses were included to promote centralised control and prevent liberal-oriented local authorities (like the Cape Town City Council, an old foe of all metropolitan apartheid), as well as right-wing ones controlled by the Conservative Party, from using their numerically powerful voting strength to control the RSCs."

Mr Cameron reminds too that the man appointed chairman of the Western Cape RSC is Nationalist politician Mr Pietie Louber.

Worrall makes a rallying cry for the next general election

BRUCE ANDERSON

IT was entirely possible, given the growth of the CP, to achieve a hung parliament in the next election in which no party would hold a majority, IP leader Denis Worrall said in Benoni last night.

Worrall said to achieve that objective, and force the NP from power, it would be necessary for the "creative opposition across the colour line to be harnessed into a single fighting force that disenchanted NP members feel they can be part of".

Such a force, committed to a non-racial, democratic and free-market SA, could change the government in the next general elec-

tion and start a process of negotiation.

Negotiations should include all organisations and parties which rejected violence as a political strategy. All the major constitutional choices, including the ideal of an Afrikaner state and a constitution based on the Freedom Charter, should also be included in the process.

Worrall said the IP was "profoundly aware of the urgency of bringing about a change of government in SA".

Assocom: At variance with growth

Group Areas amendment bills 'unacceptable'

CAL T-115 10/1/88 304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in South Africa (Assocom) has issued a strongly worded statement on the Free Settlement Areas Bill, the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Group Areas Amendment Bill.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday, Assocom said: "Although the draft legislative measures contain certain positive elements towards removing discriminatory legislation in South Africa, they can and are, in fact, perceived to envisage stringent group areas control in perpetuity, which Assocom regards as unacceptable.

"In our view, the bills give no indication of any commitment towards the abolition of remaining discriminatory measures and we cannot accordingly support a number of aspects".

Assocom went on to say: "We are furthermore extremely disappointed that effect has not been given to the President's Council report concerning unfettered rights of ownership and occupation by all race groups in respect of all land, buildings and premises zoned for trading, commercial and professional purposes, an omission which we regard to be totally at variance with the principles underlying the free enterprise system."

The organization also said: "Assocom also foresees imple-

mentation of the proposals giving rise to larger and more costly public service, with arbitrary powers at official levels to affect the social and economic welfare of large sectors of the population, a state of affairs which could impede rather than hasten the elimination of the remaining racial barriers in our society".

Assocom pointed out that expectations have to be created with South Africa's trading partners that the country is on the road to reform.

"Measures seen to be tightening rather than dismantling Group Areas legislation and controls will undoubtedly give extra impetus for the calls for disinvestment and sanctions and cause irreparable harm to the economy". — Sapa

'Civilized values' will bring peace

CAP. Tint 10/8/88 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS would achieve peace, prosperity and security only once the "civilized values" of equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law were implemented, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

In his first public address since becoming party leader at the weekend, Dr De Beer said every South African who truly believed these values "belongs with us (the PFP) — nowhere else".

Speaking at the Gordon's Institute in Mowbray, Dr De Beer said South Africa under National Party rule was on a steady downward path.

"Unless we change that direction, our future is a permanent state of emergency because there is no peace, a continuing creeping impoverishment because there is no prosperity and a constant state of anxiety because there is no security.

"But if we find the courage to turn around and go the other way, there is the real hope of a high road to a better life."

A better life was based on the civilized values of equal rights,

personal freedom and the rule of law — "values which are being betrayed daily by our government".

By denying people their full rights they became labelled as inferior, and "that person will reject, oppose and fight your community".

"Equal dignity implies equal rights — and as long as equal dignity is denied, I fear that peace will elude South Africa."

He described the Group Areas Act as "a grossly one-sided, discriminatory infringement of personal freedom".

Personal freedom involved the right to choose one's friends, one's place, one's lifestyle and one's political company.

'Rule of law smashed'

The rule of law meant that "no one should be deprived of his liberty save after a properly constituted court has heard his case and found him guilty of committing a legally defined crime with which he has been formally charged".

Today the rule of law had been "smashed to smithereens" in South Africa. "There are hundreds, if not thousands, of our compatriots who are incarcerated, having had no charge laid

against them and having gone through no trial."

Dr De Beer noted that New Nation editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, had been held for over two years "in flagrant defiance" of the rule of law, and that Mr Vusi Khanyile, special assistant to UCT Vice-Chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders, had been held for nearly as long.

"If there is to be any hope of peace in our country, there must first be visible justice — and without the rule of law there can be no such thing."

He asked his audience if peace was possible while the "effective franchise" was in the hands of only 15% of the people and while "prominent, popular people lie for years in prison without trial or charge".

South Africa under National Party rule was suffering from "creeping poverty", with the income of the average citizen having declined by more than 11% since 1981.

"As long as a white government in our country clings to its racist domination, it will lead through creeping poverty to weakness and loss of control and ultimate disaster."

© Mrs De Beer speaks — Page 8

22/10/78

Star

10/10/78



The crowd leaves an Independent Party meeting addressed by Dr Denis Worrall after three teargas canisters are thrown into the packed hall by a group of young men claiming to be Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters. The group of men started heckling almost immediately after the meeting began. (Inset) Teargas spreads through the venue.

(3047)

See Page 6.

22/10/78

CAPL-TinB 11/8/48
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Police hold several after IP meeting's disruption

JOHANNESBURG. — Police held and questioned several people after the disruption of an IP meeting in Benoni last night when a group of men shouting "AWB" and "KP" threw two canisters of teargas into the hall where the meeting was being held.

However, a spokesman for the Pretoria police said they had been released without charges being laid.

Reacting to the incident, Dr Denis Worrall said it was the state's duty to ensure that people could hold lawful meetings without disruption.

The hall was evacuated, but the meeting continued in the foyer later. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Linda dishes soup to win votes

South
5-11-88

304A

PORT ELIZABETH. — Ex-mayor Tamsanqa Linda this week dished up soup to pensioners to win votes in the October municipal elections.

Several pensioners said the former Ibhayi Town Council mayor told them they should not vote in the elections if they were satisfied with the appalling conditions they lived under in the Kwazakhele hostel.

The hostel has poor toilet and electricity facilities, and pot-holed streets.

Stebha Mbelwa said Linda organised a soup kitchen and served the pensioners personally "to obtain votes from them".

Pensioners said he linked upgrading projects in the townships to the need for people to vote and attacked P W Botha for providing shacks for blacks.

On television

"He asked us who would give us houses if we didn't vote."

He promised the pensioners he would use the "little experience he gained abroad" should they vote for him.

Linda also attacked Ibhayi councillor Jimmy Nako.

"He asked us if we ever saw Nako on television. He told us we only saw him on TV because he was so clever.

"Linda promised to slaughter some sheep for us at the next meeting."

Supporters who accompanied Linda to the meeting shouted slogans, sang hymns and referred to him as "Gqudulentsimbi" (The Iron Knobkierie), pensioners said. — PE NEWS

From the laager to the Freedom Charter

WHEN Jan van Eck first arrived in South Africa as a six-year-old Dutch boy, he hid under his mother's dress when he saw blacks.

"I associated blacks with a character called Swarte Piet, whom parents used to scare children in Holland," he says.

"Later, I feared blacks because of other reasons, like the propaganda to which whites are exposed in this country."

Van Eck, who grew up as a National Party supporter and went on to become a member of parliament for the Progressive Federal Party, feels he has now transcended that fear.

"I've realised that the aspirations of whites and blacks are the same. And I've learnt to identify with black aspirations."

This led to his pledging his support for the Freedom Charter at a recent public meeting.

Cradock funeral

"Whites generally fear blacks. They see white and black aspirations as irreconcilable and contradictory, and they believe one must be dominant," he said.

"The state has actively ensured that whites remain scared of blacks."

"This fear disappears only when whites realise that white and black aspirations are the same."

He points to the incidents which made him realise this. These include the first time he sat next to blacks in church, the funeral of four Cradock leaders, and the arrest of Dr Allan Boesak and other clergy on their way to a funeral in Guguletu.

It was a far cry from life in Bonnievale where he was raised and completed his schooling.

Van Eck's father, Herman, was a music teacher and an organist in the NG Kerk.

"My father always questioned authority and taught me to be critical. I suppose that was a fundamental flaw in my makeup," he said.

Became a teacher

He originally wanted to become a minister in the NG Kerk, but eventually became a teacher.

"I spent my first year at Stellenbosch University in a residence where there were only Nat supporters, even though I had never joined the party."

"The next four years I moved into a private residence where, for the first time, I lived with people who had different points of view."

"I stopped supporting the Nats in my second or third year at university but did not join the Progressive Party, although I agreed with Helen Suzman."

"I was too scared to join the PP because I felt it was a party for English-speaking people — and I had failed English Special three times."

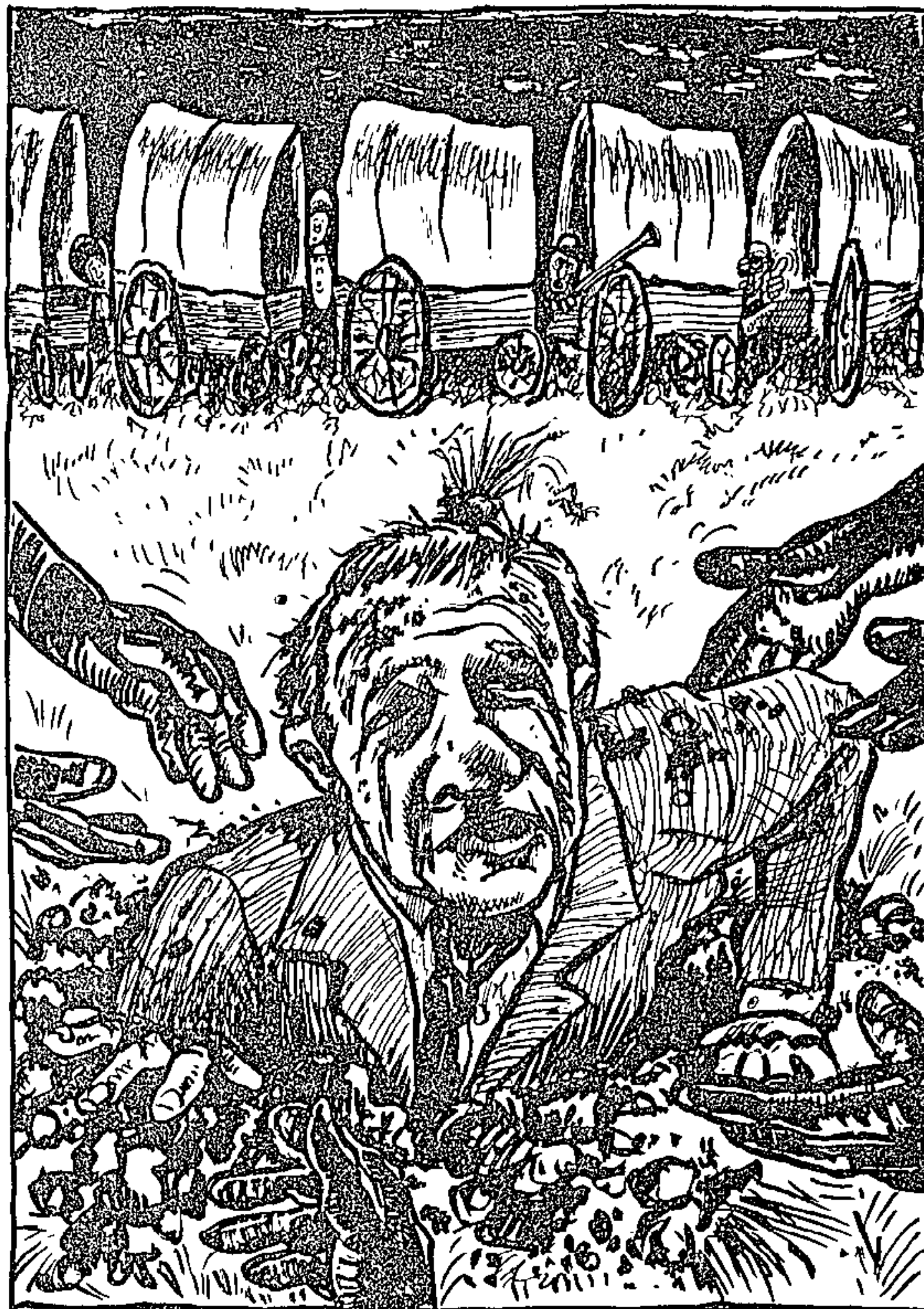
"At Stellenbosch, I was influenced by Andre Hugo, a professor in classics who left the National Party but retained other links with the Afrikaner community."

"I left Stellenbosch in 1966 to teach in a government school in East London. By then I was already strongly anti-government."

"One day, one of the teachers

Independent member of parliament Jan van Eck spends as much time in his constituency as in the townships.

"I've realised that the aspirations of whites and blacks are the same. And I've learnt to identify with black aspirations," he told RYLAND FISHER



invited me to a Presbyterian Church in East London. I sat next to a black couple in church. It was the first time I had sat next to black people."

"I stopped going to the NG Kerk even though I was still a member. I began attending the Presbyterian Church."

"My first son, Bernard, was baptised in the NG Kerk in 1970 but I soon cut my links with that church."

Van Eck joined the Progressive Party in 1971 after the election of Colin Eglin as leader.

"In his acceptance speech, Eglin said he wanted the party to attract the modern city Afrikaner. This appealed to me and I began to see it as my political home."

"I left teaching early in 1971 because I had become too political for the classroom."

He launched and edited Deurbraak, an Afrikaans journal of the Progressive Party, from 1971 to 1986 when he became an MP.

Van Eck became the provincial councillor for Groote Schuur in 1981.

"Two members of our party's caucus in the provincial council had a major effect on me, Molly Blackburn and Di Bishop. Both came to the council with vast experience of black politics."

"In July 1985, Molly Blackburn asked me to go with them to funeral of Cradock leaders Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli."

"I went, I saw and I was conquered."

"As a white person with fears, I was incredibly surprised by the warmth and acceptance shown by

the community of Lingsihle.

"There were 50 000 people at the funeral and as I was walking back I felt alone until I realised that there were other people to talk to."

"Cradock was the beginning of change for me."

"Soon afterwards, I was sitting at home one Saturday when I heard over the radio that Allan Boesak and some other priests had been arrested on their way to attend a funeral in Guguletu."

"I rushed out to Manenberg police station and arrived there in time to see them being driven away. I remember the clenched fists through the windows of the police vehicles."

"Since then, I have been involved in unrest monitoring on a daily basis as chairman of the Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee."

"I became actively involved in the

townships and my constituency now was no longer only whites."

"It caused a dilemma. Involvement in the oppressed community has a price."

"One can't remain aloof. One has to operate in a way that's acceptable to the community. Missionary politics is not enough."

"I started moving away from the PFP. I wanted to identify with the struggle for freedom of people in the township."

"My own position was that one had to choose unashamedly on the side of the oppressed. So I resigned from the PFP in August last year."

Van Eck sees his support for the Freedom Charter as a "natural consequence" of his involvement in the community.

"I've been intensely involved in the community since 1985. It has been a privilege to have that experience."

"I've learnt what democracy really means. With whites it's easy to leave everything to a few, but people in the community want to be consulted about all decisions."

"Whites in South Africa can be enriched by this experience."

"I am hopeful everytime I come back from the townships, when I realise how easy it can be for white South Africans to come to terms with the aspirations of the majority."

"My role as a parliamentarian is to convey this realisation to as many whites as possible."

No hostility

Van Eck said his participation in parliament was not considered "an issue" by people in the townships.

"Most people have accepted that in the white community parliamentary participation is not an issue."

"The issue is not whether you vote or not but who you vote for. Some people would prefer me not to be in parliament but it is not an issue."

"It used to be difficult in the beginning, but it has become less of a problem the longer I have been involved."

"There is no hostility, but it may become an issue one day."

"My participation in parliament is not a principle. I am using parliament to express the reality of South Africa to uninformed whites. I'm doing exactly the opposite of what the State of Emergency is trying to do."

"I suppose I would make people like PW Botha happy if I left parliament."

The response from his constituency to his political stand has been positive, he said.

"I have not changed much. If I had to fight an election today, I would be convinced of retaining my seat."

Van Eck said he spent as much time in his constituency as in the townships, which were "like different worlds".

"One day I was at a meeting in Langa to discuss the situation at KTC where people were dying. I had to leave early to attend a constituency meeting in Kenilworth where they were discussing a new petrol station for the area."

"Whites are allowed the luxury of these discussions because they are not aware of the crisis in this country. It shows how divorced the white community is from blacks."

Govt gifts win few hearts

From JOHN KHUZWAYO

DURBAN. - Stickers, T-shirts, caps and oranges distributed by the government in Lamontville and Chesterville to "win the hearts and minds" of the residents have been destroyed by township youths.

Many residents have interpreted the gifts as sweet-talk for the coming municipal elections.

The apparel - emblazoned with the words "I Love Chesterville-Ningizimu" - were distributed by the township manager - and the oranges by another department.

While some people accepted the "free gifts", many youths squashed the oranges and collected as many of the caps, T-shirts and stickers as possible and burnt them outside the SADF camp in Chesterville.

According to Chesterville township manager, Mr Andrew Barrowman, the free goods had been supplied from the Department of Education and Training's office in Mayville.

Handouts

"The department was trying to show some goodwill towards the people and we distributed more than 1 000 in an hour - the people seemed to love them," he said, adding that he had no knowledge of youths burning some of the goods.

Last week's handouts appear to be part of a multi-pronged "hearts and minds" campaign by the authorities to "convince" black voters to participate in the municipal elections.

In Lamontville and Chesterville, two of the 18 Natal black townships taking part in the October elections, the authorities are using other means to get residents to attend meetings publicising the elections.

It is claimed that residents of the two townships were called to a meeting purportedly to be informed of new houses and pensions.

A young Chesterville mother of four, who did not want to be named, said: "We left for the meeting with our hearts beating fast, filled with new hopes of getting our own houses."

Too small

"But when we got to the meeting, it turned out to be something completely different. Instead of telling us about new houses, a white man showed us a video tape with beautiful houses, sportsfields and many other amenities which we so desperately need."

She said that after the video show, the residents at the meeting were told that if they voted for the best councillor, and the one in which they had faith, they would get all the things that had been shown on the screen.

Commenting on the report, the only councillor for Chesterville, Mr Edwin Themba Ngubeni, said he attended the meeting, but he was unaware that residents had been unaware it was election meeting.

"I was under the impression that the 40 or so residents at the meeting were aware of why it had been called," he said. — PRESS TRUST OF SA

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Scaph

88/11-5

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LOCAL ELECTION '88

'Squirrelling' for votes

THE squirrels devised by the government to promote the October municipal elections have become highly politicised creatures.

The National Party is expecting a pitched battle with the Conservative Party, the participation versus non-participation issue is the subject of debate to the left of government broadly and, in the black community particularly, the polarising question of co-option arises.

In respect of white municipalities, government spokesmen — even the usually reticent officials — are predicting a stiff fight with the Conservative Party.

As Chief Director of Constitutional Development Mr Len Dekker says: "If you are in control of a city like, say, Johannesburg, you control a budget of R1 300-million or about R3½-million a day. That's a lot of control and the right wing will go all out."

Moving left and extra-parliamentary on the political spectrum, the fact that President Botha has seen fit to include in his latest emergency package (June 10) a ban on any call to boycott the elections, is also a measure of the far-reaching politicisation of local affairs.

Opposition groupings to the left of government are debating participation versus non-participation (if they resolve to support the former they may do so loud and clear, a resolution not to participate, however, is not allowed public voice in terms of emergency regulations) and the traditional stuff of municipal elections — roads and water-pipes and street lighting — has long been submerged in the greater political debate.

And because participation is a considerable issue, special legislation — the Prior Votes for Election of Members of Local Government

The October 26 local authority election begs numerous questions. In this the fourth and last of a series of articles DALE LAUBENBACH of The Argus Political Staff provides some of the answers to assist readers in piecing together a picture of this third tier government complicated by its division into four racially separate groups.

Bill — provides for voting before October 26 (from October 10 to 22) in the interests of protecting voters from intimidation at, or in the process of getting to, the polls.

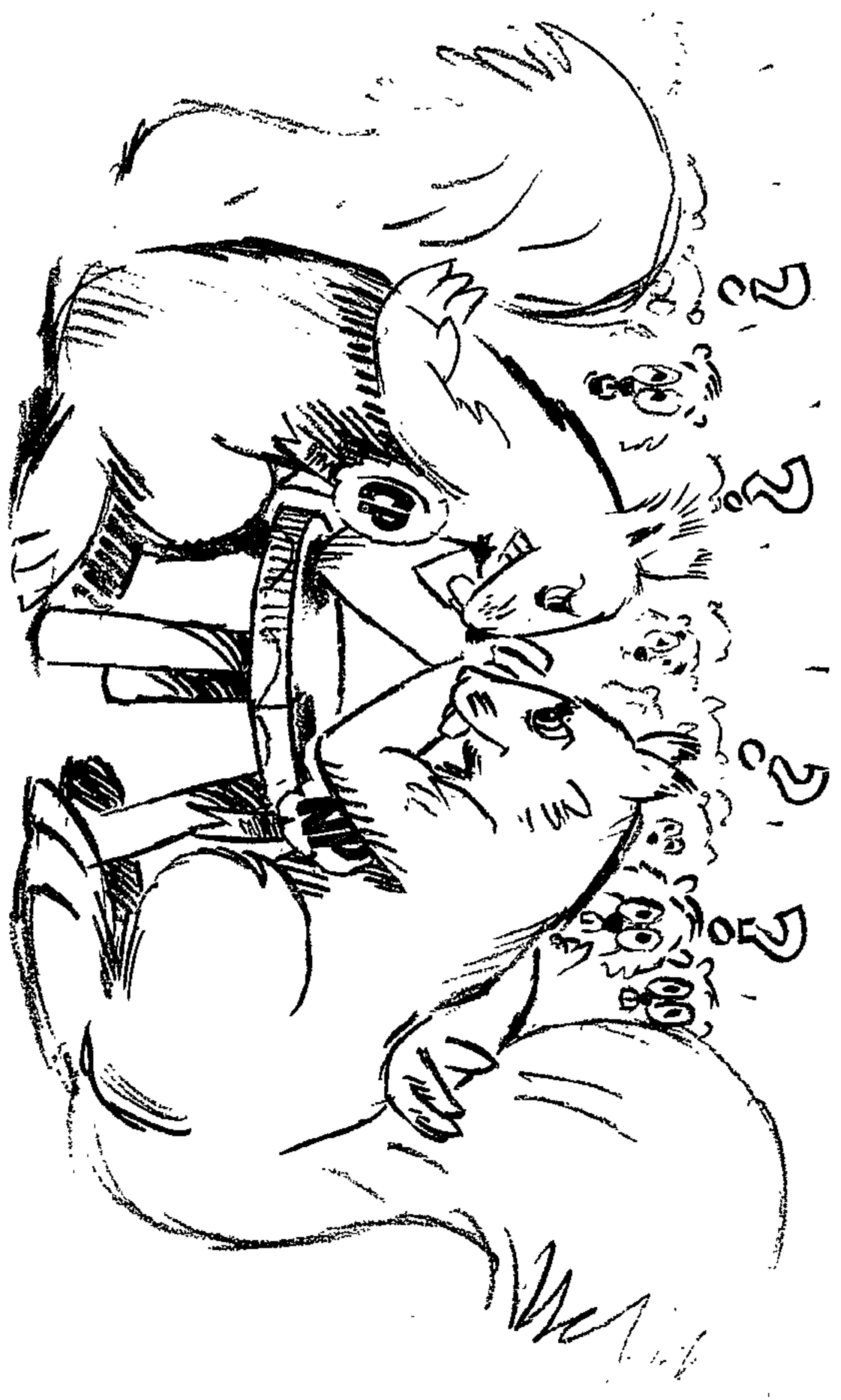
The boast that everyone is doing it on the same day, therefore, might be crudely broken down thus: a white party political battle for one; for another, a participation versus non-participation battle involving the tricameral Parliament's houses of Representatives and Delegates versus, broadly, the democratic movement.

Thirdly — and also of course involving the democratic movement — there will be the battle in the black political forum between those who accept primary local authority franchise as a measure of reform and all those who read it as an extension of apartheid and see those who stand for election as government co-optees.

In all, sewerage and the dog catcher don't feature much in local government elections this time around. The party political stand to be taken by the various officially registered parties is as follows:

National Party

Still playing by the book saying that in terms of its party constitution, each NP district council must decide whether there is to be official



participation in local authority elections.

"But we won't allow the NP to be beaten at the polls... that's for sure," said Secretary-in-Chief of the NP Cape Mr Sakkie Pretorius.

"We have the machinery to fight the Conservative Party or any party for that matter should it be appropriate. Where other parties field candidates on a political ticket, we will oppose them politically."

Going back to the book, Mr Pretorius said there was no telling how many candidates the NP would field because the district councils had to decide where a political fight was necessary. If a municipal candidate was acceptable to the NP and was obviously not taking any opposing political

stand, there was no need to make party political material out of local elections.

Conservative Party

Calling unambiguously for separate development along strict racial lines, the CP will be putting forward numerous candidates on an overt and official party political platform.

In the Transvaal, the CP expects to field over 1 000 candidates on nomination day there, September 21, according to CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers.

"We expect to have more official CP candidates in the Transvaal than all the other parties put together," he said. There were other CP supporters standing who could not adopt overt party affili-

ations because of their positions in the civil service, he said.

The Cape CP office has put forward some 200 CP candidates so far and expects "quite a few" in the next few weeks. The office was not in the position to provide a figure for the Western Cape only and the 200 takes in the whole Cape Province including rural and urban areas.

Progressive Federal Party

No official party candidates.

Independent Party

Will be identifying and fielding candidates country-wide in all big centres with the exception of Johannesburg, Sandton and Randburg.

'Neutral' squirrels to boost votes

Staff Reporter
A CARTOON featuring two squirrels is being used by the Government in its R5-million publicity campaign to encourage the public to take part in the October municipal elections.

The animated series entitled "Voting Tales: the story of how you can make it happen by nominating the right candidate" was launched in newspapers yesterday.

The two squirrels, who are deemed to be "politically neutral", will be the focal point of the multi-media campaign.

According to Information Minister, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the campaign is non-political and designed to inform as many people as possible about their democratic right to vote.

strong party presence in the Western Cape where between 28 and 30 management committees will be contested.

United Democratic Party

Will field candidates where appropriate but keeping options open and will fight on purely civic tickets too.

Freedom Party

Will contest between seven and 10 management committees in the Western Cape and four or five in the Transvaal.

National People's Party

No final decision yet but indications are that the party will not be fighting the election on an open political ticket.

Solidarity

Not fielding candidates.

Dead on its feet

■ After 40 years in power the NP is in a mess: fresh vision is required

Forty years on — and just what does the National Party (NP) look like now? The atmosphere at the anniversary celebrations two months ago — on May 26 — was subdued. A less than capacity crowd of not particularly enthusiastic supporters turned up at the main function in Parow to hear P W Botha blow the trumpet; but SA's precarious position in the world, the gains of the Conservatives, the barrenness of apartheid ideology . . . all these and much, much more didn't make for much of a razzle.

This signal lack of enthusiasm reflects the state in which the NP finds itself in the second half of 1988.

There is little doubt that D F Malan would not today recognise the party which crushed Jan Smuts more than a generation ago. The modern NP has tossed aside Malan's crude apartheid — replacing it with more subtle, and perhaps more enduring racial creeds and spectacularly complex and incomprehensible constitutional structures.

Some say that all this "change" — call it Heunisbabble — means nothing; that in abandoning the rigid ideological base of Malan, J G Strijdom and Hendrik Verwoerd, little has been put in its place — and certainly nothing constructive. Political commentator Willem de Klerk, brother of Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, does not fully agree: "The NP has a definite ideology. It subscribes to a race federation based on the remnants of apartheid. The party clearly distinguishes between distinctiveness on the one hand and power-sharing on the other."

Maybe so. But there is another factor which will shape the destiny of the party: simply that, along the way — with the rise to affluence of Afrikanerdom — the nature of its membership and support has altered too. Nearly half the NP's supporters — some say the figure is above 50% — is English-speaking.

The party still has an overwhelming majority in the House of Assembly, but is shedding support to Left and Right (as most polls show). Its actual support among whites has dropped to about 45%, well under 50% of Afrikaners.

This "Anglicisation" of the NP has assisted moves away from the old rigidity (although, as it happens, the main party structures remain dominated by Afrikaners).

And, theoretically, it has increased the prospect of further reform through the injection of traditionally more "liberal" views of English-speaking South Africans. But that is theory only: English-speaking Nat supporters have taken over racial attitudes that many Afrikaners have shed; and some have quite happily switched support to the Conservative Party, where, oddly enough, they feel at home.

So the NP cannot really count on this English support, although as political analyst Lawrie Schlemmer has said, English South Africans have displayed a remarkably consistent pattern of rallying to the NP in times when it appeared to be in most need of support for reform or under external threat.

The NP is aware of this political fickleness — as the old United Party and the PFP learnt to their cost. Many apparently vote Nat out of fear: when a party offering what is perceived to be greater security comes along, they are likely to switch allegiance once again.

Signs of this are evident. The NP's egg-dancing is precipitating defections: importantly, there is Denis Worrall's Independent Party, and Wynand Malan's movement. The Progressives will probably have to make their peace with these groupings if they are to survive — as they realise (see *Current Affairs*).

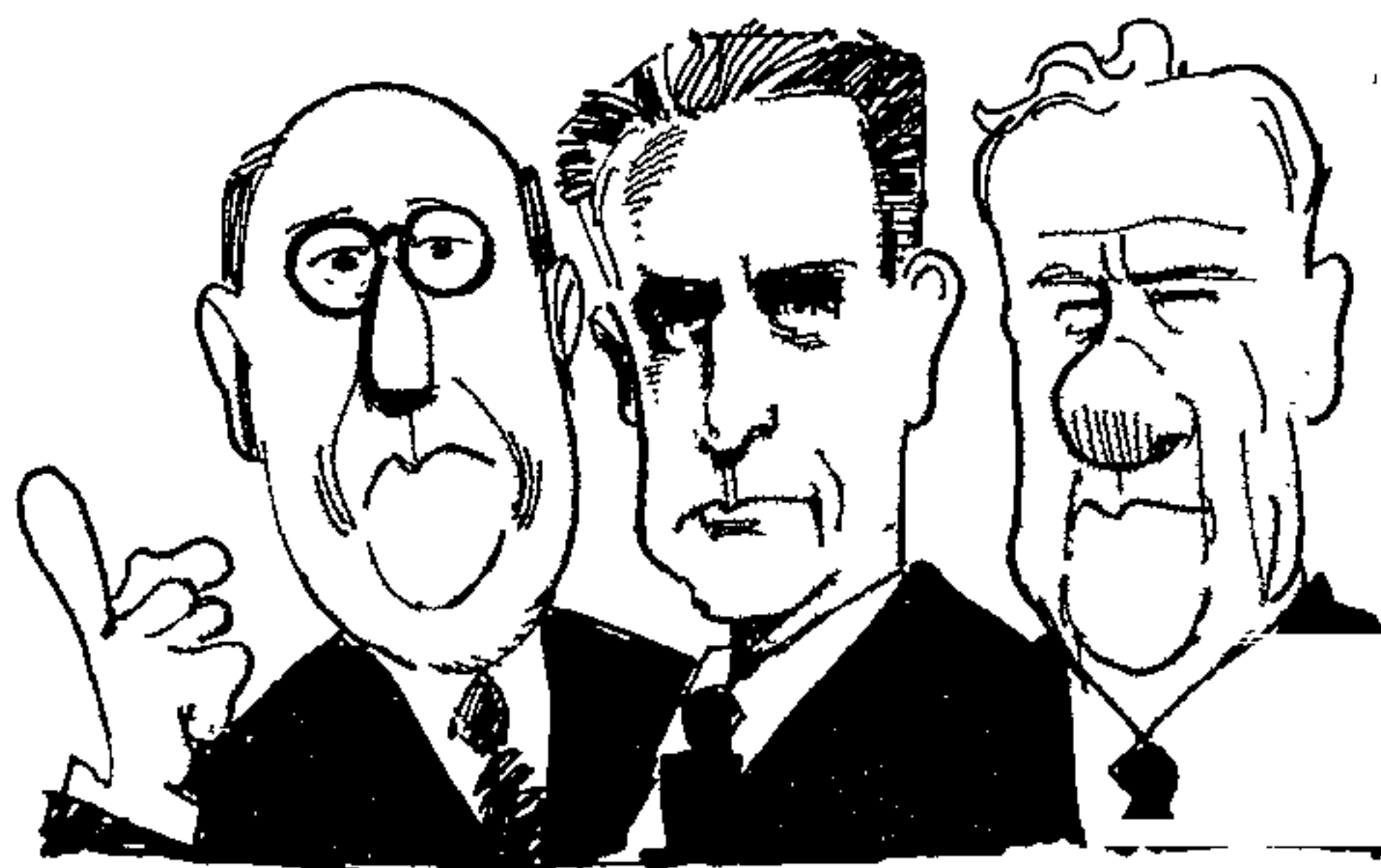
Perhaps the same could be said for the NP — which, as the government of the day, has a far greater obligation to come up with policies that at least offer a reasonable prospect of peace and prosperity. Pointing out the shortcomings of opposition policies, as Nat leaders so enjoy doing, does not compensate for their own inadequacies.

Given its lack of fresh thought, and the existence of new parties which eagerly embrace exiles from the NP, it is reasonable to suggest that the Nationalists have lost "quality" support. Some go so far as to say the party has no intellectual or cultural leaders; the calibre of its Cabinet and MPs is low.

Few — if any — academics of standing are still willing to openly back the NP. Leading Afrikaans writers and poets have rejected the party; journalists working on Nat-supporting newspapers are actively seeking contact with the African National Congress and other "enemies of the State" in open defiance of the wishes of P W Botha; and *Beeld*, a staunch NP backer, is questioning the wisdom of the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela. Mandela is one of the most sensitive issues in the party at the moment.

But of course, it retains a strong voting base. De Klerk sees it like this: "The upper-middle class Afrikaner still supports the NP. Not so in the case of the CP, which has lured the blue-collar worker away from the NP." And Schlemmer says: "... in any society with deeply held political convictions, a government is not likely to ignore the ... views of a large, cohesive public sector comprising nearly 40% of the white labour force." There are all kinds of ways in which it can put this into practice — wage hikes in advance of elections, and so on: what the Americans call the power of the pork barrel, never to be under-estimated.

It remains self-evident that the party has run out of ideas. The weekly caucus meetings during the parliamentary session have become a formality at which there is virtually no debate on fundamental issues. There is certainly no questioning of "policy" — always handed down from above, never negotiated from grassroots. This applies to or-



Malan

Strijdom

Verwoerd

dinary Nationalist MPs as much as any extra-parliamentary group.

This arrogance contains the seeds of its own destruction. In recent months some political journalists have been shocked at just how badly informed many Nat MPs actually are about government's intentions. Some Cabinet ministers have apparently become more accessible to the press when it comes to explaining aspects of policy than to their caucus colleagues — and this breeds mistrust and anger.

At constituency level the situation is even more serious. MPs — themselves uninformed — are unable to give clarity to local officials, who in turn are unable to enlighten the *stemvee*. So the voters are either misinformed, or totally confused. That applies to the economy, the emergency, developments in Angola-Namibia, SA's true situation in the world, and so on *ad infinitum*.

The situation is expected to get worse as we approach the nationwide municipal elections on October 26. The NP is under greater threat from the CP than ever before and stands to lose most Transvaal local authorities. Misinformation — deliberate or unintentional, it hardly matters — is set to flow as never before.

The PFP's Nic Olivier, himself a former Nat, says ideological confusion in the NP is all too clear: "Afrikaner nationalism and racial prejudice brought the NP to power and kept it there. But the party abandoned that ideology and it was taken over by the CP. In both areas the NP is now vulnerable. It is no longer an exclusively Afrikaner party and doesn't pretend to be, and its policies are no longer based purely on race. The emotional appeal of the NP has, therefore, disappeared to a large extent, and has been successfully taken over by the CP in many areas."

The NP is too afraid of the CP to make the moves it should — if it is serious about reform.

Olivier uses the example of train apartheid. This is the correct thing to do in terms of "reform," but then the Group Areas Act (GAA) is tightened up at the same time because government fears CP gains in October.

As for the future, Olivier has no doubt that there are serious ideological divisions within the NP caucus — up to the Cabinet — on the question of a "vision" of what the future should be. So-called "verligtes" concede the folly of moves such as the pending GAA amendments and accept the inevitability of direct negotiations with the ANC. But so far only Albert Nothnagel and Pik Botha have dared to broach such issues in public — and been slapped down for their trouble.

Of course, the simple fact that Botha and Nothnagel can buck the party line and survive with a mere reprimand is a further indication of the disorganised state of the NP. As Olivier points out, in the past, when Nats questioned party ideology, they were expelled (he was). Today, he says, there is no Nat ideology as such: Botha and Nothnagel were just expressing opinions which embarrassed the party, no more. Fundamental policy no longer exists.

We do, however, have expediency — demonstrated by the expulsion from the NP in June of Durban's mayor, Henry Klotz, for talking out against the party's confused thinking on beach apartheid. While the Nats appear to have no fundamental objection to integrated beaches, beach apartheid is a key municipal election issue in Durban and the CP is exploiting it to the full. It did not suit the party hierarchy to have Klotz saying what many of them may feel in their hearts, but know in their heads is politically insane — given the mood of the white electorate.

The same confused thinking is apparent when it comes to the planned GAA changes. Many NP MPs claim they don't support residential apartheid and agree that the changes will further damage the country's image abroad and create new tensions at home. But they argue that unless the GAA is tightened there will be such a revolt among white voters that the CP will win the next general election.

Such ambiguity is dangerous. De Klerk believes that NP and CP members alike "all know there is a strong possibility of a future black majority government. It has now become a question of how to accommodate the white minority in a future dispensation." Even in high government, he thinks, it is being said that NP supporters should be allowed to discuss these issues — and that public debate should be permitted since "there is a growing realisation that the black majority will have to be reflected in future political structures."

Meanwhile, we have stasis — and the symbol of it all, the State President. P W Botha has a deservedly fearsome reputation. While he appears in recent times to have mastered his famed temper in public, he is reputed to remain utterly abrasive and often contemptuous towards most people in private — including his Cabinet colleagues and foreign diplomats.

Current NP policy is very much Botha's creation and is handed down to the caucus whose members appear to accept it whether they like it or not. What does it amount to?

Olivier believes the president is "irrevocably committed" to the concept of "own affairs" and a racially-based system of community "self-determination."

Such as it is, this is being rammed through. Party congresses, a traditional forum for policy decisions, have become little more than social gatherings at which the faithful get to talk to Ministers. When Jan-nie Momberg (now one of Worrall's men) tried to debate the merits of the GAA at the Cape Nat congress in Port Elizabeth three years ago, Botha effectively drove him from the party. There has not been even a whisper of dissent at a congress since then.

All of which contributes to the conclusion that Botha is both unwilling and incapable of leading SA away from a political system based on enforced racial separation — the policy of 1948 in modern disguise. As long as he heads the NP, nothing more can be expected.

And the NP's problems will not necessarily cease in the post-Botha era, if it ever happens.

Botha's leadership style has militated against the emergence of new leaders. Olivier says there is no one in the party — let alone the Cabinet — who can be regarded as the kind of strong leader capable of the sort of statesmanship demanded by SA now and in the foreseeable future.

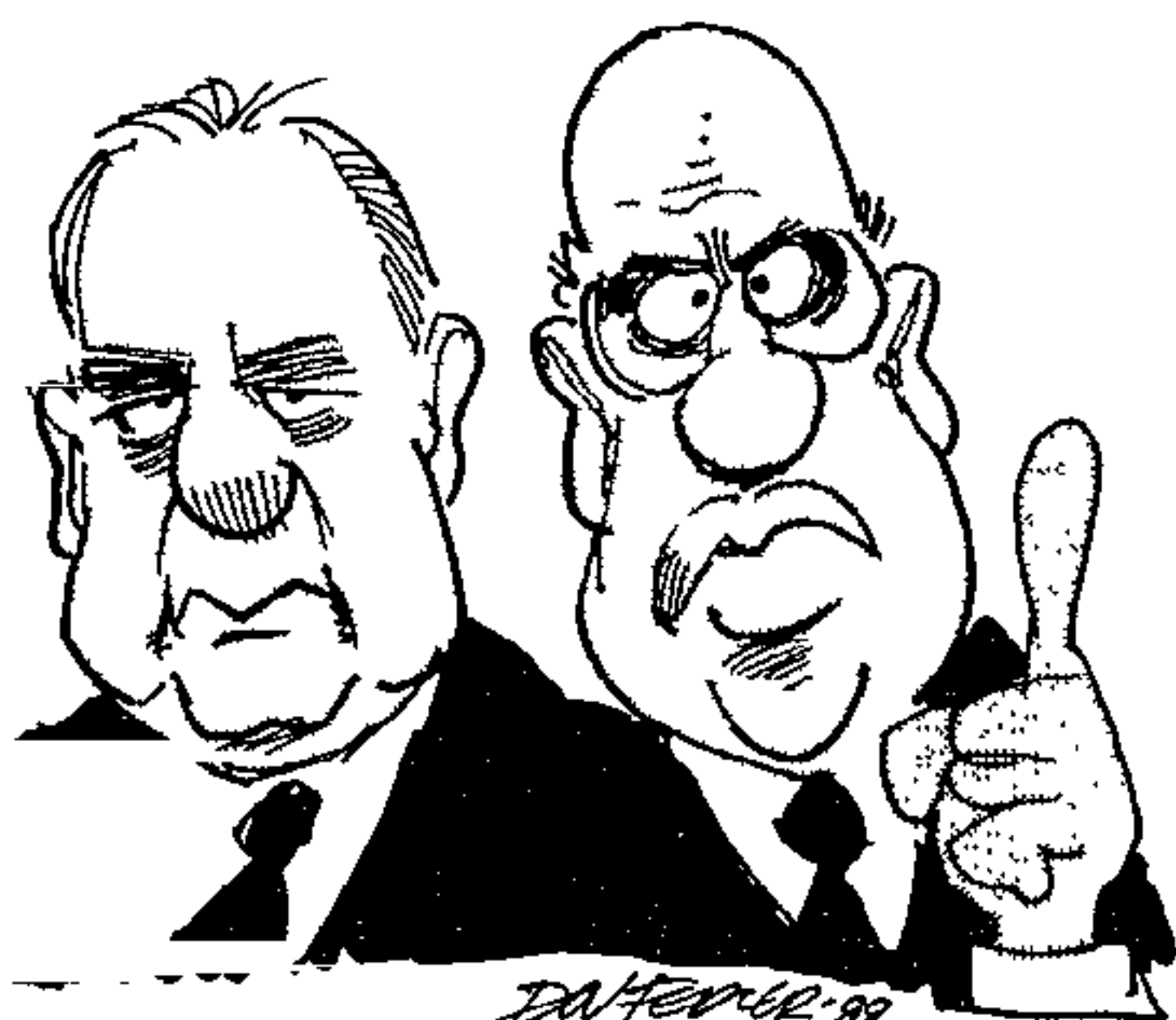
"The people with the intellectual and political ability to lead SA into the 21st Century are outside politics," he says. He believes the NP's only hope of stemming losses to Left and Right is to provide the white electorate with an ideological vision as emotionally appealing as apartheid was in its day — one, he suggests, centred around a new SA living in peace and in which there is a mutual accommodation of all without racial bias.

In the post P W era his successor should be willing to move ahead relentlessly with the reform programme, De Klerk argues. He sees a certain faction within the NP ready to move away from the "group" idea — though the majority will probably support what he terms a "soft group idea."

The way out, De Klerk believes, is for the NP "to risk giant leaps — what I call 'reform by leaps.' That is the only way reform will be stimulated. We will have to find a compromise between the evolutionary and the revolutionary road."

This would entail — the FM believes — the release of Mandela and the other political prisoners; moving away from ethnic constitutional structures; the cessation of the State of Emergency; the total abolition of group areas and race classification; the opening up of the economy and the scrapping of the Land Acts; a return to the rule of law and a sincere devotion to the human rights issue. And a whole lot more.

Most Nat MPs seem to know this and some members of the Cabinet as well; but until it sinks in right at the top, where policy is decided, the chances of a new and widely acceptable "vision" emerging from Tuynhuys — whoever rules there — are remote. ■



Vorster

Botha

BRIDGE-BUILDING has been the main thrust of your platform since taking over the PFP leadership. Can you be a bit more specific about the parties, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, you see as partners in an alliance?

AT THE risk of being repetitive, let me say my starting point isn't parties, it's principles. You can patch up a single-issue alliance, a temporary project, from people who do not have common inner convictions but who happen to share a view on a particular issue. But you cannot be a political party unless your view of the world is the same.

I have said you have got to believe in three principles — equal rights, personal freedoms and the rule of law. Your question then becomes what groups and organisations are there in SA who believe in these values. Certainly both Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall. I think Inkatha, although there are a lot of enemies of Inkatha who would question this, but I think one should, for starters, take people at face value. Then the Labour Party, and, I think, very large elements in the UDF alliance.

Government, on the other hand, violates all three of these principles every day, yet there are a lot of people still sitting with government who believe in these things and are violating their consciences. So the broad answer to your question is: from the new Nats to the UDF.

BUT IS it possible to square these liberal principles — and belief in free enterprise — with, for example, the ideological socialists on the campuses and elements of the UDF?

AN ESSENTIAL question. But why have I chosen these three principles and not elevated the economic system (except in so far as personal freedom implies free enterprise) and federalism to the status of principles? It's because I think that the economic system and federalism are both matters of method rather than basic principles.

But yes, I am convinced there are a number of leading people in the UDF and Cosatu and Nactu who are such converted socialists that they won't work with anybody who has a free enterprise view of life, and with regret I have got to part company with such people.

HAS THE whole issue of bridge-building not been over-emphasised? Surely your first task is to get voters for the PFP?

I REFUSE to see those as mutually contradictory. One of the paths to the winning of white votes is bridge-building across the colour line. People in the PFP used to refer to the hinge assumption, which says that blacks will more readily support you if they know you can get white support, and whites will more readily support you if they know you can get black support.

If you presume a fundamental hos-



□ DE BEER (left) with Jacobsohn ... "One of the paths to the winning of white votes is bridge-building across the colour line" Picture: PHILIP LITTLETON

Building bridges for a 'strong and virile' PFP

New PFP leader ZACH DE BEER discusses liberal principles, bridge-building and the economics of politics with Deputy Editor NEIL JACOBSON

tility between everything that is black and everything white, you might as well join the AWB, the Communist Party or the ANC, whichever you choose, or the PAC. It's only if you perceive an opportunity for a non-racial alliance that there is any point in being liberal, from a strictly cynical vote-catching point of view.

So don't pose to me the question: do you want white voters or do you want to build bridges? The one is very necessary for the other.

THEN WOULD you, for example, undertake another Dakar visit as a bridge-building exercise?

IF AND when I see a purpose I am perfectly willing to talk to the ANC. I've done it before and I'll do it again, but I don't see any special reason to do it at the moment. I think the priorities are internal. Incidentally, this applies also to other forms of politics. I see my priorities as being inside SA, not outside.

BECAUSE of your successful business background, it is fair comment to assume government will pay more than usual attention to what you say on economic issues. How do you see yourself using that strength?

I BELIEVE too many people fail to understand the essential oneness of politics and economics. The touchstone of wise or unwise politics is to be found in the economic statistics — and all the figures in SA show this country has been most unwisely governed and that it needs to be governed in another way.

It is certainly going to be part of my job to keep myself au fait with the economic picture, as I have done in my business life, and I believe that almost every adverse aspect of the SA economy as measured in the figures today is directly or indirectly attributable to the apartheid policy.

I don't have any doubt that if you could wave a wand and put in a PFP government tomorrow you would

get capital, you would improve industrial relations, improve productivity, and you would improve incentives.

THE REALITY is that there is not going to be a PFP government tomorrow, so what can you do now?

SIMPLY expose the link between decisions which are forced on government by apartheid, or as it is now called, own affairs, which are fatal to the economy. Heaven forbid that I should criticise Gerhard de Kock or Chris Stals; I think they are excellent professionals. I don't even particularly want to criticise Barend du Plessis, although that is not an undertaking! But as of the moment, it's not that I want to say the man is an idiot, but that he has got shackles on him.

WHAT ABOUT your personal position? Do you, as leader of the PFP, intend to remain in Johannesburg? I WOULD very strongly hope to, but I can't give a firm undertaking. The

time may come when I have to seek a seat elsewhere, although I don't think it's a good idea to have a seat in a city where one doesn't live. But I feel that Johannesburg is a most important centre in every way, and the party is very adequately represented in Cape Town.

DO YOU then see the centre of gravity of the party moving towards the Transvaal?

INSOFAR as there is to be any shift in that gravity, yes, I think it should be in that direction. But if implied in that question is do I have any plan to move the head administration office to the Transvaal no, I don't. It's established in Cape Town, running well and efficiently, and in any case Parliament is there for six months of the year.

WHAT OF the so-called "young turks" of the Transvaal?

I'D LIKE to put on record that Sam Moss is a close friend and I don't wish to be critical of him, but what Tony Leon and the young people around him have done is to see Johannesburg and the other municipalities as politically powerful organisations, exercising an important measure of control over the very heart of SA. They see this as a battleground, a proving ground, for major ideas about the new SA.

By the new SA we mean the 80% urbanised SA. You have seen Urban Foundation statistics that five to seven million people are living in informal settlements. If you have a man who has a shack, and a wife, and probably a family, that man has in him one of the most powerful human drives you will even find to improve his shack, to make something of it. Take him out and say you cannot have your shack, you must go somewhere else and live where we tell you, and at the very least you demotivate him completely, if you don't turn him into a raving revolutionary.

The challenge of the new SA is to work with these communities and not against them. Then everything can fall into place, you get the sweat equity going into these dwellings, improving them, and you get a market developing for all the services growing from this. This I see as Jan Lombard's inward industrialisation really working.

WITH RESPECT, you're considerably older than the Tony Leons. What can you do to fire up and reach the younger people out of whom the new PFP must grow?

FOR THE time being at least, I do seem to enjoy a measure of confidence of the youth. And because I am my age, I am not looking to a long tenure. What I hope to do is to get a fighting spirit throughout the party, to bring the party into a wider political grouping, to create something strong and virile, and then to find someone of a more appropriate age to take it over. Then I want to go and sit on my rock in Clifton, which is what I was going to do before this happened!

Survey reveals many township blacks will vote

ELSABÉ WESSELS

A COUNTRYWIDE survey carried out for the Bureau for Information found that between 49% and 64% of black township residents interviewed said they would vote in October's municipal elections.

Between 34% and 48% said they would not.

The statistics emerge from selected findings from the research project performed by a private company, released by Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday.

Of those interviewed in the PWV, nearly 79% said they did not participate in previous local government elections.

Non-participation in previous municipal elections in the other main centres were: Durban 71,3%, Cape Town 70,6%, Port Elizabeth 72,4%, and Bloemfontein 68,7%.

Van der Merwe said government's R5m publicity campaign was justified considering that 25,4% of those who did not vote said they did not know about the elections.

No political reasons for why voters did not take part were recorded.

When PWV interviewees who did know about the elections were asked their reasons for boycotting the polls, 56,4% said they believed councillors were useless and 11,7% claimed councillors were government informers. Only 6,4% listed intimidation as their reason for not taking part.

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Focus also on group areas, elections

CP congress will put spotlight on security

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The municipal elections, security issues and group areas will be the main issues to be discussed at the Conservative Party's Free State provincial congress in Bloemfontein at the weekend.

The congress is regarded as of major importance and will be attended by most CP MPs and President's Council members, Free State provincial secretary Mr Gustaf Claassens said.

A special meeting of the party's executive council will be held today to discuss the Government's peace proposals for south-western Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will open the congress this afternoon, and will address a public meeting tonight. The congress ends tomorrow.

Resolutions that will be debated centre on issues such as group areas, security, law and order, manpower, the economy, local government and information.

One resolution expresses the CP's concern about the "Government's continued dismantling of its policy of separate development". It rejects joint citizenship and voting rights for all South Africans, and the proposed National Council which will make "black people fellow-decisionmakers over whites".

Propaganda misuse

The congress will also discuss the role of the President's Council in the present political dispensation, and its right of existence under a CP government.

On the issue of manpower, a resolution asks for the rejection of the Government's policy of acknowledging "non-white" trade unions which are used "as a political lever to promote foreign ideals as manifested in the pronouncements of Cosatu".

Regarding information, a resolution objects to the role of the SABC in the "open misuse of propaganda in favour of the National Party".

It calls on the Government to reconsider sport transmissions on Sundays and the misuse of television to "propagate racial integration".

It requests own TV channels for coloureds and Indians.

Capl Times 12/8/88 (306A)

De Beer: Caution over ANC's aims

Political Staff

THE ANC's reported constitutional proposals, providing for a non-racial, multi-party democracy, an entrenched bill of rights and a mixed economy, were cautiously welcomed in opposition circles this week.

The Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said everyone was a bit uncertain about the status of the ANC document, "but if the ANC is talking about a mixed economy instead of widespread nationalization and if the ANC is talking about a multi-party democracy, this seems to represent an advance in their thinking".

The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said the principles of a multi-party democratic system in South Africa were "clearly principles we support", but he cautioned that if the ANC supported a centralized system of government this would be negative.

The leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said the fact that the ANC was looking at updating the Freedom Charter was "to be welcomed".

The adoption of the Charter at Kliptown took place many years ago and it was now outdated as

the situation had changed radically since then.

"The drawing up of any new Charter must be done in consultation with the people inside South Africa.

"I don't think the ANC in exile can reflect the feelings of people inside the country," Mr Hendrickse said.

Participation

The vice-president of the Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa, said he welcomed any move that did not regard the Freedom Charter, over which many people had died, as the final document for a constitution for a future South Africa.

Azapo believed that all people in South Africa, including whites, should "at the day of reckoning have a right to participate in the drawing up of a document that pertained to how the country would be run".

It welcomed the fact that the Freedom Charter would not be the final document for a free South Africa because no organization could impose its solution, Mr Mabasa said.

In his reaction, Mr Malan, who was involved in discussions with the ANC in Frankfurt earlier this year, said the new document seemed to be a restatement of the Charter principles.

"We believe it very important

to create the scope for the individual to participate in the economic processes over the board."

The state had a duty to assist impoverished people, who could not keep up with the system and could not find access.

"The mixed economy proposal is a good one, but I get the impression that the ANC still believes in a centrally-controlled economy, which may be dangerous since we need the engine of growth to produce general wealth."

The secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Frank Meintjes, commented yesterday that the proposals seemed to reflect a keen understanding of the needs of nation-building.

In effect, the document recognized that the future constitution would only be workable to the degree it draws in the active involvement of various sectors of institutional life of the country, he said.

"At the same time, it represents a very progressive interpretation of the various clauses of the Charter."

The proposals for a multi-party democracy were similar to what the NDM was told in Frankfurt, but obviously it should be stated clearly whether this allowed for regionalized decision-making.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS PM

Raking voters in 12/8/88

Government reports spectacular registration figures for what Constitutional Development and Planning Department spokesman Len Dekker describes as "the biggest exercise in democracy in the history of Africa" — the October municipal elections.

Logistically, the election of 7 500 councillors to 1 154 local authorities of various pigmentation and under varied auspices is no mean feat. Not to mention the sorting procedures necessary before actual balloting takes place; and decisions on which squatters may vote and which legal residents may not.

As the registration phase draws to a close, government figures for potential black voters appear to indicate that, so far, it has all been worth the effort. According to the Bureau for Information:

- In the Transvaal, the number of registered blacks rose from 50% on July 15 to 70% by July 27;
- In the Cape, more than 60% of blacks had registered by July 12;
- In the Free State, the number rose from 60% on July 8 to 70% on July 22; and
- In Natal, from 60% on June 25 to 80% on July 25.

What is even more remarkable is that, according to the authorities, the entire exercise appears to have gone off without a hitch. This is despite the fact that initial dissident rumblings over the election were enough to incur emergency action to ensure that democracy would be achieved in silence. As the department spokesman put it: "Any problems we've had, we've had answers to."

The Soweto Council reports that 75% of potential voters have already registered and that efforts are being made to reach the township's recalcitrant squatter population before the provisional roll is drawn up on August 12. The figure is remarkable compared to past returns for local authority polls, which in some instances came in below 10%.

Leading Soweto resident Dr Nthato Motlana points out that the accuracy of the figure is difficult to assess or to challenge under emergency regulations. However, he argues that the indiscriminate dishing out of registration application forms with newsletters and pamphlets is a system ripe for abuse.

Also up for criticism as potentially dubious is the special, or prior, vote system. It allows anyone, for any reason, to cast a vote before official election-day. Says Transvaal



Van der Merwe ... would show people are happy

Indian Congress publicity secretary Firoz Cachalia: "The system places power squarely with canvassers and officials. It has proved in the past to be open to abuse and we believe that the evidence of electoral fraud we have seen so far is only the tip of the iceberg."

Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe has told the press that non-participation in the elections would indicate either a lack of interest, or that people are happy with the status quo. Official figures do not suggest a lack of interest — but, contrary to what the minister claims, they could be indicating a profound *discontent* with the status quo. ■

304A

[Handwritten signature]

gress was extremely conciliatory towards "rival" liberal groups. The PFP clearly recognises the need to unite moderates to government's Left and is prepared to compromise, except on fundamental principles, to make unity possible.

But the party is not prepared to accept that its days as *the* leading liberal force are over. Eglin said as much when he told delegates that "at the very least" the PFP will have to regain the ground and recapture the

says De Beer, followed by the need to reassure blacks (who are despairing) and whites (who are frightened) that policies based on freedom and dignity can work and are, in fact, the "true alternative" to the "chronic conflict and creeping poverty" which currently faces the country.

He sees the PFP's fourth major task as the creation of a wider SA unity aimed at a strong free-market economy and a democratic constitution.



PFP's De Beer ... call for liberal groups to unite

seats it lost last year — while at the same time working for greater unity among opposition groups which share the party's basic philosophy. In effect Eglin was telling the IP and similar groups that former PFP seats are not fair game (as some IP leaders have contended), and that the PFP will continue to call the shots when it comes to uniting the opposition.

Eglin said: "Opposition realignment remains an important tactical objective. But let me say that whatever difficulties and frustrations may lie ahead, should the PFP, in trying to achieve opposition unity, ever abandon its commitment to the basic liberal values of equal rights, individual freedom, civil liberties and the rule of law, it will not only have lost its political relevance, it will (also) have lost its political soul."

He was equally firm in cautioning the PFP not to compromise its principles in trying to please extra-parliamentary groups. However, the party needed to "reach out to the wider SA community" to "build bridges of mutual trust across the racial divide."

De Beer also gave high priority to opposition unity — but he does not see it as the foremost task facing the party. That, he believes, is to restore the PFP to "full strength and health" through mobilisation, organisation, fund-raising, and the effective presentation of party policy.

Opposition unity is the second major task,

Congress delegates effectively endorsed the views of both Eglin and De Beer by resolving, if necessary, to disband the PFP at some future date to facilitate the bringing together of liberal opposition groups. The spirit of compromise was further evidenced by the lack of anger towards either the IP or Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (to which two PFP MPs defected following the general election), both of which "compete" for potential PFP voters and financial contributions.

Indications are that De Beer, Worrall and Malan will now strive for some sort of accommodation before the next general election, currently scheduled for late next year or early 1990.

"Acceptance" of PFP policy by a wider range of opposition voters to government's left has probably been made easier by a perceived softening of the party's "radical" stand on defence and security issues, including conscription, which took up a significant slice of congress debating time. (The PFP's setback in last year's election was largely attributable to National Party accusations that it was "soft" on security and the African National Congress.)

Is the party over the worst? Whether De Beer will be able to achieve what he has set out to do will probably be known within months rather than years. The scene is set for an interesting period in liberal politics. ■

PFP CONGRESS

Liberalism or bust

It was a cautious start — but there is little doubt that the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) decided at its federal congress in Cape Town at the weekend to revert to a proactive rather than reactive role in opposition.

After its pounding in last year's general election and the subsequent resignation of three MPs, the PFP seemed doomed to be overshadowed by Denis Worrall's fledgling Independent Party (IP). Many observers wondered if it still had the capacity to play a leading role in upholding liberal values.

But both outgoing leader Colin Eglin and his (unanimously elected) successor Zach de Beer made it clear at the congress that while the PFP has suffered severe setbacks, it has no intention of compromising its principles or taking a back seat in opposing apartheid.

The general tenor of debate at the con-

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OPPOSITION POLITICS (304A)

Let's get together

In Cape Town on Tuesday, at his first public meeting since his election as PFP leader at the weekend, Zach de Beer committed himself to opposition unity. The night before in Randburg, Independent Party (IP) leader Denis Worrall sounded the same sentiments.

Referring to the October local elections Worrall said: "We'll be fighting other areas ... not Randburg (National Democratic Movement Wynand Malan's constituency), Sandton or Johannesburg. We don't want unnecessary friction."

Using the unity slogan made famous by D F Malan when he swept the Nats to power in 1948, De Beer said he wanted to "*bring bymekaar wat uit innerlike oortuiging bymekaar hoort*" ("bring together those who by inner conviction belong together").

"That is the task I am setting myself," he went on. "Every South African who truly believes in equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law belongs with us — no-



Worrall... "We don't want friction."

where else." He stressed, however, that the party must stand on a "moral foundation."

De Beer said South Africans had to ask themselves whether there could be peace, prosperity and security in the country while the effective franchise was in the hands of only 15% of the population; while the Group Areas Act remained in force; and while "prominent, popular people" remained jailed without charge or trial.

"If you can answer 'yes' to those questions then good luck to you — but don't expect me to understand how your mind works. If you cannot answer 'yes,' come to us and be a worker for this party," he said.

The IP, says Worrall, believes in a co-operative base with other parties: "Our object has to be the creation of political alignment to win supporters from the NP." He says he has predicted the National Council

will fail — "and it is stillborn. Unless the government can get Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Enos Mabuza — both essential players — to the table, the council is a non-start. But government wants to be the single major player. It wants to control the process. We want to start that process going."

Could this be the start of what many white voters on the left of the spectrum had been dreaming of till the fall-out between Worrall and Malan? With Malan's party not competing in the elections, one may have to wait longer than that for an answer. ■

FM 12/8/88

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

SECURITY has become the key issue in the gruelling battle for white support in the October municipal elections.

In last year's general elections, the National Party dealt the PFP a severe blow by taking advantage of its "weak" national security policy.

In addition, the protection of white group rights has now become a focal point of the highly politicised local government elections.

The NP, the PFP and CP are all contesting the elections on security tickets — both on the country's borders and in the heartland of multi-racial Johannesburg.

At the NP's Johannesburg regional congress this week the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, emphasised he NP was the only party which could guarantee peace, prosperity and stability.

Sharing the platform with Mr Botha was the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wesels, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer.

Despite indications from government that areas such as Hillbrow and Cape Town's Woodstock could officially be declared multiracial before the October 26 elections, Mr Meyer told the Johannesburg meeting that it would be "premature" to decide on Hill-



Roelf Meyer ... premature Hillbrow talk.



Tony Leon ... 10 000 house robberies.

brow's constitutional future before the flatland's socio-economic deterioration was addressed satisfactorily.

Mr Tony Leon, leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg city council, told the Saturday Star that the party was more than happy to fight the elec-

All parties hammer at same anxieties

tion on security issues.

"The people of Johannesburg feel insecure. There were more than 10 000 house robberies in Johannesburg last year. In the PWV area, a crime is committed every two minutes."

Mr Leon said the NP did not fulfil voters' need for security.

"Every bomb which goes off in the city is a reflection on the political turmoil generated by apartheid, and the failure of the NP's security initiatives to prevent such happenings," he said.

CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said white voters were flocking to the party because of people's disillusionment with the NP.

"Both in the metropolises and in the platteland security is a key factor in the elections.

"Racially mixed areas stir racial hatred. In the platteland, people are becoming more and more aware of the threat of integration as they see what the Government's policy has done to the cities."

at poll

Security top issue

34th
13/8/88
Star

BUSINESSMEN HOLD TALKS WITH EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

W/le M/le 13/8/88

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

304A

AT the height of the Angolan peace negotiations, another peace initiative has been launched on the home front — a move by business leaders to come to grips with South Africa's most pressing internal problems.

About 40 business and professional leaders held talks over two days with members of extra-parliamentary groups on issues ranging from the state of emergency and detentions, to human rights, democracy and controversial Group Areas legislation.

Although no joint decisions were taken, the two sides found common ground on one cardinal issue — that it was in nobody's interest that South Africa be reduced to a wasteland.

'Historic'

The talks, also attended by prominent academics, have been described as "historic" in the sense that the participants included some of the most influential leaders on both sides and that the move was intended as the beginning of a process of consultation.

The businessmen, who formed an alliance called the Consultative

Business Movement (CBM), included Mr Chris Ball (First National Bank), Mr Mervyn King (Tradegro), Mr Naas Steenkamp (Gencor), Mr Chris van Wyk (Trust Bank), Mr Ken Maxwell (JCI), Mr Peter Krumb (Enviro-tech), Mr Alex Hamilton (Alex Hamilton Construction), and Mr David de Villiers (former managing director of Nasionale Pers). Co-ordinator of the talks was business consultant Mr Christo Nel.

Members of extra-parliamentary groups included officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the Cape Professional Teachers' Association, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), and Dr C F Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the SA Council of Churches.

The participants said in a joint statement after the talks, held last weekend, that they accepted "the

inevitability of structural change in the socio-political and economic fields."

They had agreed on the need for such a "transformation to a post-apartheid society in which the current polarisation can be overcome".

Other matters discussed included the government's new labour legislation, the October municipal elections and business involvement in the national security system.

Transformation

Talks co-ordinator Mr Christo Nel said this week a significant aspect of the meeting was that leading businessmen and professional people agreed that real change — "not just adaptation, but transformation" — was essential in South Africa's present society. Such change would have to include specific economic and political structures.

The country's political and economic set-up could only be successfully managed if a long-term

objective for a multiracial democracy was established.

"This takes into account that there will be a transition process and that part of the process will be a fundamental new set of attitudes and expectations to be cultivated among whites. The aim should be for the majority of the whites to be able to see themselves as part of the majority instead of being trapped as an everlasting minority."

Constructive

Mr Nel said it was of "fundamental importance" that recognised leaders of the majority of South Africans were "indeed willing to enter into constructive debate and consultation."

Among academics who attended the talks were Professor Sampe Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch; Professor Lourens du Plessis, also of the University of Stellenbosch; academics from the University of Cape Town; and

Stellenbosch theologian Dr Johann Kinghorn.

Dr Kinghorn said he saw hope for the country's future if talks could be continued in the same style and with the same preparedness to co-operate and to make concessions.

"If this kind of process can be extended, for example, to church leaders, community leaders, and even political leaders, then we will be on our way to finding solutions in a practical way."

Professor Terreblanche said he found the talks "significant, stimulating and exceptionally constructive".

In a recent address in Johannesburg he called on the business community to "tell the government openly and in strong terms that South Africa can definitely not be governed in the way it is being done".

He warned that growing poverty "operates as a vicious circle of growing violence, growing ideological polarisation, disinvestment, non-investment, and stagnation".

"We cannot go on like this," he said.

PFP

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
MRS. Marleen Webber, Progressive Federal Staff, today she had decided to quit the chairmanship for personal reasons.

3/13/45

Free State chairman quits

Her decision had nothing to do with the election of Dr. de Beer as the new PFP lead. "I remain a loyal member of the PFP and intend to stay on as chairman of the Bloemfontein branch," she said. She confirmed, however,

that before the election of the new leader she had written a letter to the PFP leadership expressing reservations about Dr. de Beer. She had also conveyed reservations of members of the PFP's regional executive about Dr. De Beer's links with

the mining industry which they felt, was notorious for its adherence to apartheid legislation such as job reservation. Mrs. Webber said she had treated it as a confidential internal party matter but had been "flabbergasted" when, somehow, the information

leaked out and became public knowledge. She had stated that people in her region had "nothing personally against Dr. De Beer," but would like to have the party's reaction to their fears. The letter, she said, had

nothing to do with her decision to relinquish the PFP regional chairmanship. In response to the letter she had received from the outgoing PFP leader, Mr. Collin Eglin, that the fears in her region were unfounded and that Dr. de Beer was a capable person.

For personal reasons

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PFP's OFS leader resigns

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The chairman of the PFP in the Free State and Northern Cape, Mrs Marleen Webber, is to resign from her position as a result of Dr Zach de Beer's recent election as the party's new leader.

Mrs Webber is also to resign as a member of the PFP's federal council, but will remain a member of the party.

Mrs Webber said in Bloemfontein that she had nothing personal against Dr de Beer. However, he brought with him a "milieu that walked with apartheid". He had been a director of the mining giant Anglo American.

Mrs Webber believed that the former leader, Mr Colin Eglin, should have been persuaded to continue as leader of the party.

Dr De Beer's election has allegedly caused widespread dissatisfaction in the region. — Sapa

Nafcoc: no talks without freedom

SUN CITY — Black business has directed Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyana to select and lead a group of eminent people to confront President P W Botha immediately on the release of political prisoners.

Accepting this conference resolution at Sun City yesterday, Motsuenyana said the mission would make it clear it could not negotiate a constitutional future for

THEO RAWANA

SA with Botha, since this could not be engaged in before political prisoners and detainees were freed.

Motsuenyana also said he would send a telex to Botha last night, registering Nafcoc's opposition to the proposed Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, as it would render 2-million people homeless.

11/8/88 B/Dew 3041

White businessmen face a 'crisis of credibility' *Stine*

By DAVID JACKSON

BLACK businessmen have little faith in the ability of white business to promote black advancement — while more than seven out of 10 are disillusioned with government reform.

These are the findings of a South Africa Foundation-commissioned survey in the PWV area which says the white business sector faces a "crisis of credibility" in its dealings with black entrepreneurs and management.

Dr Gavin Lewis, the foundation's research and programmes director, says the survey reveals a growing alienation from government among black businessmen at all levels.

This is accompanied by a rejection of government structures.

More than two-thirds of the sample saw white business as either neutral or actively hostile to real political change in South Africa. And when asked to evaluate the performance of white business in assisting black business, 62.8 percent saw it as either neutral or unhelpful.

Only 5.4 percent felt that assistance from the white business sector had played an important role in their business success.

Says Dr Lewis: "The survey reveals a deep cynicism among black businessmen at their white counterparts' unwillingness to go beyond rhetoric on political reform — and a scepticism verging on

derision for many corporate black 'advancement' programmes."

Dr Lewis says there is considerable ambivalence to free enterprise among bigger black businesses and management. Almost all of those surveyed demanded some form of State intervention to redress historical inequalities and redistribute wealth.

On sanctions and disinvestment, the majority favoured selective sanctions only as long as these could be confined to whites and did not undermine black business development.

But Dr Lewis says there is no reason for white business despondency. The survey reveals a desire for closer co-operation with white business.

Poorer voters could cost Government dearly in October municipal elections

HARD brakes on the economy in the past three weeks may cost the Government dearly in the October municipal elections.

Raised import tariffs, tighter HP terms and increased fuel prices announced this week, together with last week's interest rate hikes, all make consumers poorer ahead of the polls.

Consumers' mortgage, HP and overdraft interest costs have gone up, as have their petrol bills. In addition, cars and other desirable imported goods have been put further beyond their reach by new curbs.

More bad news for consumers and the Government is that, despite curbs on the economy, prices will rise across the board following the 15-16 percent fuel price increase.

The decline of the rand is also expected to add to inflation, which reached a four-year low of 12,4 percent in June, but is now expected to rise to 14-16 percent next year.

Recent economic events play directly into the hands of the Govern-

By **DAVID CARTE**
Business Times Editor

ment's opposition — but they could not be held off.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Reserve Bank governor Gerhard de Kock have had to apply brakes to the SA economy long before the economic machine was working at capacity.

With only \$2,2-billion left in the foreign reserves, SA was running out of foreign currency to pay for the imports its people so love, and to repay foreign debt. The foreign bank credit squeeze means the country could not borrow more. In fact, it has to repay debts.

Imports rocketed from R30,7-billion a year in the last quarter of last year to R36,8-billion a year, while exports declined from R27,4-billion to R26,3-billion. The current account of the balance of payments plunged from a R6-billion a year sur-

plus to a shortfall of R400-million. Since June the position has deteriorated further.

This week's measures — including the fuel price hike — were designed to cut spending on imports by impoverishing consumers, rather than by imposing direct controls, which are anathema to free marketeers, who dominate policy at the moment.

Some direct controls will probably be inevitable to bring the import binge to more affordable levels.

Warning

Mr Du Plessis is expected to announce further measures to reduce SA's reliance on imports over the long term.

Most economists reckon the measures on their own are insufficient. Shiploads of imports are still on the water. They still have to be paid for.

Economists warn that South Africans are unwilling to cut their living standards and that they will continue

to buy imported goodies — if not on HP, then on other types of credit.

Banks are still eager to lend.

Certain hard-up people may be dissuaded from buying videos and cameras etc on HP, but the really big spenders will just borrow to sustain their high living habits.

The most laughable change, observers said, was to raise the duty on fully imported cars from 100 percent to 110 percent. Porsche buyers are unlikely to be dissuaded by an extra R10 000.

This is all a replay of 1983, when consumer-led economic growth soared in one quarter to 10 percent a year, before plunging in three quarters to a negative 5 percent.

Since then, the Government has done little to encourage export diversification to make SA less dependent on gold and mineral prices, or investment in productive assets rather than consumer trinkets.

● Fuel price ripples — see Business Times

Voting Tales X

THE STORY
OF HOW YOU CAN
MAKE IT HAPPEN
BY NOMINATING
THE RIGHT
CANDIDATE.

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I'm telling you, now's
the time to nominate the
candidate who can make
it happen for you.

Ag man,
that's just talk.

As a registered
voter you have
the right to nominate
the candidate
of your choice.



GO
YOU
CAN MAKE IT
HAPPEN

Vote 26 October X

Full details on nomination
procedures are available from your
local authority.

TO BE CONTINUED

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Fight for control of municipalities

SA parties gear up for October polls

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By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The campaigns for the October municipal elections are moving into top gear this week as political parties hold public meetings and continue provincial congresses to promote their policies.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, is expected to fire the opening rounds of the Government's campaign when he addresses the important National Party congress in Natal later this week.

Although senior Nationalist sources are at pains to discourage speculation surrounding Mr Botha's speech (they do not want another Rubicon, which also took place at a Natal congress), there are indications that Mr Botha may weigh in with some important announcements.

The congress is to be held in Durban on Thursday and Friday.

Nominations advertisements

In Johannesburg, Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Deputy Information Minister Mr Roelf Meyer hold a meeting tonight in the Gereformeerde Kerk hall in Melville.

The new PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, and the party's leader in Johannesburg, Mr Tony L. van der Merwe, will address a public meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall on Wednesday night.

The rapid approach of the municipal elections was highlighted today when several municipalities placed advertisements calling for the lodging of nominations of candidates by the end of this month.

The elections will be held on October 26, but prior voting will be allowed between October 10 and October 22 for those who cannot or choose not to vote on polling day.

The Government has been obliged to make some painful announcements in recent weeks, including increases in the price of bread and fuel. The latest package of measures to dampen consumer demand, announced by the Government last Friday, is also likely to undermine the National Party's chances in the October polls.

Namibian independence

The Government is also losing ground on two other important issues: The Group Areas Act and the independence of Namibia.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht blew up the issue of Namibia at his party's Free State congress at the weekend, demanding that the various people of the territory be given the right to determine their own future.

Dr de Beer predicted at a PFP meeting in Cape Town last week that the Group Areas Act would be one of the central issues in the municipal campaign.

He said the Government, in trying to woo supporters from both parties, had developed a ridiculous policy of free settlement areas open to occupation and ownership by people of all races, while at the same time clamping down on offenders living in segregated areas.

There is a feeling in political circles that the Government has some positive economic announcements up its sleeve, which are likely to be made by Mr Botha at some critical stage in the campaign.

NP director of information Mr Con Botha said in an interview today he did not believe the economy or Namibia would be major issues in the municipal elections.

The economy was in a good position and had been showing strong growth in the past year.

Unions will go under the right wing

CP plans to return to laws of the past

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party has reiterated its determination to reinstate all apartheid legislation if it ever comes to power.

At its Free State provincial congress in Bloemfontein at the weekend a number of resolutions were passed supporting the CP's policy of separate development.

The resolutions ranged from the re-implementation of influx control to the banning of black trade unions.

The importance of the October municipal elections was repeatedly stressed as a mechanism to gain con-

trol on local government level.

Opening the two-day congress on Friday, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said a growing number of Afrikaners and other whites were becoming disillusioned with the National Party's constitutional reform plans.

He claimed people on the political left were supporting the CP. While theoretically supporting non-racialism and powersharing, they felt threatened "when their residential areas become multiracial".

In an attack on the NP's reform and the political left's ideal of non-racialism, Dr Treurnicht said: "The NP's policy of reform can in the long run have only one result — black rule, and not multiracial rule."

Afrikaners and the broad white community in South Africa had realised the Government's "treason" and were prepared to "take up the weapons to fight back and to reinstate their political power".

Some of the resolutions passed included:

- The rejection of any form of multiracial government, such as the proposed National Council and Regional Services Councils.
- The discouragement of industrial developments in certain urban areas because it promoted the influx of blacks.
- The rejection of any form of multiracial education, and a refusal to allow children to take part in multiracial sports events.
- An objection against the "misuse" of the SABC for the "propagation of racial integration", the transmission of sports programmes on Sundays and the SABC's "propaganda in favour of the NP".

Afrikaner youth 'drawn to IP'

16-18/88
LARGE numbers of young Afrikaners had been attracted to the launch of the Independent Party at a number of venues in the Transvaal and Free State last week, IP leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

He said his party had established branches at Potchefstroom University, Rand Afrikaans University and the University of the Orange Free State.

He said the high attendance by

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young Afrikaners at his meetings last week "reflects we have a message that appeals to them".

Commenting on the fact that young men at the IP meetings had questioned the IP's stand on conscription, Worrall said the party would be considering a resolution on conscription at the opening IP congress in Stellenbosch at the end of the month.

BRUCE ANDERSON



PFP information spokesman Peter Soal (left) and city councillor Tony Leon
Picture: PHILIP LITTLETON

PFP to focus on growth, renewal

16/8/88
B/Day (304A)

THE PFP would focus on growth and renewal for Johannesburg and work at restoring the ideal of service to its citizens, city council PFP leader Tony Leon said yesterday.

Speaking at a media conference attended by the PFP's 32 candidates in the Johannesburg municipal elections, Leon committed his party to "a winning partnership with business" which would centre on "a civic/business council through which Johannesburg's outstanding business community and labour leaders can specify the services they need and, in return, contribute their drive and skills to the city's progress".

Leon said in this way it would be possible to "unlock the true potential of our metropolis".

The seven major planks of the PFP manifesto were listed as: real secur-

BRUCE ANDERSON

ity, community harmony, clean and open government, a "user-friendly" city, a winning partnership with business, creative planning and towards a post-apartheid city.

The PFP's vision of a "user-friendly city" involved "the ideal of service" again becoming the guiding philosophy. Leon said the PFP would restore the office of ombudsman or citizen's friend and would eliminate red tape.

The PFP's attitude to group areas was that all suburbs should be open to all races. That policy would be coupled with an insistence on the maintenance of a minimum community standard policed through the enforcement of standards relating to noise, hygiene, density and health.

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Gerwel, Boesak on bill of rights

Political Staff

THE rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, are among the speakers at a forum on a South African bill of rights in Cape Town this month.

The forum, which has been organized by the Civil Rights League and the UWC Community Law Centre, is to be held at the university on Saturday, August 27.

The one-day conference will deal with the history of human rights, charters of rights, the current denial and abuse of rights, and ways of protecting rights by enshrining them in a future bill of rights.

In a statement yesterday, the Civil Rights League said it had campaigned for the extension of human and civil rights for 40 years.

"It is vital to create a culture of human rights so that all may come to value and work for the recognition of these fundamental freedoms and duties," the league said.

PFP HAS A PLAN UP ITS SLEEVE

THE Progressive Federal Party announced this week that it would dismantle all apartheid by-laws should it win the Johannesburg City Council elections on October 26.

Addressing a Press conference held in Johannesburg on Monday, Mr Tony Leon, leader of the opposition in the Johannesburg City Council, said the PFP was working on a plan to improve living and working conditions in the city.

The PFP said it would achieve its plans only after coming into power after the elections. For the past 11

years, Johannesburg has been run by a coalition of the National Party and Independents.

"They National Party announced last week that they should be judged on their record. We believe that a positive, affirmative programme of action embracing the entire community is the best method of moving Johannesburg forward," said Mr Leon.

He said the PFP would improve security, allow people of all races to use the same buses and stay wherever they wanted to and encourage the informal sector (hawkers) to continue operat-

ing in the city without any hassles.

"We need the informal sector to provide some of the 2 500 jobs which must be created daily if our population is not to be out of work," said Mr Leon.

Mr Leon said since the National Party and its partners have been in power in the Johannesburg City Council, there had been numerous lost opportunities.

He also said that the essence of their (PFP) programme was a practical and solutions-oriented approach to the major urban challenges which confronted Johannesburg.

By MZIKAYISE
EDOM

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UDF, big business pow-wow

TOP businessmen who met members of progressive organisations at the weekend have agreed to "take another look" at the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

The businessmen were urged at the Magaliesberg meeting to stop the Bill becoming law, and not to use its provisions. Also on the agenda were the State of Emergency and the October municipal elections.

About 40 businessmen and academics met about 40 people associated with organisations like the United Democratic Front, Congress of SA Trade Unions and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

No mandate

The meeting is believed to have been initiated by business consultant Christo Nel.

Those from organisations had no mandate because the meeting had been hurriedly convened, said one of the participants, who did not want to be named.

"We merely listened and tried to put concrete issues on the agenda.

"We had no illusions about the meeting. We were dealing with businessmen and not progressive organisations.

"These businessmen are not necessarily representative of big business. They are merely a group who called themselves en-

• TURN TO PAGE 3

• FROM PAGE 1

UDF

lightened and opposed to apartheid.

"It was clear that their interest is to save capitalism, but we wanted to discuss concrete matters, like the state of emergency, labour legislation, conscription and the October elections.

"No further meetings have been planned but we will be observing with keen interest the kind of activity they will be engaged in."

No participants were named in a brief statement issued after the two-day meeting, but it is believed they included First National Bank managing director Chris Ball, Gencor chief executive Naas Steenkamp, Trade-gro chief executive Mervyn King, Professor Sampie Terrblanche of Stellenbosch University, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa, and advocate David de Villiers, a former Nasionale Pers managing director.

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Govt 'faces military coup or real reform'

ULUNDI — The South African government faced the choice between a military takeover or legislating for an entirely new political dispensation, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was addressing a meeting with the leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, and senior IP members including Mr Jannie Momberg.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said he recognized the IP wanted him to become, like Dr Worrall, actively involved in helping to unify opposition groups inside and outside Parliament.

But he rejected the tricameral Parliament entirely and would do nothing within its framework.

When he said apartheid could not be reformed, he did not mean that the government must abdicate responsibility and put itself at the mercy of other groups which would meet to negotiate a new future.

"I do not live in an Alice-in-Wonderland world and I know we will either have a military takeover of the South African government or the government must legislate South Africa into an entirely new political dispensation," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

Natal Indaba takes off again

Cape Times 18/1/88 Political Staff

THERE had been a resurgence of interest in the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba because no other real options existed, one of the co-conveners of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said yesterday.

"On the streets and in homes all over the land there is an increased awareness of and support for the Indaba, clearly proved by independently-conducted scientific market research," he said in speech delivered at the Pretoria Press Club.

Dr Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and a member of the KwaZulu cabinet, added: "Among those in government, we detect a new mood of increased accommodation and preparedness to negotiate."

"Whereas in previous days the Indaba and its proposals were rejected out of hand by the more outspoken of our government critics, today we find the 'spirit and process' of the Indaba applauded and only certain areas of the 'detail' criticized."

"The explanation for this resurgence of interest is quite simply that no other real options exist."

"Faced with the myriad problems confronting any constitutional blueprint planner in today's South Africa, those who have sought to improve upon the Indaba and those who have sought to shoot it down have been faced at the end of their labours with a blank slate."

Election policy of FFF

Political Reporter

The Five Freedoms Forum, an official guest at the PFP's election campaign launch last night, reiterated its stand of backing any political party or municipal election candidate supporting desegregation.

In a statement yesterday, the FFF said part of its "Johannesburg — One City, Open City" campaign would be to attend party political meetings and support candidates who endorsed its manifesto working towards a non-apartheid city council.

The FFF's manifesto called for the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act, encouraged greater trust and understanding between all Johannesburg's peoples, and "an end to interference in civic affairs by central government".

It also called for "an end to control of Johannesburg City Council by councillors who continue to support a segregated city".



Mr Tony Leon at the launch in Johannesburg City Hall last night of the PFP's municipal election campaign. ● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Poll is vote on racism — De Beer

By Esmaré van der Merwe,

The National Party knew that the Progressive Federal Party's belief in non-racialism, human dignity and personal freedom was the best policy to be followed, but, was scared "to walk the entire road with us" because of fear of the Conservative Party, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

"A Nat in 1988 is either a Conservative who is too ashamed to admit it, or a Prog who is too scared to say it. Why support a party like that?" he said at the launch of the PFP's municipal election campaign in the Johannesburg City Hall.

On October 26 voters had a choice between two racist parties on the one hand, or the PFP — the party of racial justice — on the other.

In a strong attack on the Government's political and economic policies, Dr de Beer said racial conflict would drag on and the economy deteriorate under continued NP rule. He described State President P W Botha as "ambiguous and half-hearted".

"If we have the guts to change our attitudes and policies, we can get back on the high road to prosperity."

"If, on the other hand, white South Africans are determined to continue with attitudes and policies which mean race discrimination, forced segregation, violations of the rule of law — if you want apartheid — then you will pay for it by getting steadily poorer year by year."

The PFP's "modernising" policy was the only way in which the "struggle" could be stopped, business confidence revived and living standards improved.

Dr de Beer highlighted group areas legislation as a key election issue.

While the CP's policy of racial segregation was unworkable, the NP's proposed provision for a few selected, racially-open areas would ensure gross overcrowding and slum conditions.

In reply to a question on military service, Dr De Beer said the PFP had the keenest appreciation of the dilemma of those who did not wish to serve in the South African Defence Force.

The PFP believed South Africa should and would be best served by a permanent, standing army, supported by volunteers.

The meeting was attended by a full house of about 1 300 people.

Information to the news-

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Plea for pressure on unjust laws

UK envoy warns against fatalism

BUSINESSMEN should maintain pressure on those who had the power to change laws that were unjust or inhibited economic growth, British ambassador Robin Renwick said yesterday in Johannesburg.

He told the Urban Foundation's annual meeting that, more importantly, business leaders could break down apartheid within their own enterprises.

Renwick said it was no longer possible to have economic growth and apartheid.

"With an expanding economy you can give to one side without taking from the other. With a contracting, or stagnant, economy you cannot. That simple law of economics does much to explain the rise here of the right wing," he said.

Commenting on SA's relations with other countries, and talk of supposed benefits of a siege economy, he said the most dangerous and debilitating disease in politics was fatalism.

"We do not believe in your isolation but we cannot prevent you isolating yourselves," he said.

Renwick added: "The avoidance of further economic damage, of further sanctions and further disinvestment, will depend on you, not just on us."

SA needed to preserve its economy while changing politics, not to destroy the economy while reinforcing the worst features of the political system.

He said there was a danger that South Africans would resign themselves to living permanently under censorship and states of emergency.

He said the British government was urging British companies who wished to stay in SA to increase financial contributions towards the health, welfare and advancement of black workers.

British companies spent well over R140m in these fields in 1986 and one company alone had pledged R3m to the Urban Foundation this year.

Renwick added that the foundation's record in achieving practical improvements was second to none and determined pressure to secure changes in legislation should continue. — Sapa.

● See Page 8

Blacks lag badly on home bonds

A PILOT small-loans company is to be established by the Urban Foundation.

It adds in its annual review for 1988 that main impediments to large-scale black home-ownership are the unavailability of finance for low-income borrowers and lack of land.

During the past year a major feasibility study into the setting up of a mechanism for granting small loans was completed.

It showed that in 1985/86 only 3.1% of building society lending for homes went to

blacks. Another research project, investigating the subsidy system, was initiated.

The foundation believes government should subsidise supply and not demand.

Its recommendations have been submitted to the Department of Finance and Housing Advisory Council and, with government examining its subsidy policy, the foundation says it is optimistic.

It hopes to release its research and recommendations on the lack of land for housing next year. — Sapa.

SINCE South Africa is in a state of arrested development politically, it is hardly surprising that, among some of the protagonists here, economic thinking has not advanced much either.

There still is, on one side, a continuing belief in the efficacy of State capitalism, and on the other an equally naive and utopian belief in an extreme form of socialism.

The fact is that both concepts are hopelessly outmoded.

When Krushchev told the West: "We will bury you," he claimed he meant the economic performance of the socialist countries would so far outstrip that of the West that the Western economies soon would collapse under the weight of capitalism's own contradictions.

Well, what has happened since? What is the reason in the Soviet Union for the policy of perestroika? The main reason, according to the Soviet leaders themselves, is economic stagnation.

The Soviet Union alone, together with some parts of this continent, has contrived to defy the laws of economics as they have applied elsewhere in the world, and actually to worsen its own problems while others have been solving theirs. Hence the reforms now being introduced there, and in some of the countries on this continent which have tried, with an equal lack of success, to follow the same route.

The management of a socialist economy requires a hyper-efficient bureaucracy. And speaking as a bureaucrat, I can assure you that does not exist anywhere, least of all in Africa — including this part of Africa!

One can hardly fail to be struck by the extraordinary blindness displayed about the history of this continent. That, perhaps, is to be expected. The one thing history and experience teaches is that no one learns anything from history or experience. Thus, ignoring what has happened to other African economies, the cry goes up: "Let's make all the same mistakes again."

What is needed here is to preserve the economy while changing the politics — not to destroy the economy while reinforcing the worst features of the political system.

In many parts of the developing world, democracy fails. One-party systems encourage the centralisation of power. When change can take place only by violent means, one undemocratic system succeeds another. Hence the dilemma: "Many societies cannot afford democracy, but even less can they afford not to have it."

Amidst misery there can be no freedom, British Ambassador Robin Renwick (right) said at the annual meeting of the Urban Foundation in Johannesburg yesterday, reaffirming his country's opposition to sanctions and disinvestment. This is an edited extract from his speech



Preserve economy — but change the politics of SA

12/8/88 B/Day (12) (304A)

Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn added that SA is a prime contender for this contradiction, in terms of its future development. Is there not a danger here, too, of resigning yourselves to living permanently under censorship and states of emergency?

There are problems which would confront this country under any form of government. There are very few cases of actual starvation in SA today, but there are hundreds of thousands of cases of malnutrition. Tuberculosis is rampant in the squatter settlements of the Cape and on the Rand.

Because there is no starvation, there still is a large influx, legal or illegal, of people from the neighbouring countries seeking work here.

Against the background, you will

understand why we are so totally opposed to the absurd and pernicious doctrine that "worse is better". The idea that by meting out more economic punishment we can hope to improve the situation here seems to us a pathetic illusion. Amidst misery, there can be no freedom.

In few societies it is easier to understand the anger and frustration of those struggling for their political rights. But that does not mean we should applaud the intolerance which characterises South African politics and which, unfortunately, is not manifested only on the right.

The call for sanctions is born not

of malevolence or a desire to destroy, but of frustration. We should be ill-advised to question the bona fides of those who genuinely believe, albeit against most of the evidence so far, that somehow they might help. By the same token we are entitled ourselves to object to attempts at the "moral necklacing" of those who are just as adamantly opposed to apartheid, but who have the temerity to question whether further economic sanctions will have the miraculous effects which, apparently, are attributed to them.

The question is not an ideological but a practical one. How can we seek best to overthrow apartheid without inflicting even greater misery on the people of SA, to say nothing of the neighbouring states?

The reality is that more general

sanctions might end up reducing the average income of white South Africans by, say, 5%. But they would reduce the income of black South Africans thrown out of work by 100%, and the consequences for their much larger number of dependants do not bear thinking about.

As we try to assist community groups in the townships, so we come across the practical effects of disinvestment. I have been told by numerous groups that they used to receive help from companies — usually US companies — that have left. When I visit the liberal universities, I hear of scholarships for black students that also have terminated when companies left.

When a company decides to leave this country, it does not continue to worry about SA. On the contrary, it writes that subject off its agenda. And, after all, we can hardly blame them. They are not asked by the apostles of disinvestment to go on doing anything positive here. All they are asked to do is leave.

These pressures to disengage apply not just to companies but to countries as well. We are urged to cut off all economic contact with SA, to break off diplomatic relations, to engage in a cultural boycott, to maintain the sports boycott, to reinforce the academic boycott — in short, to leave and pretend that the place no longer exists.

Of course, we could go on voting for resolutions at the United Nations. It would not be clear what else we could do. And any country that takes that course is going to end up writing SA off its agenda too — except, of course, in the purely rhetorical sense. And if that kind of isolation were achieved how, I wonder, would that possibly help those struggling for change here?

So far as Britain is concerned, we do not believe in disengagement. We do not intend to walk off the pitch. We intend to stay on the pitch — to go on working for peace in Angola, an internationally recognised settlement in Namibia, a return to the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, the repeal of all racially based legislation, the release of political leaders and negotiations in which all parties can participate on the basis of a cessation of violence on all sides.

We do not expect instant transformations, or success on all fronts at once. But however long it takes, and however hard we have to struggle, we will go on working to attain those objectives. We are determined to help to defeat apartheid. And we intend to demonstrate that we, too, do not lack staying power.

PFP leader lists NP inadequacies

Vote Nat and grow poorer, says De Beer

18/8/88 B Day 304A

IF South Africans wanted to go on getting poorer and poorer, all they needed to do was keep on voting the Nats into power, said PFP leader Zach de Beer at the launch of the party's municipal election campaign in Johannesburg last night.

"That's all you need to do to accelerate the downward poverty spiral into which they (the NP) have plunged us," De Beer added.

He said there were a number of reasons why South Africans were getting poorer, and they were all the fault of the NP.

Among the reasons he listed were a lack of foreign capital, a constant decline in the value of money in SA, and, the poor productivity of SA's industries.

He said the lack of foreign capital meant there was a "special strain on the balance of payments".

That, in turn, meant that the authorities had to take action to abort cyclical upswings in economic activity, a process which South Africans had been witnessing in recent weeks.

"Increases in interest rates, im-

BRUCE ANDERSON

port surcharges of up to 60%, tighter hire-purchase terms — all designed to take money out of your pocket and choke off your efforts to live well," De Beer said.

De Beer urged voters not to support independent candidates standing against the PFP in the Johannesburg elections.

On the subject of Group Areas, De Beer said it was PFP policy that the Group Areas Act should be scrapped and all SA opened to free settlement.

Describing the PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Tony Leon, as a "vivid, courageous and principled leader", De Beer urged voters to support him.

In his speech, Leon condemned "Saturday's shopping centre bombing in Hyde Park, together with all the other civilian outrages which have been perpetrated, presumably by the ANC."

"I think the time has come to ask the ANC whether, in fact, as a matter of deliberate policy, they place limpet mines and explosives to kill, hurt and maim soft targets?"

Despite unity talk, suspicions keep white opposition apart 12-18/8/88 w/ mail 304A

HISTORICAL antagonisms, personality clashes and differences in political style are keeping apart the three white parliamentary groups to the left of the government — despite talk of unity among them.

The three white parties that contest the parliamentary arena on the left of the government (the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party) agree they should co-operate. However, there is little evidence of progress towards this.

The latest wave of speculation about unity was sparked last weekend by the PFP's federal congress, which resolved that the party should merge, if necessary, into a "new, non-racial, progressive party which is committed to the liberal values the PFP has so stoutly defended in the past".

The new party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, took this further in his first public speech on Tuesday. Quoting former Prime Minister DF Malan, he said: "Bring together those who by inner conviction belong together. That is the task I am setting myself. Every South African who believes in equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law belongs with us — nowhere else."

Similar sentiments followed from the NDM and the IP.

IP leader, Denis Worrall, told a public meeting it was necessary for the "creative opposition across the colour line to be harnessed into a single fighting force that disenchanted National Party members feel they can be part of."

However he added later that he would prefer a "realignment of forces" to a merger.

Dr Wynand Malan, whose NDM has three MPs, also speaks positively of unity, though he said this week he would not support "unification for unification's sake".

In the words of De Beer, it makes "electoral sense" for the three groups to merge. Observers believe that if they oppose each other in the next

The prospect of the three white opposition groups left of the Nats failing in the next election is enough to make unity look attractive. But plenty of differences need to be sorted out first, reports ANTON HARBER



Denis Worrall

election, the PFP could lose many of its 17 seats, and both the NDM and the IP would be lucky to win any seats at all.

Opinion polls point to the fact that the three parties are stealing voters from each other, rather than from the National Party. Collectively, however, they could at least return to the position held by the PFP during its heyday, when it controlled 23 seats.

None of the three parties sees fundamental differences between itself and the others. De Beer, for example, said in an interview this week he thought it was only personalities and styles that kept them apart.

Historical antagonisms have a lot to do with it. There is ill-feeling in the PFP about their two MPs who crossed the floor to the NDM. Strong and bitter words were expressed by the party leadership when these two left the party.

There is also scepticism about Worrall and his personality. Many PFP

members accuse him of opportunism and decry his reluctance to fill anything but the leadership role in an alliance.

PFP leaders feel their generosity in not opposing Malan and Worrall in their respective constituencies has not been reciprocated.

On the other hand, Worrall and Malan are worried about three aspects of the PFP: its "loser" image, its vulnerability to NP attacks on the issue of security, and its limited ability to win Afrikaans-speaking voters.

These factors suggest that newspaper headlines this week proclaiming an opposition "realignment" was "on the cards" were premature.

On the other hand, the prospect of all three faring badly in the next election is likely to force them to think, at the very least, about election pacts.

Other factors may also be changing. The fact that the PFP now has a new leader in De Beer and is addressing its downward slide may be part of the reason that the other two groups appear more interested in unity and less concerned about the "loser" image.

And the PFP's new policy on security — passed at the federal congress — should go some way to dealing with this issue.

Both Malan and Worrall, however, stress that any realignment must cross racial lines. Their parties place more stress on contacts and alliances with extra-parliamentary groups than does the PFP.

Malan said the first requirement for a realignment was a bridge between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.

Worrall said co-operation had to be "across colour lines", though he is probably eyeing Inkatha rather than the United Democratic Front.

De Beer has committed himself to improving contacts with extra-parliamentary groups — but seems less concerned with this than his counterparts in the NDM and IP.

Critics outside of parliament — particularly those in organisations such as the UDF — play down the importance of such parliamentary shifts.

The Five Freedoms Forum — one of the few white organisations that maintains contact both in parliament and in the mass, extra-parliamentary resistance, highlights this problem.

"We welcome any moves to unity. We endorse any such development that will strengthen opposition to apartheid," FFP leader Mike Olivier said this week. "But it is easy to blow it out of proportion. It does not mean much if it is simply a realignment in parliament."

"All three of these parties don't pay adequate attention to the democratic movement. There is a tendency to overplay the importance of parliamentary politics."

It is this factor — the relationship the white parliamentary opposition has with the "democratic movement" — that will determine whether there is a rearrangement of parliamentary seats or a fundamental and crucial shift in opposition alliances.

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Labour Law Unit

Copies of the proceedings of the Labour Law Unit's April 1988 Conference on "Laws against Trade Unions and Political Organisations" are now available at a cost of R12,00 each (postage included) from:

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This loyal Afrikaner won't do an army camp. The difference: he's HNP

THIS man appeared in court this week for refusing to report for "Dad's Army". But businessman Jakobus Johannes Nel is no David Bruce.

He is a staunch supporter of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, best known for having been thrown out of two National Party meetings during last year's elections after being involved in incidents with NP members.

He was one of a handful of HNP supporters who had gone to the meetings — including one addressed by Minister of Defence Magnus Malan — to heckle and boo. When fights broke out between them and NP members, Nel and others were thrown out of the hall.

This week Nel told the Grahamstown Magistrate's Court that he did not see why he still had to do military camps.

He was charged with contravening the Defence Act's Section 126 A(1)(b) and conducted his own defence.

The state alleges Nel had failed to report for military camps from September 27 to November 25, 1987.

The case was postponed. Nel was not asked to plead.

● The local National Party MP, Jannie van der Vyfer, said he was very shocked to hear of Nel's refusal to serve in the army as "he was always very militant."

"Last year he gave us a very hard time during the elections," Van der Vyfer said. — Ana



"Draft dodger" Jakobus Nel threatens a photographer. The picture was taken while Nel was campaigning for the HNP

Picture: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

12-10-87
304A

It is the intention of the parties that...

THE ECONOMY

Not quite Dakar, as business meets with the opposition ..

It was not, insist those present, an 'internal Dakar'. But the meeting between business, labour and opposition leaders was remarkable in itself.

A NEW anti-apartheid group, the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), was formed when leading captains of industry and members of extra-parliamentary organisations met at the weekend.

The two-day workshop, held at Gencor's training centre in Broederstroom, was initiated by the business group to explore "issues affecting the economy", and represented a high point in their "on-going consultative process", said its co-ordinator, Christo Nel.

Those present have underplayed the significance of the event and have scotched rumours that it amounted to an "internal Dakar". But in drawing together 40 top businessmen and academics and a similar number of United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions and other extra-parliamentary figures, the "Broederstroom Enconter" represented something more than a casual get-together.

A joint statement released after the event said the participants "accepted the inevitability of structural change in a socio-political and economic field", and that they agreed on "the need for the transformation to a post-apartheid society in which the current polarisation can be overcome".

Among the issues discussed were the state of the economy, current labour legislation, the municipal elections, the State of Emergency, the group areas and squatting bills, the effect of militarisation on economic growth and the state's attempts to draw business into its National Security Management system, and into the Joint Management Centres in particular.

Both groups agreed the workshop had been a success but the "democratic movement" group expressed caution in committing itself to further get-togethers.

In a separate press statement the UDF-Cosatu group said the forma-



Present: Christo Nel, Jay Naidoo and Chris Ball

Some of those who were there

Weekly Mail Reporter

AMONG businessmen who attended the workshop and who have expressed support for the CBM are: Mervyn King of Tradegro, Naas Steenkamp of Gencor, Chris Ball of First National, Albert Koopman of Trador, Leon Cohen of PG Bison, MC Pretorius of Turner and Newall Holdings, Brian Smith of Volkswagen, Cedric Savage of Toncoro, Alex Hamilton of Alex Hamilton Construction, Ken Maxwell of JCI and former Nasionale Pers MD David de Villiers.

Others prominent in the process but who were not able to attend were Trustbank's Chris van Wyk, Southern Life's Neil Chapman, SA Perm's Bob Tucker and AECI's Mike Sanders.

The "democratic movement" group included: UDF figures Canon Mcebisi Xundu, Azhar Cachalla, Dalla Omar, Andrew Borraine, Beyers Naudé, Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin, Fuad Cassim, Prof Ismail Mohammed, Cosatu leaders Jay Naidoo, Sydney Mafumadi and Frank Meintjies, Numsa's Alec Erwin, National Medical and Dental Coun-

cil president Diliza Mji, Association of Democratic Journalists president Cecil Soals, Randall van den Heever of the Cape Professional Teachers Association, Sbusiso Ndebele of the Natal University Joint Academic Staff Association, Dr Max Coleman formerly of the Detainees Parents' Support Committee and Prince Mahlangu of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

Also present at the workshop were several people involved in academic and professional fields including: Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Professor Sampie Terreblanche, Dr Lourens du Plessis and Dr Johan Kinghorn of Stellenbosch University, Professor Loet Douwes Dekker, Dr Johan van Zyl and Mark Swilling of Wits University, Dr Stuart Saunders and Professor Ampie Muller of the University of Cape Town, Ann Bernstein of the Urban Foundation and Mike Olivier of the Five Freedoms Forum.

tion of the CBM "represents a step forward in that it allows concerned business people to engage with the forces of change and to play a more effective role in opposition to apartheid".

But UDF and Cosatu participants added that any follow-up would depend on further consultation within their ranks and on the business group's stands on issues of concern to the "democratic movement".

A UDF-Cosatu delegate, Dr Beyers Naudé, said it was too early to as-

sess the workshop's significance but noted he was "struck by the willingness of the businessmen to listen to our concerns".

The CBM said in a statement it intended to "consult with all interests groups and democratic movements on an ongoing basis".

It described itself as "an alliance of South African business leaders and professionals dedicated to working toward a fair and just society and a successful economy in a united, non-racial democracy".

...and some others meet the state

A SENIOR government official has conceded in a confidential meeting with employer organisations that "sanctions could have been avoided" had 17 resistance organisations not been restricted in February.

The position had been over-

At a meeting with business leaders, a senior government official admits that recent government actions have magnified the

lums Bill (the severe sanctions Bill currently before the US congress)," the summary says.

"The situation was extremely sensitive and South Africa would have to be very careful regarding its actions within the next two

PARLIAMENT

No way out 304A FM 19/8 88

The significance of the short session of parliament starting on Monday should not be underestimated.

It has been called to pass a trilogy of Bills aimed at tightening the Group Areas Act (GAA) while conceding areas for "free settlement." The measures are likely to be rejected by all parties except the National Party (NP) majority in the House of Assembly. This means they will be sent to the National-dominated President's Council (PC), which will undoubtedly endorse the NP's view and allow them to become law.

In effect, the Bills signal the outer limit of reform in the current political era. They are the beginning of the consolidation of "group (race) identity" within the reform parameters drawn up in recent years — showing President P W Botha's inability to move beyond an "own affairs" constitutional structure. They also demonstrate the political gutlessness of Cabinet ministers and Nat MPs (a significant number) who do not believe in what PW is doing, but will not stand up and say so.

The Bills are government's most regressive political step since Botha became NP leader 11 years ago. Not only are they set to cause untold human suffering in SA, but will also focus the spotlight of international condemnation on this country as sharply as ever (*Current Affairs* July 8).

They may also be the final straw that breaks the already straining back of the tricameral system. Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP) is determined to resist the changes, but is essentially powerless if they are sent to the PC for approval. A meeting between Hendrickse and Botha (at Botha's request) earlier this month failed to resolve the impasse.

The proposed GAA amendments have also hardened the LP's resolve not to approve constitutional changes needed by the Nats to increase the number of MPs and to bring blacks into the Cabinet. In terms of the

constitution, the House of Representatives (where the LP has a majority), as well as the other two houses must approve the changes. The PC cannot be used.

The GAA moves are also a serious blow to the LP's long-term political strategy. When the party voted at its controversial Eshowe congress in 1983 to enter the tricameral system, it set itself five years to "dismantle apartheid."

An analysis of the LP's performance in parliament shows that while it can justifiably claim to have made a reasonable contribution to moves away from apartheid in some areas and to have influenced legislation during discussions in the standing committees, the major "reforms" of the tricameral era have come about more as a result of socio-economic pressures which the NP could no longer resist, rather than through direct action by the LP (see *Leaders*).



Hendrickse ... no other choice in a loaded system

The party must now face the reality that its prime short-term target — the scrapping of the GAA — is unattainable. In effect, it has failed in its bid to "dismantle apartheid" — or be well on the way to doing so — within five years. Labour will decide what to do next at its congress in Bloemfontein at the end of the year. It has three choices:

- ☐ Withdraw from parliament;
- ☐ Change its strategy to one of utmost resistance within the system to any government measures and, in so doing, effectively make an even greater farce of the constitution; or
- ☐ Extend the time limit for "dismantling apartheid" and continue as before, which appears to be the most likely option.

Botha and Chris Heunis (as the architect of the tricameral system) face a similar crisis to that of the LP. It is now clear that when it comes to the crunch, the tricameral system cannot provide a platform for "negotiated consensus" between white, coloured and Indian politicians. Hendrickse obviously does not want to use the entrenched and semi-entrenched clauses of the constitution as a weapon against the NP merely for the sake of opposition, but because the system is

so loaded against him he has no choice.

Unless the Nats realise this and find a solution that allows Hendrickse to play a more meaningful role in power-sharing they will remain locked in a spiral of parliamentary confrontation.

Soviets encourage negotiation

Soviet policy towards southern Africa was committed to encouraging negotiation rather than violence as a solution to the area's problems.

This is the main impression of Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, after a recent visit to the Soviet Union.

He visited the country with his wife as a guest of the Russian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. Arrangements were made through the Soviet embassy in Lesotho.

Communism

Dr Boraine said the fear of communism and Soviet influence in southern Africa, which was being instilled in South Africans as a means of keeping them from wanting to move away from the Government, had motivated him to arrange the visit.

There had been many statements and articles from Soviet academics as well as Sovietologists from the United States and Britain which refuted this alleged threat.

In the Soviet Union he had met a wide range of politicians, officials and academics, including Mr Vladilen Vasev, head of an Africa department of the USSR's Department of Foreign Affairs.

He is one of the top Soviet experts on southern Africa and the man who has been available for consultation at all the negotiations so far between South Africa, Angola and Cuba. He is thought to have played a big role behind the scenes in keeping the Angolans and Cubans at the conference table.

He stated that he was greatly encouraged about the possibilities for an agreement on a peace plan for southern Africa.

His one fear was that South Afri-

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, says, after a recent visit to Soviet Union, that Soviets favour negotiated settlement of the problems of South Africa.

'S Africans must solve their own problems'

30/8/88

19/8/88

ca would use the negotiations to buy time and that, especially after Cuban withdrawal, it might not be willing to follow through on the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

He saw mainly two reasons for South Africa's willingness to negotiate at this stage: the fact that it no longer enjoyed military supremacy and the economic factor.

Namibia

South Africa could no longer put money into its efforts in Namibia with no end in sight.

The Soviets were willing to offer assistance to ensure the success of the negotiations.

They felt that revolution could not succeed in South Africa and that there therefore had to be negotiation politics.

One of their concerns was how to get the South African Government to sit down to negotiate with legitimate black leaders for genuine solutions.

Dr Boraine said he found the Soviets well-informed despite the fact

that they were not inside South Africa.

He was specifically told that the Soviet Union's policy towards southern Africa was that the region should not become the theatre for conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Soviets stressed that solutions to existing problems had to be found by South Africans themselves although they made no secret of their abhorrence of apartheid.

As America found in Vietnam, so it would appear that the Soviet Union had discovered that regional disputes could not be solved by the intervention of the major powers.

Afrikaans

Dr Boraine was amazed when two of the academics he met greeted him in Afrikaans.

They were well aware of the perception among white South Africans of the so-called Soviet threat and they emphasised that the Soviet Union had no desire to become embroiled in what was essentially a southern African problem.



Dr Alex Boraine ... Soviets were well informed about South Africa.

They also stressed that they would do anything they could to encourage genuine negotiation between legitimate black and white leaders within South Africa.

One thing was clear — as developments took place within southern Africa, the fig leaf of the Soviet threat was going to be snatched away from the South African Government which would have to resort to different propaganda efforts in its attempts to confine whites within the apartheid laager.

Expectant mood

Dr Boraine said he was fascinated and even excited by the mood of expectation which seemed to run through Soviet society in terms of perestroika and glasnost.

Everywhere he went people were discussing the new commitment to far-reaching and fundamental economic and political reform. People queued up from 5 am in order to secure newspapers which devoted enormous space to the perestroika debate.

Peace talks set for Brazzaville

PRETORIA — The next round of south-western African peace talks will be held in Brazzaville, Congo, from August 24 to 26, a Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Senior officials from Angola, Cuba and SA are expected to discuss a range of topics at the US-mediated meeting, including:

□ The efficacy of the newly formed joint

military commission monitoring the ceasefire, and the withdrawal of 2 000-plus SADF troops from Angola;

□ A calendar for the withdrawal of 47 000 Cuban troops from Angola; and

□ Issues surrounding the implementation of resolution 435 in Namibia and any response from the UN Secretary-General to November 1 as the beginning of its implementation. — Sapa.

(304A)

Hough talks on elections

THE newly appointed Transvaal Administrator, Mr Danie Hough, this week addressed councillors from the 12 West Rand Black Local Authorities about the forthcoming October Municipal Elections.

Mr Hough, who succeeded Mr Willem Cruywagen in June, said it was up to the councillors and other leaders to establish the "legitimacy of local government". The occasion was a party to introduce Mr Hough to officials of the central Witwatersrand councillors after snap visits to Alexandra and Soweto undertaken during the day.

He told councillors: "The best way to reach the people is by means of intimate house meetings. There is really no need for grand public meetings where the enemies of the elections can, with impunity, practise their devilish outrages."

He assured councillors of the Government's intention to provide security, but urged "the old adage of safety in numbers still remains the best antidote. If sufficient numbers of people turn out on election day, they will intimidate the opponents."

He said dates for special votes, to be cast before October 26, were between October 10 and 22.

Mr Hough said his officials were working towards helping the councils to establish a sound economic base. He said the task presently was to enable councils to effectively recover the rent and service charges owed by residents and also charging economic tariffs.

He also said that a programme to train councillors in political and administrative skills was in the pipeline, including council staff, as a move to improve the quality of services.

19/8/88
Soweto
3047

LOCAL ELECTIONS

The poll's the thing

30/11/79
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19/12/79
[scribble]

Surprise, intrigue and more than a dose of scepticism have greeted figures putting the number of blacks registered for the October polls at an average of around 75% countrywide. And, while candidates in white electoral areas seldom rely on their rolls for an indication of voter turnout, government is hailing black registration figures as proof of widespread interest in its constitutional reform programme.

The most obvious question is "75% of what?" Eligible to vote is that portion of the black population which has lived in a black area for three months, or owns property in such an area. Despite dispensation offered to squatters in certain areas, the qualification still excludes hundreds of thousands of South Africans, notably domestic workers.

For those who still doubt the figures, *Government Gazette* 11307 of May 20 offers some enlightenment. It gives electoral officers "access to the records of the residents of any township situated within the area of jurisdiction of the local authority concerned," and allows him to "make or cause to be made ... such extracts as he may deem expedient." Provincial administration officials have confirmed that voters' lists are being compiled or updated from housing registers.

Considering the chronic housing shortage in SA, it is doubtful whether even this form of involuntary registration would hike the figures as much as the government would like.

Despite the publicity blitz aimed at potential voters, provincial administrators appear to have some difficulty pinpointing the extent of voluntary response. Soweto Council Clerk Nico Malan describes the return of postal applications from the township as "fair." However, a number of Soweto residents claim never to have seen the forms and say the prevailing response to the election is one of disinterest.

Township residents suspect that involuntary registration took place when application was made for ID documents. There seemed to be some confusion about this at the Department of Home Affairs, although one employee did say that those in possession of an ID document before July 31 would already be on the voters' roll.

Involuntary registration *per se* is not up for criticism; white South Africans over the age of 18 appear automatically on the parliamentary roll. However, when government attempts to equate high registration figures with positive black sentiment toward the

elections, the rationale is suspect.

The test is still to come. Low polls turn into even lower percentage polls in the face of high registration. The sceptics will have to contain themselves until election day to discover whether the government equation will ultimately be self defeating.

□ The Bureau for Information reports that an average of 80% of blacks have registered to vote in Natal. The actual figure given is 64 118 people. In the Cape, the percentage is given as around 61,5%, or 499 880 people. Figures for the other provinces were not available. ■

Botha 'ready' for GAA referendum

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — President P W Botha yesterday made it patently clear in the face of rising agitation for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act that it is here to stay.

In a tough opening speech to the Natal National Party congress, Mr Botha also:

- Increased speculation about the possible release of Mr Nelson Mandela;
- Bluntly said black majority rule would not happen under his leadership;
- Said it was time the word "traitor" was reintroduced in respect of South Africans who pleaded for economic action against the country;
- Congratulated South Africa's negotiating teams in the Namibia-Angola peace initiative;
- Criticized black leaders for refusing to participate in negotiations for a new constitution, and
- Appealed for less "negativism" towards government steps to bring about constitutional reform which could not succeed without socio-economic reforms.

On the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha said he was prepared to

what he described as "hypocrisy".

Mr Botha also strongly criticized the Afrikaans-language newspaper Beeld for calling on the government to scrap the act.

He also hit out at growing radicalism in the country and said the ANC had embarked on a subtle campaign to improve its image and there were even attempts to give the Freedom Charter a more acceptable face.

"It remains what it is, a communist attempt to overthrow good order in South Africa," he said.

The government knew what the ANC was up to because it had entries to its inner circles. "That is why so many of them are in jail."

Arrangements could be made, if the ANC laid down its arms, for them to come back to the country to discuss a future constitution in a sensible manner.

In an indirect reference to the Dellums sanctions legislation in America, Mr Botha warned against outside interference in South Africa's affairs.

"If South Africa does not resist interference in its internal affairs, it will become a vassal state of the US," he said. "I am not prepared in my time to allow this."

hold a referendum to test white opinion about scrapping the legislation.

But, he said, he believed 70% would vote to retain it.

This would also apply to coloured people and Indians.

"I invite them to prove the opposite," he said hitting out at

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, August 19 1988

Economic, political growth go together — De Beer

A CHANGE in attitudes and policies was crucial if SA was going to improve its economic growth rate substantially, PFP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking to members of the Johannesburg Press Club, De Beer said political growth and economic reform could not exist without each other.

In most countries, governments were voted in and out of power on the strength of their economic performance, he said. However, in SA the ruling party felt vote-counting was more important than sound economic policy.

De Beer said this might be acceptable in other Western countries but it was not acceptable in SA because only about 15% of all South Africans

MANDY JEAN WOODS

were allowed to vote.

He said the tie between politics and economics was one which could not be separated. He said SA's inability to raise foreign capital to bolster its vulnerable balance of payments could be linked back to the State President's Rubicon speech three years ago.

"It was then that bankers decided SA was a bad risk and they stopped loans to us. This makes the point that political actions do impact the economy," he said.

De Beer condemned proposed legislation which would give the authorities sweeping powers to evict squatters and said it passed this would lead to strife.

He said the legislation would bring a grave risk of terrible damage.

"The impact of the legislation is bound to be strife, deteriorated race relations and lead to further international isolation," he said.

Swamp leader says he has no economic blueprint

Let 'SA first' be for all — Momberg

30442
20/8/88

**SATURDAY STAR
CORRESPONDENT**

DURBAN — "Put South Africa first yourself, and not just in the interests of the National Party," Mr Jannie Momberg, co-chairman of the Independent Party (IP), told President Botha this week.

Mr Momberg was addressing an IP meeting in the Berea constituency here on Thursday evening.

"President Botha has called on South Africans to adopt a 'South Africa first' approach. There surely can be nothing wrong in urging South Africans to buy South African-made products because all South Africans benefit from the demand created and the resulting employment opportunities.

"But as an Afrikaner who is proud to be an Afrikaner, who until recently was caught up in the politics of the National Party,



JANNIE MOMBERG: Is PW doing what he asks of us all?

I wish respectfully to ask President Botha: is he being correct in asking the people of South Africa to put South Africa first?

"Should it not be President Botha and his Government who should be putting South Africa first?

"Is President Botha putting South Africa first, when he comes with repeals to the Group Areas Act next week which increases the injustice, bitterness?

"And is Dr Johan Steenkamp (National Party MP for Umhlatuzana) putting South Africa first when he says it is his duty, and the duty of Nationalist parliamentarians, to sniff out people of colour in white group areas?

"Was Foreign Minister Pik Botha putting South Africa first when he told the Johannesburg municipal voters that desegregation leads to friction?

"Is President Botha and his Government putting South Africa first when they consistently reject the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba?

"'South Africa first' is a marvellous statement. It forms the basis of that overriding South Africanism which this country so badly needs.

"As an Afrikaner my appeal to you is: let us indeed put South Africa first, but may it be a South Africa of all our people.

"And may we pursue the national interest of all South Africans and not simply the interest of the National Party."

Natal Nats give PW strong

By DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent

The Natal National Party showed at its congress last week that it is solidly behind President Botha — and markedly noticeable were the great number of English-speaking delegates.

thumbs up

DURBAN — The first of the National Party provincial congresses this year has shown that the Government's approach to the municipal elections in October will be a continuation of its tried and tested dual policy of security and reform.

The Natal congress in Durban last week also showed that the party is solidly behind President Botha in his policy on segregated residential areas.

The conference was something of a personal triumph for Mr Botha, who could not resist — in two speeches — from looking back on the achievements of his decade as head of government.

Natal Nationalists demonstrated their loyalty and affection by giving him standing ovations — and applauding, on other occasions, almost every mention of his name.

The agenda listed a record 23 motions praising him in every possible way for everything he has done.

It all left no doubt that the Natal NP is firmly behind him.

For his part, Mr Botha told the congress of his appreciation for provincial leader Mr Stoffel Botha, whom he described as one of his most loyal and effective supporters in the Cabinet.

The re-election of Mr Stoffel Botha as Natal leader was the usual NP farce. That, at least, was how it looked to outsiders.

He and all the other hierarchy of the provincial party were simply re-elected by ovation: there were no real opportunities for other nominations or elections.

No doubt Mr Stoffel Botha has the overwhelming support of his party and would have won any election contest easily, but it was noticed that many delegates — maybe even more than half — did not stand or clap when one of his underlings was "unanimously" re-elected.

More equal

And there was another jarring factor: there was a roped-off section for VIPs during the tea break — proving that on occasion some Nationalists are more equal than others.

Also, very noticeable at this year's congress was the number of English-speaking delegates — perhaps a third.

The party has fared well in Natal under Mr Stoffel Botha, and this year there was a record number of delegates, seeming to indicate a mushrooming membership in the province.

He said during his speech that it was now the most representative it had ever been.

Indeed, it was clear not only that there were a great number of English-speakers — they dominated many of the debates — but that there were also two distinct ideological

groups.

In one group there was a woman who described vagrants as animals; a man who pleaded for beaches "for his own people in Durban"; and an MP who said he would seek out offenders of the new group areas legislation, which aims to prevent people of colour living in white areas.

In another group there were those who showed a genuine compassion for street children, and who pleaded for humane implementation of the Group Areas Act.

One delegate was almost in tears when he asked the Government to be forthright and honest in its dealings with the Zulus.

Another urged the Government to continue boldly with reform. He said: "For every voter we lose on the right, there are two, if not three, we will gain on the left."

The congress dealt mainly with bread-and-butter issues — and delegates' views reflected the concerns of their constituencies.

These included stock theft, road maintenance, the economic growth rate, teachers' salaries, funds for school education, price of medicine, pollution and littering, housing rents for lower-income and pensioner groups, and street children in cities. Three issues which commanded intense debate were law and order, group protection and rights, and constitutional reform.

No extra funds

For the most part, Ministers turned down requests for extra funding to solve some of these problems.

Their combined message, basically, was that the Government was doing what it could to tackle the problems — within its restricted means.

On the issues of security and group rights, the Government showed no weakening of its resolve.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said the Government had to be prepared to have the courage to detain people so that it could get on with good government and constitutional reform as a means to counter a revolution.

Mr Stoffel Botha said the Government would not hesitate to use emergency powers to curb publications that were being used to foster revolution.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the new legislation to tighten the Group Areas Act would be implemented properly.

President Botha and two Ministers complained about black leaders failing to come forward to negotiate with the Government.

That reluctance, perhaps, is the NP's biggest outstanding problem — and one on which it had no progress to report at all at the congress.

CP youth prepared to take up weapons

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

RUSTENBURG — The Conservative Party's Transvaal youth indicated this weekend that they were prepared to take up weapons in the struggle for a white South Africa.

At a weekend conference attended by about 300 young Conservatives, several youth leaders and MPs said they would engage in war to constitutionalise separate development.

The official Opposition leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, received enthusiastic applause when he said Afrikaners, and other whites who associated themselves with the Afrikaner ideal of an own fatherland, refused to be dominated by other nations.

If the CP could not bypass the present tricameral Constitution to create fatherlands for each of South Africa's population groups, it would "stand up and fight" to achieve this, he said.

"When we come to power, and we have the right to apply the security forces to protect our rights, we shall

rightfully do so."

Dr Treurnicht said although international actions against a CP government would be "uncomfortable", the world would have to acknowledge white South Africans' legitimate right to self-determination.

There were already indications that international financial aid and investment would flow back to South Africa under CP rule because "the world wants a stable government" in SA.

CONVINCED OF VICTORY

Because he was convinced that the CP would win the next general election, he wanted to propose to the CP caucus that constitutional experts be appointed to draw up a new constitution for white South Africa.

The party's deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said although it would "take guts" to implement the CP's partition strategy, it would be possible.

There was no example in the world of successful powersharing between different race groups, he added.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask him whether, in view of the fact that this formula has, in part, been used for the past two budgetary years, he does not consider himself under an obligation to lay the formula upon the Table?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I made it quite clear that the formula has been used as a framework within which allocations are made. It has not yet been determined as general policy. I have made some progress with regard to the negotiation process. I have negotiated with all Ministers involved in education and I have obviously also had consultations with the hon the Minister of Finance. I have his agreement in principle but only on its finalisation as general education policy can and will the formula be made public. Until such time, while I am still engaged in the negotiation process, amendments to the formula may be effected.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising further from the hon the Minister's reply, could he give us an indication as to when this formula will be finalised?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am trying to finalise it as soon as possible. In the meantime, by using it as a framework, we are gaining invaluable experience with regard to the empirical implementation of this formula. It is not easy to determine such a formula because in the final analysis such a formula must be capable of accommodating all the needs of all the population groups in a meaningful, just and equitable manner. At this stage we are once again looking at certain aspects which are causing problems in practice.

Group Areas Act: removal of restrictions on shopping centres

*8. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

- (1) Whether he, his Department or any provincial administration has received any representations for the removal of Group Areas Act restrictions on shopping centres which are not contiguous to central business districts; if so, (a) from what bodies or persons and (b) what was the (i) gist of these representations and (ii) response thereto;
- (2) whether shopping centres and central

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

business districts are dealt with in the same manner for purposes of deproclamation; if not, why not;

- (3) whether his Department or any provincial administration has granted free trading status to any shopping centre areas; if not, why not;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

- (1) Yes.

(a) From local authorities and private bodies.

(b) (i) Representations for the proclamation of shopping centres which are aimed at regional and local needs as free trading areas.

(ii) Subject to certain criteria, the requests are advertised for investigation by the Group Areas Board. It is, however, government policy that only central business areas and regional shopping centres, which serve the shopping public on a regional basis, be declared as free trading areas.

- (2) No, see reply 1(b)(ii) above.

- (3) Yes.

Free trading status has already been granted to central business areas and regional shopping centres in 72 cities and towns.

- (4) No.

Municipal elections; advertisement

*9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

- (1) (a) Who drafted the text of the advertisement encouraging people to register for the October municipal elections and which appeared in certain newspapers on 21 June 1988, (b) what was the total cost of the advertisement, (c) from what account was the advertisement financed, (d) in which publications did it appear and (e)

what was the purpose of placing the advertisement;

- (2) whether all information contained in the advertisement was correct; if not, (a) why not and (b) what errors did it contain;
- (3) whether any broadcast media were informed of the advertisement; if so, (a) which media and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

- (1) (a) An advertising agency, but the final responsibility of course rests with the Bureau for Information.

(b) R34 916,70.

(c) Advertising budget — Bureau for Information.

(d) Transvaal: Sowetan, Vaderland, Transvaler, The Star, Pretoria News, Citizen, Beeld.

Natal: Daily News.

OFS: Die Volksblad.

(e) To inform the public about registering for the municipal elections.

(2) Yes, regarding the area to which it was targeted, at the time of going to press.

(a) Not applicable.

(b) Not applicable.

- (3) Yes.

(a) SABC.

(b) 9 June 1988.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, he mentioned in answer to paragraph (2) that the information was correct. Could he tell us why he then had to issue a subsequent advertisement correcting the errors in the original advertisement?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, there were one or two facets concerning which the information changed between the going to press of the first advertisement and the publication of the second advertisement.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: I believe that the hon the Minister is not giving us correct information

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Be that as it may, it is not for us to decide at this stage. That is a matter for debate.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, further arising from his reply, could he tell us on what date the information changed if the advertisement first appeared on 21 June and then subsequent advertisements appeared a week or ten days later?

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Admit you were wrong. Be a man!

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have the information somewhere and if the hon member would table his question, I shall reply to it.

†Dr W J SNEYMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask whether, apart from the cost of the advertisements, his department or any other State department is considering bearing any other direct or indirect expenses of candidates in the election?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I can reply only in respect of the department for which I am responsible, and the answer to that is no.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, if the information contained in the advertisement — as the hon the Minister said in a Press statement sometime towards the end of June — applied to the Transvaal, could he tell us why he placed advertisements in newspapers in the OFS and in Natal?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if the hon member would care to examine them, he will find that the advertisements which appeared in the other provinces contained different information.

Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu: single-quarter hostels

*10. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

- (1) Whether any single-quarter hostels in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu are still being used; if so, (a) how many in total and (b) where are they situated;
- (2) whether these hostels are to be converted into family units; if so, when; if not, why not;
- (3) in respect of what date is the above information furnished?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

TOO MANY LAWS, SAYS MEC

PRETORIA — The mass of legislation and regulations governing elections for the different population groups was "alarming", MEC in charge of local government Olaus van Zyl said yesterday.

Speaking at the Transval Association of Management Committees' conference, he said there were seven different sets of legislation regulating elections for whites alone.

The election of members of coloured and Indian management committees was regulated by the Local Government (Extension of Powers) Ordinance, under which four dif-

GERALD REILLY

ferent sets of regulations were promulgated.

The election of black local authorities took place under other legislation.

"In total there are 14 different sets of legislation. Considering the magnitude of the legislation, it is no wonder there is confusion among candidates and voters, regarding the coming elections."

Van Zyl said it was necessary that uniform legislation for municipal elections be given a high priority.

Nat bid to win moderate voters

PW 'surprised Cabinet' with reform moves

304A
B1 Day
22/8/88

PRESIDENT P W Botha even took some of his Cabinet Ministers unaware when he announced proposals to draw Africans into the process of government "at the highest levels", said Quarterly Countdown, the SA Institute of Race Relations' monitor of political reform.

This was because the proposals were announced in April soon after 19 organisations were restricted by government and at a time when reform, and in particular plans for the National Council, seemed to have come to a standstill.

The proposals, which aimed to give Africans a say in central government decisions without granting them parliamentary representation, consisted of plans for:

- A National Council to prepare a new constitution and to provide a forum that would grant Africans a voice in the process of government "on an interim basis";
- African inclusion in the Cabinet and the President's Council;
- The establishment of regional

Business Day Reporter

councils for Africans outside the homelands.

Countdown said one of the reasons for the announcements at this particular time was the CP gains in by-elections in Randfontein and Schweizer-Reneke. The NP had concluded it could not win back right-wing voters by stalling its reform programme.

NP members believed the only way to make new gains at the polls was to appeal to the white "moderate" voters by reviving its reform programme.

NP MPs such as Boy Geldenhuys had argued that government's failure to spell out plans for African participation in central government was creating uncertainty and driving NP supporters into the CP camp.

Officials told Countdown the proposals were primarily an attempt to remedy this before the October municipal elections.

Helderhero project delay

Crisis may
force PW into
early election

Cape Town

The effect of the House of Representatives' decision not to sit is that every item of legisla-

Mr Hendrickse said it was true that a few coloured businessmen had written to the President to retain group areas but they had done so because they feared competition from

The due date may not be less than 14 days from the date of the message.

A spokesman for Mr W "We
will respond in suitable ter

If the House has not disposed of such a Bill before the date mentioned in the message, it is deemed to have been rejected by that House, unless the State President determines otherwise in a further message, sent within seven days.

'Local elections vital'

2048

Page 1 of 1
SOWETAN Wednesday, August 24, 1988

Page 1 of 1

THE forthcoming local government elections are of vital importance to future Government plans, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations' latest quarterly, **Countdown**.

The publication, which monitors legislative and constitutional developments, says that the election among whites will determine who controls the Regional Services Councils (RSCs). These are vital to the Government's plans to ensure stability because they are expected to provide funds for township upgrading and enough financial resources to make local authorities viable.

Countdown

Countdown says the Government is extremely worried by Conservative Party threats to render the RSCs unworkable in areas where it gains control. The CP is opposed to the multi-racial composition of the RSCs.

lines the Government's determination to secure a high poll in the townships.

The efficacy of this system, which aims to ensure that voters will not be "intimidated" was demonstrated in recent House of Delegates and House of Representatives by-elections in which percentage polls increased, largely because of an unusually high percentage of special votes that were

cast before the actual day of the by-election. It points out, however, that critics of the Government say this system is open to abuse, as suggested by recent court cases in which fraudulent special votes were allegedly cast in Parliamentary elections.

The publication says it is virtually certain that black extra-Parliamentary groups will not participate in the October elections. Go-

vernment, on the other hand, seemed uncertain whether participation by extra-Parliamentary groups would be in its interests.

Attitude

Turning to the attitude of the African National Congress, the quarterly monitor says that this organisation remains committed to boycotting official structures but has indicated that if the issue is to be debated, such a

debate would have to be conducted by organisations within South Africa. Spokesmen for these organisations, however, were lukewarm in response to Press speculation that they were rethinking their election boycott strategy.

"Even supporters of participation argue that it is impossible as long as security restrictions prevent them from operating freely," says the publication, but

added that the debate is still in its infancy, and that "it remains possible that a few members of these organisations might stand for election as independents."

Desire

Countdown notes that the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said that the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other restricted organisations would be allowed to

participate only if they showed a genuine desire to do so on a "democratic basis." For instance, the Black Local Authorities Act, which was passed in July, provides that any person elected to a local authority who fails to take office or refuses to participate in its proceedings can be removed from office by the province's administrator, who may then declare a vacancy and appoint a person to fill this position until an election is held.

The publication says that the local authority elections in townships are equally crucial to Government plans. It argues that the viability of the present local government system may be irretrievably impaired if the poll is low despite security action which aims to frustrate boycott campaigns.

Countdown points out that a high municipal poll is also necessary in order to increase the legitimacy of the proposed National Council, which is dependent for its urban representation on an electoral college composed of local councillors.

Poll

It quotes government sources as saying that a high municipal poll in the townships is also a precondition for ending the State of Emergency.

Countdown says the introduction of prior votes, hitherto unheard of in municipal elections in South Africa, under-

Powersharing: just one way

Powersharing is doomed if it continues to mean, as it does for the Government, that whites retain the final say.

That is one of the cogent warnings given by Prof du Plessis in his perspectives. He focuses on the Afrikaner, but let other whites not luxuriate in the belief that they were innocent bystanders. They have enjoyed all the privileges. "South Africa is, at best, a semi-democratic State with a race aristocracy", says Prof du Plessis.

He warns: "We Afrikaners will have to acknowledge that the black man's struggle for freedom is a justified battle, and that its aims, especially in the long term, are in the national interest. It is totally unacceptable and indefensible that one segment of the population should be forced into a position of subordination because of something as totally irrelevant as skin pigmentation."

Freedom struggle

The change in attitude will have to be complete. Prof du Plessis says: "To support black people in their freedom struggle, whites will have to accept and respect their black countrymen as complete equals. Assisting with the freedom struggle is going to demand more than a paternalistic helping hand: it must be designed to restore the self-respect of humiliated people."

Afrikaners, with a history of struggle for freedom, should be able

By ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

A new dimension has been added to the political debate in South Africa with the appearance of a slender volume written by Professor Lourens du Plessis, a lecturer in public law at the University of Stellenbosch. The following analysis looks at some of the themes in "Tien Perspektiewe: Gesprekke oor die Toekoms" (Tafelberg).

to understand the honesty of their wronged fellow-citizens' political aspirations, he says, and warns that white South Africans will never truly be free if black South Africans are not free.

Prof du Plessis says that in the present phase of political turmoil, far-reaching political reform — and not *kragdadige* security force action — is the only way to restore law and order.

He concedes that, from time to time, the State must use force. But in South Africa that has become the rule rather than the exception — an obvious sign of the moral and political bankruptcy of a government.

"The degeneration of reform in SA is directly linked to the rise of the power of the sword, which is increasingly misused to enforce the will of a minority government upon the majority of the people."

In addition, says Prof du Plessis, the Government's propaganda machine becomes increasingly geared to indoctrinate, even to intimidate, people to accept its own short-sighted viewpoints.

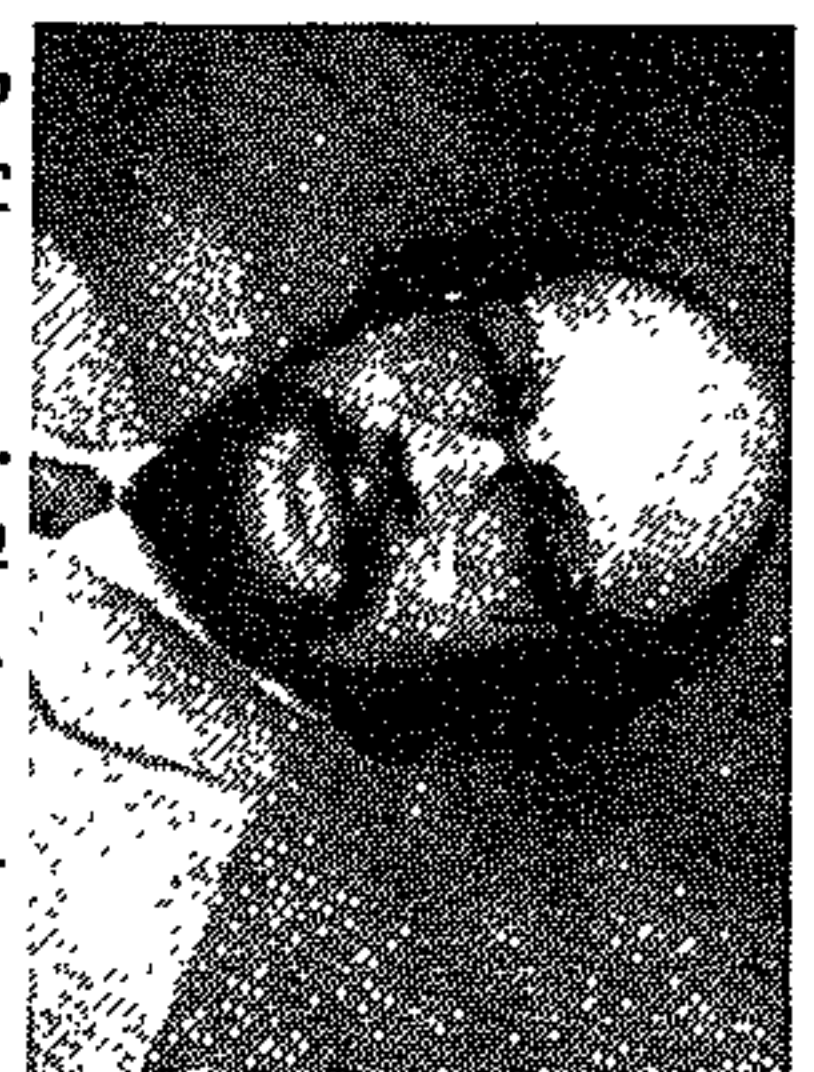
"Government leaders have apparently lost sight of the fact that State security and the maintaining of law and order are directly dependent upon just government that dynamically implements reform."

Prof du Plessis says South Africa's security legislation rates among the strictest in the world. It is not only a sign of excessive bravado but also reflects the deep-rooted fears of people who show unmistakable symptoms of political neurosis.

Equal status

The urgent question of an agenda for negotiation has for too long been overshadowed by the question of whether negotiations should take place. He points out that one cannot be too choosy about the people one wants to negotiate with; diversity has to be accommodated.

As important as an agenda, is that negotiations must be about a dispensation without discrimination. It is not unreasonable for blacks to say "abolish apartheid, then we



Prof Lourens du Plessis... change in white attitudes crucial.

will negotiate". Black negotiators want the assurance that they will have equal status. They cannot have this while repressive laws remain.

Prof du Plessis suggests the Government should scrap all apartheid legislation as a sign of its sincerity. However, some laws that contain important regulations protecting the rights of blacks should not be abolished immediately.

The fears of some whites about total desegregation of residential areas and education should be addressed by providing for a choice.

To allow for voluntary segregation, the controversial Population Registration Act will temporarily have to remain on the statute books, he writes. The future of this Act, if it has any future at all, should then be placed high on the agenda.

The main issue on the agenda should obviously be a new political dispensation to allow for effective co-partnership in political and legal processes. The debate on economic,

educational, social and other issues would be determined by the solution to this primary issue.

But, says Prof du Plessis, the hope of some whites to retain (disguised) political power with the consent of "other groups" is nothing but dangerous wishful-thinking.

He says if people are serious about negotiations, then the myth that political affiliation can be handed on an ethnic or racial basis should be destroyed.

Other points to be put on the agenda, he suggests, are:

Bill of rights

● With acknowledgement of the right to associate freely, controversial issues such as separate residential areas and separate education can be negotiated more easily.

● The issue of a suitable economic system will have to be debated over a longer period. Most South Africans will agree that neither pure communism nor pure Western capitalism is a viable solution.

● An effective bill of human rights protected by law should be negotiated. One factor cannot be guaranteed: the attitude in which people will approach negotiation.

Prof du Plessis is convinced that attitudes will improve quickly once the process gets off the ground. But he concludes that if efforts for the drafting of an agenda for negotiation fail, we can all just as well start drafting an agenda for war.

Commerce confronts Govt

A top-level delegation of organised commerce and industry met the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr Danie Steyn, yesterday to express grave concern about the Government's recently announced measures to cool the economy.

Delegates from Assocom, the FCI and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut held urgent talks with the Minister in Cape Town.

Although no details of the discussions were released, it is understood the effect of the latest import surcharge, up to 60 percent on some imports, was discussed.

24/8/88 Star
Random 05-1

Donors were mainly coloureds and whites. — Sapa.

A police spokesman said it had not yet been clear whether chocolate caused Stulinger's illness — Sapa.

PRETORIA — SA was caught in a whirlpool of change where whites no longer held the monopoly of dictating the course of events, House of Representatives Local Government and Housing Minister David Curry said yesterday.

Speaking at the Transvaal Association of Management Committees (Tamcom) conference he stressed the intensity of strains in SA society, including big issues such as the need for social reconstruction of dislocated communities, and the newly arrived

SA 'is caught up in a whirlpool of change'

24/8/88 B1 Day
GERALD REILLY

urban masses.

"We are in a whirlpool of change, and we are part of the process and have to become leaders in constitutional reform," he said.

White South Africans no longer held the monopoly of dictating the course of events and platforms of negotiation had to be created.

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SECURITY law in present-day SA does more than deny the legitimate aspirations of those who seek political reform; it is systematically destroying the conditions for evolutionary and stable political change.

A pre-condition, therefore, of a healthier relationship between security, freedom and reform is the limitation of security law to legitimate security objectives so that it ceases to be a vehicle for political hegemony.

There are many who believe the only acceptable correction is to reverse the ascendancy so as to give liberty and reform total sway over security interests. For SA such a reversal is an unrealistic dream, however seductive an idea it may appear to be. The reasons lie in the socio-political realities of the society.

Gross disparities of income and wealth between black and white South Africans still exist and have not been substantially mitigated by social and economic reform programmes; legalised discrimination, especially in the sphere of land ownership and occupation, remains entrenched; blacks (outside the homelands) have no voice in central decision-making, and even at the level of regional and local government there has been a devolution of functions rather than powers to black representatives.

What is not generally appreciated, however, is that current social realities point ineluctably towards the primacy of political reform. This is so because of the convergence of two broad trends in society.

The first is an outcome of the recent limited programmes of socio-economic reform. These programmes, far from satisfying the appetite for change, have generated new demands and increased pressures for broader political involvement and participation.

The second trend, the so-called modernisation process, has produced precisely the same result. The movement of blacks from traditional society into a modern economy, and the improved educational opportunities and general social awareness, have generated both a demand and a need for political rights.

Reform in the political sense will be worthless unless all South Africans have the right to express their views, to associate and organise freely and to elect truly representative leaders.

If government is serious in its oft-repeated assurance that it does not wish to prescribe political solutions, it must restore the freedom necessary for all groups to discuss, formu-

Way to security, freedom and reform in SA

ANTHONY MATHEWS, Professor of Law at the University of Natal, Maritzburg, puts forward a proposal to achieve national security, freedom and reform in SA. This is an edited extract from a paper published by the University of Cape Town's project: Critical Choices for South African Society

late and strive for their visions of political accommodation, if not salvation. The continued denial of that freedom will perpetuate the strife and conflict that the current state of emergency is merely holding in check.

How possible and desirable is it to re-establish freedom under law in SA? Certainly the basic facts of the social situation render the early achievement of the optimum goal of a civil rights programme unlikely if not impossible, even under a transitional or new political order.

The optimum goal would be the full legal guarantee of all civil rights for all citizens in normal times, subject only to the partial abrogation of these rights during declared short-term emergencies. There is no known conflict society today in which that happy state of affairs has been substantially, let alone fully, realised.

Restoring freedom and reform to more prominent positions in the social triad is complicated by the make-up of South African society. There are several societal conditions that will necessitate coercive measures (and the consequent restriction of basic liberties).

The first salient factor of South African society is its racial and ethnic pluralism. The presence within a single society of large racially and culturally distinct groups is an almost certain source of at least some measure of social strife and disorder.

Where disaffection is experienced by large and united groups, as opposed to individuals, the threat to state cohesiveness and to societal stability is by definition more formidable and intractable, confronting a government with a daunting security challenge.

The second of the conditions that tend to produce strife and instability is the modernisation process involving urbanisation, large jumps in literacy, education and media exposure. This in turn creates an awareness of the possibility of better living standards and of present disadvantages and deprivations attaching to excluded groups.

The ways in which government policy has intensified the ethnic dimensions of this conflict are clear. While modernisation has awakened among the black masses new hopes, visions and aspirations, apartheid has simultaneously and drastically limited black chances of attaining the anticipated benefits.

Implicit in ruling group policy, moreover, is the will to rule permanently, which puts ethnic conflict into the "zero sum category" and rules out opposition policies or strategies of moderation.

There is also a specific aspect of white nationalist policy that is playing a largely unrecognised role in furthering conflict. National security policy, presented as a "law-and-order" programme, has become a divisive and strife-engendering instrument of political control.

The law-and-order machinery is there to provide protection primarily to the white group and to those

whom it has managed to co-opt into collaborating with it. Other groups not only fail to get that protection — they are also the principal victims of an increasingly lawless security programme that is directed indiscriminately against those who oppose ruling policies by non-violent or violent means.

No security policy can be effective unless it has the broad backing and trust of the whole society.

The present state of lack of rights will not, and cannot, be replaced in the short-term, even under the best imaginable of new governments, with a system characterised by full-blown individual rights and the strict subjugation of public authority to legal rules. The available studies of the most successful strategies of change from despotic to democratic rule bear this out.

The rejection of the extremes represented by the status quo and by its reversal brings intermediate solutions into focus. Freedom and order can be brought into a kind of equilibrium by a better directed and controlled security system, and by institutional protection for basic political freedoms.

The method or model by which this can be achieved is best described as a qualified due process model. This gives due weight to political reform, since it envisages the recognition of civil liberties and their en-

forcement or withdrawal according to the needs of the time, as determined by disinterested officials or tribunals.

The prospects of political reform can be enhanced considerably by requiring the regular review of measures which further or retard political and individual liberty. In this way the grotesquely skewed relationship between freedom, order and reform should be replaced by one in which all the parts of the triad are recognised and accorded institutional protection, even though the balance between them may be a shifting one according to the needs and pressures of the time.

A qualified due process model of security control, for instance, implies that national security operations will be controlled by legal standards under the guidance of independent courts or tribunals, applying the basic rules of natural justice wherever possible.

The banning of individuals could be subject to due process requirements similar to those now required for detention in Israel. Security provisions in SA relating to the right of association are virtually devoid of due process elements.

The due process model will have relatively low appeal to the politically extreme groups spawned by ethnic confrontation in SA. Yet it is only by such models of compromise and concession that the social ills of ethnically divided societies can be alleviated.

The model is incompatible with the politics of both white and black domination. Its adoption, even in stages, implies a commitment by the power-holders to relinquish absolute control, and by their challengers to forego claims to sole and exclusive authority to determine the fate of each and every subject. It is therefore less attractive now than it will be when political incumbents and challengers have been brought to virtual stalemate by a long war of attrition.

The model is a fairly sophisticated one which will require time to be learnt, absorbed and given proper institutional embodiment. However, the sooner the process is begun, the greater the chance of creating a system in which freedom, order and reform will be complementary rather than mutually destructive.

It is not freedom that has got out of hand in SA but security, and unless the rapaciousness of the security machine is brought under control the prospects for liberty and reform are dim, if not non-existent. Security power has to be tamed, not eliminated. Legislation to preserve security is essential in all societies, and of high importance in a divided one.

Govt's decrees 'carried out without vision'

Misguided policies blamed for unrest

25/8/88 B/Day 304A

PRETORIA — Misguided government policies, carried out to the letter with a lack of vision, had resulted in a predictable state of tension and unrest, Transvaal Association of Management Committees president Yakoob Makda said yesterday.

Speaking at the committees' conference, Makda said intensified economic sanctions had become a reality.

Economists had warned against controls, which would make it almost impossible for the man in the street to afford certain commodities.

Major political reform with drastic constitutional changes were absolutely essential.

Makda said: "It is no longer possi-

GERALD REILLY

ble for a shrinking, economically declining white minority to hold on to all the levers of political power in a future SA."

Events could still be controlled and directed by those in power. This, though, was likely to change.

A turning point had come in SA's international relations and standing in "the world".

Makda said the predicted disastrous consequences were slowly affecting the lives of all. The time had surely come to take stock.

The dilemma was whether to work for reform within official, racialistic structures or to resist the state vigorously from the outside.

There was grave concern at the deplorable proposals in the contentious slum, group areas and squatter Bills now before Parliament.

Both Bills relating to free settlement areas were cautious and clumsy attempts to reform unworkable and grossly unjust policies.

Makda said multiracial or so-called grey areas had mushroomed in the major cities through an alarming housing backlog, the lack of efficient commuter transport and many other inconveniences.

The Slums Bill was not the answer to the squatter problem.

In the absence of suitable and affordable accommodation, the problem could not be solved.

Sea pollution penalties mooted

HEAVY new penalties, including the impounding of vessels, are possible in terms of proposed new legislation to control shipping pollution.

Vessels discharging oil along SA's coastline could face fines from R20 000 to R100 000, as well as impounding if the legislation is passed. Anton Moldan, assistant director of

GLEN SHELTON

Pollution Control of the Sea Fisheries Institute of the Environment Affairs Department, said in a statement yesterday that operational discharges of plastic and other garbage from ships at sea were becoming "a serious problem".

I & J strike continues

THE legal strike at Irvin and Johnson continued yesterday.

Workers, evicted by court order from company buildings when the strike started nine days ago, are demanding a 35,9% pay increase.

I & J has offered an across-the-board 22,9% increase. — Sapa

Afrikaans church rejects party politics

25/8/88 B/Day

WARMBATHS — The Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK) would not serve any political party, the church's synod decided at its meeting here yesterday.

The APK had been seen as the "CP's church", because its members consisted mainly of disaffected, former Dutch Reformed Church members who rejected the DRC's "liberalism".

The synod is closed to the Press,

but a "communication commission" releases a statement each day on issues raised at the synod.

The synod said yesterday it was alarming that churches were increasingly entering the political terrain.

The commission's release said the APK's parishes had raised more than R4m since the first synodal meeting eight months ago.

A budget of more than R910 000

had been approved for the next year.

The synod would also be requesting Finance Minister Barend du Plessis scrap GST on Bibles.

The synod encouraged female members to pray together, but did not associate itself with the racially mixed form the World Prayer Day for women was assuming.

The synod is chaired by APK moderator Willem Lubbe. — Sapa.



DE

Viability of decentralised rule at stake

High poll turnout is vital to Government

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The viability of the present black local government system might be irretrievably impaired if the October municipal election poll turnout is low, the South African Institute of Race Relations says in its latest *Quarterly Countdown*.

A high black poll was crucial to Government plans and to increase the legitimacy of the proposed National Council, which was dependent for its urban representation on an electoral college composed of black councillors.

In addition to security action to frustrate boycott campaigns, a prior voting system had been introduced to secure a high poll.

The quarterly bulletin noted that the elections among whites would determine who controlled the Regional Services Councils (RSCs). RSCs were vital to the Government's plans to ensure stability, because they were expected to provide funds for township upgrading and enough financial resources to make black local authorities viable.

"The Government is extremely worried by Conservative Party threats to render the RSCs unworkable in areas where it gains control," it said.

Boycotted

Turning to the attitude of the African National Congress, the bulletin remarked that the ANC remained committed to boycotting official structures but had indicated that if the issue was to be debated, such a debate would have to be conducted by organisations within South Africa.

"Even supporters of participation argue that it is impossible as long as security restrictions prevent them from operating freely. It remains possible that a few members of these organisations might stand for election as independents."

Some political commentators suggested the Government was eager to prevent participation by groups such as the United Democratic Front.

"It is also argued that the Government fears that extra-parliamentary groups might use participation to render the system unworkable," said *Quarterly Countdown*.

Correction!

25/8/88

Sowetan

204A

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration's Department of Community Services yesterday issued a statement in which it corrected an announcement it made earlier this month on prior votes regarding the October municipal elections.

A spokesman said a Press release on the law on prior votes which was issued on August 2 interpreted the law incorrectly.

According to that release, voters who wanted to cast prior

votes could do so from October 10-22. The correct version, he said, is that voters can do so from October 10-21 in the local authority area where their names appear on the voters list.

"A voter can also cast a prior vote in the area of an adjoining local authority if the local authority has made such arrangement.

"The polling stations for prior votes will be open from Mondays to Fridays (8am - 9pm) and Saturdays and Public holidays (8am to 5pm).

304A

Whipped into line

Ideological collision set the tone at last week's Natal congress of the National Party — and dashed any lingering hopes that the province's "new Nats" might produce a reformist tide in the ruling party.

Such ambitions may have been alive some weeks ago when the congress agenda was finalised, and five of the 10 resolutions dealing with constitutional development urged full and comprehensive debate on the Group Areas Act. None, however, ventured to suggest that the Act be repealed.

One called on the congress to "discuss the application of the Group Areas Act with special reference to the opening of beaches and certain residential areas." Another

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called more plainly for discussion on "the establishment of new open residential areas and the possible conversion of existing separate residential areas for settlement by all population groups."

In the event party leader P W Botha, with one eye on the dangers of loose talk in Natal, and the other on the Conservative Party in the Transvaal, whipped the rank and file into line. In a typically aggressive speech, Botha emphasised that the Act was here to stay and asserted, moreover, that it enjoyed the support of the vast majority of whites, Indians, and coloureds.

Two days later — to cowed delegates who restricted themselves to a bland 22-minute debate on all five resolutions — Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Roelf Meyer endorsed Botha's remarks. The principles contained in the Act were "non-negotiable," he said. Amendments would be debated in parliament this week and, though the government would proceed with "humanity," no one should doubt its intention to enforce the new provisions.

The party's uncertain new faithful now feel bewilderment which their former political home, the PFP, could profitably exploit during the October municipal election campaign. What has emerged with certainty, however, is their powerlessness to promote reform from within.

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STOFFEL'S LITTLE LESSON

304A 20

And who do we have to thank for apartheid? Not the Nats — if one is to believe academic turned Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe. He seems to think that dubious honour should go to the rest of the world.

Speaking recently at a public meeting in Melville to rally support for the Johannesburg Nat candidates in the October municipal elections, Stoffel said SA got the idea of apartheid from the rest of the world: "Our problem was that from the beginning we practised too little apartheid (*te min apartheid*)," he explained. Van der Merwe used to teach political science at RAU.

As an example of apartheid in the rest of the world Van der Merwe pointed to whites who live in Europe, and the yellow peoples of the East. "The big apartheid of the world does not work in SA anymore," he said — SA's settlement pattern allowed for people to live in a mixed manner.

He rejected the Conservative Party's view that black people can be resettled. "The moment you start moving people it costs money," Van der Merwe observed, as though this was a revelation, choosing not to mention his government's own removals under the Group Areas Act.

His colleague, Constitutional Affairs

Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer, however, did touch upon the Act and his party's desire to allow people to live in designated white, black, coloured and "open areas," stressing that the decision lies with P W Botha.

However, Meyer admits: "This is a sensitive issue for the coloureds, and I can understand that." So, because of Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party's refusal to participate in the joint standing committees on this "sensitive" issue, debates in parliament will have to follow the normal course. What Meyer did not tell the audience is that in the end the Bills on group areas will probably be pushed through the President's Council by President Botha.

Van der Merwe says parliament is busy growing: "We have 99% consensus and we are busy handling the 1% of problems we encounter." He says the joint session on the proposed National Council was a splendid (*pragtige*) debate.

The principle of an "Indaba" system (not to be confused with the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba) would be acceptable to the majority of blacks, Van der Merwe claimed. The advantage of such a system is that people would trust it, he maintained — excluding, of course, people like KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KaNgwane's Enos Mabuza. ■

FM 26/8/88

CP attacks govt over GA Act

CPK Tint 26/8/88
3094

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday launched an old-style apartheid attack on the proposed "Free Settlement Areas", calling for President P W Botha's resignation because of "broken promises" about the Group Areas Act.

Delving back to 1950, when the act was introduced, and recalling later Nationalist promises not to meddle with it, the CP charged the government with "reckless disregard" for white rights.

Its two main speakers, Mr Moolman Mentz, Ermelo, and Dr Willie Snyman, Pietersburg, accused Mr Botha and the government of "breach of contract" and breaking its promises to whites, and warned that all residential areas would ultimately be "open".

Their charges were strongly rejected by Nationalist speakers who denied the government had dropped the Group Areas Act and countered with saying it was simply creating the opportunity for people who did not feel as strongly about living in their own communities to live in mixed areas.

"It is still our policy that people should have their own areas," said Mr Piet Coetser, Springs.

The leaders of the other two cham-

bers of Parliament had a right to say their communities did not want separate residential areas but they also had to recognize the rights of those who did.

The CP was dabbling recklessly with the security and stability of the people.

Mr Jan van Eck, independent member for Claremont, said the government had in fact changed, but it should not hide it. It should realize that it could not satisfy the CP and the Labour Party at the same time and should make a choice.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the government did not cling rigidly to laws.

"No law is a permanent fixture. If it was it would mean that society is static," he said.

Because a law was necessary at a particular time, it did not mean that it could not be repealed or amended later. Reform was an adaptation of the status quo.

"That is precisely what the bill before us envisages — an adaptation of the status quo to make it more reasonable and more in keeping with the requirements and choices of the communities which constitute the people of South Africa," said Mr Heunis.

A handy device to enforce the Govt's will

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council is running the country

President Botha and his Nationalist Cabinet are still really in charge but the laws are now being made by the President's Council, a largely nominated body not directly answerable to the electorate.

Government spokesmen will contradict this statement, saying the President's Council is merely enforcing decisions taken by the House of Assembly which was directly elected and answerable to the white electorate.

But the fact is the House of Assembly cannot make decisions on its own. In terms of the 1983 Constitution it must make decisions on general matters jointly and equally with the other two chambers of Parliament — the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

If just one of these refuses to go along with the Assembly, Parliament is in deadlock and the President's Council makes the decision.

That is the situation in this short sitting of Parliament because the House of Representatives has adjourned and refuses to pass any legislation.

The Assembly continues to churn out a variety of draft laws but, if the Government wants to put them on the Statute Book, it will have to take them to the President's Council.

Thus, says Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, makes a mockery of consensus and a farce of joint decision-making.

The 50-member President's Council is therefore suddenly in the spotlight.

What is the President's Council, what does it do, where does it fit into the constitutional structure and who sits on it?

In terms of the Constitution the President's Council

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Correspondent

Although government spokesmen may deny it, the country's laws are being made by the President's Council, a largely nominated body not directly answerable to the electorate.

It has several functions.

It shall, at the request of the State President, advise him on any matter he refers to it for its advice.

It may advise the State President on any matter (excluding draft legislation) which, in its opinion, is of public interest.

It shall make a decision with regard to legislation referred to it by the State President.

The State President may refer to it any legislation which has been rejected by one or two of the Houses of Parliament, or legislation which has been passed in different versions by the Houses.

In such a situation the President's Council may recommend that a Bill passed by just one House be presented to the State President for assent, or that it shall not be so presented.

In the case of different versions of a Bill being passed by the Houses, the President's Council must decide which one must be presented for assent.

The key to the deadlock-resolving functions of the President's Council is in its composition.

The Council is made up of:

● 20 members designated by majority vote in the Assembly (in other words, Nationalists).

● 10 members designated by majority vote in the House of Representatives (members of the Labour Party)

● Five members designated by majority vote in the House of Delegates (at the time of composition of the current council, members of the National Peoples Party)

● 25 members appointed by the State President of whom 10 shall be nominated proportionately by opposition parties in the various Houses (six in the Assembly, three in the House of Representatives and one in the House of Delegates).

Thus it may be seen that the in-built majority of the National Party Government is 35 members out of the 60-seat Council.

These 35 members can be said to represent the Government's 122 directly elected MPs while the remaining 25 represent the combined total of 164 MPs of all the other parties in Parliament.

This is no quirk of the Constitution, it was deliberately designed that way to ensure the National Party could continue to hold all the power in emergencies.

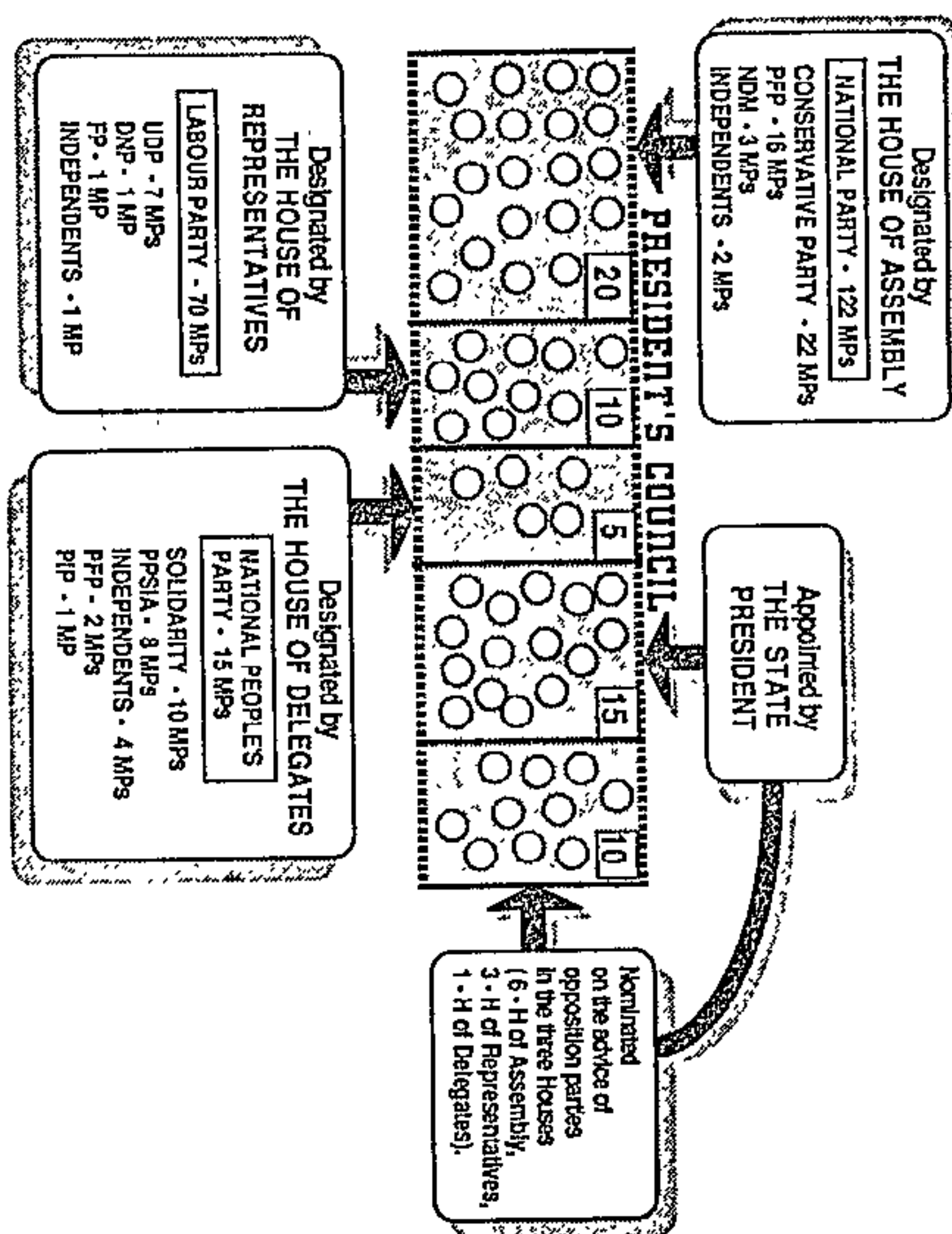
The quorum of the Council is 30, so there is no prospect that it could be crippled by a walkout of all the non-Nationalists.

In practice, the President's Council has been largely used as a form of political graveyard, a place where the political parties can hand out largesse to old and faithful friends.

President's Councilors earn the same package as members of Parliament — about R58 000 a year plus other fringe benefits.

The Council usually sits for about two weeks a month and, until now, has mostly kept itself busy with investigations either commissioned by the President or itself.

But its real use to the Government is as a handy device to force its will on Parliament



THE
STAR

Cries of 'Sieg Heil' at BBB gathering

Nazism reared its head in Pretoria at the city's first Blanke Bevydingsbeweging (BBB) meeting when the leader, Professor Johan Schabert, said his duty in the BBB was to ensure the survival of the superior white race and the Afrikaner.

Speaking from a stage bedecked with massive red, black and white BBB flags last night, he said whites were in no danger as long as they stood together.

There were cries of "Sieg Heil" from the audience of about 200.

Professor Schabert launched attacks on blacks and Jews, and said the BBB would not allow a form of life to destroy the earth for which they had fought.

The BBB had American and European supporters who were fighting for an Afrikaner sovereign country in South Africa, said Professor Schabert.

Star 26/8/88 (3049)

IZXX

Freeing of black politicians on IP's agenda

Political Staff

A call for black politicians to be freed and all organisations and leaders wishing to participate in a negotiating process to be unbanned or released from custody will be dis-

cussed at the Independent Party's first national congress next week.

The congress will be held in the Stellenbosch Town Hall next Wednesday and Thursday.

There will be a closed

session on Wednesday afternoon and in the evening a public meeting

One of the invited speakers is Dr F Kozonguizi, Minister of Justice and Information in the

transitional government of Namibia.

Apart from discussing policies on constitutional change, security and economics, the congress will also deal with the party's election strategy.

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BUSINESS

It is a sad but true irony that the economic crisis in the second half of 1988 might be the best thing that has happened for political reform in South Africa for three years.

The way Harry Oppenheimer, Anton Rupert and Jan Steyn have recently spoken out against the proposed group areas and squatters legislation, and for further reform, may indicate that the pressure for change from business is mounting again.

The last major reform, the abolition of influx control, came out of that desperate period in late 1985 when it looked like South Africa would never see another dollar, not to mention Deutsche mark or yen. And when the pressure was relieved with successful debt negotiations, government policies, and business attitudes, shifted into reverse gear.

The still popular view in business circles — that economic growth will lead to incremental deracialisation in the economy and, consequently, gradual political reform — is wrong for South Africa today, and it might always have been wrong. It is only in times of economic crisis that real political reform occurs. This is why support for sanctions among black opposition leaders makes sense.

What happened, and what almost happened, at the height of the 1985/86 credit crisis is remarkable in retrospect. The Federated Chamber of Industries led the way with calls for fundamental political reform. The Urban Foundation stood at its side. Assocom followed a short way behind, led by some regional chambers of commerce which also made serious calls for change.

Under pressure from opposition in the townships, the withdrawal of overseas credit and business taking politics seriously, President PW Botha was forced to retreat from his petulant Rubicon position. In Rubicon II, in parliament, he promised the release of Nelson Mandela (if Andrei Sakharov and a South African prisoner in Angola were freed), the introduction of political representation for



Anton Rupert, left, and Jan Steyn step up the pressure

Nothing like crisis to renew business ardour for reform

When times are good, business is notably silent. It's when times get bad — like now — that the captains of industry speak out for reform, writes ALAN HIRSCH

blacks and the abolition of influx control.

If only the last offer proved meaningful, it might in part be a result of pressure on business and pressure from business relaxed in mid-1986, allowing the government to move backwards. An important signal was

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly saying no more talks with the African National Congress.

Worse still, most of business effectively endorsed the second State of Emergency, cheered on the mini-boom of 1987 and combined to dump Johan van Zyl, FCI director and author of its reformist platform, and replace him with a more conservative regime. Botha's Ball-bashing met little resistance from First National Bank chief executive Chris Ball's comrades. When the minister of manpower introduced the punitive Labour Relations Amendment Bill, business reformism was nowhere to be seen.

There are earlier precedents. In

1960 when the Sharpeville massacre whipped away the support of foreign investors and lenders, HF Verwoerd's government suspended the pass laws — the legislation dearest to his hard heart. But when the United States banks stepped in and relieved the pressure, the momentum for change was lost. The 1960s that followed saw rapid economic growth, but also the rapid implementation of Verwoerd's grand apartheid plan.

In 1977, as in 1960, the South African economy ate dust. Yet Vorster, no friend of black workers, established the Wiehahn Commission, authors of South Africa's most startling reforms of the current era. And in an important policy shift in 1978 the government introduced 99-year leasehold for urban blacks.

As in 1985, sanctions, or the threat of sanctions, are contributing to the current economic crisis, and to pressure on business to act in the political sphere.

Assocom's statement on the proposed Group Areas legislation objects to the Bills, not only because of the way they interfere further in the free market, but because such legislation "will undoubtedly give extra impetus to the calls for disinvestment and sanctions". Other calls from business circles, and from the liberal, free-market oriented Progressive Federal Party, express precisely the same combination of concerns.

As the economy again scrapes the bottom of the River Rubicon, will business make a grab for the tiller?

It is sad that the threat of economic crisis compounded by sanctions is needed to get business to act in the long-term interests of the country.

It would be preferable if business were longer sighted, or if only the threat of sanctions was significant.

But this won't work. Business leaders don't believe that sanctions hurt until they feel the pinch. Only the most farsighted business leaders, those who, like Rupert and Oppenheimer, moved large chunks of equity abroad in the early 1980s, see the future before it is upon them.

August 1988 is beginning to resemble August 1985 in the most frightening ways. The rand has plunged, foreign capital is scarcer than ever, and Botha is back at his dangerous game of making major policy statements at party congresses, whilst constantly looking over his right shoulder.

Maybe, if business begins to recognise the ever shortening pattern of economic growth, repression, resistance and crisis, the situation can be turned into an opportunity for real change.

Reform wins few friends in black business

A SURVEY of the views of black managers and businessmen has provided "a devastating indictment of both government reform and the role of white business in black advancement," according to Gavin Lewis of the South Africa Foundation (SAF).

The survey, commissioned by the foundation, revealed black businessmen's growing alienation from the government. It also revealed a rejection of government structures ranging from black local authorities to the proposed National Council, Lewis writes in an article in the latest SAF Review.

A full 74.1 percent of those surveyed saw no real progress in government reform and over two thirds saw white business as either neutral or actively hostile to real political change in South Africa.

"The survey reveals a deep cynicism amongst black businessmen at their white counterparts' unwillingness to go beyond rhetoric on political reform, and scepticism veiling on derision for many corporate black advancement programmes," Lewis writes.

Many respondents saw themselves as victims of tokenism, confined to administrative and marketing functions rather than to line management, despised as powerless by other blacks and resented by white middle management.

The survey found considerable ambivalence to free enterprise among the black businessmen and managers surveyed.

The majority (70 percent) endorsed the goal of a non-racial democratic post-apartheid order and 57 percent attributed the slow growth of black economic empowerment to political factors, especially regarding constraints on access to land and capital.

Black entrepreneurs highlighted three areas in which white business could play a role, according to Lewis:

- Private sector initiatives could improve access to venture capital, redressing the problem of the shortage of capital which inhibits black businesses.

- The private sector could increase sub-contracting and franchising to smaller-scale black entrepreneurs;

- And, more controversially, black entrepreneurs expressed resentment about the penetration of white capital into black townships.

Privatisation: Not quite so easy in practice

By HILARY JOFFE

NOW the shouting is over business and government officials are getting down to the practicalities of privatisation.

And at a conference in Johannesburg this week some of the central questions were what the objectives of privatisation would be and what methods would best achieve them.

Some of the speakers suggested

through a change in control or both.

However, he said, private control would paradoxically require more formal regulation in order to "ensure the creation of competitive-like forces in the absence of true price competition in the private sector".

McRae said power utility compa-

adequate disclosure and quality of earnings, he said.

Jacques Sellschop of the Altron group of companies urged the government not to try to privatise a post office which had fallen behind technologically in telecommunications.

"Present cutbacks in capital expenditure on the national network are a cause for grave concern," he said.

streets today for the fleet of government vehicles.

unmistakeable for

Group areas: Nats dig in as Eglin checks legality

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and Opposition leaders clashed again today over latest moves to push through the group areas legislation.

The government reaffirmed its determination to push ahead while Opposition leaders accused it of discarding the consensus approach of the tricameral system.

Today there was also talk of moves to challenge the legality of the government moves.

The Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement have announced that they will not take part in parliamentary debates on the group areas legislation and other related Bills.

MORE CUMBERSOME

These Bills would normally have been regarded as "general affairs" measures to be dealt with by the three Houses of Parliament in terms of joint procedures.

In terms of a decision the government accepted in the Assembly yesterday these measures are now being turned into "own affairs" measures which will be dealt with by a committee of only this House.

If a joint committee had to deal with these matters the procedure would have been

more cumbersome because possible amendments would have been put before representatives of all three Houses.

Mr Colin Eglin, parliamentary leader of the PFP, said today the NP had "ripped off the masque from the pretence" that the tricameral system was based on consensus.

It had now been shown that consensus, in Nationalist terms, meant agreement with that party. It wanted to impose its "baasskap" on other groups.

Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the House in the Assembly, said today the government would not be deterred by Opposition protests and actions and that it would press ahead with the legislation.

The National Party rejected "boycott and protest politics" because that was a certain way to look for confrontation.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said his party was considering certain options.

One of these options could be to change the rules of the Representatives in a way that would make it possible to pass

a Group Areas Amendment Bill which would in effect abolish the main Act.

Mr Hendrickse has also expressed his "revulsion" over what he described as an insinuation by Mr de Klerk that the Labour Party was being prescribed to by the PFP. He said this was typical of a "baasskap" attitude.

The question of whether the government's latest actions are legal is being studied but Mr Eglin said there could be no talk of a possible court action until this had been established.

The Independent Party today identified itself with the stand of the PFP and the NDM.

Its leader, Dr Denis Worrall, said it was perfectly clear that the NP had chosen to place white interests, very largely determined by the Conservative Party, above the interests of all others.

He repeated his call for President Botha to step down and to call a general election of all three chambers of Parliament to coincide with the October 26 municipal elections.

● The debate on the Free Settlement Areas Bill, the first of a trilogy of group areas measures, started in the Assembly yesterday and will continue today.

● See page 8.



PARLIAMENT

Take it or leave it

The tricameral parliament has effectively ground to a halt in the face of government's uncompromising determination to bulldoze harsh new Group Areas Act (GAA) amendments into law.

The decisions this week by the (coloured) House of Representatives and the (Indian) House of Delegates to suspend their sittings for the duration of the current two-week session in protest against the amendments highlighted the farce into which the National Party's policy of "power-sharing" has degenerated. There is little doubt that the Nat-dominated President's Council (PC) will be called in by State President P W Botha to push through the new measures.

The slight "softening" of the changes announced by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis made no visible difference. Although "ministerial discretion" will replace a magisterial eviction order, the principles, penalties and most of the procedures contained in the initial Bill are retained (*Current Affairs* July 8).

The boycott this week by the two junior chambers was the culmination of an almost unprecedented wave of opposition against a move to tighten apartheid. Even traditionally supportive Afrikaans newspapers have turned against government, and business leaders across the political spectrum have called on Botha to reconsider.

There seems little doubt that the trilogy of laws centred on the GAA Amendment Bill (the other two make provision for "free settlement areas" and local government changes) will be approved by the Nat majority in the House of Assembly next week.

Since Botha is determined to press ahead he must — in terms of the constitution — call on the other two houses to meet within 14 days to consider the legislation. If they fail to do so they will be deemed to have rejected it and Botha may then submit it to the PC for a decision. This means the measures can probably become law by mid-September — in time for Nat candidates in the October local elections to use as a shield, if not ammunition, against the reactionary onslaught from the Right.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said the decision to adjourn the House of Representatives was the strongest protest he could make against government's determination to press ahead. His party would, however, participate in the joint debate on Namibia (scheduled for Wednesday) because it had fought for joint sessions and because the debate would give his party an opportunity to state its position on Namibia and UN Resolution 435. Hendrickse said the trilogy of Bills should have been debated in joint ses-

sion.

He added that his MPs would also continue to participate in standing committee meetings because their absence could be interpreted as support for certain Bills. His PC members would also be allowed to participate in any debate on the GAA Bills.



Hendrickse said he had expected some sort of *quid pro quo* from government after supporting the National Council legislation earlier this year, but had received nothing. He had been treated "contemptuously" by Heunis and at a meeting with Labour Party leaders recently President Botha refused to budge on group areas.

According to Hendrickse, the fact that arrangements had already been made for the convening of the PC in anticipation of the rejection of the Bills by the two houses "makes a mockery of joint decision-making." The country was moving towards a system of "government by the PC," and the Nat appointees on the PC were more important than all three houses of parliament put together.

Hendrickse said he was unimpressed by Heunis's proposed change to the GAA Amendment Bill. It remained immoral and would not get his support. Neither would his party support the Free Settlement Areas Bill (regarded by some as a "reform"), because acceptance implied approval of the GAA.

He observed that "reform" ended after the white general election last year, and the NP was now more interested in trying to placate white rightwingers than in working with the Labour Party.

Hendrickse rejected Botha's recent claim that the majority of whites, coloureds and Indians supported the GAA and again challenged him to hold a referendum on the issue as he threatened to do at the NP congress in Natal last week. The only way to resolve the current impasse between Labour and the NP, he believes, is either through a referendum or a general election, and his party was prepared for both. Whether Labour would continue participating in the tricameral system or withdraw will be decided at the party's congress in Bloemfontein in December, he reiterated.

Delegates' Somaroo Pachai, leader of the People's Party of SA, said the attitude of consensus-seeking of the past no longer prevailed in the standing committee where the GAA amendments were to have been considered. "There is an attitude of take it or leave it," he charged.

Government's determination not to be thwarted on the GAA issue was further illustrated by a constitutional amendment passed by the House of Assembly this week scrapping the 14-day time limit during which P W Botha must re-

call parliament to table advice or decisions by the PC.

The new amendment allows him to do so when it is practical.

Progressive Federal Party parliamentary leader Colin Eglin rejected the proposed change, saying: "Behind this technicality lurks the heavy hand of a political bully." ■

NATAL NP CONGRESS

Whipped into line

Ideological collision set the tone at last week's Natal congress of the National Party — and dashed any lingering hopes that the province's "new Nats" might produce a reformist tide in the ruling party.

Such ambitions may have been alive some weeks ago when the congress agenda was finalised, and five of the 10 resolutions dealing with constitutional development urged full and comprehensive debate on the Group Areas Act. None, however, ventured to suggest that the Act be repealed.

One called on the congress to "discuss the application of the Group Areas Act with special reference to the opening of beaches and certain residential areas." Another

150 MPs boycott race bills cease

PFP Walk out

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crack of dawn



"Must be spring. The little Budd is about to blossom."

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE constitutional crisis facing the tricameral system deepened yesterday with the PFP staging a partial boycott of Parliament following fresh attempts by the government to steam-roller controversial Group Areas legislation into law.

The PFP was later joined in its protest action by the National Democratic Movement, resulting in a situation where 150 of the 318 MPs in the three Houses are now boycotting debates dealing with six contentious bills aimed at toughening legislation dealing with group areas, squatting and

slum control. Members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates began a selective boycott of Parliament earlier this week to protest against the measures.

After leading a walk-out of the House of Assembly following a stormy two-hour debate, the national chairman of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, accused the government at a press conference of "the cynical and unilateral manipulation of the rules of Parliament to assist the baasskap of the National Party".

He said new government moves to suspend parliamentary rules to speed up the passage of the measures into law, had produced "a constitutional crisis merely because the National Party has the Conservative Party

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breathing down its neck over the October elections".

Mr Eglin said the government's "cynical and insensitive" manipulation of democracy would do "untold damage" to the tricameral system and to possible future reconciliation among the parties.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said his party objected to the government forcing legislation through regardless of opposition from the other two Houses of Parliament.

Before leaving the Assembly, Mr Malan said government attempts to hang on to the Group Areas Act would fail, and that it would be forced to do away with the act in four or five years' time.

The Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said the way for MPs in the Indian and coloured Houses to achieve their objectives was not by protest and boycott, but by talking and negotiation.

Earlier, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the government had to tighten up the Group Areas Act because failure to do so would be tantamount to scrapping the act.

All set for the trek



By ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

WHEN 14 oxen and a "kakebeen" wagon set out from the Parade tomorrow at the start of the 1988 commemorative Great Trek, many spectators will recall the colour and excitement surrounding the centennial trek of 1938.

It was an event that evoked unexpected fervour and created great support for the "gesuiwerde" Nationalists under Dr D F Malan, who eventually won power in 1948.

Two stinkwood ox-wagons left Cape Town on August 8, 1938, for the first outspan on the Goodwood golf course.

Originally planned to extend only a certain distance into the Cape Province, the trek was carried forward to Pretoria by the enthusiastic and spontaneous participation of people in towns along the way.

The two wagons were eventually joined by 12 others. Towns on the way made fresh teams of oxen available to the procession. Unlike today, trained trek oxen were still commonplace.

Crammed

A 1938 report in *The Argus* recalls the site of the first outspan of that trek: "Fully 20 000 people must have gathered in the darkness on the Goodwood golf course to see the wagons and the main road, the Great North-road of the Union, was crammed with traffic."

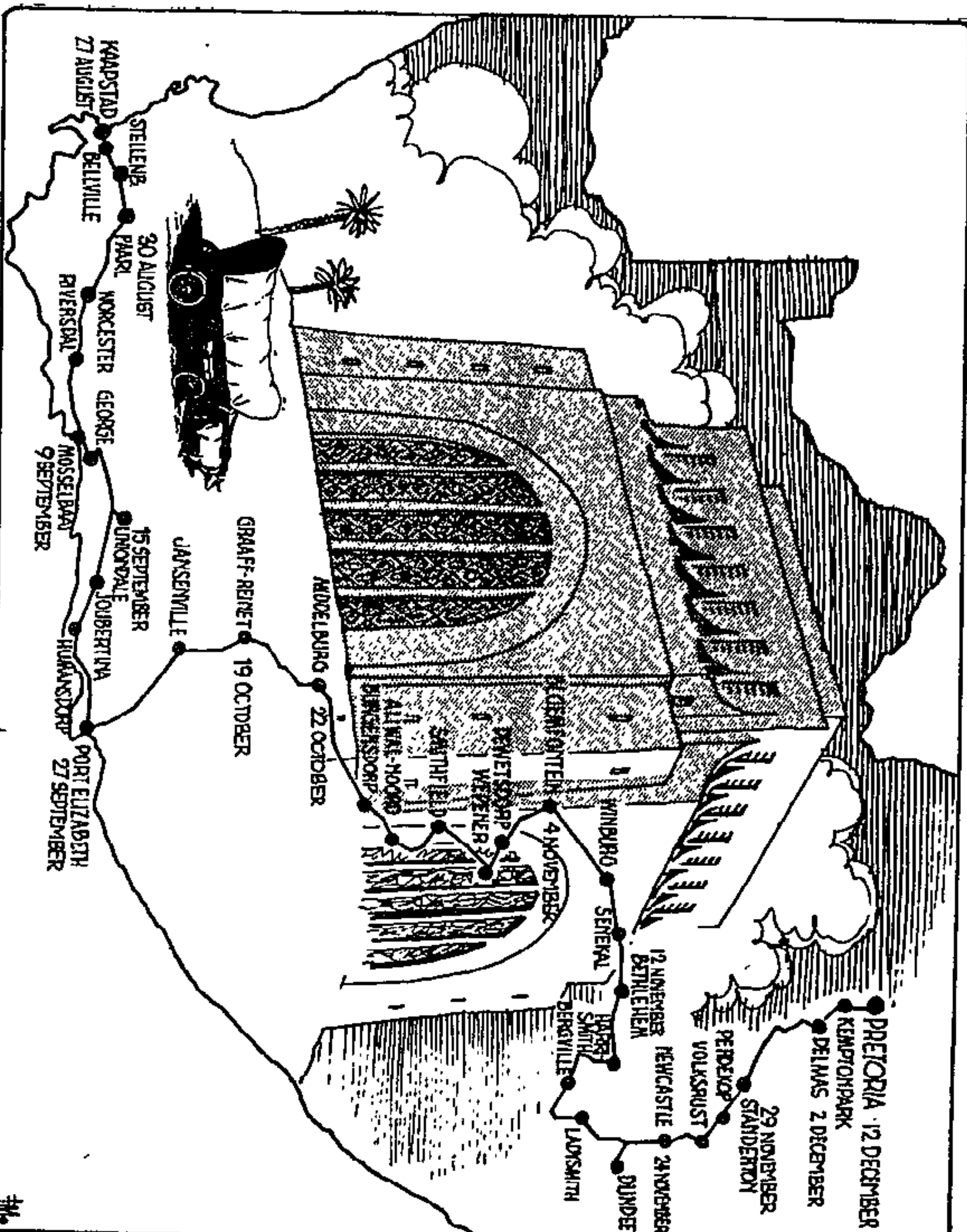
"Wagons and lorries were laden with standing spectators. Men, women and children milled around in the semi-darkness of the outspan, many of them wearing the costumes of a century ago while loudspeakers blared speeches from the trek wagons and one floodlight picked out the speakers with dramatic effect of a stage spot."

"Several women fainted. One had a severe heart attack. Children lost in the crush bawled for their mothers and now and again an SOS came over the loudspeakers for mothers or lost children."

BELOW: The map shows the route of the 1988 commemorative Great Trek.

map shows the route of the 1988 commemorative Great Trek.

Wagon's journey recalls the colour and pledges of 1938



But enthusiasm for the trek was not unbounded and another report notes that some women dressed in Voortrekker costume were injured when stones were thrown at the passing wagons.

Perhaps the most unusual aspect of the 1938 trek was the spate of christenings, weddings, beard-growing competitions, renaming of streets and pledges not to wear make-up that took place en route.

One baby was baptised Eusebia in honour of the trek. In some towns the wagons were pulled through freshly laid concrete so that the imprint of their wheels could be preserved. Even children were seen rubbing

the grease from wagon axles on to their handkerchiefs.

Twenty-two typists in a large insurance firm in Cape Town signed a pledge not to "paint our lips, fingernails or toenails, pluck our eyebrows, powder our faces, use cosmetics of any kind, visit a hairdresser or smoke" until the trek ended on December 16 in Pretoria.

And men joining the official command in Johannesburg were informed by official letter not to wear false beards.

The trek culminated with the laying of the foundation stone of the Voortrekker monument where 100 000 people were reported to have

gathered in a vast "open-air cathedral".

Initially General J B M Hertzog had been invited to lay the stone but withdrew when the "gesuiwerdes" accused him of playing party politics. Three women descendants of the trekker leaders Relief Potgieter and Pretorius laid the stone.

Whether 1988 will evoke similar enthusiasm remains to be seen but highways, fences and fast cars have taken something of the spontaneity out of this year's event.

Starting at the Parade, the ox-wagon will travel down Voortrekker Road to Belville where the party will outspan at Hardkraai for Sunday and then move on to Stellen-

bosch, Paarl, Wellington and through the Huguenot tunnel to Worcester and numerous towns on the way to Pretoria at a pace of 4 km an hour.

Unlike 1938, when outspan sites were set up at any convenient spot at the end of the day, the trek leader, Mr Flip du Plooy, his wife, Martine, and trek commander Mr Pierre van Zijl will sleep in homes or hotels provided for them by the various town festival committees.

The wagon will be guarded by the Voortrekker movement at the festival sites in the towns to recreate something of the atmosphere of an outspan camp.

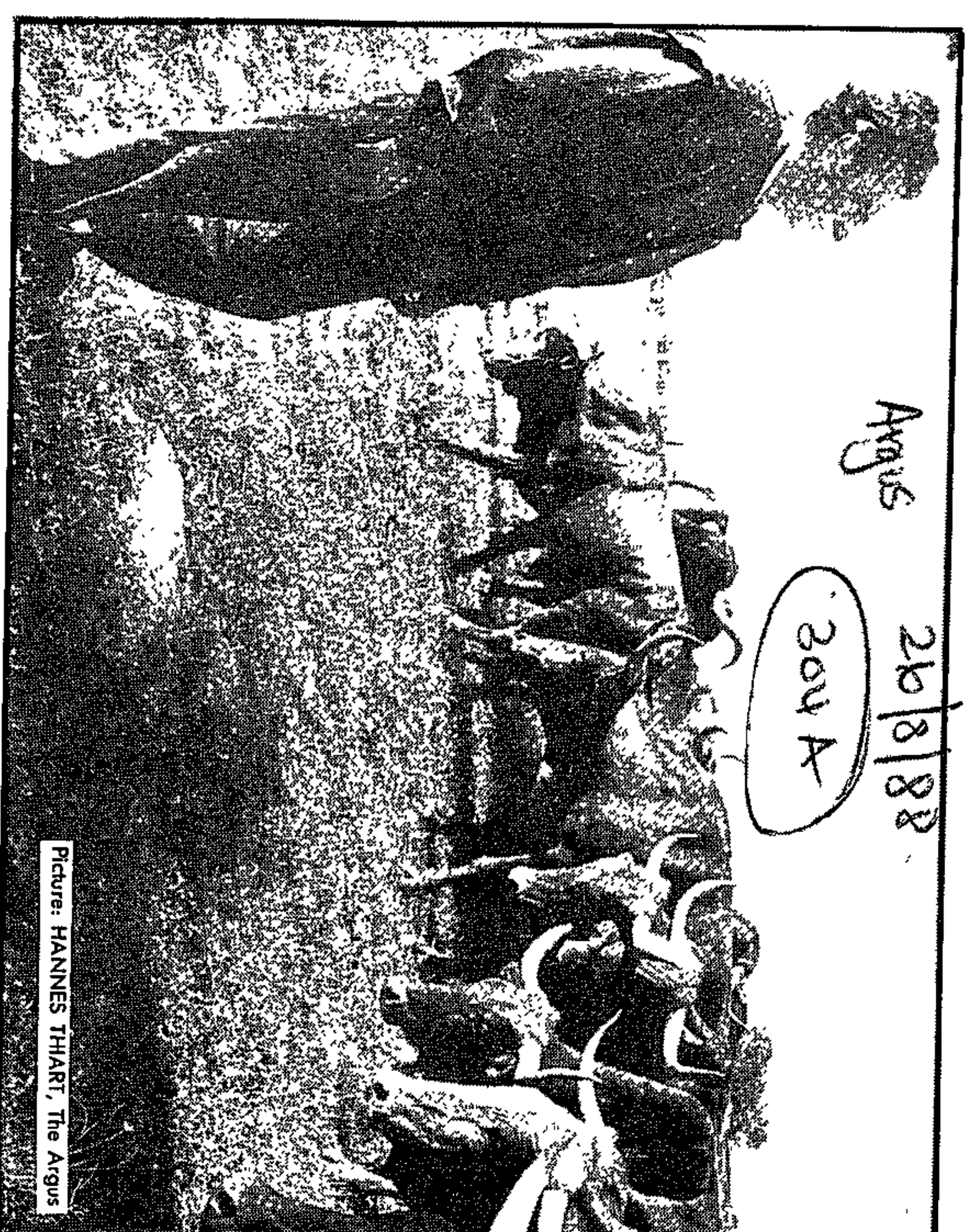
With the 30 oxen go two caravans, two trucks and a

lorry to transport the off-duty animals.

No more than 14 oxen will pull the wagon up hills, four on the down and six on the level while the others remain on the lorry or alongside the road where temporary kraals will be erected.

Fourteen black men will accompany the oxen and fulfill the jobs of "syslapper", "touleier", "knapvratman", "briekman" and "drywer". They will sleep in the caravans at the outspan site.

The oxen, with names like "Vrystaar", "Tuisland", "Afrika" and "Rooibloed", were trained on hard mountain ground to prepare them for the tarred roads that lie ahead.



Picture: HANNES THART, *The Argus*

Today's trek also has its controversy because a rival trek organised by the Afrikaanse Volkswag sets off from 13 different venues on October 10 in motorised replicas of ox-wagons. The motto of this trek, "On Trek to Our Own", contrasts sharply with the official motto of "Forward South Africa".

The two versions of the trek are both heading for the same destination: the Voortrekker monument, on December 16.

Mr Rudi Prinsloo, national director of the official festival, has said that he and Professor Carel Boshoff have negotiated for different facilities in the city to avoid any conflict.

BELOW: The success of the 1988 Great Trek depends on the performance of the 30 oxen brought from Lydenburg. With them is Mr Pierre van Zijl, owner and trainer, who will accompany them as the trek commandant. ABOVE: Dr D F Malan.

Incredible perks, says PFP MP

'FAT CAT'

MINISTERS

by BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

WHILE ordinary South Africans are being told to pull in their belts, Cabinet Ministers are comfortably letting theirs out.

Their fat-cat image has never been plumper and not even half the story of their self-indulgent spending is known, says Mr Peter Soal MP (PFP Johannesburg North).

In the past few months Mr Soal has been attempting to establish the details of some of the extravagances.

Firstly, through a series of questions in Parliament he found out that Cabinet Ministers last year spent R159 291 of the taxpayers' money on Christmas cards for friends and colleagues, with individual cards costing up to R4,50.

But when he attempted to check up on reports of how Cabinet Ministers spare nothing in decorating and redecorating their offices and official homes both in Cape Town and Pretoria, he got nowhere.

R600 postboxes

He was told by the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs, Mr Pietie du Plessis, that the "information is not readily available".

He was, however, prepared to say the repair and maintenance of State-owned buildings in the Pretoria area cost R62-million last year and R26,4-million in Cape Town.

New cars for MPs at R5,8-m

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE taxpayer is about to pay out R5,8-million for a fleet of new cars for MPs.

Next month, with the fourth anniversary of the tricameral system, the 140 members of the House of Delegates and Representatives become eligible for new cars.

Every MP is entitled to a car every four years with a purchase price of R42 000.

On top of this they are given about R250 a month for running expenses.

Because of elections and the turnover in the House of Assembly, the 178 members' cars are issued on a more staggered basis.

"It is time they came out of their protected luxurious environment and joined the human race to see how the average man struggles."

The 34 ministers of govern-

ment in own and general affairs each receive a salary of R137 000 a year and they have luxury homes in Pretoria and Cape Town for which they pay a nominal rent.

These figures were dramatically up from the R27-million spent in Pretoria in 1974 and R16,9-million in Cape Town.

It was in 1984 that the Department of Public Works was installing R600 postboxes at the new homes for the new tricameral Cabinet Ministers.

Mr Soal is convinced there is a splurge of self-indulgent spending "while the genuine grievances of teachers and civil servants are rejected in a cavalier fashion".

"It shows how completely out of touch the Cabinet is with the ordinary people."

They have chauffeur-driven, fuel-eating luxury German cars, as well as a second "personal" car for which they are given an allowance covering all costs, including the purchase price.

They travel free for life on SAA. Some even arrive by SAAF helicopter for party affairs.

They receive free television sets, video recorders, flowers and vegetables.

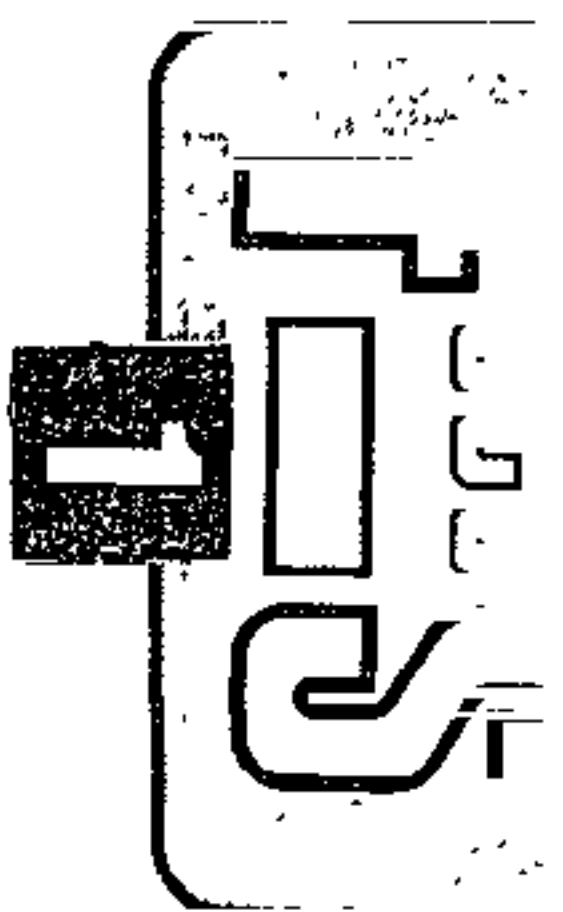
Their expense accounts are enormous. Their wives often accompany them on trips both local and overseas — compliments of the taxpayer.

"Life is sweet in the Cabinet and oh so easy to then tell the ordinary taxpayer to do his patriotic duty and protect the economy," Mr Soal said.

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CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS



■ VAN ECK

Both the PFP and the CP, however, labelled the proceedings a total farce. The PFP's John Malcomess labelled the action of the two houses as a "massive vote of no confidence" in a "demonstratively totally racist government".

The PFP's Parliamentary leader, Mr Colin Eglin, accused the government of "shabby and disgraceful" conduct and wanted to know if it had no shame.

"This debate lays bare the soul of the NP... it is a sad day for anybody who believes in consultation and consensus as a way to solve problems."

He predicted, "It will develop into one of the gravest political crises to confront our country."

He said nobody would ever believe the NP again. "It exposes the tricameral system as a means to sustain NP domination. One is die baas... we are going to subvert the rules to make you humble."

He charged that the motion would do untold damage to constitutional reconciliation and was a "subversion of Parliament."

Later he said the crisis had arisen because the government was pressing ahead with the bills even though they were deeply offensive.

He made the point that the legislation is not of critical intensity to the country. Arguments have been raging

around the Group Areas Act for years.

"The government wants the legislation because of the (municipal) elections and PW has said he wants to do something about it."

In his response to the debate an angry Mr de Klerk charged that the PFP was trying to manipulate the Indian and coloured houses and claimed defiantly that the NP had "never said that there would always be consensus."

Labour leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse later replied that Mr de Klerk "must have his head read" and he had nothing but contempt for the accusation that his house is being influenced by the PFP.

Mr Ismail Omar, chairman of Solidarity, has said in a letter to the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning (Rolf Meyer) that his party has decided "that if the government is hell-bent on bulldozing this legislation regardless of our political standpoint or feelings, then in the face of such naked group domination we have no option but to withdraw our cooperation until such time as government agrees to negotiate with all serious intent the question of the proposed amendments."

"The effect, I need hardly add, is the general withdrawal by the party of support for legislation. If the President's Council as an institution is employed to impress the sovereignty of the House of Assembly, then our cooperation is not necessary nor should it be provided in the unilateral interest of one party in the process of legislating."

"In the light of the government's expression of contempt towards the feelings of the two Houses of Parliament, it will by its own actions bring into question its bona fides concerning reform."

After its passage in the House of Assembly the President will again refer the legislation to the other two houses and provide them with a 14 day deadline. Even if they refuse to consider the legislation, or if they reject it, he will be able to refer it to the President's Council for approval in terms of section 32 of the constitution.

Dr Denis Worrall, Independent Party leader who was an enthusiastic promoter of the tricameral system during his terms as ambassador, said the President's Council was conceived as a deadlock breaking device, but the government was using it to im-

rather than participate in what they see as a farce. (PFP sources also estimate that this short session, called for the main purpose of handing the controversial legislation, has cost the taxpayer close to R1m).

The PFP is not boycotting Parliament as a whole, but will have nothing to do with the bills covered by the motion.

The breaking point was reached during a week when, ironically, the tricameral system achieved great success in Nat eyes during the joint debate on SWA/Namibia. President Botha delivered a

sweeping address on the problem and earned the plaudits of everyone — including its coloured and Indian partners — except the CP.

In the debate on the controversial "own affairs" motion the government was made to look foolish, shady and ineffective.

The CP literally crowded at government discomfiture. As far as that party is concerned the NP is now suffering the consequences of stupid and unworkable policies.

In the eyes of the PFP the government is Kragdadig, racist, untrustworthy and reckless. It has taken a step

still have been able to refer the bills to the President's Council, where a NP majority would have secured him the necessary rubber stamp of approval in order to make the bills law.

The government desperately needs the legislation before the October municipal elections to counter CP inroads.

But President Botha was denied the option of pushing the bills through the President's Council when the Indian and coloured houses adjourned without even considering the legislation.

The government then

changed the rules and, in effect, officially entered fairyland with a motion which converted the "general affairs" bills to "own affairs". It asked Parliament to suspend certain rules and substitute others in dealing with the legislation "as though" the bills were "own affairs".

Now the white House of Assembly, where the NP has a massive majority, will deal with the legislation all on its own, thus enabling President Botha to refer the bills to the other houses and from there to the President's Council.

The PFP and the NDM walked out of Parliament

And what of the President's Council?

by TOS WENZEL, Political Staff

The President's Council, now again in the news in the clash between the Government and the Houses of Representatives and the House of Delegates on the issue of group areas legislation, has been a controversial body since its inception in 1980.

The powers the council, with its members nominated or indirectly elected, has over decision of the elected Houses of Parliament is again the bone of contention.

If one or more of the Houses turn down legislation or, as in the latest clash, decline to discuss it, the President can refer it to the council.

If, as it invariably does with its Nationalist majority, the council confirms a Bill it returns it to the President who can then sign it and it becomes law.

If Houses decline to debate legislation as two of them are now doing, the President can, in terms of the Constitution, serve them with a notice giving them at least a fortnight to do so.

If they decline to do so he can deem the measures to have been rejected by them and he can refer them to the President's Council.

First appointed in 1980 the PC started sitting in 1981 in the Government's constitutional blueprint of 1980 the council was described as, "a non-parliamentary prestige body".

To give it some extra prestige its chairman was also the Vice President. This fell away when the council was re-constituted in September 1984.

It was nominated by the Government and was meant to advise

the Cabinet Council at its request on matters of national interest, but it could also discuss matters on its own initiative.

The idea was that the council would deliberate in a calm atmosphere and that it would operate on the basis of consensus.

When the new constitutional system started in 1984 it was given the added power to put through legislation turned down by some of the Houses.

The present council consists of 60 white, coloured and Indian members. Blacks are excluded, but President Botha has expressed his willingness to change this.

Twenty members were designated by the majority party in the Assembly, the National Party. In the House of Representatives the Labour Party chose ten and in the House of Delegates the National Party chose five.

There are ten members of Opposition parties in the Assembly, ten from the Representatives and five from the Delegates.

The President appoints 15 members of his own choice and ten on the advice of the parties.

The council has a number of committees on constitutional affairs, economics, planning, community relations and science which undertake various investigations.

The main task of the first PC was to make recommendations on constitutional reform.

Many of the council's major recommendations on an urbanisation policy, including the scrapping of influx control and this plan, suggest, changes to the group areas system.

areas and the cutting of red tape to allow free black participation in the economy have been accepted by the Government.

There was considerable controversy in 1986, however, when the first draft of its group areas report was referred back to it.

The reason given was that insufficient attention had been given to the implications of major changes to the Group Areas Act.

The suspicion was, however, that it had gone too far for the Government's liking and that it had to down its report.

Then this finally came out in 1987 it recommended open residential areas alongside separate areas.

One of the major criticisms of the council has been that it has largely served as a rubber stamp for the Government's ideas and that its investigations could have been undertaken by other bodies.

The other is that a non-elected body can be used to override the wishes of elected chambers of Parliament.

It now seems as if the present council is also on its way out.

Opening Parliament this year Mr Botha mentioned the possibility of scrapping the PC in its present form and establishing a part-time body dealing with the functions of bodies such as the Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission and other part-time councils.

He also talked about a smaller body to take over the functions of the council dealing with decisions relating to parliamentary legislation.

The Government is obviously determined not to give up the powers which make it possible for the tricameral system to operate with only one House, and in the end even only one party.

There are also indications that government may find itself challenged through the Supreme Court on the question of its interpretation of the rules and whether it adhered in all respects to the constitution.

The drama in Parliament occurred because its tricameral partners in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates adjourned without considering the new legislation, which under the constitution falls into the 'general affairs' category.

In the face of a flat rejection of the bills by the other two Houses President Botha would

A unified CP congress papers over the cracks that split the ranks

By BRIAN POTTINGER

CRACKS between "purists" and "pragmatists" within the Conservative Party were papered over at an impressively unified Transvaal Congress yesterday.

The party's head council is to consider drawing up an alternative constitution for South Africa — a sop to the purists in the party, many of whom support the idea of a white homeland.

But, warned party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the party's first priority should not be in drawing up a constitution, but in wresting power away from the Government.

He said he had understanding for the ideas of the Oranjerwerkers and other groups pleading for a white homeland, but the first task was to get power. The attention of the party should be on the municipal elections in October.

Dr Treurnicht's stand follows suggestions that some of the CP's intellectual support groups believe the party's desire to simply re-impose classical apartheid is both impracticable and unfair.

While the CP stands for white ownership of land on roughly existing boundaries, the intellectuals are in favour of smaller white homelands.

Although the party appeared unwilling to spell out its broader constitutional pro-

posals, the congress had no hesitation in adopting a range of motions which would place SA back in the days of classical apartheid:

- A pledge to end the tricameral Parliament;
- A re-affirmation of partition as the best policy for SA;
- Rejection of the multiracial regional services councils;
- Insistence that there be no grey residential areas;
- Re-imposition of influx control;
- Outlawing of black trade unions;
- Opposition to the peace moves in Namibia.

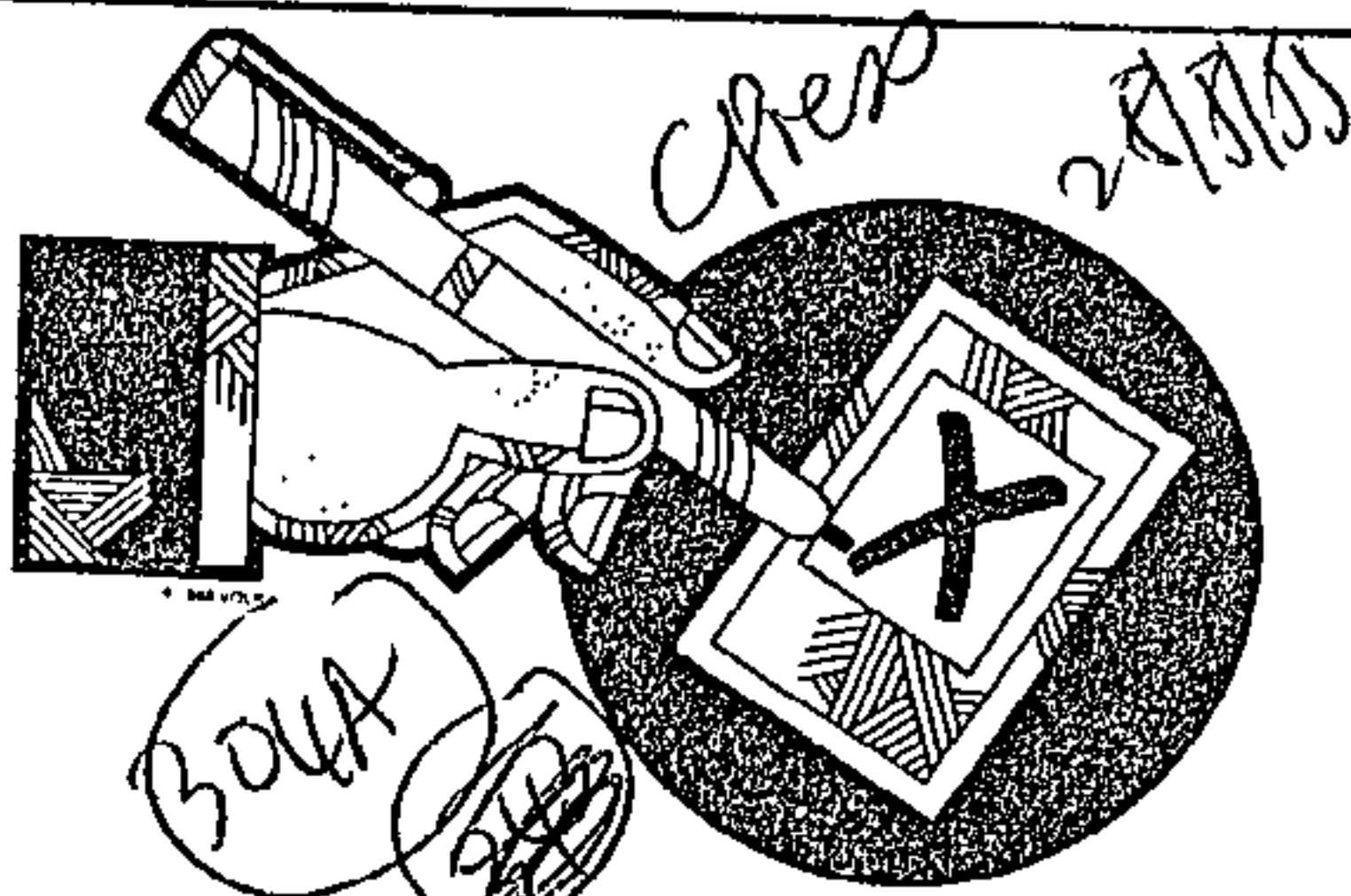
The Congress drew 1 432 delegates — the largest in its history — with a total of over 2 000 people to Dr Treurnicht's public speech on Friday night in the Pretoria City Hall.

Under a banner "Treurnicht for President", the party leader launched a wide-ranging attack on President Botha's administration for incompetence and integrationist policies.

The current constitutional crisis in Cape Town between the three Houses was described by Dr Treurnicht as an inevitable consequence of the Government's failed consensus policies.

"It is a three-legged pot without legs," he said.

Evictions halted to stop Vaal municipal elections racket



By STAN MHLONGO

THE Lekoa City Council has suspended the eviction of hundreds of rent boycotters for the first time since the 1984 Vaal unrest - to dissuade candidates from using evictions as an issue to make people vote for them during the October 26 municipal elections.

The suspension comes just before the eviction of 500 rent defaulters in the Vaal area, according to Lekoa town clerk Ben Scott.

Seven Sharpeville families evicted just prior to the suspension have been allowed by the council to return to their homes.

Scott said the Transvaal Provincial Administration had decided to suspend evictions because "some of the candidates standing for the municipal elections were using the evictions for propaganda purposes".

Vice-chairman of the Vaal Residents Representative Committee and candidate for the October elections, Samuel Kolisang, earlier this week told *City Press* he was personally responsible for the suspension of the evictions. He said

he had phoned the TPA in Pretoria and had requested the suspension.

Kolisang said certain people within the Lekoa council were all out to destroy his image.

Meanwhile, residents who returned to their houses have complained that their possessions were damaged during their eviction.

Petros Tschlane of Sharpeville claimed he lost R6 000 after his goods were thrown onto the street last week.

Steve Kgaule, also of Sharpeville, said his furniture was damaged during eviction.

Scott dismissed allegations that goods were damaged and money was stolen.

He said those people evicted liked to smear the council municipal police for evicting them.

"We gave eviction notices to the seven families on two occasions. They failed to respond or even come to the council offices," Scott said.

● It is against the law for *City Press* to print the views of those opposed to the elections.

Inkatha document may lead to unity

AN Inkatha document is emerging as a rallying point for opposition unity.

Inkatha's "statement of belief" will be recommended for adoption by the Independent Party (IP) at its first national congress, starting in Stellenbosch on Wednesday.

The IP's national executive has already adopted the statement.

This happened after IP leaders met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha leaders for four hours in Ulundi last week.

Since then, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall has met other opposition leaders to discuss the document.

The Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer and Solidarity's Mr Ismail Omar have publicly supported the main provisions of the document.

Talks

Negotiations have also taken place between the IP and the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

IP leaders are now talking of a "second phase" in implementing the statement, which will be discussed at the Stellenbosch congress.

Mr Dave Gant, co-chairman of the IP, said: "In order for the creative opposition to come together, it must rally round a shared-value system."

The IP hopes to make the

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Inkatha document that rallying point, and points to its support from whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks.

Mr Jannie Momberg, a member of the IP executive, said: "As an Afrikaner and former Nationalist, I am enormously encouraged by this development. The discussions in Ulundi with the Kwa-Zulu Cabinet showed there is a wide area of agreement on basic values."

The Inkatha statement calls for the abolition of racial discrimination in all spheres, but recognises the identity of individuals in cultural groups, and urges programmes to open educational and economic opportunities for under-privileged people.

"Dr Buthelezi, in our opinion, has a very big white constituency. He is very well accepted by the business community," said Mr Gant.

Perspectives

THE fundamental flaw in the National Party's approach to the constitutional future of the country has now been laid bare for all to see — even for some Nationalists.

The flaw is a simple one. For as long as the approach is a group-based one, the constitution can only function when the majority of the groups are prepared to accept the decision by one group, in this case, the NP.

The tricameral Parliament is built on the assumption that consensus will be found. Consensus implies a willingness to give and take, to make concessions, even about the fundamentals of politics.

If this does not happen, we get what we have today, namely a constitutional crisis which will result in the remaining power of Parliament reduced to nothing and a final confirmation that the NP will enforce its will on the majority of people in the country.

Coloured and Indian MPs have said no to the Group Areas Act, so have all white parties except the NP. Everybody outside Parliament has said no. But the NP intends pushing the legislation through.

Parliament is already weak. In the Westminster system, parliamentary government has long ago taken a back seat to cabinet government. In SA, we have the additional complication of the State Security Council taking key decisions which are then approved by Cabinet, the NP caucus informed and Parliament says yes.

Now we have two of the three Houses unwilling to co-operate in legislating something they perceive not to be in their best interests. But the NP must have its way — and will now go to the President's Council to ram through what it wants. Thereby destroying what little power Parliament has.

Nullify

As if that is not enough, the NP has pushed through Parliament a change in the standing rules which will nullify any attempt by the coloureds and Indians to use their braking power in the parliamentary standing committees.

Thus testifying again to the basic premise of the NP's approach — we stick to the rules and if the rules don't suit us we change them. As for the spirit of consensus, well, we cannot let that stand in our way.

All of this is quite apart from the fact that the legislation which is causing the constitutional crisis is inherently bad. It panders to racial feelings, makes it possible for thousands of people to be thrown out of their homes and, even more, to be chased out of the meagre squatter settlements to which poverty, lack of land and opportunity has driven them.

We cannot continue in this fashion. There cannot be talk of consensus if it means that in the end the NP gets its way in every case.

We cannot talk about a shared future if it means the future is one which the NP has rammed through against everybody else's will.

We cannot talk about a lasting negotiated future if the NP's approach, by definition, excludes everybody else from the road towards that future.

What we see before our eyes is political infanticide. The NP is killing off its tricameral child, the child which caused a split in its own ranks and brought to life the

INFANTICIDE! THE NP IS KILLING OFF ITS OWN CHILD

BOYD
Stines

28/8/88



by Wynand Malan

leader of the National Democratic Movement, examines the furore over the Group Areas Act and argues that reform is impossible unless we accept political diversity.



Conservative Party. What we see, is the demolishing of the credibility of those who regarded participation as a forward step.

What we see is also the beginning of a new truth.

Not that one can say clearly this or that is the only way forward because circumstances

change, new needs arise and reality impinges. It is clear, though, that the approach of the NP is not the way to go. As the NP has so amply demonstrated this past week.

What is necessary is to address white fear and black hopes in a totally different manner. Instead

of going the involved, convoluted Heunis way, we need the recognition that white fears can only be allayed when there has been black liberation.

Without it, we will continue to be isolated, will grow poorer, black unrest will continue, economic sanctions will grow, academic, cultural and sport boycotts will increase, bombs will continue to go off.

This is not to say there is an easy way out. But this way holds the promise of a prosperous, just society with room for all its diverse people, internationally accepted, at peace with itself and its neighbours.

The NP's approach is that of a

slide into totalitarian rule in which all who oppose it are lumped together as fellow-travellers of the ANC. And the ANC, for its part, has an equally rigid approach. The NP and the ANC insist they and only they have the right approach and those who do not join them are the enemy.

And that in fact is the stalemate in our politics. What we have is a politics of fish bowls. Two fish-bowls, standing next to each other, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, NP and ANC.

And we, the little fish, swim round and round without getting anywhere. We are each in our separate fish bowl dominated by our own shark — the struggle by the ANC, the system by the NP, extra-parliamentary v parliamentary.

The sharks promise. We will solve the problem by pushing the other bowl off the table, destroying all in it.

Happen

But that is not going to happen. What we need to do is to bring the fish from the two bowls into one bowl. We need the politics of inclusion, we need parliamentary and extra-parliamentary to talk to each other and to begin to grow together.

If we all continue to say, My politics are right and you all have to be like I am, we will never have peace. We have to create space for all on the political stage and we need all the actors or the play will never fully be what it is meant to be.

Together we need to build a new SA with one patriotism, one nation, one loyalty built on individual rights but with full recognition for the diversity of our people — and thus protection for language, culture and religion.

The NP says its will must prevail because the democratic process has to go forward. Legislation cannot be stopped dead in its tracks, so let the council overrule the majority.

But the democratic process also implies a stand-still, a breathing space, for when there is so much disagreement a stoppage is vital. By denying this, the NP is killing off the democratic process, saying no even to those who try to remain reasonable.

Govt moves to involve blacks are 'sincere'

city press
28/8/88
304A
The tactics that cause people in black towns to murder one another because they differ politically do not encourage reconciliation between black and white people.



JOHN MAVUSO, the only black in the Transvaal Provincial Administration's "multi-racial" executive and a former executive member of the ANC, supports the government's efforts to involve blacks in the political process. He spoke to CHARLES MOGALE.

Majority rule is foreign to African politics - TPA's Mavuso

MOGALE: Can you tell us about your work with the TPA - how you started in politics, and how you got to the position you're in now?

MAVUSO: I cut my political teeth in the ranks of the ANC.

MOGALE: Do you think the government was sincere in introducing a multi-racial provincial administration executive? Do you think it is a far-reaching move?

MAVUSO: I am satisfied that the National Party is sincere in its intentions to involve black people in the management of this country's affairs. Whether the steps they have taken so far are the best way of achieving this aim is debatable.

MOGALE: You are the only black person in the TPA executive. Do you think your position there can influence decisions? Because when we speak brass tacks, you are simply outnumbered.

MAVUSO: When you speak of "brass tacks", I think your political thinking has been influenced by Western norms of cut-and-dried majority decisions. You seem to have forgotten that we blacks had our own system of arriving at decisions. Our system was not based on majority vote but on consensus. We would debate, but not with the view of using numerical superiority to force decisions on people, which is one of the weaknesses of the West's democratic system of "winner-takes-all".

MOGALE: Having said that, what is your attitude towards majority rule, or one-man-one-vote?

WHITE IMPORT

MAVUSO: We have the comfort of numbers - no black political thinker will say he does not go by that. But one-man-one-vote does not exist in our vocabulary. It is an import of white and Western democratic norms, because with us, leadership is not always identified through the ballot box.

MOGALE: Recently, the government banned or restricted several black organisations, including the UDF and Azapo. What is your feeling about that?

MAVUSO: These organisations were not banned, their activities were restricted in certain fields. So these organisations are still legal. They have just been curtailed in their activities, which is perhaps unfortunate.

But I do not believe the best way of dealing with political dissent is by banning organisations. I have said often that the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960 was one of the worst things that have happened to black politics, because their banning, in a way, placed their leadership beyond the control and influence of the membership.

The banning of those organisations was the greatest disservice to black politics ever. But in some instances you find that some organisations seem to delight in employing strategies which render them vulnerable to these restrictive actions.

We in the ANC once faced the cap-

ital crime of high treason in peace time, but because of our conduct and the strategies we were using at that time, it took four years for the legal processes to take their course. And eventually all of us were discharged.

MOGALE: Do you think apartheid is dead?

MAVUSO: At the moment it depends on what one means by apartheid. If, because if you ask me... I, who was born and brought up in this country and has known and lived under the threat of being sent back to where you came from if you do not have the right stamp on you pass, and with no hope of ever having a stake in the land of your birth in what was referred to as white South Africa... then that was apartheid. That phase of apartheid is no more now. But at the same time, if you talk about political apartheid - the exclusion of black people from the body politics of this country - that kind of apartheid is also just a shade of what it was during the time of Dr Verwoerd.

ATTITUDES

MOGALE: But do you believe that attitudes have changed?

MAVUSO: In some instances they have changed radically, but in others they haven't. Apartheid has more to do with people's attitudes than just the label.

MOGALE: In the past few years, South Africa has raided neighbouring countries such as Botswana in so-called pursuits of the ANC and PAC. What is your attitude to that, bearing in mind that most of the people killed in these raids were innocent civilians?

MAVUSO: I have no way of knowing whether the majority of those people who were killed in cross-border raids were civilians. For that I am dependent on what I read. But if it is the case that deliberate actions were taken to inflict and kill innocent civilians, I would say that is completely wrong.

MOGALE: What I am asking about here is the principle. Do you think South Africa is right in pursuing the ANC and the PAC across borders?

MAVUSO: That is a very sensitive issue because the question could be put the other way round - is it right for those countries to facilitate the border crossing of people whose aim is to indiscriminately endanger the lives of civilians in our country?

MOGALE: I gather from your response that your attitude towards the ANC has changed since 1960.

MAVUSO: No, I don't think you are right. Which ANC are you talking about?

MOGALE: The one we all know about.

MAVUSO: No, no, you mustn't say the one we all know about. I put it to you that the ANC of which I was a member at no time during its legal existence decided on a policy of achieving liberation through armed struggle.

Secondly, the membership of the ANC did not emigrate when its leaders went into exile. Whatever strategies

they are using out there are subject to confirmation by those people who were members of the ANC at the time when they left the country, and these people remained in the country.

MOGALE: Do you think the ANC still has a role to play in the reshaping of this country?

MAVUSO: Again, it depends which wing of the ANC you are talking about. Is it the external mission?

MOGALE: I only know of one, actually, but if you know of another, please enlighten me.

MAVUSO: I have drawn this distinction. The strategies that are being used are found to be convenient and viable by the external mission, which does not represent the view of all those people who subscribe to the principles of the ANC as propounded by its founding fathers.

MOGALE: Let us talk about Nelson Mandela. Do you think he has a role to play in the running of the country?

MAVUSO: All black national leaders have a role to play in the body politics of the country. I happened to have had the privilege of having worked closely with Nelson.

MOGALE: What do you think of sanc-

ARROGANCE

tions?

MAVUSO: I am a businessman. I have embraced the free enterprise system - free trade between people and nations. I do not think sanctions should be made a political weapon between nations. Therefore I do not support sanctions at all.

I question the arrogance of nations who give unto themselves the right to prescribe to other nations how they should fashion and arrange their political relationships, by using coercive methods such as sanctions and military attacks.

All I am trying to say is that if the people of those countries are satisfied with that kind of leadership, it is their prerogative. Who are we to say to them, no, your government is wrong, it was not voted in by one-man-one-vote?

Which takes me back to your question about one-man.

I, as a black man, and in my tradition we have never known these methods of identifying leadership through the ballot box. It is a new innovation which still has to develop and become part of our political culture.

DISSERVICE

MOGALE: Isn't the difference with South Africa that the majority of the people are opposed to the powers that be, but are powerless against them because they don't have the guns?

MAVUSO: That presupposes that the power that is needed to change the government lies in guns, which I do not subscribe to.

MOGALE: Not really. What I mean is that it has been the trend in South Africa that all non government-created solely black bodies are clamped down on. It has

not happened to the AWB, it is not happening to the BBB (Blanke Bevydingsbeweging), but every black non government-created organisation that has stood up and challenged the government has been clamped down on. Look at the UDF, the ANC, the PAC.

Don't you think pressure from abroad will help force the government to reconsider, and don't you think it has done so?

MAVUSO: I would not agree with that, because even at the time of the banning of the ANC and PAC, the South African Indian Congress, which was a non government-initiated body - it was part of the Congress Alliance - was not banned.

I said some organisations rendered themselves vulnerable to these restrictions as a result of their strategies and methods of influencing change. One has to draw a distinction between the organisations you have just mentioned and the ANC and PAC. As far as these organisations were concerned, the government acted without justification - all our actions at that time were such that despite the fact that it took four years (since 1957) for the legal process to try and find fault with our strategy and our methods of campaigning, all of us were discharged completely.

The government began convicting political activists after the banning of these organisations because a new political climate had come into being. New strategies and methods were used, which rendered political organisations vulnerable to restrictions.

STRATEGIES

MOGALE: Can we talk about the October elections? The government has warned that it will take strict action against people who encourage boycotts of the elections. Do you think the government was right in threatening people for exercising a democratic right to call for boycotts, just as much as people who encourage others to vote have a democratic right to do so?

MAVUSO: I don't know on what the government based its decision for what you call a threat. But in South Africa we don't have laws to jail people for not registering as voters, for not casting their votes. People have the right to register as voters - even the right not to.

I have always strived for the involvement of black people in the management of this country, particularly in its body politics. I think local government is of critical importance. I have lived in a South Africa where the lives of black people were controlled and managed by white government officials. The nearest black people came to it was in an advisory capacity - as advisory board members and in native representative councils.

Many leaders of the national liberation movement, at one time or another, were part of these advisory bodies - which was in line with their desire for in-

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politics -

PA's Mavuso

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Many leaders of the national liberation movement, at one time or another, were part of these advisory bodies - which was in line with their desire for in-



Former ANC executive member John Mavuso ... "there are two kinds of ANC".

volvement in the management of this country. Only one political body - the Unity Movement, which sprung up out of the old African Convention of 1936 - fashioned and purified an ideologically-based policy of non-collaboration.

With the slogan "Our policy is non-collaboration, our weapon boycotts", they effectively boycotted themselves out of the political system in this country.

MOGALE: What do you think about the rightwing tide in South African (white) politics? Recently (Conservative Party leader) Dr Andries Treurnicht accused PW Botha of ruining the country by bringing you into the executive of the TPA.

MAVUSO: I am bad news to the rightwingers because they still adhere to the Verwoerdian granite apartheid policy of non-yielding. This is a classic example of people who think the world is standing still and that nothing has changed, for ever and ever amen.

MOGALE: But they are threatening to take over the government in the next elections. Don't you think that threatens your position and the progress which you say has been made?

MAVUSO: I am not in a position to give a yes or no answer. It is unfortunate that they have shown such rapid growth, but their growth is the negative result of the tactics used by so-called extra-parliamentary political groupings.

The tactics that cause people in black towns to murder one another because they differ politically do not encourage reconciliation between black and white. White people have more to fear when they take into account what is happening among blacks, and how they go about resolving their political differences.

But should our people sober up and revert back to African political culture, so that political differences need not lead to hostilities among ourselves - our common objective is to have our legitimate right to participate in the body politics of our country and fashion our lives along with the other people we share this country with - then I would not see the growth of the rightwing as a threat to my position.

PEOPLE'S PRESS

Man's law can be out of harmony

IT IS important to see that there are times when a man-made law is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe.

There comes a time when a moral man can't obey a law which his conscience tells him is unjust.

This has been revealed by 143 conscripts who objected to doing their national service with the SADF.

The reason is fairly obvious. They condemn South Africa's adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars.

The ultimate measure of South Africa will now not be where it stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where it stands at times of challenge and controversy.

It is time for all people of conscience to call upon South Africa to return to her true home of brotherhood and peaceful pursuits.

Those of us who love peace must organise as effectively as war hawks. As they spread the propaganda of war, we must spread the propaganda of peace.

We must combine the fervour of civil rights movements with the peace movement.

We must teach and preach until the very foundations of segregation are shaken.

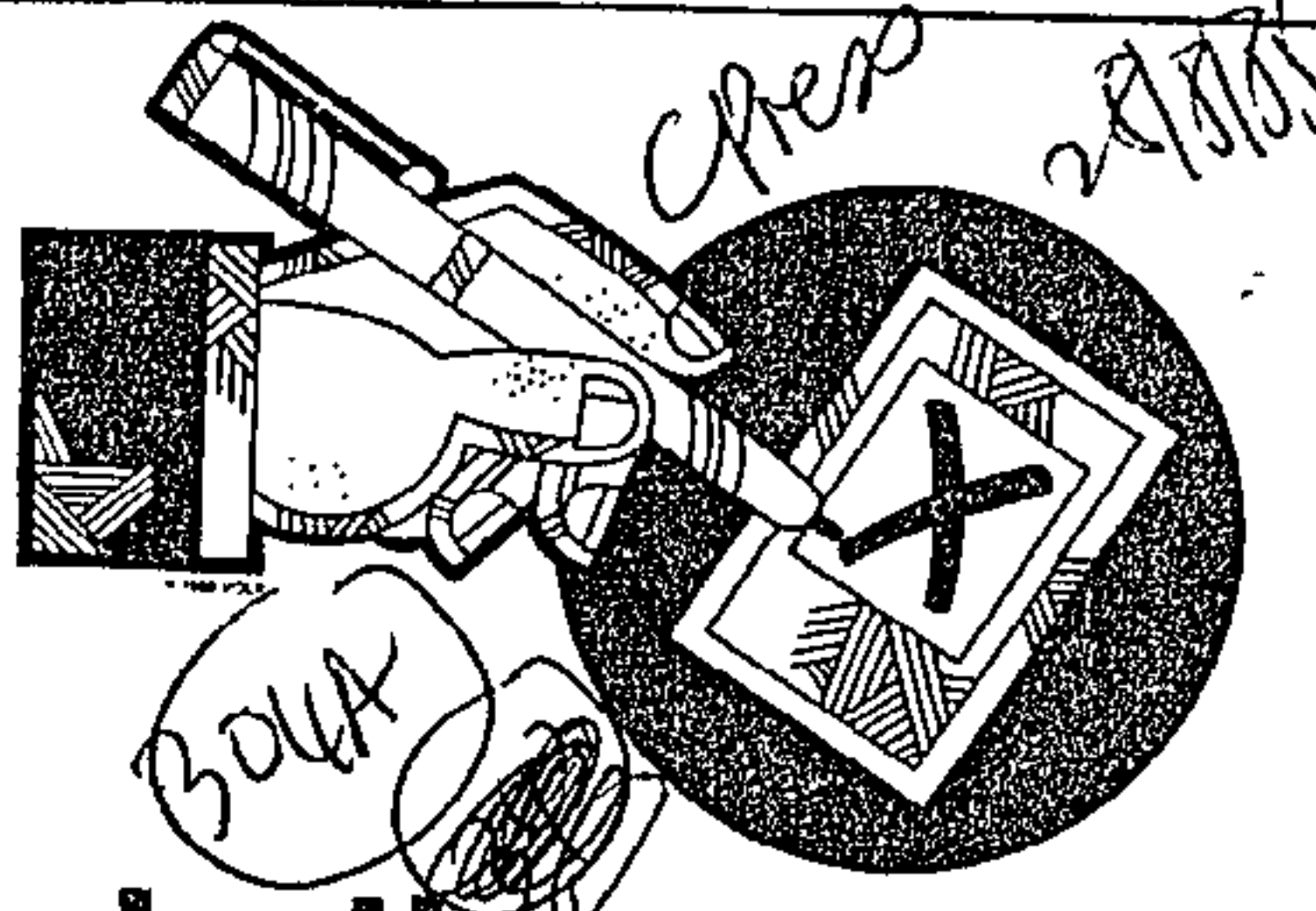
Those men have tried to be honest.

To be honest is to confront the truth, however unpleasant and inconvenient the truth may be. They must face it if they are to achieve a better quality of South African life - GM Zondo of Ulundi.

Bursaries must support local study

I AM writing this letter in response to an article which appeared in City Press on 10th October.

Evictions halted to stop Vaal municipal elections racket



By STAN MHLONGO

THE Lekoa City Council has suspended the eviction of hundreds of rent boycotters for the first time since the 1984 Vaal unrest — to dissuade candidates from using evictions as an issue to make people vote for them during the October 26 municipal elections.

The suspension comes just before the eviction of 500 rent defaulters in the Vaal area, according to Lekoa town clerk Ben Scott.

Seven Sharpeville families evicted just prior to the suspension have been allowed by the council to return to their homes.

Scott said the Transvaal Provincial Administration had decided to suspend evictions because "some of the candidates standing for the municipal elections were using the evictions for propaganda purposes".

Vice-chairman of the Vaal Residents Representative Committee and candidate for the October elections, Samuel Kolisang, earlier this week told *City Press* he was personally responsible for the suspension of the evictions. He said

he had phoned the TPA in Pretoria and had requested the suspension.

Kolisang said certain people within the Lekoa council were all out to destroy his image.

Meanwhile, residents who returned to their houses have complained that their possessions were damaged during their eviction.

Petros Tsehlane of Sharpeville claimed he lost R6 000 after his goods were thrown onto the street last week.

Steve Kgaule, also of Sharpeville, said his furniture was damaged during eviction.

Scott dismissed allegations that goods were damaged and money was stolen.

He said those people evicted liked to smear the council municipal police for evicting them.

"We gave eviction notices to the seven families on two occasions. They failed to respond or even come to the council offices," Scott said.

● It is against the law for *City Press* to print the views of those opposed to the elections.

MPs in turmoil as Parliament faces survival test over Group Areas

PVV: THE CRISIS GROVS

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28/8/88



P.W. BOTHA
... facing
perhaps his
worst
dilemma

Mandela

may be

free

a bit at

a time

BY LESTER VENTER and
NORMAN WEST

A STAGED release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, may already be under way, according to persistent speculation in government circles.

Senior government sources, some of them close to the Cabinet, say it is virtually certain Mr Mandela will not

Exclusive: Italian hunter bags TV's Janie as bride



By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE future of the tricameral Parliament — President Botha's proudest creation — was at risk this weekend.

Many MPs were speculating whether South Africa's legislature could survive the crisis created by the controversial group areas Bills.

The coloured and Indian Houses simply refused to discuss the legislation this week, forcing the Government to employ a procedural device to ram the Bills through.

That, in turn, led to a walkout by PFP and NDM parliamentarians. The resulting bitterness has left many MPs wondering whether a spirit of consensus — crucial to the effective functioning of the four-year-old tricameral system — could ever be restored.

Although the Rev Allan Hendriks's Labour Party, as well as other coloured and Indian parties opposed to the measures, are expected to return to Parliament, observers fear that relations between them and Teyateyanu may have been permanently soured.

WYNNAMI

Mats are
killing
off their
own child
Page 25

...return to parliament, observers fear that relations between them and Tuynhuys may have been permanently soured.

Many members of the NP caucus are also known to be deeply troubled, not only by the reversal to old-style apartheid which the Bills represent, but also by the methods used to get them on the law books.

Collapse

There is no sign of open rebellion, but several MPs commented this week on "severe strains" within the ruling party.

Meanwhile, Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, which opposed a racially mixed Parliament from the outset, is rejoicing over what it sees as the looming collapse of the Government's consensus strategy.

At the CP's congress in Pretoria yesterday (see Page 2), delegates were hugely confident of sweeping victories in October's municipal elections.

They said they would use their new power at local level to wreck the multi-racial regional services councils, another cornerstone of President Botha's constitutional plans.

Tomorrow, at the start of the final week of the special short session, worried NP leaders will try to find ways of getting all parties to take part in parliamentary debates again.

The PFP's parliamentary leader, Mr Collin Eglin, has accused the Government of "subverting the Constitution".

Doomsday

The PFP and NDM walk-out has left only two white parties in the three-chamber Parliament, leaving despondent Government MPs to talk privately of a "doomsday scenario" for the tricameral system.

The crisis — perhaps the gravest during President Botha's almost 10 years in office — was unleashed by the Bills on group areas, squatters and slum control, all of which carry draconian penalties and which have raised the spectre of widespread removals and evictions.

On Monday, the first day of the current parliamentary sitting, the coloured and Indian Houses refused to debate the Bills.

The House of Representatives adjourned until September 2, the day the sitting is scheduled to end. The House of Delegates suspended debate on the Bills until February 2 next year.

Both moves frustrated the Government's desire to rush the Bills through before the municipal elections.

At that point the Govern-

□ To Page 2

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

Page 25

Making
mockery
consensus

Page 26



The crisis grows

□ From Page 1

ment's option was to debate the Bills in the white House of Assembly and call on the other two houses to do so within 14 days, as prescribed by the Constitution.

Their failure to do so would have enabled President Botha to refer the measures to the President's Council, where the NP majority would recommend their passage — requiring only the President's signature to make them law.

But the Government was said to be affronted by the actions of the coloureds and Indians, and determined to aim a political blow at them.

This came in the form of a motion to label the Bills — six in all — "own affairs" rather than "general affairs", thus allowing the Assembly to pass them as matters affecting "white affairs".

One option contemplated by the Labour Party is to pass a separate Bill abolishing the Group Areas Act in

coloured areas.

A similar course of action is open to the Indian house, where the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has been suspended while allegations of maladministration in Indian affairs are being probed.

It was the "own affairs" move of the Government that sparked the PFP walkout.

According to Mr Eglin, the Government gained no real procedural advantage from the move.

He said he "detected the heavy hand of Tuynhuys" in it.

"There is no longer any honesty, no longer any logic. President Botha is now the critical factor.

"The coloureds are not trying to wreck the system. They are trying to send the Government a political message — which is how angry they are about the Group Areas Act and the Government's handling of the whole thing."

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Call for
Indaba
to be
used as
model

Sunday Times Reporter

A HOMELANDS Cabinet Minister yesterday renewed calls on the Government to consider the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals as a model for power-sharing.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu Government — and the Indaba's co-convenor — was addressing the National Party's Transvaal youth congress in Pretoria.

He said that to dismiss the Indaba in simplistic terms "does a grave disservice to South Africa and grossly undermines the image of the Government".

Dr Dhlomo told the young NP delegates: "I urge you not to dismiss the significance of the Indaba achievement — eight months of negotiation leading to agreement between people of all races and a wide range of ideological persuasions."

"We do not regard the Indaba proposals as perfect — but we do regard them as a serious and constructive contribution to South Africa's constitutional debate."

Worthy

"At the very least, they should be seriously studied and treated as a point of departure worthy of negotiation and discussion — not only as a regional stepping stone towards the future, but as a viable way forward at a national level."

Dr Dhlomo said his government believed the Indaba had succeeded in designing a constitution that could be accepted by the majority of groups.

The proposals were a "very serious attempt" to devise a plan for power-sharing that dealt with the "two vital political bridgeheads that have to be crossed if we are to find the way forward together".

All adult citizens had the right to take part in the political system. This had to be recognised openly and directly — "not through deceptive constitutional tinkering which appears to allow participation but deprives the participants of any real power".

On the other hand, the legitimate rights of minorities had to be recognised.

CP aims a right hook at Namibia peace bid

28/03/04A
STW

By BRIAN POTTINGER



ANDRIES TREURNICHT . . . opposed to settlement

THE Conservative Party is poised to establish an ultra-rightwing affiliate group in Namibia to fight any UN-sponsored settlement plans.

Mr Tom Langley, CP spokesman on foreign affairs, will visit the territory soon for talks with conservative groups.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has already held talks with some rightwing groups about a possible unified opposition to the settlement proposals.

Mr Langley will report back to the party leadership on his return.

Party sources, however, are confident that some sort of right-

wing, CP-aligned force can be forged in the territory. They claim increasing calls for sup-

port from white Namibians concerned about the progress of the settlement talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Recently Dr Treurnicht visited Namibia with AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche for wide-ranging talks with various groups.

It is understood the CP is particularly keen to come to an agreement with the Basters under Kaptein Hans Diegaardt and the SWA National Party under Mr Kosi Pretorius.

The CP's bitter opposition to the prospect of a UN-sponsored settlement in Namibia in terms of Resolution 435 was again underscored at its Transvaal provincial congress at the weekend.

Dr Treurnicht told an enthusiastic public meeting that the CP would not accept settlement in Namibia for two main reasons:

- It was wrong to force a majoritarian government in a single system on the people of the territory when Pretoria refused to do it in SA;
- A Swapo government in Windhoek — the most likely option under Resolution 435 — would pose grave security risks.

The CP's moves to involve itself more directly in the affairs of the territory are likely to be opposed by the SA Government, which is trying to forge a united front among the internal parties to confront Swapo in any future election.

TWO staunch South Africans, giants in the eyes of their followers, stand at the crossroads of peace and chaos in southern Africa.

Between the two most powerful men ever in the history of our sub-continent lies the destiny of millions. Yet President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela remain painted political images to one another.

They both live in the shadow of Table Mountain, yet they have not met one another. They both live behind solid security walls, one in palatial presidential surroundings, the other in a small cell that has been his "home" for the past 24 years.

Both men, in their 70s, represent the climax not only of their own political careers but that of a struggle for control of land and power that began over 300 years ago.

Courage

Both men have displayed the courage to do what they believe in with a sense of determination and strength of conviction that have paled many lesser men into insignificance. One is determined to maintain white rule, the other unrepentant in the challenge of that rule.

Between these men revolves the most burning issue in the world in the second half of this century — segregation of human beings on the grounds of their race. It has certainly become the most important moral issue of the day — an issue that has not escaped the attention of world leaders.

Despite the presidential status of the one and the prisoner status of the other, when the history of this country is written the man who became a myth in his own lifetime and who wasted the best

Mandela and PW — time to bridge gulf *Stimes*

by Ismail Omar

member of the President's Council

years of that life doing nothing could well go down as the father of the nation.

And the man who first began to chip at the granite mountain of three centuries of domination and prejudice could well merit no more attention than as one who first declared this to be a united nation, dividing his own tribe in the process, and thereby setting into motion the inevitable thrust towards a society where the worth of man is judged by his ability rather than the colour of his skin.

Each man, by his actions, has the ability today to change unrecognisably the direction of the future historian's pen.

There is no greater single issue today in South Africa than the continued incarceration of the man who has given his life for what he believes. (For that he earns the grudging admiration of many in Government as well.)

The obstacle between Mr Mandela and his freedom is the Government's fear of the yearning of the black man for freedom in his own country.

Fear, which needs no justification, can be the only reason for his continued imprisonment — fear of the man's potential to unleash forces that would then be beyond the control of those refusing to take the risk.

And yet, if we are to move out of the present stalemate, risks must be taken. Mr Mandela and Mr Botha have the potential to save thousands of South African lives. They both have the power to halt our descent into violence.

They both have the power and the ability to change the perceptions of future historians by mutual gestures of goodwill that will ensure they are remembered as men who stopped the rut of degeneration and destruction and started the task of nation building.

Mr Mandela is the only person who can assuage white fears and control black anger — he has no other option if he has the interests of his country at heart — for he is larger than the ANC, as Gandhi was larger than the Indian National Congress.

He has the power to differ with the harshness of bitter ANC lead-

ership in exile, as did Gandhi with the democratic decisions of the Indian National Congress.

In 1985, Mr Mandela advised visiting American Professor Samuel Dash that the central issue in South Africa was political equality. Reacting to white fears that such equality would mean subjugation under an embittered black majority, he said whites belonged in South Africa, that this was their home, and that they should live here and share power.

In 1986, Mr Botha told Parliament: "The peoples of the Republic of South Africa form one nation. But our nation is a nation of minorities. Given the multi-cultural nature of South African society, this of necessity implies participation by all communities, the sharing of power between these communities."

Gulf

He also said: "We believe that human dignity, life, liberty and property of all must be protected, regardless of colour, race, creed or religion."

Is the gulf between the two sides as wide as that between Hussain of Iraq and Khomeini of Iran? Do we need to maim our youth, destroy cities and down civilians from the sky before we too come to our senses?

In 1986, Mr Botha said of Mr Mandela: "If I were to release him on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Du Toit, Sakharov and Scharansky not be released on humanitarian grounds? A positive response to this question could certainly form the basis of negotiations with interested governments."

Sakharov and Scharansky are free. Wynand du Toit walked from prison to Tuynhuys. Is it asking too much?

Shakespeare surely won't mind that we borrowed his famous quotation to summarise the dilemma of the South African government, which has battled for the past two weeks with the question of whether or not to release Nelson Mandela.

Following Mandela's hospitalisation on August 12, State President PW Botha must have had sleepless nights weighing up the pros and cons of his release.

But what has become clear is that Botha himself has become a prisoner - the prisoner of Mandela. If he sets Mandela free, he and his National Party lose. And if he does not release Mandela, they still lose.

Botha cannot keep Mandela in prison until he dies. On the other hand, Botha fears the results of releasing him, particularly with the crucial October municipal elections around the corner.

Speculation about Mandela's release after 26 years in prison has been rampant following Botha's address to the National Party Congress in Durban on August 18, where he "hinted" at possible release.

But, held hostage by the Conservative Party, it was again made clear that Botha was as much a prisoner as Mandela.

Newspaper headlines after Botha's Durban address showed that even the Press was in the dark.

The Citizen, carried a front-page story headlined: "Mandela won't be freed soon". The paper quoted the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, saying Mandela's release "cannot be considered under prevailing circumstances".

Business Day, on the other hand, expressed a different view. "Nelson Mandela's release seems to be imminent".

Speculation increased that Mandela was suffering from a more serious illness than tuberculosis.

The seriousness of his situation and Pretoria's concern about his well-being, were also illustrated by the fact that both Botha and the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, took a "personal" interest in the case.

Mandela's illness created an opportune situation for the government to release him without too much damage to its stature.

But the government did not use the opportunity.

Even the pro-National Party *Beeld* newspaper called on Botha to release Mandela.

Another factor Botha should take into account is that Mandela's freedom holds the key to opening the door to real black participation in the government's reform process.

His release is on the list of demands of virtually every black political organisation in South Africa.



PW Botha ... a prisoner of Mandela.



Kobie Coetsee ... a personal interest.

Govt in a fix on Mandela issue

Afraid of rightwing backlash, nervous about October municipal elections

TO be (a prisoner) or not to be (a prisoner), that is the question.

CP Correspondent

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28/12/87
Press 33

SA going backwards - US paper

THE South African government's failure to carry out its promises of reform has been slated by a major United States newspaper.

In editorial comment published this week, the *Chicago Sun-Times* says: President Pieter W Botha of South Africa has made some solicitous noises in recent days in regard to the ailing and imprisoned black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

"Essentially the suggestion is the same as it has been before: Mr Mandela, now 70 and in the 26th year of incarceration, can be released if he renounces violence. In fact, Mr Botha seemed to be saying he would like to free Mr Mandela and that it is up to the latter to enable the government to do that by 'co-operating'.

"But it is like putting the cart before the horse.

"South Africa today is a society where the government's 'reforms' have created a pointed affront to black dignity: a tricameral parliament in which the whites, the mixed race coloured and Asians, all minorities, are represented - but not the blacks, who constitute the vast majority.

"It is also a society that, after what seemed to be a brief era of welcome and irreversible change for the better, is stubbornly going backward.

"Mr Botha himself declared last week that as long as he is in power, there would be no black majority rule in the country. 'I'm not even considering to discuss the possibility,' he told a meeting of his party." - Sapa-AP

Dark clouds on political horizon

PRESIDENT P W Botha's determination to force the amended Group Areas legislation through Parliament has plunged the country into its gravest constitutional crisis since the 1950s.

After a week of drama it is now clear that his actions have sparked off an angry chain reaction that could mean:

- The squashing of the crucial Bill that would allow him to appoint a black Cabinet Minister.
- The prospect of court actions challenging his decision to handle the Group Areas amendments as own affairs although the Government admits it is general affairs.
- A new era of

Hussain

"resistance politics" from the Government's tripartite partners and the threatening collapse of the system itself.

• More rumblings from angry verligte Nat MPs.

And yesterday in a hard-hitting attack, Professor Johan van der Vyver, a top constitutional expert, urged opposition parties to take the National Party to court and said the Government had gone "absolutely mad" (see Page 2).

The NP, despite its protestations that it governs in partnership, now stands exposed as the bulldozer of white political might.

The backlash caused by the Government's cynical manipulation of Rules of Parliament is

effectively stalling its work.

Not one of the standing committees was able to reach agreement on any legislation for the past three weeks as MPs from the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates ganged up to block the Government. These measures will now have to be referred to the President's Council for approval.

The Constitution Second Amendment Bill comes up at a joint meeting of Parliament on Friday. Among other things this Bill would allow President Botha to appoint a black Cabinet Minister as part of his reform programme, but because it changes entrenched clauses of the

Constitution he needs the majority vote of each House for its passage.

But the Indian and coloured majorities will vote against it, thus killing the legislation and causing huge embarrassment to President Botha.

Some Government MPs are now admitting in private that the controversial Group Areas amendments are costing the Government dearly, and they concede they would never work properly anyway.

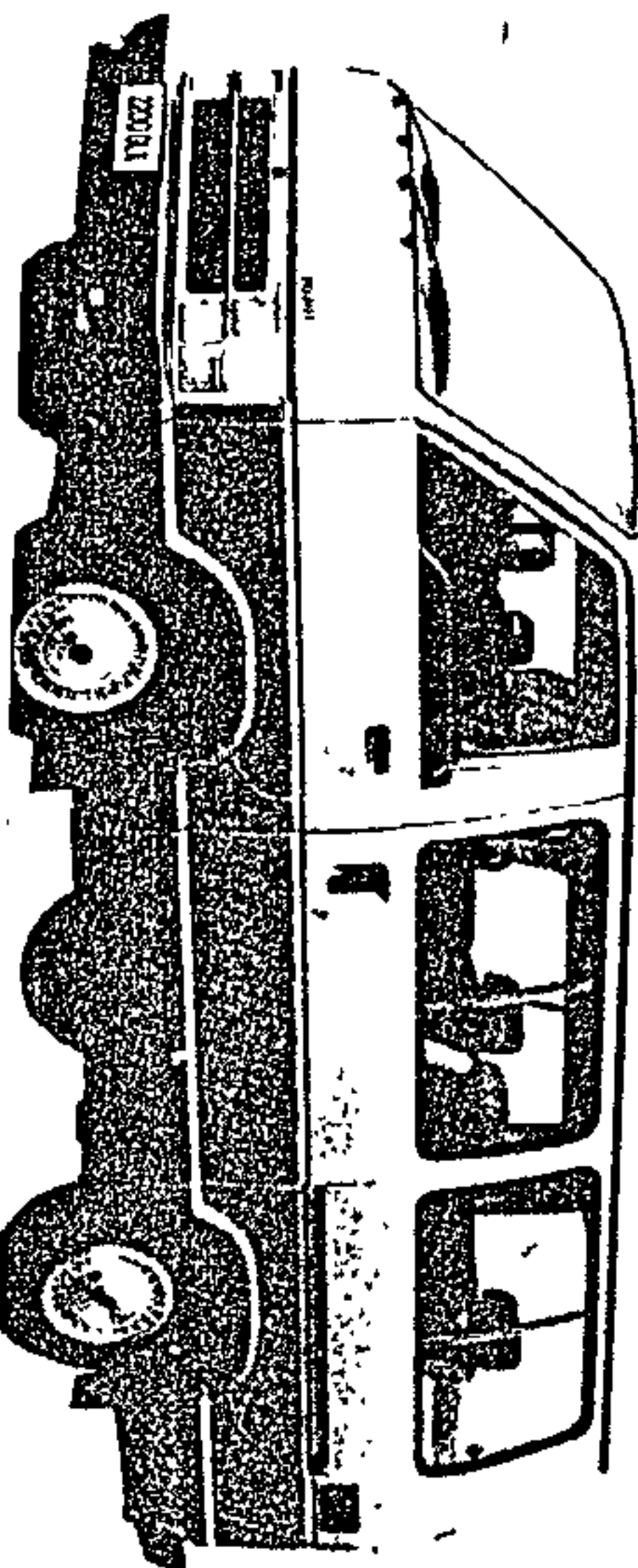
Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk appeared to distance himself from the Government's stance on the Group Areas measures when he admitted at an NP youth congress that the Government was in

trouble in Parliament, that it had landed in the "rapids" and had no alternative at this stage but to forge ahead.

Meanwhile the parties opposed to the measure — except the Conservative Party — are considering their strate-

gy. *Swart* Indian and coloured MPs are considering whether they should pull out of Parliament.

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Party hopeful gunned down at home

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A SOFASONKE Party candidate for the forthcoming October 26 municipal elections was gunned down at his Tshiawelo Extension Three home at the weekend.

Mr David Nkomo (45), had five bullets pumped into his body, two of which were lodged in his head. Two bullets missed him. He was certified dead on arrival at the Baragwanath Hospital, where he was taken by a neighbour after the shooting ordeal on Saturday at 7am.

Mr Nkomo's younger brother, Mr Alfred Nkomo, said his

brother had told his wife, more than thrice during the past two months, that he feared for his life because there were people who "were out to rub him off."

He said David had said the grudge was becoming more tense due to his increasing "popularity" among residents. The late Mr Nkomo was campaigning on a Sofasonke Party ticket for the forthcoming elections.

Two young men, who are said to be in their early 20s, who asked to see Mr Nkomo on Saturday

• To Page 2

Nkomo

• From page 1

morning arrived at a time during which Mr Nkomo usually met residents who had grievances.

They were with him in the sitting room when his wife, Shirley, and the house helper, Mrs Nkosingiphile Mashazi, heard a sound that seemed like a "knock" in the room. The wife later found Mr Nkomo bleeding on the floor.

'Growing resistance to power-sharing'

Tricameral system in tatters — Treurnicht

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Conservative Party had become the entrusted political voice of white South Africans because of the nation's growing resistance to the "leftist" ideal of non-racialism, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said on Friday night.

The Afrikaner nation and other whites who associated themselves with the CP's policy of partition would not be degraded to a minority group, and were deeply committed to the principle of self-determination in an own fatherland under an own government.

Speaking under a huge "Treurnicht for President" banner at a public meeting in the Pretoria City Hall, the leader of the official Opposition remarked that politics had now become like "bubbling champagne".

Lectures at UWC to resume

CAPE TOWN — The stayaway from law lectures at the University of the Western Cape — first by students and then by lecturers — is over.

UWC spokesman Mr Moegsten Williams said lectures would resume today following a decision by law lecturers on Friday.

This followed discussions on an individual

"Here is a nation on the march. This nation, with its strong sense of mission, will not easily be stopped," he said to thunderous applause.

The public meeting, attended by over 1 500 people, formed part of the CP's sixth Transvaal congress. Dr Treurnicht said the moral justification of the partition policy could not be disputed. "The diversity of peoples and their distribution into different areas or communities is a biblical principle."

On the other hand, the NP's endeavours towards unity and reconciliation pointed towards the constitution of a new Tower of Babel that would permeate the social, educational and cultural spheres.

The "radicals to the left" did not want a multi-racial government, but black rule.

"That, he warned, would take place only "over the dead bodies of several millions of whites".

Dr Treurnicht said last week's dramatic events in Parliament signified "a humiliation of white politics that I never thought I would witness".

Various political parties' boycott of Parliament indicated a total collapse of the tricameral system and proved that "power-sharing and liberalism" could not work for SA's multitude of race groups.

The only workable constitutional model was partition, with each race group governing itself in its own fatherland. This policy would be implemented "after the CP's takeover at the next general election".

In a written message to delegates, Dr Treurnicht predicted that the October municipal elections would be a "massacre". He urged Conservatives to indicate at the polls their rejection of the "worn-out" NP.

● See Page 11.

Political Reporter

Friction between the Conservative Party leadership and right-wing academic Professor Carel Boshoff about the workability of the CP's partition policy became evident at the party's sixth Transvaal congress at the weekend.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht publicly reprimanded Professor Boshoff — leader of various Afrikaner organisations — who recently caused consternation in conservative circles by propa-

Partition policy causes friction in CP ranks

gating the secession of an Afrikaner volksstaat in the light of the impracticality of separate development.

Dr Treurnicht told a public meeting on Friday night that the CP's main priority was to obtain political power, after which Professor Boshoff would feel secure in his own country under his own government.

The matter was raised again on Saturday when Dr D F Louw of the Waterkloof constituency — in a proposed amendment to a resolution — urged the CP executive to investigate the secession of a smaller Afrikaner territory which could be viable as a white volksstaat.

Dr Treurnicht replied that the final borders of white South Africa would be negotiated after the

CP's takeover which would constitute a mandate to implement its policy of partition.

Although existing white colonies, such as those occupied by the Orange Free State, were "laudable", whites would not relinquish in advance their claim to land that was rightfully theirs.

Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg asked Dr Louw to withdraw his amendment which could "cause certain problems". In the end, Dr Louw withdrew the amendment.

FAMILY ANNOUNCEMENTS

This is no port



CP sees October's poll as trial battle

THE CP is positioning itself for a sweeping victory in the October 26 municipal polls as a preliminary to a general election win.

The battle to wrest power from the NP was the theme of the CP's sixth Transvaal Congress in Pretoria city hall at the weekend.

It was the CP's biggest show of strength so far with more than 1 432 delegates from all over the Transvaal. On Friday night a 2 000-plus crowd heard CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

Election statistics provided by the CP during the two-day congress claimed it was fielding more official candidates in the municipal poll than all other parties put together, with more than 3 140 nominated so far countrywide.

Immediately at stake was local government control and taking over regional services councils. Treurnicht made it clear, however, the municipal poll was merely a preliminary test of strength before a showdown with the NP in the next general election.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

Party machinery has been mobilised all over the Transvaal, where CP branches have increased by 55% to an estimated 1 500 since last year's May general election.

Predicting a victory of "any election at any time" deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg set the tone for the congress: "There is champagne in CP politics."

Under a Treurnicht for President banner, the party's leader said: "The political future of whites in SA points to the CP."

He pledged to end the tricameral parliament, which he described as a leaking, three-legged pot.

The non-racial RSCs were doomed to a similar fate by the CP.

With an assurance from Hartzenberg that the CP was on the side of the whites in Namibia, some delegates, including CP Foreign Affairs spokesman Tom Langley, condemned the present Angolan/Namibian peace initiative as "the selling out of the white man".

Deadlock: Hendrickse, Heunis meet tomorrow

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is to meet the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, tomorrow to discuss the constitutional deadlock.

Announcing this today, Mr Hendrickse said he was not prepared to compromise.

The Labour Party has demanded the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. Mr Hendrickse said he had not proposed a list of residential areas which must be opened, as had been reported earlier.

Mr Heunis said today that his door was open if Mr Hendrickse wanted to talk.

Meanwhile, the constitutional impasse may take a new turn this week after the Labour Party has examined ways of retaliating following the National Party's actions in the Assembly last week.

The party is considering changing the rules of the House of Representatives to pass its own version of legislation which would amount to the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Way opened

The National Party, by changing the Assembly rules to prevent the other two Houses playing a role in legislation passed by it, has opened the way to similar action by the Labour Party.

The rules providing for a joint committee of all three Houses of Parliament were agreed to by all of them.

The NP last week unilaterally changed the rules to turn the group areas legislation and related Bills into "own affairs" measures to be dealt with by a

committee appointed from only the one House.

Some Labour MPs want the Representatives to also "go it alone" on the rules.

The party has made it clear it will have nothing to do with the present legislation short of scrapping it.

Asked about the possibility of the other Houses of Parliament using procedural changes similar to those of the Assembly to open coloured areas to other groups, Mr Heunis said this was a legal question he could not deal with.

However, his political answer would be that something like that was possible in terms of the present proposals being rejected by the Representatives and the Delegates.

Mandela: Coe over staged r

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, today declined to react to a report that there may be a plan for a staged release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The report said there was persistent speculation about this in government circles.

Mr Coetsee said today the report was "speculative" and he could not comment on it.

He said it was "obvious" that Mr Mandela was having the best treatment, and that it would be ensured that this was the case until he recovered.

He emphasised that the lat-

Troops leave Ang

The Argus Correspondent

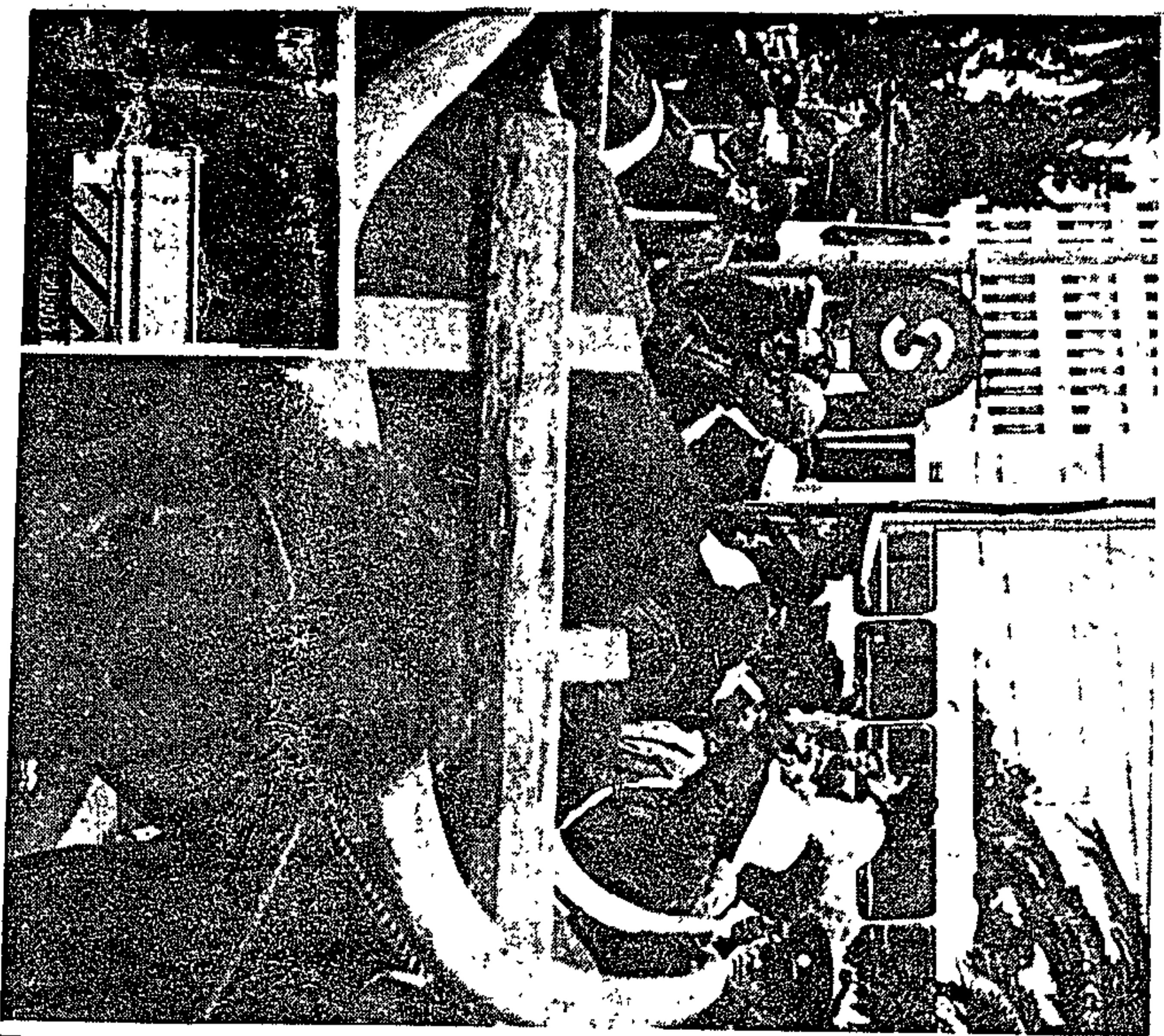
PRETORIA. — The last of the troops stationed in Angola are due back into Namibia tomorrow in the

Crisis Week

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IN OVER TREK OXEN



Tricameral system faces chaos on bills

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE battered tricameral system could be plunged into total procedural chaos if the Indian and coloured Houses this week decide to follow the government's example and bend the rules to suit their own political ends.

The crisis bedevilling the boycott-ridden institution is likely to come to a head on Friday at the joint session for all three Houses which the government has unilaterally ordered.

Steamrollered

President Botha is expected to read the riot act to rebellious MPs — the Conservative Party is the only opposition party still debating contentious group areas, slums and squatter control legislation — and order both the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates to consider the measures within two weeks.

If these two Houses still refuse to deal with these measures, they will be referred to the President's Council and steamrollered into law well in advance of the crucial municipal elections in October.

However, should these Houses decide to take a leaf out of the government's book and unilaterally suspend rules they deem inconvenient and substitute others, they could precipitate a procedural nightmare that

could render the already hugely complex tricameral system virtually unworkable.

There has also been speculation that the Labour Party (LP) might opt for passing a separate bill abolishing the Group Areas Act in coloured areas.

But a key player in the constitutional drama, LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse, has declined to reveal his battle plan.

Meanwhile, the LP's national executive committee decided at the weekend to consider a Supreme Court challenge "with or without the support of other opposition parties" into the government's decision to unilaterally treat "general affairs" bills as "own affairs" legislation to help steamroller unpopular measures into law. The NEC also passed a resolution "condemning the unwillingness of Mr Chris Heunis (the Minister of Constitutional Development) to enter into negotiation with the LP".

'No stalemate'

However, according to the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, a "cut and dried stalemate" does not yet exist between the LP and the government. Talks were still taking place albeit at a "slightly lower level" than that of leadership.

Although many members of the NP caucus are deeply concerned about both the *kragdadige* (hardline) content of bills currently before Parliament and the methods resorted to to get them on the statute book, Dr van der Merwe is adamant that the latest impasse should "not be seen as the ultimate crisis".

CP rustles up support for poll

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The CP is positioning itself for a sweeping victory in the October 26 municipal poll, as a preliminary to a general election victory.

The battle to wrest power from the ruling NP was the theme of the CP's sixth Transvaal Congress held at the Pretoria City Hall at the weekend.

Bolstered by a rapid galvanizing of the right-wing vote, it was the CP's biggest show of strength so far. More than 1 432 delegates attended from the Transvaal. On Friday night a 2 000-strong crowd gathered to hear CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Election statistics provided by CP spokesmen during the congress claimed that the CP was fielding more official candidates in the municipal poll than all the other political parties put together — more than 3 140 candidates have been nominated so far.

Where did the wheels come off?

CAPE TOWN — "For a long time now I have believed all four wheels of the Government have come off. But I now see it is losing its spare wheel, fly wheel and steering wheel," a prominent establishment observer mused this week.

His views epitomise the growing despondency within and around the National Party as it lurches from one crisis to the next.

The most depressing thing for many in the Government is the way its leaders appear to be so hell-bent on destroying tricameral relations, the very system which the National Party split Afrikanerdom to achieve.

What on earth happened to the Government's much-vaunted tri-pronged counter-revolutionary strategy?

That, you will remember, is the master plan which the P W Botha administration has devised to save South Africa from violent revolution.

Three legs

Its three legs are:

- Tough security action, to suppress armed and violent resistance with the full might of the State. That is why South Africa has a state of emergency.
- Good government. This involves the spending of billions of rand on removing socio-economic backlogs and upgrading living conditions so as to remove the incentives that certain communities might have for supporting revolution. That is why South Africa has a national management system.
- Negotiating a constitutional future acceptable to the majority of all the people, so that everyone has the opportunity to take part in the government of his or her country right up to the highest level. That is why we have the tricameral Parliament, the about-to-be-created national council and negotiations between all the country's leaders.

Government Ministers frequently say from public platforms that no one leg is adequate by itself.

All three aspects of the plan have to be pursued with the utmost vigour.

Now no-one in South Africa can surely doubt that the first leg of the plan, security, has been pursued with maximum effort.

The state of emergency has undoubtedly worked in its objectives of suppressing violent unrest and agitation. In fact, the Government is now trying to make it work beyond those goals, and is reaching into the realm of freedom of speech and thought control.

The first leg can be said to be working.

But who could say for certain how effective the second leg has been.

Progress is being made in isolated areas such as

BY DAVID BRAUN

The Government has been plunged into its worst constitutional crisis since the 1950s. What has gone wrong with its plan to save South Africa?

Alexandra and Crossroads, but even the Government admits they are mere "oil spots" (to use the counter-revolutionary warfare terminology).

The work underway in these and other areas demonstrates what can be done to remedy quite appalling situations.

We see paved roads, water-borne sewerage, electric lighting, neat little homes in places which for decades comprised cardboard and sheet metal shacks sitting in oozing mud and with buckets for sanitation and paraffin for illumination.

But the backlog is enormous.

Alexandra and Crossroads are drops in the ocean compared with Botshabelo or the vast shanty slums of Bophuthatswana.

It will take billions and billions of rand to wipe out the backlogs, and billions more to provide for one of the world's fastest-growing populations.

South Africa already spends more on education than on any other single item in its annual budget, including defence.

By the turn of the century, it is estimated R50 billion a year will be needed to pay for education — more than the current year's entire budget!

The second leg of the counter-revolutionary strategy may be very well intentioned, but from where is the money going to come?

Over-taxed

South Africa cannot borrow it from abroad. Nobody wants to invest here. South Africans are already said to be over-taxed. The economy is not growing fast enough to cope with the rapidly expanding population.

The Government says it has new plans to overcome these crises, to generate sufficient economic growth to finance its priorities. Privatisation, about to come on stream, is intended to finance much of the socio-economic upliftment of the townships.

The regional services councils are intended as instruments to redistribute income so as to develop the backward regions of the country as a priority.

There may be reason to be optimistic that the second leg of the strategy will have some success.

What of the third leg? Who could deny that so far it is an unmitigated disaster?

How often does the Government uphold the tricameral Parliament as proof that it is making progress on the constitutional development front?

Yet anyone can see that the system has all but collapsed in acrimony and turmoil.

The Government appears to be squandering a real opportunity to broaden its power base by making a real deal with the coloured and Indian parties.

But in the four years of the system, President Botha has still to give a single person of colour a proper Cabinet portfolio (not just coloured affairs or Indian affairs).

There appears to be no genuine attempt to accommodate the aspirations and fears of the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

The Government, instead, has veered sharply to its right in a belated attempt to woo conservative white voters.

Botha to call a general election for October?

Political Staff

A JOINT sitting of all three Houses of Parliament has been called for Friday — and there are rumours that President P W Botha may be planning to call a general election.

No reason at this stage has been given for the joint sitting.

In terms of the time schedule laid down for an election, Friday is the final day on which an election can be called if it is to be held on October 26 — the same day as the municipal elections.

The decision rests with Mr Botha, but one government source indicated yesterday that there was more than an outside chance that Mr Botha would call a snap election.

From Mr Botha's perspective, calling a snap election would not only rid him of the threat of the Labour Party forcing whites to the polls in 1989, but would also almost certainly guarantee the National Party another five years in which to push ahead with its, albeit confused, reform policy.

Sydney's Cape Times

Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE:
R600

Bond rate up again

HOMEOWNERS are faced with yet another increase in bond rates.

United Building Society were the first to announce an increase yesterday to 16% effective from September 5 for new loans and from October for

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General election date 'may be set on Friday'

CAPE TOWN — Parliament was awash yesterday with strong rumours that State President P W Botha would call a general election at a special sitting of all three Houses of Parliament, which has been called for Friday.

No reason at this stage has been given for the joint sitting.

In terms of the time schedule laid down for an election, Friday is the final day on which an election can be called if it is to be held on October 26, the same day as the municipal elections.

The decision rests with Botha.

Political Staff

A government source indicated yesterday that there was more than an outside chance that Botha would call a snap election.

The LP is expecting an election, although it has yet to decide whether it will participate for a further five years in the tri-cameral Parliament.

From Botha's perspective, calling a snap election would not only rid him of the threat of the LP forcing whites to the

polls in 1989, but it would also almost certainly guarantee the NP another five years in power.

□ LP leader Allan Hendrickse will meet Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis today in a bid to resolve the constitutional deadlock.

But the prospects look dim and the LP is more than sceptical about the meeting.

The LP is not prepared to accept a list of areas which government is willing to declare open.

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Hendrickse to seek solution

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CMT-TMP
31/8/88

THE Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, will try to reach a compromise today to break the deadlock between the House of Representatives and the government.

They spent nearly three hours yesterday trying to settle a misunderstanding which had arisen over whether Mr Hendrickse had offered to negotiate a deal over a "list" of areas to be declared "open" in exchange for the party's support for the government's legislation on group areas amendments and the establishment of free settlement areas.

After issuing a joint statement saying they had settled the matter of semantics of whether a "list" existed, Mr Hendrickse said he and Mr Heunis would tackle the "broader issues" around the conflict between them.

He said he was "cautiously optimistic".

The Labour Party, which as majority party had adjourned business in the House of Representatives until Friday, considered any previous offers of a compromise, including that of a list of areas, as having been rejected by the government and which would have no further part in these negotiations. He said he had made an offer to Mr Heunis "in the interests of progress" during June, in spite of the Labour Party congress decision not to accept less than the total scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Heunis 'apology'

Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday effectively apologized to the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, for remarks he made on discussions between the two.

Mr Heunis had denied that a discussion took place during which Mr Hendrickse submitted a list of residential areas which he wanted open as a condition for negotiation on the legislation.

"After discussions between Ministers Heunis and Hendrickse, Minister Heunis confirmed that a discussion on the Group Areas legislation between Ministers Heunis and Hendrickse took place on June 15 and that Minister Hendrickse had made certain proposals.

"In view of today's discussions, Minister Heunis accepts that his initial information as conveyed to him was incorrect and his comments on this information accordingly fall away."

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Final Sale Report

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