

S.A. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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Nats 'must admit powersharing'

11386 By Frank Jeans (304)

The Government must take a psychological step forward and admit that the country in future will be run by a government of black representation, says Mr Harald Pakendorf, editor of *Die Vaderland*.

At a South Africa Britain Trade Association lunch this week, he said such a declaration would have an immediate effect on the African National Congress.

This, along with the scrapping of

pass laws and the Separate Amenities Act, would leave the ANC without a leg to stand on.

"The Government initiated today's changes back in 1977 when it said power-sharing was acceptable. Now we must think of wider constituents and learn to look over black shoulders and brown shoulders.

"To admit blacks to this Government is not enough. What we need is totally new thinking about government by all South Africans."

Looking back at the history of apartheid

By KIN BENTLEY

PETTY apartheid was at the centre of the stage this week when the Port Elizabeth City Council overruled a decision of its Community Services Committee authorising the enforcement of beach apartheid.

And the Government took another step away from apartheid with an announcement in Parliament that it intends scrapping the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Piet Badenhorst, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said a new Act would provide local authorities and the private sector with the right to refuse admission to, or use of, any facility.

Local authorities would manage beaches and coastal areas under their jurisdiction.

In recent years the Government has made several such reforms, but, says veteran PE City Councillor, Mr Graham Young, the fundamentals of the apartheid system are still intact.

Describing the changes he has seen in South Africa, Mr Young, who is "as old as the country" — he was born in 1910, at the time of Union — said industrial development after the Second World War changed the face of the country.

He said "The major factor arising from the war was the influx of black people and, to a lesser extent, coloured people to the urban areas. 'When I was a young

duced homelands and decentralisation to try to turn the tide of people flocking to the cities, including PE.

In attempting to encourage growth in rural, homeland areas, however, they made the mistake of "bas-ing it on racial separation".

Other countries encouraged industry to move where there was unemployment, for sound economic reasons — but in South Africa they "not only decentralised, but gave the areas their own governments".

With many multiracial and multi-cultural communities in the world it was a fallacy to say South Africa was "unique". But here racial and tribal identities had been "allowed to grow", rather than be played down.

Mr Young said blacks had yet to become convinced that the white Parliament was acceptable. This would remain so until the Government was prepared to bring them into it on an equal basis — and "there's no sign of that".

A fundamental division existed in the country between those (like the National Party) who were "wedded to the idea of a country of minorities" and the other group who said South Africa was one country, economically, politically, and socially.

He did not believe the Government had budged from the fundamentals of apartheid, pointing out that "own affairs" amounted to



January this year — the MP for Addo, Mr PETER HENDRICKSE (right) and a party of friends defy the "whites only" ruling at King's Beach, Port Elizabeth.

cate their shop — under the Group Areas Act. (Blacks will soon be allowed to trade again in these areas.)

He was one of the first people to build a home in Malabar, where Indian families from South India and other mixed areas settled.

Mr O'Brien recalled that when coloureds and Indians still voted for the central Parliament, he used to vote for the old United Party. He also voted for the PE City Council and said there used to be coloured and Indian councillors "a long time ago".

● Just how did racial discrimination get onto the statute books?

The National Party, representing Afrikaner nationalism, meanwhile grew into a formidable force which finally won political power in 1948. It then put apartheid firmly on to the statute books.

With the advent of new racial laws like race classification and group areas, the ANC became more militant. In 1952 it launched its Defiance Campaign, which in turn led to the introduction of stricter "security laws".

Thousands of black leaders were arrested and 52 ANC leaders detained.

The ANC formed a Congress Alliance with the Indian Congress and white Congress.

provision of services is concerned.

Coloured men in the Cape were taken off the common voters roll in the mid-1950s when the National Party, by enlarging the Senate and packing it with its own members, achieved the required two-thirds majority necessary to change voting rights.

In compensation, the coloureds were given the right to vote for four white MPs. At least four senators "thoroughly acquainted" with the interests of the coloured people were appointed. All were Nationalists.

In the 1960s, when it became apparent that the coloured voters were leaving the UP and turning to the Progressive Party (now the PFP), the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was passed. This limited party membership to one race only.

Although this Act was scrapped last year, the racial character of the present tricameral constitution, based on the Population Registration Act, today negates the concept of non-racial political parties.

The new constitution was introduced in 1984 after the Coloured Representative Council system — introduced in 1968 and scrapped in 1980 — had been rendered unworkable by the ruling Labour Party.

Flashback to the mid-1970s — segregated phone booths outside the old Donkin Hill Post Office in Port Elizabeth.



history of apartheid

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He said: "The major factor arising from the war was the influx of black people and, to a lesser extent, coloured people, to the urban areas."

"When I was a young man, Johannesburg (before the war) wasn't an industrial city — it was a mining town."

Describing the "overwhelming influx" after the war, he said: "All the hills around Johannesburg were filled with squatter groups."

Since then life in South Africa had been conditioned by the problem of trying to deal with the problems which this influx presented.

The National Party's policy was simple: keep the races apart.

"But they could not stop the people coming to the urban areas," he said.

"The blacks were here as workers, but not as citizens. They were excluded from political participation."

"Now we're trying to deal with the political and social consequences of industrial development, enormous economic growth and prosperity."

Segregation, he said, was first introduced on the mines in about 1912, where the term "sojourner" was used for blacks who could stay in an area only "while their labour was useful".

When the National Party came to power in 1948 they immediately put into legislation separate amenities, no inter-race marriage or sex, "no equality at all".

There used to be many non-racial clubs, societies and organisations in Port Elizabeth. Whites went freely into the townships. But when the NP took over, Mr Young said, all became racially separated.

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duced homelands and decentralisation to try to turn the tide of people flocking to the cities, including PE.

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A fundamental division existed in the country between those (like the National Party) who were "wedded to the idea of a country of minorities" and the other group who said South Africa was one country, economically, politically and socially.

He did not believe the Government had budged from the fundamentals of apartheid, pointing out that "own affairs" amounted to the same thing.

However, he hoped it was at last starting to recognise the problems. What would replace them, remained the key issue.

"Economically we are all linked in one country — bounded by the sea — and have got to share it as peaceably, and fairly as possible."

Another PE man who recalls pre-apartheid days is an 82-year-old member of the Indian Management Committee, Mr Peter O'Brien, who said this week that he was "looking forward to the day when all race restrictions are gone".

"I've lived with the colour bar all my life."

He said petty apartheid was in force before the National Party came to power in 1948.

There were "Europeans only" and "Non-Europeans only" signs on many public buildings before the NP introduced apartheid legislation.

"There was also beach apartheid, but we used to go to King's Beach for picnics and no one stopped us."

Mr O'Brien said he lived for 40 years in a house in Palmerston Street in PE Central. He also owned a shop in Evatt Street.

Most of his neighbours were white, with a smattering of coloured and Indian people living in between them.

"There was no friction or trouble," he said.

Seventeen years ago the family was forced to move out of their home and va-



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● Just how did racial discrimination get onto the statute books?

Segregation was not the unique creation of the National Party. In fact, it was in 1910, when blacks were excluded from the Union franchise, that discriminatory laws were first introduced.

What the National Party did after 1948 was put a name — apartheid — to a situation that already existed, and enshrine it extensively in law.

Here is a brief summary of what has occurred since Union in 1910.

The homelands system had its genesis in 1913 when the Natives Land Act forced hundreds of thousands of Africans off farms they had either bought or were squatting on in the Transvaal and Free State.

In return they were given black "reserves" — the basis of the homelands.

The African National Congress (ANC) was formed after the discriminatory franchise was introduced in the Act of Union in 1910.

At first it consisted largely of intellectuals wishing to extend what political rights they had (at that stage about 15% of the electorate in the Cape was non-white, with two coloureds for every one African).

In 1936 those Africans who were on the common voters' roll were removed, and put on a separate roll. They could elect three white MPs and four senators, with a promise that more land would be added to the "reserves" — the area of which has never exceeded 13% of the country.

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With the advent of new racial laws like race classification and group areas, the ANC became more militant. In 1952 it launched its Defiance Campaign, which in turn led to the introduction of stricter "security laws".

Thousands of black leaders were arrested and 52 ANC leaders detained.

The ANC formed a Congress Alliance with the Indian Congress and white Congress of Democrats in 1955 — based on the Freedom Charter, which remains the basis of the ANC's demands.

Black political representation in Parliament — albeit through white representatives (in the Cape) — was abolished by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959.

In 1960, at Sharpeville, 62 people were shot dead after what protesters said began as a peaceful demonstration against the pass laws. The ANC and PAC (an offshoot) were banned, with their military wings, Umkonto we Sizwe and Poqo, launching an "armed struggle", which continues today through sporadic guerilla bombings and sabotage.

The black consciousness movement developed in the 1970s, with virtually its entire leadership being banned in 1977, the year Steve Biko died. The 1976 Soweto uprising against compulsory education in Afrikaans was an upshot of this movement.

Many more youths fled the country to join the ANC.

More recently, particularly since the constitutional referendum in 1983, the United Democratic Front, a broadly based alliance of organisations, has dominated the black political scene, with Azapo representing black consciousness in the 1980s. The UDF has been at the forefront of the current revolts.

At local level, coloureds and Indians are represented on white city councils through "management committees" which act in an advisory capacity —

provision of services is concerned.

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Cape Times 11/3/86 30K1

ANC favours 'non-racial democracy'

LONDON. — Former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday said that after his talks here on Thursday with executive members of the banned ANC he understands the organization is prepared to accept "a non-racial democracy" in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert told a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society here that he had not discussed with the ANC the details of what form a future government should take, but he believed that an essential step to make successful negotiation possible was the abolition of all apartheid laws.

It was essential, he said, to allow freedom of association in South Africa so that support for political organizations — including those currently banned — could be established.

Since he resigned the leadership of the PFP earlier this month, Dr Slabbert has embarked on a one-man campaign to discover what he terms "the minimum conditions" that could allow non-parliamentary groups to negotiate with the government on the country's future.

He said the ANC and other organizations he had spoken to in the past had made it clear that

they were prepared to consider negotiation if the government was prepared to reconsider apartheid.

"Even if they were lying to me, it is a bluff worth calling," he said.

● The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos J Mabuza, left South Africa yesterday to hold talks with the ANC leadership in Lusaka.

Mr Mabuza, accompanied by a delegation of 19, will meet the ANC to discuss the current unrest situation and the future of South Africa.

At a press conference in Johannesburg Mr Mabuza said he was acting on a mandate from his constituency which believed that the leaders of the ANC play an important role in the present and future political scenarios of South Africa.

Meanwhile, in Lusaka a delegation of eminent people from the Commonwealth met ANC leaders yesterday amid tight security.

Pressmen were not allowed into the meeting.

The Commonwealth delegation, set up at last year's Commonwealth summit, was accompanied by Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal.

The ANC delegation was led by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

Matie alarm at radical blacks

Weekend Argus Reporter

STELLENBOSCH students who have been canvassing black political opinion have concluded that most blacks have been so radically politicised that no short-term reforms or security force action can subdue or suppress them.

They also found bitter animosity between rival groups, especially between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

The group of 10, which included five students who were prevented by the Government from going to Lusaka to meet African National Congress leaders, have produced a secret report that concludes that contact with the ANC is essential if there is to be effective political decision-making and action.

SA tour

The students toured the country, meeting members of the UDF, Inkatha and black and white civic and business leaders.

They say there would have to be a proper understanding of the personalities, policy and strategies of the ANC before a proper evaluation could be made of Inkatha, the UDF, the Government — "and even of ourselves".

They expressed alarm at the intensity and momentum of the "freedom struggle", which they concluded was too strong and deep-rooted for force to quell violence. They said whites should realise that they can only hope to channel this feeling — they cannot stop it.

Some conclusions reached by the students following their discussions in December last year are:

- The implications of UDF attitudes lie hidden in Lusaka because UDF policies are seated with the ANC.

- Within the black community there is a spontaneous acceptance of non-elected leaders who have proved themselves to be fighters for the cause.

- The continued removal of community leaders through detention has created a leadership vacuum which is increasingly filled by weaker, younger and more radical leaders. The latter usually do not have the ability of their predecessors to control their community.

- Political leaders held in detention for a long time gain an unreal and even mythological image as the saviours of their people, and Mr Nelson Mandela probably has the biggest following.

- A critical phase of transition is approaching: "South Africa is sitting with the last of the recognised pre-apartheid African nationalists such as Tambo, Mandela, Motlana and Tutu, who are still in control.



Sonja Schneider in one of the second hand outfits she sells at her shop.

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus

Dead after crash

Weekend Argus Reporter

A DEPUTY director-general of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Pieter Oelofsen, 52, died from a suspected heart attack after being involved in a motor accident near Worcester.

Police said Mr Oelofsen's car collided with another vehicle and then with a signboard yesterday afternoon.

Mr Oelofsen was not seriously injured but became ill and was taken to Eben Dönges Hospital in Worcester, where he died.

Sonja's second hand sortie

FROM the modelling ramps of Europe's top fashion houses to a second hand clothing store in Claremont — that's the story of Sonja Schneider.

But it is not a case of coming down in the world, simply a business venture on the lines that have become popular all over Europe — buying your clothes in second hand shops.

"My partner, Charles Dagnin, and I noticed this trend during my year of travel in Europe and we asked ourselves why it shouldn't work in South Africa. But it isn't as easy as we thought,"

said the stately blonde.

STAK
13/86
POLITICAL
COMMENTARY
By DAVID
BRAUN



Is politicians' pay plan really extravagant?

When the dust settled after this week's bombshell Schlebusch committee report on parliamentary salaries, it was clear that this year anyway politicians would not get pay increases quite as generous as those that had been suggested.

The very timing of the release of such a report was politically bad, no matter how sound the merits of its recommendations might have been.

Coming right on the day when the Government had slapped down a major public service trade union for daring to ask for more than a 10 per cent rise, a report that talked of increases of between 50 and more than 100 per cent for the politicians was outrageous.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party was quick to see the political opportunity, and it milked it ruthlessly.

To even think about tabling such a report at a time when people were without jobs, when others got no increases, when their children went to school hungry, and when the country was in such an economic mess was callous and shocking, the HNP's lone MP, Mr Louis Stofberg said.

He pledged to donate every extra cent paid to him in terms of the report's salary recommendations to the funds of the HNP — so that the Government could contribute towards its own downfall in this way.

Many other members of Parliament of all parties grumbled about the way the issue had been handled by the media.

They would dearly have liked to accept the proposed increase in their packages from the present R43 000 to R78 000 (and that excludes excellent car and pension schemes).

But most of the parties realised that in these difficult times, it would have been political folly to do so.

So the parties said that while they welcomed the independent assessment of parliamentary remuneration, and accepted that to attract the highest calibre of people into politics the pay should be competitive, they could not possibly accept more than the 10 per cent which government workers were getting.

MPs have a convincing case for the bigger pay packets, and the consultants who recommended the new remuneration levels for parliamentarians did base their calculations on strictly scientific and business considerations.

Using a realistic and conservative formula which was based on each job's relation to required know-how, problem solving and accountability, the consultants who advised the Schlebusch Committee found that an MP's counterpart job in the private sector was worth R49 800 a year.

On the same basis, the State

President's private sector counterpart earned (at the lower quarter of the average for this group) just over R500 000 a year.

Ministers' counterparts got R243 000.

On this basis, the recommended R159 688 (tax-free) for the President, R144 060 (taxable) for Ministers and R49 800 (taxable) for MPs seems fair.

But is it?

The problem is that although such salaries may be chicken feed when compared with big private-sector jobs, for the ordinary voter, they are staggering — to say nothing of what the average black person must think of a Minister earning R12 000 a month.

The white electorate which gives politicians their jobs has seen its living standards erode.

Those voters who traditionally support the National Party, many of them blue collar or middle class, would not be enthusiastic about Ministers doubling their salaries under these circumstances.

Added grievances would be that Ministers live in official residences, are driven in official limousines, travel free by air and are assisted by a vast staff which handles their official and private business — all of which is necessary to function efficiently.

But voters ought to think more sympathetically of the ordinary MPs. Many of them are genuinely struggling to make ends meet. And they are poorly off by comparison with their counterparts in other parts of the world.

If MPs get their new R78 000 packages, it will consist of R49 800 salary, R19 000 allowance and R10 000 allowance for secretarial and constituency expenses.

From this amount, the average MP might have to finance two homes (one in or near his constituency and the other in the Cape for the session of Parliament).

If he has school-going children he would have to equip them with two sets of uniforms (one for the Cape, one for the constituency school).

The average MP would also be required to run two cars (one heavily subsidised and financed by Parliament) — one in the Cape and the other in his constituency for weekend and other visits home (which a conscientious representative would make frequently).

On balance, a person who becomes an MP and who works hard for his constituency hardly does so to enrich himself.

The voters should agree to pay their representatives adequately, but then they should monitor closely what they are getting for their money — and make their assessment at election time.

CLAREMONT

CAT TIMES 1/3/86

306A

Boraine may join the UDF

By TONY WEAVER

DR Alex Boraine will almost definitely be joining the United Democratic Front following his resignation from Parliament on February 13.

The former Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands and PFP federal council chairman said this in an interview after addressing a meeting at the University of Cape Town where he shared a platform with UDF executive member Mr Graeme Bloch.

During question time after the talk, titled "Parliament: Does it have any future?", Dr Boraine was asked whether he would consider joining the UDF.

He replied to loud applause from the crowd of about 500 students: "If I did join the UDF, which is highly probable, it will be in a very ordinary capacity, I do not want to be presumptuous."

'No problems'

"My biggest problem in joining the UDF would be being accepted by them," he said.

Asked to elaborate on his remarks after the talk, Dr Boraine said: "I have talked at length with some of the UDF leadership since I left Parliament and I have no problems with the organization."

"I am very strongly considering joining the UDF as an ordinary member, if they will have me, and will almost definitely do so if doing so does not prevent other organizations with which I have contact from talking to me."

Dr Boraine said earlier that the direct result of the new constitution had been "even worse than we expected" leaving a trail of "death and destruction" throughout South Africa.

Members of the House of Representatives and

the House of Delegates, "who claim to be representative of the so-called coloured and Indian people are nothing more than a coalition with P W Botha in the administration of apartheid".

Mr Bloch said 1985 had been the year in which "the masses demonstrated they had had enough and seized the initiative, the year they took their future into their own hands".

He accused the PFP leadership of "undermining the international sanctions campaign", of launching unjustified attacks on the UDF and of being party to the launch of the National Convention Movement (NCM) which "was launched when our leaders are in jail or in hiding and are in no position to negotiate".

The PFP's co-operation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the NCM was a "cynical alliance" and as a result of these factors it was "not surprising that the democratic movement in this country is suspicious of the party."

I'll probably join UDF — Boraine

CAPE TOWN — Dr Alex Boraine will almost definitely join the United Democratic Front following his resignation from Parliament on February 13.

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do not want to be presumptuous.

● Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Opposition, met British Junior Foreign Minister Mrs Lynda Chalker yesterday to discuss the situation in South Africa, a British Foreign Office spokesman said in London.

In a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society later, Dr Slabbert outlined preconditions he said were needed for meaningful negotiations with the country's black leaders — an abandonment of all apartheid structures, the unbanning of all banned organisations and freedom for all political prisoners.

He said he had no intention of starting a new movement following his resignation from Parliament. — Sapa-Reuter.

Van & Pik agree

CINP 2/3/86 30414
FORMER Progressive

Federal Party leader Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert has something in common with Pik Botha: He says he can "certainly foresee the day when there will be a black president in South Africa."

Unlike Foreign Minister Pik Botha, though, he doesn't think this will come about through the existing constitutional structure.

"The constitution is based on compulsory racial group membership of an ethnic or a racial kind as a basis for participation which simply won't work," he said in a BBC interview.

"They must get rid of all apartheid measures if they want parliament to work."

Keppel-Jones says Govt won't share with anyone

Visiting historian Professor Arthur Keppel-Jones believes the main stumbling block to a solution of South Africa's political problems is that the Government has no intention of sharing power with anyone.

Professor Keppel-Jones, retired professor of history at Queen's University in Ontario, Canada and author of the book "When Smuts Goes", told *The Star* that after analysing State President Botha's "Rubicon 2" speech, he was convinced the promise of power-sharing was merely "a misuse of language".

"After looking at some of the structures in South Africa, it appears to me that the way things are arranged and the decisions that count ultimately lie with the National Party," he said.

Writing in *The Star* five years ago, Professor Keppel-Jones said he saw the prerequisite for a peaceful solution to the country's political problems to be a split in the National Party and a realignment of white political forces.

"Although there appear to be changes, the National Party is still in power and has no intention of relinquishing it or sharing it with anyone," he said.

Five years ago the professor believed a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems had to include some form of federalism, a rigid constitution with effective guarantees of minority, local and individual rights and a balanced distribution of military and police power.

Today, his suggestions for an end to the conflict are the same, but he doubts they will ever be put into operation.

SA convention leader tells why he met ANC

3/3/80
In an attempt to bring across-the-board representation of South Africa's black leaders to the negotiating table, the chairman of the National Convention Movement (NCM) committee, Mr Jules Browde, met African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka recently.

Mr Browde revealed this at a function hosted by the SA Jewish Board of Deputies at a Johannesburg hotel last night.

He also met Dr Alex Boraine, the former chairman of the Progressive Federal Party Council, in Durban on Saturday, to ask him to become executive director of the NCM.

Although Dr Boraine is considering this, as well as an offer to join the UDF, he feels he would like to keep his options open.

Mr Browde spoke of his talks with Mr Tambo, but the text of their conversation cannot be quoted.

"The ANC gave me a very warm welcome when I met them on February 5," he said.

Mr Browde said he hoped the NCM would continue talks with the ANC soon.

He recalled how the NCM had started and also

how it had failed to attract black organisations to its meetings.

"The only organisations represented at the first meeting were the PFP and Inkatha. Dr Allan Boesak had agreed to attend but was arrested just before the meeting. Dr Beyers Naude was also absent as he had to go overseas at short notice, so many important people did not attend," Mr Browde said.

"As a result, the movement was unfortunately seen as a PFP/Inkatha alliance."

He added that all the organisations, including the ANC, were amenable to negotiation if the climate was right.

"One of the aims of the NCM is to prevail upon the Government to repeal all discriminatory legislation and to allow free political association and activity.

"You cannot have a national convention from which representatives of any group or political conviction are excluded and no organisation can be expected to participate in negotiations if its leaders are imprisoned or banned," Mr Browde said.

Defending Freedom Charter

Capt. 4/1/86 3/3/86

KEN OWEN challenged me in his column in August to "come forward and defend the Freedom Charter".

Mr Owen objects to my assertion that the charter is not a statement of principles for a socialist state. Mr Justice Rumpff, a former Chief Justice of South Africa who presided over the 1956 Treason Trial, agrees with me. However, Mr Owen is not convinced.

Neither is Mr Leon Louw, of the Free Market Foundation. Nationalization is "socialistic", says Mr Louw.

The main weakness in Mr Owen's and Mr Louw's position is that it equates nationalization with socialism. Only if we accept that nationalization can occur under both capitalism and socialism can we avoid the kind of absurdities their argument leads to. Let me remind them that it was that eminent champion of capitalism General Smuts who founded Escom as a nationalized industry.

How, then, do we tell the difference between nationalization under capitalism and under socialism?

First, if the nationalized industries are producing for a market, as in Britain and SA, they are capitalist.

Second, if the government which controls them is committed to capitalism, as are Thatcher's and Botha's governments, then the nationalized industries are under capitalist control. Only if the state is under the control of the working class would one say socialism prevailed.

The key issue then is not nationalization, but the form of state which controls the nationalized industries and the economy as a whole.

This is why the argument that the Freedom Charter is socialistic is silly. The charter never calls for working-class

By **DUNCAN INNES**
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control of the state. Instead, it calls for a state "based on the will of the people" to exist in SA — which is a straightforward democratic capitalist demand.

Also, the charter calls for an extension of the market: "All people shall have equal right to trade where they chose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions". By no stretch of the imagination can this demand be called socialist.

The charter does not specify what political-economic system should come into being in SA. This is because it is primarily a statement of ideals for a non-racial SA and not a blueprint for a political system.

Share in the wealth

This is both a strength, since it enables people with different political views to support it and a weakness, since it blurs an important issue.

For instance, the charter demands that "the people shall share in the country's wealth" — but it doesn't specify which political system will bring this about.

As Mr Owen pointed out, Raymond Suttner believes that capitalism cannot do this. According to Suttner: "Any programme to end racial oppression in SA has to be anti-capitalist." If this argument were true, then no doubt a socialist system would come into being here. But is the argument true?

Presumably the businessmen who recently visited the ANC and who have

expressed their opposition to apartheid do not agree with it. Neither do the FCI, Assocom, the AHI and all those other non-socialist organizations that have recently condemned apartheid.

But let us not be under any illusions: in setting out its ideal for a non-racial SA, the charter effectively puts capitalism on trial in SA. Can capitalism in this country change sufficiently to allow "the people" to share in the country's wealth? Can capitalism here "banish famine and land hunger" as the charter demands?

If capitalism can do these things, it will survive. If not, it is possible that a socialist alternative may well be attempted.

But it is not the charter that demands socialism. If capitalism fails, that demand will come from the people and will arise out of their disillusionment with capitalism.

In my view the debate around the Freedom Charter is only of significance to the extent that it raises the question of what a future non-racial SA should look like. That issue is becoming increasingly urgent.

We need to know what ideals we are striving towards; how practical it is to achieve these; what kind of political and economic system would best bring them about; and how such a system would function.

These are difficult questions and only if we enter into a full and free debate with one another can we hope to answer them. Attempts to interpret people's views as "communist" or to refuse to listen to arguments because one disagrees with them can only do this country immense damage — especially in this time of crisis.

PFP launches ad campaign

CMC Times 3/3/86. (306A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN A bold new bid to counter "tax payer-funded National Party propaganda", the Progressive Federal Party yesterday launched an aggressive advertising campaign with a full-page advertisement in the mass-circulation Sunday Times.

The hard-hitting advertisement — the first in a series — is designed to debunk assertions contained in the government's controversial "Here is the Reality" advertising campaign, which cost taxpayers over R300 000.

Yesterday's full-page ad — which cost the PFP over R20 000 — argues that contrary to recent assertions by President P W Botha, apartheid remains fundamental to several key government policies.

It cites as examples the government's continuing commitment to separate racial structures with separate group membership, the homelands policy, racially-based local government, the segregated tri-cameral system, compulsory race classification and segregated neighbourhoods and schools. The ad goes on to outline the PFP's commitment both to stay in Parliament and "to building new bridges outside Parliament".

Negotiation

In addition the ad asserts the party's commitment to:

- Working out a package of rights that is acceptable to all South Africans.

- Arguing the case for negotiation — even with leaders the government will not meet.

- Creating a climate in which genuine black leaders can come forward to

negotiate a new future for South Africa ... with a new constitution guaranteeing equal rights for every individual everywhere.

Aggressive

The secretary-general of the PFP, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday that the ad reflected "a new, more aggressive" PFP management style.

"In future there will be a greater degree of planning, strategy development and a professional management style in the way the party operates."

Mr Carlisle conceded that the PFP would have difficulty in going head-to-head with the government in an advertising war "because we don't have unlimited amounts of taxpayers' money to throw around".

However, more PFP advertisements would follow.

"Advertising is going to be a new feature of politics in South Africa," he predicted.

Blitz

The PFP's new special projects head, Mr Peter Soal, said the latest advertising drive was aimed at "putting the record straight" after the government's latest advertising blitz.

"Apartheid is still very much alive and kicking — the government is trying to disguise this by giving things new names."

He said the latest PFP campaign was also designed to reassure the public that the party was "not winding down but winding up" following the shock departure of the party's former leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

He acknowledged that Dr Slabbert's resignation had been a blow to the party but he claimed that there had been "minimal bleeding" within the PFP since his departure.

his Department in 1985 on placing advertisements for any purpose in newspapers in the Republic;

- (2) what amount was paid to each specified newspaper in the above regard in that year?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Nil.
(2) Falls away.

Trading Licences
HANS: Q COL 263
147. Mr P R ROGERS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

With reference to the reply of the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education to Question No 718 on 26 April 1985, how many trading licences were operative in (a) East London, (b) Cathcart, (c) Queenstown, (d) King William's Town, (e) Komga and (f) Stutterheim as at 1 January 1986?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning is not a licensing authority but has nevertheless succeeded in establishing the number of trading licences operating in the Urban Black townships attached to the cities and townships mentioned in this question.

- (a) East London..... 20
(b) Cathcart..... 3
(c) Queenstown..... 19
(d) King William's Town..... 5
(e) Komga..... 2
(f) Stutterheim..... —

Reservists
HANS: Q COL 263
184. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) How many persons joined the Police Reserve Force in Sandton in 1985;

- (2) how many reservists (a) retired and (b) dropped out from the Police Reserve Force in that year?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) 6 persons.
(2) (a) None.
(b) 8 persons.

Salaries
HANS: Q COL 264
279. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether he will reconsider his decision regarding questions on police salaries; if not, why not; if so, what were the rates of pay for (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Asian and (d) Black members of the South African Police Force of each rank as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No. I still hold the view set out in my reply to the hon member's Question No 13 on 7 October 1981 and which I confirmed on Question No 45 on 5 February 1985.

Own Affairs:
HANS: Q COL 264
313. Mr J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (a) How many Whites entered for the full National Senior Certificate examination in 1985 and (b) how many entrants (i) passed, (ii) failed and (iii) obtained matriculation exemption?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

- (a) 12 591.
(b) (i) 1 930 passed the full National Senior Certificate examination.

- (ii) The remaining 10 661 candidates, including part-time candidates who did not enter for the full examination obtained subject credits with a view to the eventual acquisition of the national Senior Certificate. The particulars are as follows:
- | | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| Number of subject entries | 37 027 |
| Number thereof passed... | 19 727 |
| Number thereof failed ... | 8 965 |
| Number thereof absent... | 8 335 |

- (iii) 326.

TUESDAY, 4 MARCH 1986

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:
HANS: Q COL 265
State President:

Recording of meetings/discussions

*1. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the State President:

- (1) Whether the meeting he held with the former Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly on 25 November 1985 was recorded; if so,
(2) whether all confidential discussions which he conducts are recorded; if so, why; if not, what criteria are used in deciding which discussions are to be recorded;
(3) whether participants in discussions which are recorded are informed beforehand that the discussions will be recorded; if not, why not;
(4) whether transcripts are made of all recorded discussions; if not, (a) what criteria are used in deciding which discussions will be transcribed and

- (b) in what manner are recordings of discussions retained; if so, what steps are taken to ensure the confidentiality of the (i) tapes and (ii) transcripts;
(5) whether participants in recorded discussions are offered copies of transcripts of the discussions; if not, why not; if so, on what basis;
(6) whether any other persons in his Office or any other Government Department have access to the (a) recordings of discussions and (b) transcripts of those discussions; if so, (i) who and (ii) why?

The STATE PRESIDENT (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

- (1) Yes.
(2) No. I hold hundreds of interviews on a wide variety of subjects with a large number of local and foreign individuals and groups every year, and a record is kept of important discussions.
(3) When discussions are mechanically recorded, participants are not informed beforehand. Recordings are made for *bona fide* administrative purposes, and are treated as confidential within the Office. The contents of follow-up actions which may possibly arise from such discussions, must for example be determined with reference to the contents of the discussions. When written notes are kept, participants will obviously know this.
(4) No. Transcripts are made if and when required. Such transcripts are filed in special files—as distinct from departmental files—are held in safe custody and only I, or someone authorised by me, has access thereto. Tape recordings are also held in safe custody. I respect the confidentiality of private discussions throughout, as persons whom I have talked to over many years, can certainly testify.
(5) and (6) I do not announce the fact of the discussions, nor their contents.

unilaterally, and transcripts are not normally released.

If the other person later breaks the confidentiality of discussions unilaterally, or puts words into my mouth, or discloses misleading accounts of the discussions, I can, if I deem it necessary in the interest of the truth, offer to make the transcript of the discussions available to the person with whom I was in conversation, and with his consent release it for general information.

For example, after the confidentiality of the discussion of 25 November 1985 and the contents thereof had been broken, and a unilateral account of the discussions had been disclosed to the media, my representative offered to supply Dr Slabbert with a copy of the transcript, and inquired whether he would have any objection to its release. He had no objection.

Ministers: Q. Col 267
4/3/86
 Lebowa: commission of inquiry
 Education and Development Aid:[†]

- (1) Whether a commission of inquiry into the activities of the Lebowa Development Corporation has been appointed; if so, when;
 - (2) whether this commission has completed its investigation; if so,
 - (3) whether the commission has reported to the Cabinet; if so,
 - (4) whether he intends laying this report upon the Table in Parliament; if not, why not; if so, when;
 - (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?
- THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:**

- (1) Yes. 9 April 1985.
- (2) Yes.

HoA

- (3) Yes.
- (4) Yes. In the course of this session.
- (5) No.

4/3/86
Supcharge/general sales tax
 Mr A SAVAGE asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether he has received any requests or representations for the abolition of the (a) 10 per cent surcharge and (b) general sales tax payable on imported books and periodicals; if so, (i) from which bodies and (ii) when;
- (2) whether he intends abolishing the (a) surcharge and (b) general sales tax on such books and periodicals; if not, why not; if so, when?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) (a) and (b) Yes, during 1985 from various organisations such as:
 S.A. Institute for Librarianship and Information Science
 The Astronomical Society of South Africa
 Academic Sub-committee Overseas Publishers Representative Association
 South African Publishers Association.
- (2) (a) and (b) Requests for the abolishing of the surcharge and sales tax on books are still receiving attention along with requests in respect of other goods.

Mr A SAVAGE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he aware that the Post Office's charge for collecting the surcharge can amount to an additional 2% levy, and does he believe that this is justifiable?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Yes, Mr Speaker.

Indians: requests to immigrate

*3. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:[†]

Whether he has received any requests from political parties to allow Indians to immigrate to South Africa; if so, (a) from which political parties and (b) from which countries?

- (c) In co-operation with the factories it is attempted to provide name plates and name strips as speedily as possible.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- No.
- (a) and (b) Fall away.

Names on uniforms
 *4. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 14 on 13 April 1984, all members of the South African Police involved in (a) patrolling townships and (b) riot control are required to display their names on their uniforms at all times; if not, why not; if so,

- (2) whether any members of the South African Police failed to display their names in this manner in 1985; if so, (a) how many, (b) why and (c) what action was taken as a result;

- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes.
- (2) Yes.
- (a) About 20 percent.
- (b) They do not possess name plates and name strips, on account of the factories' inability to satisfy the demand.

Policemen killed/injured
 *5. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many policemen, excluding policemen killed or injured in vehicle accidents or outside the Republic, were (a) killed and (b) seriously injured in the execution of their duties in 1985?

- THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**
- (a) 29 members.
 - (b) 82 members.

Blocks of flats
 *6. Mr W V RAW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether consideration has been given to the erection of blocks of flats for married Black policemen in townships; if so, with what result; if not, why not?

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes, provision has already been made in the 1985/1990 five years building programme of the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs for the erection of blocks of flats and groups of houses for married Black policemen at ten (10) different centres.

Mr W V RAW: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply given by the hon the Minister, what steps if any, are being taken in the meantime to protect the homes of Black policemen in the townships?

THE MINISTER: Mr Speaker, various steps are being taken. One of them is that members are permitted to take weapons is-

HoA

INFILTRATION of public institutions by the far-right, and particularly the militant Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, is causing increasing concern in Nationalist circles.

Dr Jan Grobler, MP for Brits, who has made a special study of the AWB, told Rapport the organisation was trying to infiltrate all levels and structures of society, with the Defence Force and schools as special targets. "They are superbly organised and do not hesitate to exhibit firearms," he said.

The movement aimed at "Afrikaner imperialism", was prepared to set up a dictatorship and showed remarkable resemblances to Hitler's national socialism.

From other sources Rapport gathered that school boards, sports committees and church councils were also among the AWB's targets. It had already infiltrated the town council of Krugersdorp, where its "civic guard" groups, under the label of the Boere-Brandwag, had carried out their first patrols.

Mr Hendrik Tempel, MP for Ermelo, said he had evidence that the AWB had infiltrated the police reserve and the commando in that town.

Die Volksblad reported that an attempt by supporters of the Conservative Party and the Her-

'Infiltration' plan by AWB

304A 10/10 3/3/8

stigste Nasionale Party to infiltrate and "manipulate" the boards controlling schools and teachers' appointments in the Free State had failed.

The recent board elections had been marked by exceptionally high voting percentages and a consolidated stand by parents to resist "political manipulation", said Die Volksblad.

Before the elections the newspaper reported that the right-wing parties had put forward candidates who promised to promote "pure white education". In some cases they were supported with party political pamphlets.

Urging parents to vote, Die Volksblad said in an editorial that they were in a position to decide that the spirit and orientation of their schools should accord with their own Christian and national outlook.

HNP calls to shun GM

4/3/80 Own Correspondent
HERSTIGTE Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg Louis Stofberg yesterday called for a "white" boycott of General Motors (GM) products.

And Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism John Wiley has also warned the Port Elizabeth-based motor giant to keep its nose out of SA's business.

Stofberg's angry outburst during the second reading debate on the SA



● WILEY

Tourist Corporation Amendment Bill came after a statement by GM MD Bob White that GM would give legal and financial support to its black employees if they were challenged for using a white beach.

His statement, supported by GM headquarters in the US, caused a furore in PE.

In a stinging attack in the House of Assembly, the lone HNP member described White's statement as an "absolute scandal" amounting to interference from outside countries.

Describing White's stand as an "impertinence" he said what it boiled down to was GM now adopting the stance of "what is good for General Motors is good for South Africa".

Wiley said the question of the beaches had nothing to do with GM.

CME Times 4/3/86

'Vigilante gang' terrorize Kagiso

From SIPHO NGCOBO

JOHANNESBURG. — Residents of Kagiso Township on the West Rand are living in fear of their lives following numerous attacks on them by what they refer to as "a white right-wing vigilante group".

Two young men, both leaders of the Kagiso branch of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), are in a critical condition at the Leratong Hospital after they were allegedly shot by the "white vigilantes" who wore face-masks and overalls.

Mr Johannes Lethoba, 21, and Mr Amos Makhanya, 19, Azanyu's organizer and projects co-ordinator respectively, narrowly escaped death last Thursday when the "white vigilantes" pounced on them.

According to the parents of the two victims,

their sons were attacked for no apparent reason about 8.30pm in the township's streets.

Witnesses to the shooting said the two were confronted by a number of white men travelling in a van, who shouted: "Weg is julle!" (Run away!) at the two Azanyu members.

"As they ran away, the white men started firing at them with their guns and I saw the two falling. As I was also confused and scared, I ran into one of the nearby houses," said one witness who declined to disclose his name.

According to residents, the "white group" went on the rampage for the whole of last week, attacking with pick-handles and shooting with guns anyone they saw walking in the streets during the evening.

Scores of people were injured as a result and youths are said to be major targets of this group which, when on the offensive, wear overalls and face-masks.

Residents said the "right-wing group" imposed a curfew in the township last week, shooting on sight and ordering everyone to remain indoors.

"These white people want to kill us all. I cannot even send my child to the shop after dusk. Many of us have been beaten up with pick-handles. They want to kill us. They just shoot at us," said one resident.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said they had no knowledge of "a white vigilante group" stalking the township and said it was unlikely that the story was true.

CITY/NATIONAL

ARGUS 4/3/86 306A

AWB, CP to talk again about 'common ground'

Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party and the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are to continue talks aimed at finding common ground.

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, and several followers held talks in Cape Town yesterday with the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and a number of his MPs, as well as Dr Connie Mulder, now a CP member of the President's Council.

The talks, which Dr Treurnicht earlier said were being held at the request of the AWB, started in the morning and continued in the afternoon.

"Good spirit"

Dr Treurnicht said today that the talks had taken place "in a good spirit" and that they would be renewed at another time.

It was not a question of the two bodies co-operating or amalgamating, he said, because while the CP was a political party the AWB was a different kind of body.

He said broad national affairs had been discussed.

Mr Terre'Blanche said recently that an amalgamation between the CP and the AWB was imminent. He envisaged a party in which the Afrikaner could feel at home.

There are indications that the AWB is becoming even more militant and racist than before and Nationalist politicians are watching its negotiations with the CP with great interest.

They are hoping that co-operation with the AWB will taint the CP in the eyes of moderate Afrikaners.

One of the AWB's latest plans, mentioned by Mr Terre'Blanche when he spoke at a meeting in Kraainfontein last night, is to have a militant wing, the Boere-brandwag.

CP and AWB hold talks

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Moves towards the unification of the white right wing were taken a step further with talks at Parliament yesterday between a number of Conservative Party MPs and the leaders of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement today that he and other CP MPs at the discussions had been assured by the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, and the organisation's secretary, Mr Jan Groenewald, that it was not a militant organisation and would not act outside the law.

"They furthermore assured us that they have no intention whatsoever of entering the party political arena," Dr Treurnicht said.

As far as the Brandwag (Civil Defence) organisation was concerned, said Dr Treurnicht today, he had told the AWB men that the CP had no objection if people wanted to protect their lives and property within the law.

"We are satisfied that the Brandwag organisation is not militant and will function completely within the law," Dr Treurnicht said.

● Mr Terre'Blanche told a public meeting in the Transvaal last week that the CP and AWB would soon merge.



Mr Norman Erasmus has been appointed fleet sales manager, Western Cape, of Volkswagen of SA.

Businessmen urged to work for change

Cart Traits 4/3/86 304A

By AUDREY D'ANGELO

EVERY businessman must help to avert the risk of revolution by making it plain to his workforce that he is trying to bring about change, the legal adviser of the SA Federated Chambers of Industries (FCI), Professor Marinus Wichers, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Professor Wichers, author of the FCI charter of social, economic and political rights, told the

executive committee of the Cape Chamber of Industries (CCI) that the document had been explained to the Cabinet Committee in a meeting that lasted 2½ hours.

He said the FCI, unlike Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, "will go on seeing the Cabinet Committee."

"It makes no sense, if you want to be a mediator, not to see the Cabinet Committee."

He said the FCI charter had impressed business people overseas.

They had been surprised to find that concern for human rights and dignity was not foreign to white business people in South Africa.

But, Professor Wichers warned, a belief in the charter was not sufficient. Action must also be taken to promote it and to convince the workforce that their employers were genuinely concerned and anxious for change.

This could be done both informally, through

personnel officers and social workers, and through formal meetings with representatives of the trade unions.

Referring to the recent offer by General Motors to pay the fines of its workers who disobeyed apartheid regulations on beaches, he said that rather than supporting civil disobedience, business must push for the law to be changed.

Change

He said some people now thought a revolution inevitable and regarded attempts to bring about change as being on a par with re-arranging the deck chairs on the sinking Titanic.

"That is a possibility," he said.

"The other is evolutionary change."

It was, however, not sufficient to sit tight hoping that the government would move faster, and trying to create a better understanding.

"If you want to avoid revolution you have got to do more than that."

It would be possible to pre-empt revolution by campaigning actively to achieve the changes outlined in the FCI charter.

Professor Wichers said he disagreed with the suggestion that the time available to achieve peaceful change could be limited to a year or six months.

People should think in terms of trying to achieve something next month "and if we start now we have all the time in the world".

**CAR
AIR**

PAARDEN EILAND
FOR
CAR
AIR-CONDITIONING

51 8357

Government under fire on 'own affairs' issue

413/86 Political Staff 304A

PARLIAMENT — The Government has again been challenged on the racial basis of Parliament's "own affairs" system.

The issue was raised by opposition speakers in the House of Assembly during yesterday's white "own affairs" debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill.

Mr Roger Burrows (PFP, Pinetown) called on the chairman of the Assembly's Ministers' Council, Mr F W de Klerk, to say where he stood on the issue of legal determination of groups.

The Minister should say whether a statement on the issue by Mr C J van der Merwe (NP, Helderkruid) was National Party policy.

Mr van der Merwe wrote in a Nationalist Sunday newspaper that a balance should be sought between a strict legal determination of groups and voluntary association.

Was the Government saying that the whole basis of differentiation between groups was now open to negotiation? Mr Burrows asked.

Dr Marius Barnard (PFP, Parktown) challenged the Government on the issue of health as an "own affair" for each population group.

If the Government believed this to be so, then its viewpoint was that of a total minority.

Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg) said the whole concept of "own affairs" was a "disappearing and declining matter".

The coloured and Indian groups, by throwing their schools open to all races, had turned "own affairs" into general affairs.

This trend was in conflict with the country's Constitution.

Replying, Mr de Klerk accused opposition speakers of trying to drive a wedge between leaders of the National Party.

Health care had always been handled on a community basis and to say everyone in the country was unhappy with its designation as an "own affair" was a broad and unqualified statement with which he disagreed.

Mr Stofberg's assertion that the lack of own affairs legislation indicated that the importance of white own affairs was diminishing, was nonsense.

The Bill was read a second time with no objections. — Sapa.



Dr Marius Barnard ... 'Government in total minority'.

Sanctions could cut 1 000 new jobs daily

STAR 5/3/86
304A By Michael Chester

Sanctions threaten to slash the creation of new jobs at the rate of more than 1,000 a day unless South Africa declares an unequivocal rejection of apartheid, the Government was warned today by Dr Fred du Plessis, doyen of the Afrikaner business world.

Dr du Plessis, in a presidential address to the annual meeting of the South Africa Foundation in Sandton, warned of a slide back to Third World status if the Government failed to break the sanctions barricade by proving a determined pursuit of reform.

Foreign investment and free flows of exports and imports were crucial if South Africa aspired to tackle unemployment by achieving a steady economic growth rate of four percent, or better, a year, Dr du Plessis said.

Moreover, the destinies of no fewer than 100 million people on the subcontinent depended on South Africa's economic fortunes.

Dr du Plessis advised the Government to discard political extremists and concentrate on a centrist coalition to seize the leadership initiative.

President tells of tape recordings

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— President P W Botha does not inform people beforehand that their conversations with him are being tape-recorded.

But not all confidential discussions with him are recorded.

He disclosed this yesterday in replies to questions tabled by the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, on the recording of discussions with former

PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

President Botha said: "When discussions are mechanically recorded, participants are not informed beforehand.

"Recordings are made for bona fide administrative purposes, and are treated as confidential within the office.

"The contents of follow-up actions which may possibly arise from such discussions, must for example be determined with reference to

the contents of the discussions.

"When written notes are kept, participants will obviously know this."

President Botha also said transcripts were not made of all recorded discussions.

"Such transcripts are filed in special files — as distinct from departmental files — are held in safe custody and only I, or someone authorized by me, has access there-to.

"Tape recordings are also held in safe custody.

"I respect the confidentiality of private discussions throughout, as persons whom I have talked to over many years, can certainly testify."

Asked if participants in discussions were offered transcripts, President Botha replied: "I do not announce the fact of the discussions, nor their contents, unilaterally, and transcripts are not normally re-

leased.

"If the other person later breaks the confidentiality of discussions unilaterally, or puts words into my mouth, or discloses misleading accounts of the discussions, I can, if I deem it necessary in the interests of truth, offer to make the transcript of the discussions available to the person with whom I was in conversation, and with his consent release it for general information."

Clattering over the catering

PARLIAMENT — The fact that opposition members were not consulted on catering matters in Parliament induced the type of frustration that could lead to the leader of the Progressive Federal Party resigning, Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP, Pietermaritzburg North) said yesterday.

Speaking during the committee stage of the SATS Budget, he said he was a member of the parliamentary catering committee, but had not been told of a new ruling that food account payments be made to the Secretary to Parliament or catering manager, and not to SATS.

He wanted to know if SATS was relinquishing its catering services to Parliament. Last year the cost of the catering rose by 340 percent to R426 000 and there were suggestions that outside caterers be invited to tender.

"But the Minister must say what is going on," he said. "This is the kind of frustration that leads the Leader of the Opposition to resign."

Replying, Minister of Transport Mr Hendrik Schoeman said Mr McIntosh should not get upset about small things such as a change in the payment of accounts. — Sapa.

Political expert tells of need for new govt

'Reform policy won't end SA's isolation'

5/3/86 STAR 304A

South Africa would be accepted back into the international community — not by a change of government policies, but only by a change of government itself, a political expert said in Johannesburg last night.

"The chances are generally small that a government whose policies led to international isolation can reform itself out of enforced isolation and still remain in power," said the head of the Rand Afrikaans University's political science department, Professor Deon Geldenhuys.

He was addressing the Witwatersrand branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs on South Africa's isolation in the world community.

Professor Geldenhuys said compared with other pariah states (including Israel, Chile and Taiwan), South Africa was

by far the most isolated and faced the most intense and persistent international pressure.

The degree of South Africa's isolation could be measured by its performance in four spheres: diplomatic, economic, military and socio-cultural.

On the diplomatic front, South Africa had representatives in 16 percent of United Nations-member countries, while Israel had representatives in 40 percent, Canada 94 percent, Ethiopia 68 percent and Yugoslavia 67 percent.

TRADE BOYCOTTS

South Africa had concluded 219 international treaties between 1980 and 1984 — 192 of these with self-governing states.

Since 1961, South African state presidents had made eight visits "abroad" — five of them to independent homelands. The last head of state to visit South

Africa was Sir Harold McMillan in 1960.

In trade, South Africa faced selective punitive measures from the United States and other trade boycotts. Most of South Africa's trade came from industrialised Western countries.

On the military front, apart from the mandatory arms embargo imposed on the country, South Africa had concluded no military agreements with any other states — apart from Swaziland, Mozambique, Transkei and other independent homelands with no guarantee of military assistance.

South Africa also faced ostracism in cultural matters such as sport, art, entertainment and had difficulties with academic interchange. It had official cultural agreements with only Germany and Paraguay. Germany was reviewing the agreement.

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POLITICAL REPORT

PARLIAMENT '86



The tale of the recorded tape conversation



Mr Eglin ... questions on tape-recorded discussion.



President Botha ... released transcripts.



Dr Slabbert ... he had no objections.

'Confidentiality is respected'

PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday he respected the confidentiality of private discussions "as persons whom I have talked to over many years, can certainly testify".

In a tabled reply to a question by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, on the tape-recording of his discussion at the Tuynhuys on November 25 last year with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Botha said not all confidential discussions he conducted were recorded.

"I hold hundreds of interviews on a wide variety of subjects with a large number of local

and foreign individuals and groups each year, and a record is kept of important discussions."

Participants were not told beforehand.

Recordings were made for bona fide administrative purposes and were treated as confidential within the office of the State President.

Transcripts were not made of all discussions, but only if and when required.

Asked by Mr Eglin what steps were taken to ensure the confidentiality of the tapes and transcripts, he said the transcripts

were filed in special files, — as distinct from departmental files — and were held in "safe custody".

"Only I, or someone authorised by me, has access thereto. Tape recordings are also held in safe custody."

Mr Botha said he did not announce the fact of the discussions, nor their contents, unilaterally, and transcripts were not normally released.

"If the other person breaks the confidentiality of discussions unilaterally, or puts words into my mouth, or discloses misleading accounts of the discussions, I can, if I deem it necessary to the

interest of the truth, offer to make the transcript of the discussion available to the person with whom I was in conversation, and with his consent release it for general information.

"For example, after the confidentiality of the discussion of 25 November 1985 and the contents thereof had been broken, and a unilateral account of the discussions had been disclosed to the media, my representative offered to supply Dr Slabbert with a copy of the transcript, and inquired whether he would have any objection to its release. He had no objection." — Sapa.

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P.W. to lift emergency, but additional powers coming

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Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — In a dramatic announcement in Parliament yesterday President P W Botha signalled the end of the entire state of emergency and announced August 1 this year as a target date for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

The state of emergency will be lifted in all likelihood on Friday.

However, President Botha said legislation would be amended during the current session to give the authorities additional statutory powers to enable them to protect lives and property effectively.

The UN resolution 435 was approved by the Security Council in 1978 and has already been accepted in principle by South Africa as an internationally acceptable settlement plan on the fate of Namibia.

The resolution provides for the withdrawal of South African troops, the introduction of a UN peacekeeping force and free elections monitored by the UN.

President Botha said the implementation still remained dependent on a firm and satisfactory agreement on the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola being reached before August 1.

President Botha's announcement is probably aimed at bringing pressure on the Angolans to reach agreement on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

He said although there were sporadic and isolated incidents of violence, the situation in South Africa had improved sufficiently to lift the state of emergency. A proclamation would be issued in the near future, probably on Friday.

He said he had taken the step in the sincere hope that all South Africans would resolve their differences peacefully and show understanding for one another.

Mr Botha said the Government was attempting to eliminate legitimate grievances and in addition, he had already announced a clear basis on which all South Africans who denounced violence could come to the conference table.

He appealed to all South Africans to respond positively as "I believe we owe it to ourselves and we owe it to the peaceful process of positive political development in South Africa".

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PW 'wants talks with black leaders'

5/3/86

Internal security now key question

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The lifting of the state of emergency is being seen as a fresh attempt to spur the negotiation process — but has raised several questions on how the Government plans to cope with internal security.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange said today that the ending of the emergency would not necessarily mean that the release of detainees and lifting of restrictions on media coverage of unrest would follow.

Nor would security forces be suddenly withdrawn from certain areas.

He said additional powers to the authorities for the protection of lives and property, as announced by President Botha yesterday, would not be disclosed until they had been submitted to Parliament.

Sources close to President Botha pointed out today that it was his earnest wish to start talking with the country's black leaders.

To get this process started, they say, Mr Botha has in effect met a key demand of many leaders and black organisations by lifting the state of emergency.

This follows Mr Botha's announcements of the creation of a National Statutory Council, and that the country had outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid.

Mr Botha has committed the Government to such fundamental human rights as the upholding of equality before the law, and protection of human dignity, life, liberty and property.

The immediate reaction today was that Mr Botha's latest initiative — lifting the emergency — still falls short of what is necessary to get negotiations off the ground.

And serious reservations about the proposed additional security powers have been raised.

Indemnity

"Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party law and order spokesman, said the ending of the emergency was part of the attempt to create a climate for negotiation and should be welcomed.

But she added: "The factor that perturbs me is that President Botha is going to introduce further legislation to facilitate the keeping of law and order.

"I hope this does not mean that the indemnity of the police becomes part of the legislation."

Other questions needing to be answered are whether the media will be permanently restricted, and what will happen to detainees held under the emergency regulations.

Mr le Grange said clamps on the media would not be automatically lifted. The police stood by their view that in some circumstances media — especially television and newspaper cameras — should not be allowed into certain

What Botha had to say

This is what President Botha said about the state of emergency: "The second matter on which I would like to make an announcement, concerns the state of emergency.

"The conditions of violence and lawlessness which prompted the Government last year to declare a state of emergency in certain magisterial districts are well known to honourable members.

"Sporadic and isolated incidents of violence are, however, still being instigated in various parts of the country.

"The situation has, nevertheless, improved sufficiently to enable me to announce that a proclamation will be issued in the near future, most probably this coming Friday, which will lift the state of emergency in those magisterial districts where it still applies.

"To enable authorities to deal with continued incidents of unrest without subjecting the population to the inconvenience of a state of emergency, existing legislation will be reviewed and amendments proposed during the present Parliamentary session to provide the authorities with the statutory powers required to protect lives and property effectively.

"In the meantime, the security forces will maintain the order and protection of communities in terms of existing law." — Sapa.



daughter up to the dressing room after the fight — and argue at the crowd.

Overjoyed Bruno

"I'm glad I've won for Britain, for my manager, for my trainer, for my little baby girl Nicola, for my girlfriend Laura ... Man, I'm even glad for you guys in the Press."

Bruno was quick to dismiss suggestions that there may have been ill feeling between Coetzee and himself.

"No ways. A job had to be done. Politics went out of the door. We're friends."

Describing the fight itself, Bruno said: "When I caught him with that first right, I looked in his face and I could see he was dazed. He had that sort of expression on his face that said: 'Now where did that come from?'"

"I hope I'm not going overboard, like, I'm just so happy, I tell you I've worked for this ... On the building sites, making tea, serving fish and chips to people. Everything I have done has paid off tonight.

"I wasn't nervous at all. I had a day off yesterday and a good massage from my mate Rupert ... No, he's not one of those funny guys," Bruno laughed.

"Thinking about the fight, I would have loved it to have gone four or five rounds for the sake of the fans ...

"Look, I'm talking too much. I am just so happy."



The situation has improved sufficiently, says P W

EMERGENCY TO GO

PARLIAMENT — The state of emergency would be lifted soon, probably on Friday, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Although sporadic and isolated incidents of violence were still being instigated in various parts of the country, the situation had nevertheless improved sufficiently to enable him to announce that a proclamation to lift the state of emergency would be issued soon, he told a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

This "will lift the state of emergency in those magisterial districts where it still applies."

"To enable the authorities to deal with continued incidents of unrest without subjecting the population to the inconvenience of a state of emergency, existing legislation will be reviewed and amendments proposed during the present Parliamentary session to provide the authorities with the statutory powers required to protect lives and property effectively," Mr Botha said.

"In the meantime, the security forces will maintain the order and protection of communities in terms of existing laws."

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STATE PRESIDENT... Mr P W Botha.

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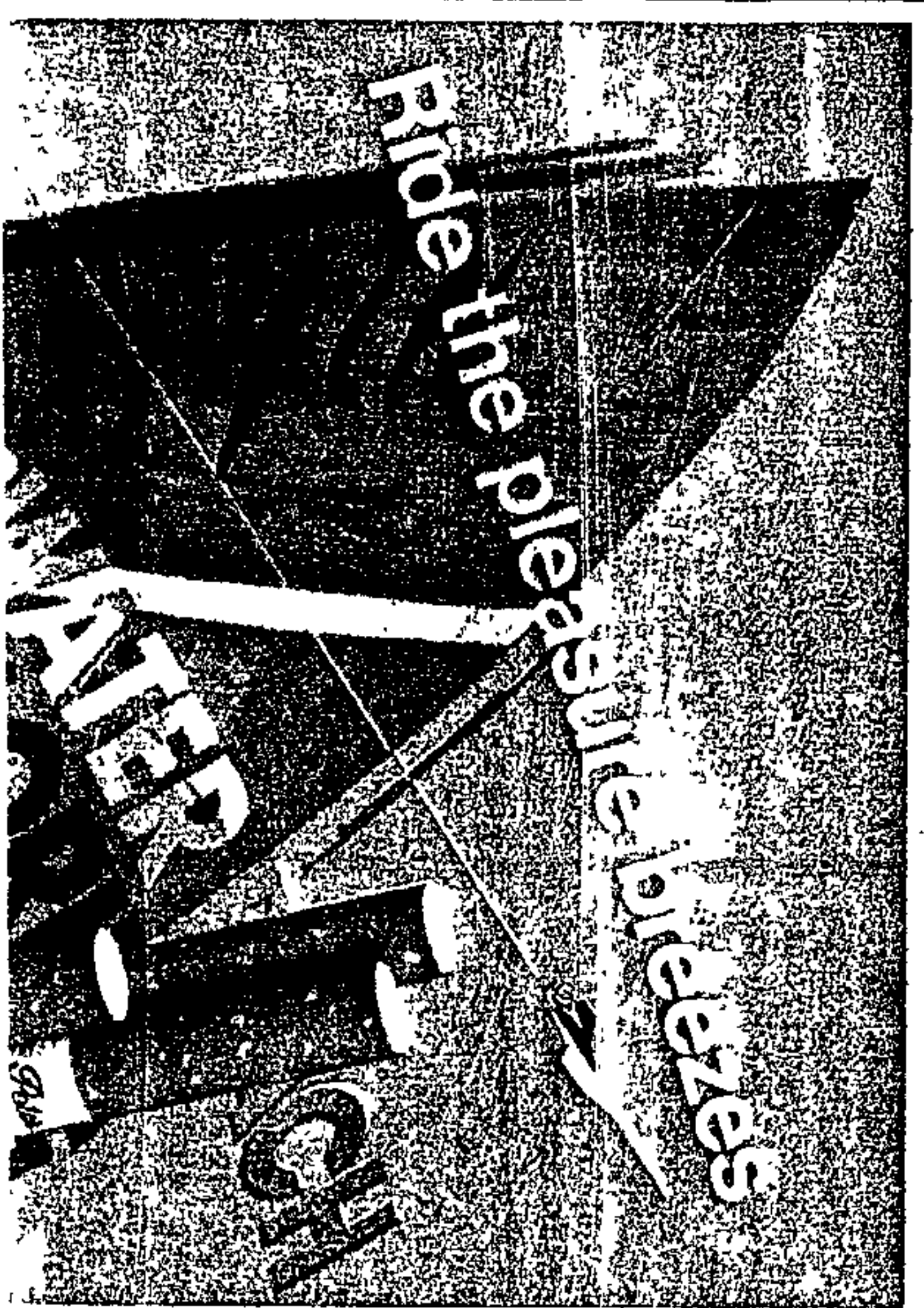
velopment in South Africa."

The official Opposition has welcomed the lifting of the state of emergency.

Defused

Law and Order spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman said: "We hope this will have the effect of re-establishing a measure of confidence in the stability of the country."

Mrs Suzman said the imposition of the emergency in the first place had not in any way defused the unrest. — Sapa, SOWETAN Correspondent.



SOAAR
SOWETAN
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AWB 'won't enter party politics'

Mercury 5/3/86
BO4A

CAPE TOWN—The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has given the assurance that it has 'absolutely no intention' of entering party politics, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

His statement follows recent speculation that the CP and the AWB are to merge.

Dr Treurnicht met AWB leaders Mr Eugene

TerréBlanche and Mr Jan Groenewald in Cape Town on Monday.

Dr Treurnicht said the two men had assured him the organisation was not militant and would not operate outside the law.

'Furthermore, they told us they had absolutely no intention of becoming involved in party politics,' he said.

As far as the Brandwag wing of the AWB was concerned, he had told the leaders that the CP had no objection to people protecting their lives and property providing they acted within the law.

'We are satisfied that the Brandwag organisation is not militant and will function entirely within the law,' said Dr Treurnicht. — (Sapa)

Natal meeting 'blazes trail'

DURBAN. — A meeting to discuss the possible joint administration of Natal and KwaZulu in April was a trail-blazing exercise which might be an important step in the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr. Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

But both the African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) have rejected participation in the meeting.

The first KwaZulu-Natal meeting will be in Durban City Hall on April 3.

Mr Eglin said that "we do not see the Natal-KwaZulu plan as a substitute for the struggle for power at the centre. Whatever happens at local level can also happen at the top. We believe this example should be followed at the highest level".

Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC, and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu cabinet minister, have organized the meetings.

Meanwhile, the Natal National Party leader and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said the Provincial Council is not authorized to conduct negotiations on legislative functions.

The New Republic Party MPC for Durban Berea, Mr Peter McKenzie, said he hoped the NP would not close the door on the talks. — Sapa

AWB members banned from SAP

Pretoria Bureau

304/A
Members of the extreme right-wing organisation, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), have been banned from joining the South African Police.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, yesterday replied to an appeal by the AWB's leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, to join the police reserve.

A statement said the police wished to emphasise that no member of the AWB could become a member of either the police or the police reserve. Anyone who joined the force did so in their personal capacity.

On February 26, Mr Terre'Blanche made a call on his members to swell the ranks of the reserve.

Heunis: 'Changes' to govt policy on blacks

Political Staff

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Special Cabinet Committee on Black Constitutional Affairs had resulted in a number of changes to government policies, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

In reply to a question tabled in the House of Representatives by Mr Jac Rabie (Labour Reiger Park), Mr Heunis provided the first public details of the cabinet "think tank".

He said that so far the committee had held 47 meetings between May 3, 1983, and February 25 this year and discussions had been held by the committee and its members with black leaders and interest groups.

Written submissions had been received from 93 people, while 41 people had given verbal evidence to it.

Mr Heunis, who is the chairman of the committee, said the other members were: The Minister of National Education,

Mr F W de Klerk; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange; the Minister of Development Aid and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen; the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

He said the exchange of ideas and the deliberations with black leaders had resulted in:

- "The acceptance of the permanence of black people within the Republic and that these black people are not compelled to exercise their political rights solely inside the national states."

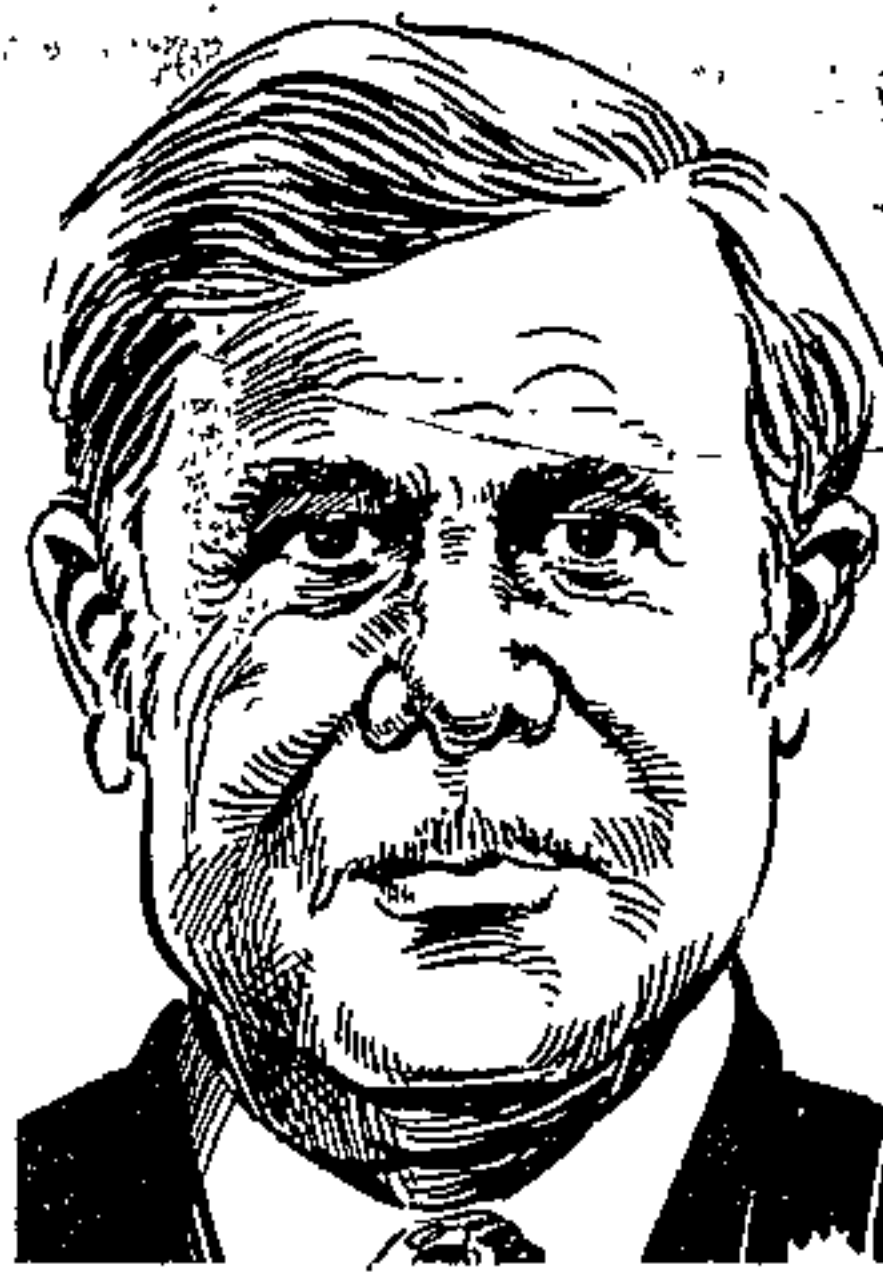
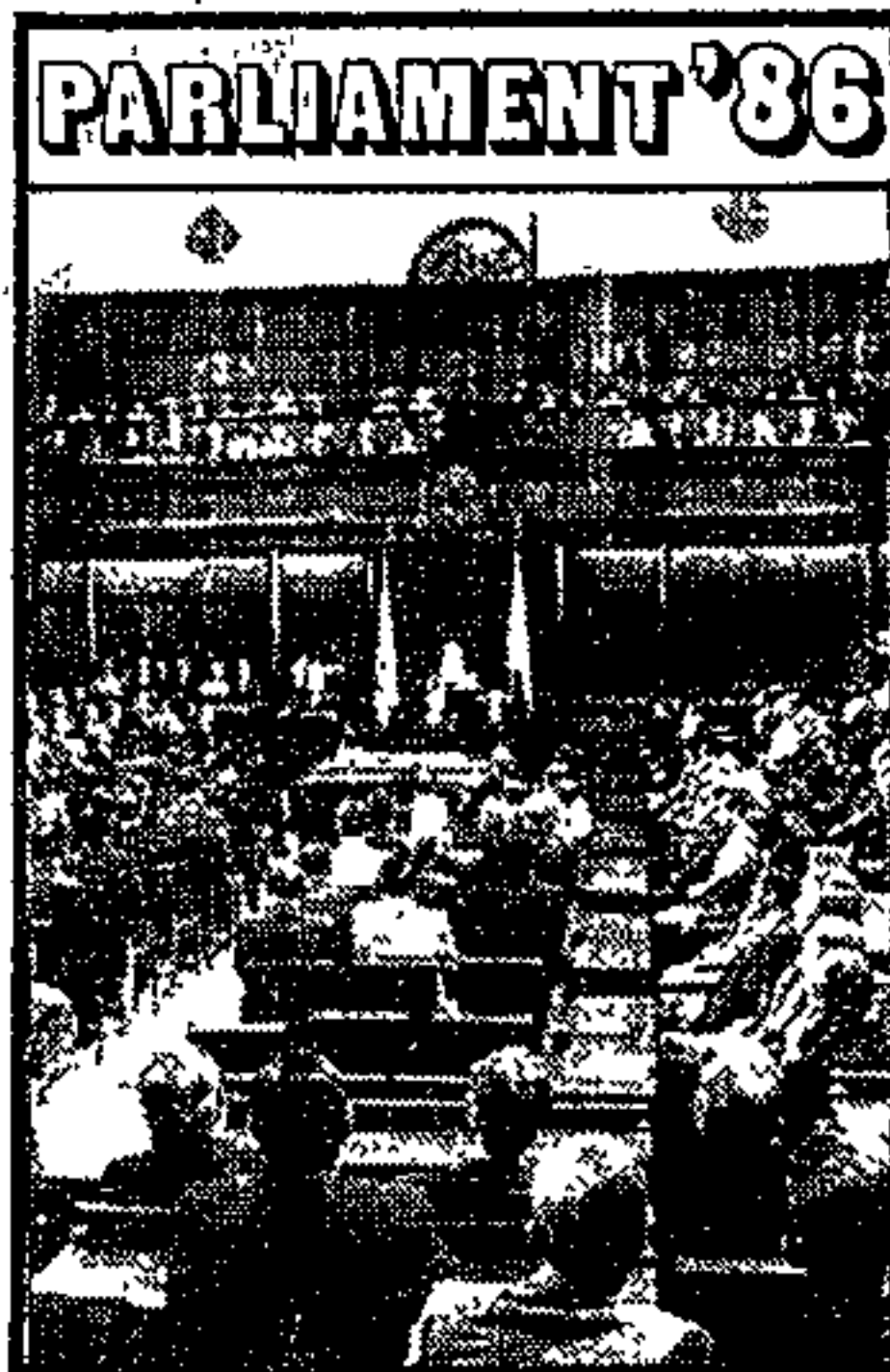
- The acceptance that black communities outside the homelands were "political entities which should participate in their own right in political structures for self-determination and co-responsibility to the highest levels".

- The decision to grant freehold land to black people.

- The decision to issue a uniform identity document for all population groups.

- The decision to "investigate the whole question of influx control because it has become obsolete and too costly."

- "The decision to reinstate the South African citizenship of those black people who forfeited it as a result of the independence of TVBC countries. This was one of the priority aspects with black leaders and this decision is a breakthrough for those black leaders who participated in the discussions."



Mr Chris Heunis
... secret meetings.



Mr Jack Rabie
... asked questions.

Heunis lists results of secret committee talks

304A STAR 6/3/86

Negotiations between black leaders and the Special Cabinet Committee on Black Constitutional Affairs were held in private, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Replying to questions from Mr Jac Rabie (LP Reigerpark), he said he could not divulge the identities of the 135 people and organisations who had made written and oral representations to the committee because their consent was needed.

The norm was to make known the results of successful negotiations, he said. One of the breakthroughs in these negotiations was the restoration of citizenship to blacks who belonged to independent national states.

Mr Rabie asked why the Government did not say in its announcements that they had come from such negotiations.

Mr Heunis said they had. The State President had said in his opening of Parliament last year that the initiatives had come from negotiations with black leaders.

"There are powers that do not want these initiatives to succeed."

The news media did not consider the fact that the initiatives had come from successful negotiations.

"Certain media do not want to help us succeed at what we are doing either," he said.

In his reply, Mr Heunis listed positive results resulting from 22 discussions since May 1983:

- The permanence of blacks in South Africa had been accepted and they were not compelled to exercise their political rights solely inside the independent national states.
- Black communities outside the national states should have political rights for self-determination.
- The granting of freehold rights to blacks.
- The issuing of uniform identity documents to all population groups.
- The abolition of the policy of coloured labour preference in the Western Cape.
- Investigation into influx control because it had become obsolete and too costly.
- The new approach to orderly urbanisation.

Mr Heunis said the State President had made the following policy statements which related

directly to the negotiations of the Special Cabinet Committee:

- The Government's commitment to an undivided South Africa, one citizenship and universal franchise within democratic structures.
- Decision-making power must be shared by all communities.
- Representation of all units on the highest level of government on a geographical and group basis allowing for the self-determination on own affairs and co-responsibility on common affairs without group domination.
- The structure for this should be the result of negotiations between the leaders of the communities.
- The rejection of racial domination, the exclusion of anyone from decision making, injustice, unequal opportunities, racial discrimination and infringement on the dignity of people.

Mr Heunis said the intention to establish a national council under the chairmanship of the State President for negotiations had also resulted from discussions in the Special Cabinet Committee. — Sapa.

Cape Times 6/3/86

Pursuit of reform 'essential'

306A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The unequivocal rejection of apartheid and the determined pursuit of reform were essential if South Africa were not to slide permanently into Third World status, the president of the SA Foundation, Dr Fred du Plessis, said yesterday.

He told the foundation's annual meeting that South Africa had two choices — to close ranks and withdraw into isolation or to adjust to the facts of international politics and economics through a properly planned strategy.

He added that the extremes of right and left had to be discarded, which meant concentrating on the centre "where the moderates of all population groups in South Africa and the most important Western governments were to be found".

Dr Du Plessis also urged the international community to help South Africa instead of isolating it.

"It has been said that South Africa is a microcosm of the global situation in which the proportion of whites to non-whites and have to have-nots is roughly the same.

"The developed world looks at the looming global problem with trepidation and perhaps its preoccupation with South Africa stems from the hope that in this crucible the magic formula for solving the wider issues can be found."

Du Plessis also said that the timing of certain actions such as last year's Botswana raid, the killings at Langa in the Eastern Cape and the State President's Rubicon speech in Durban left overseas observers with two theories:

- That the government was being undermined by elements in its ranks;
- That there was no sincerity in the government's protestations about reform.

At the same meeting the foundation's director-general, Mr Peter Sorour, said that in high-level talks with government and business leaders in several countries last year it had emerged that Pretoria was no longer considered able to lead South Africa out of its crisis.

Mr John Chettle, the foundation's Washington director, said that South Africa's greatest requirement was to persuade the world that "we are serious about reform, that we are not acting in response to pressure but in pursuit of a programme that gives promise of a just, long-term solution".

Seven months of death, detention and defiance

FROM tomorrow, SA will no longer be in a state of emergency, according to State President P. W. Botha, who has decided to bring the more than seven-month-old emergency regulations to a halt.

The decision to lift the regulations can hardly be said to follow the achievement of the object of enforcing them in the first place — being the restoration of law and order in the townships.

While unrest in certain townships may have abated, it erupted on the outskirts of Johannesburg in Alexandra township as recently as last month and is poised to flare at any catalyst in hundreds more.

Daily incidents of clashes between police and residents, sporadic school boycotts or violence directed at community councillors are reported, as they were both prior to the declaration of emergency regulations to 36 Magisterial districts on July 21 last year and the months since then.

The regulations extended the power to detain — formerly reserved for high-ranking police officers — to every member of the police force, Railways police, prisons service and army.

They contained an indemnity clause which declared that no criminal or civil proceedings could be brought against the state or any member of the security forces for an action carried out in terms of the emergency.

During this period, 7 878 people were detained — 7 600 of whom have been released — and 278 are still being held. Of these figures, 2 106 were under the age of 16.

Further, according to government statistics, 935 people have died and 3 658 injured during unrest between September 1984 and February this year. SA Institute of Race Relations figures show that 1 158 people were killed during this period.

In the seven months preceding the declaration, 300 people were killed, according to police. In 1984, 200 people died in unrest incidents.



□ VIOLENCE . . . a van driver faces mob wrath



□ VIOLENCE . . . police fire tear smoke in Guguletu

THELMA TUCH on the toll of the state of emergency

On the first day of the state of emergency — in a bid to clamp down on those supposedly instigating the unrest — hundreds were arrested and detained under emergency regulations, setting in motion the circle of protest, clashes with police and deaths. At funerals, tensions ran high and usually led to further fatalities and injuries.

Within 24 hours, five people had died in unrest, black homes were searched, political meetings broken up and police occupied the East Rand township of KwaThema. Two buses of mourners returning from the 40 000-strong Cradock funeral of brutally murdered community leaders were stopped and the occupants detained.

On the second day the Press was alerted that it had to scale down its coverage of township unrest as a special security force was set up to monitor daily newspaper reports.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal repeated his call for sanctions against SA, blaming apartheid — not the resistance to it — for the country's state of emergency.

July 28 brought a change of tone from the Reagan administration, which said the SA government should bear a considerable responsibility for causing

unrest. The Dutch government condemned the state of emergency and Britain called for an "ear-ty end" to it, but reiterated its opposition to economic sanctions.

The strongest reaction came from France the next day, when it recalled its ambassador and suspended all new investment in SA.

Financial markets were shaken by the spate of arrests and France's reaction. Sharp deteriorations registered in the stock market, the money and capital markets, foreign currency markets and property.

By July 28 the number of arrests rose to 1 168, according to police, but the Detainees' Parents Support Committee maintained that more people were being held and additional thousands were being charged with public violence.

At the end of July, Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange announced that the number of people attending funerals was to be limited and forbade outdoor memorial services for unrest victims.

This coincided with a call by the International Labour Organisation for the release of all trade union officials detained under the

emergency regulations.

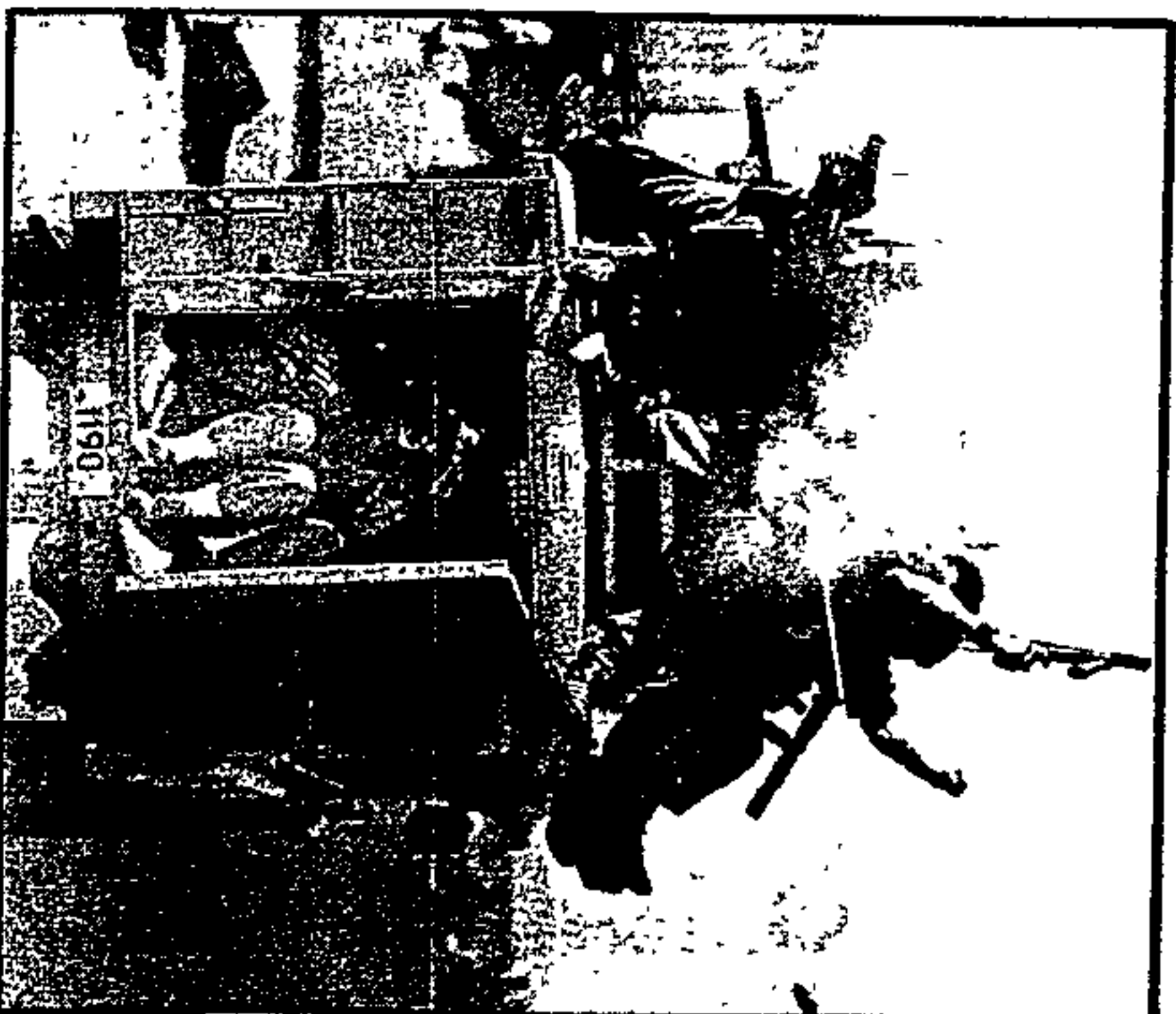
At the beginning of August, stringent new regulations, promulgated under the Public Safety Act of 1953, were announced for the Graaff-Reinet area and the township of Adendorp. No pupils would be allowed outside classrooms on schooldays between 8am and 2pm.

By August 8, wider powers — including the control of petrol and school boycotts and the imposition of curfews — were given to police in the Eastern Cape and on the East and West Rand in terms of the emergency regulations.

At about the same time, Foreign Minister P. W. Botha met senior US officials in Vienna to discuss the state of emergency. Throughout August, unrest continued nationwide. The diplomatic freeze tightened after the announcement that Norway's chief diplomatic representative in SA would not be returning to Cape Town.

The European Community (EC) commission demanded that SA end the state of emergency and a multilateral decision was made by the EC, Spain and Portugal to temporarily recall their envoys to prepare for a meeting on joint anti-apartheid strategy.

Switzerland urged the SA government to end the emergency and Canada announced it would



□ VIOLENCE . . . police fire rubber bullets after a funeral in Duduza

the. Six policemen and a CBS TV sound engineer were injured in a hand-grenade blast after the funeral.

Also in August violent clashes between blacks and Indians in Durban's Indian townships of Inanda and Phoenix left more than 60 dead and many others injured. Clashes were said to be sparked off by conflict between the UDF and Inkhata movements.

Ten students from Wits were arrested and at least 30 injured after police used sjamboks and tearsmoke to break up a demonstration against the emergency. In East London's Duncan Village 19 people were killed, and government imposed a strict curfew on Eastern Cape townships and in Swaziland.

According to police, 119 people had died and 1 669 were arrested in unrest within the first month of the state of emergency — averaging four deaths and 54 arrests a day.

At the end of August, 28 clashes between security forces and thousands of demonstrators left at least eight dead, scores wounded and 29 under arrest.

Police tried to prevent activists from marching on Pollsmoor, but they were blocked at the

anti-apartheid organisations were banned. In November, police opened fire on a crowd of more than 50 000 in Mamelodi, killing 19. Police arrested 120 people as widespread violence sparked by the funerals of three pupils swept the country.

Government then banned the taking or publication of any photographs or films of unrest situations in any emergency areas, except with specific police permission.

By December the state of emergency was lifted in eight more areas. In many unrest incidents people — most suspected of being informers, councillors or traitors — were "necklaced". During January Pondo-Zulu faction fights resulted in the deaths of 67 people, and a further 19 deaths were recorded in clashes between KwaNdebele vigilantes and Montse residents.

Massive conflict swept through Leandra, near Secunda, as confrontation between the Leandra Action Committee and a vigilante group came to a head with the gruesome murder of community leader Chief Ample Mafisa of the action committee. At his funeral,

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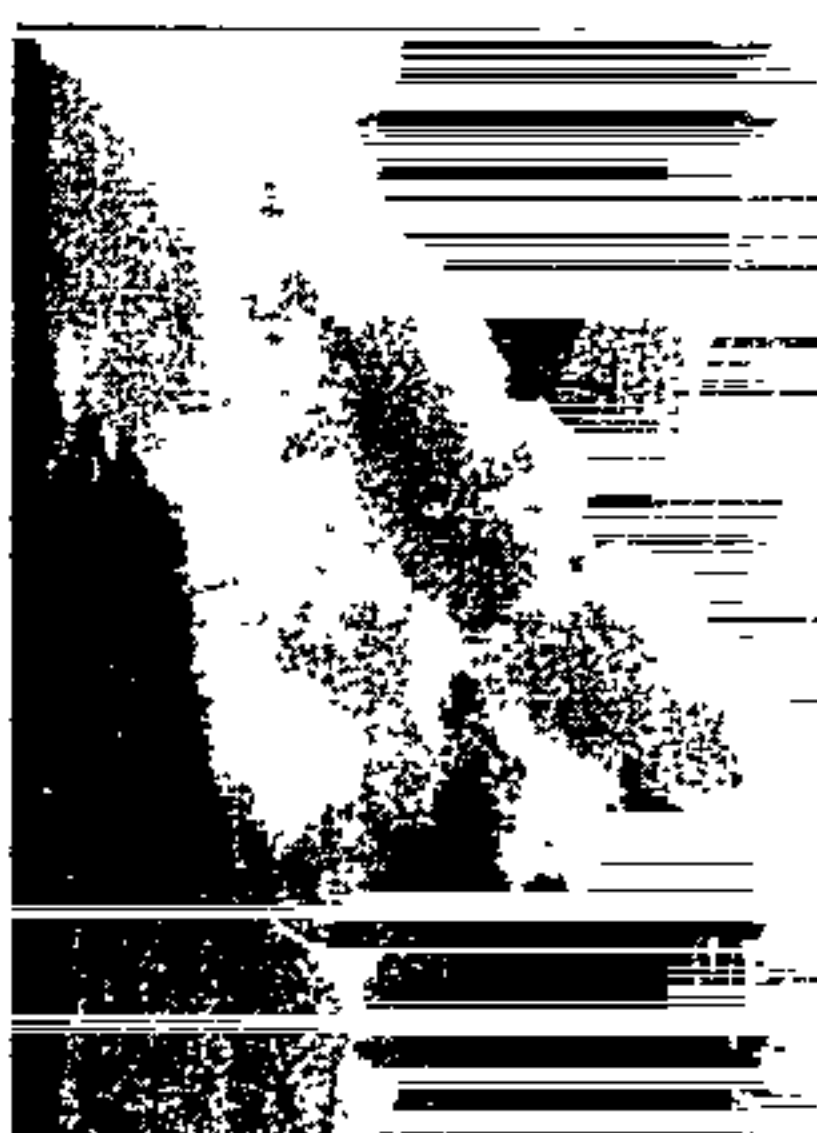
Hundreds of black local government officials resigned, many were murdered or had their homes destroyed and sustained educational boycotts emptied whole schools.



□ FREED ... Soweto students released after 800 were arrested



□ VIOLENCE ... a van driver faces mob wrath



□ VIOLENCE ... police fire tearmoke in Gugulethu

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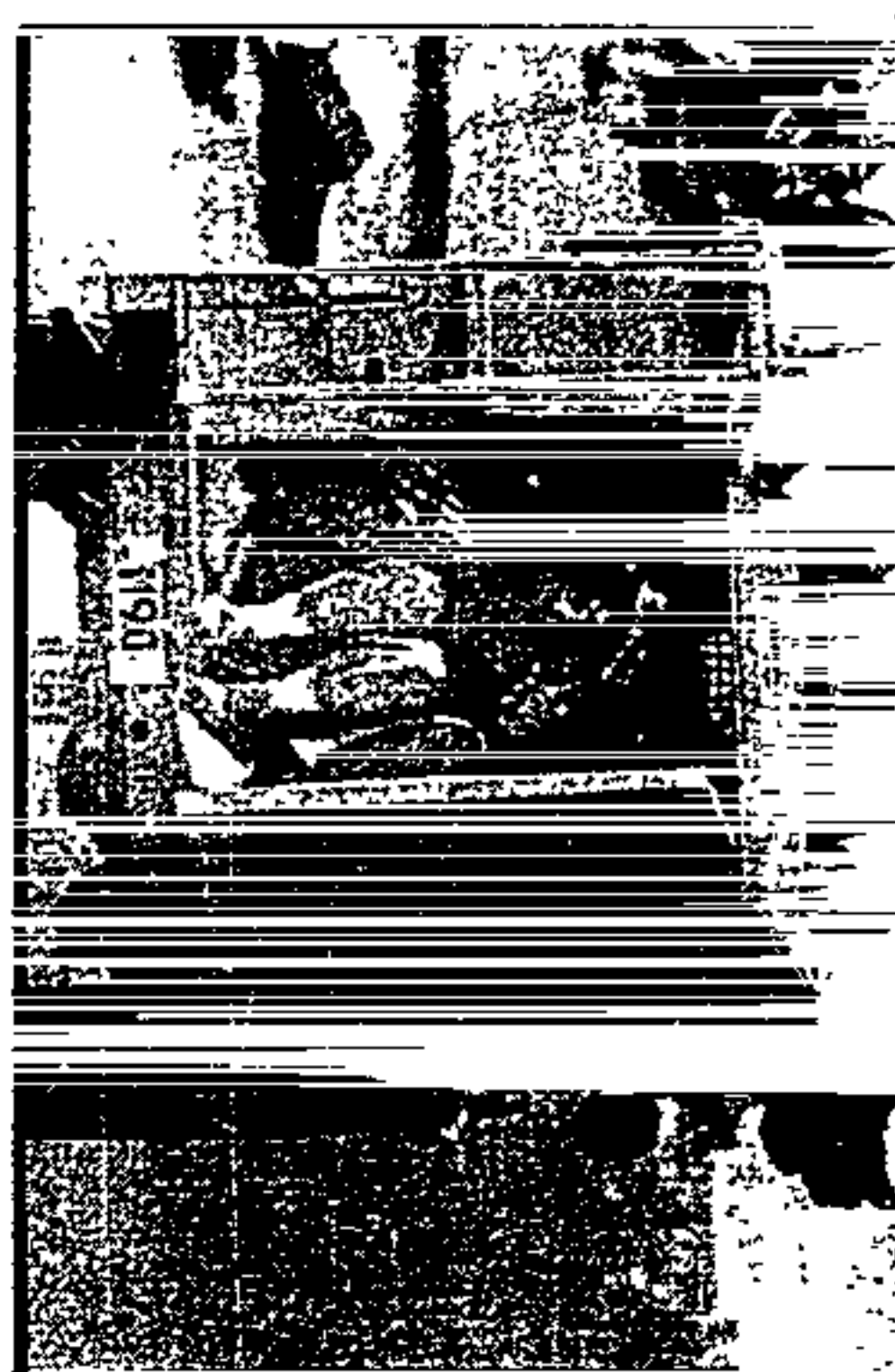
At about the same time, Foreign Minister Pik Botha met senior US officials in Vienna to discuss the state of emergency. Throughout August, unrest continued nationwide. The diplomatic freeze tightened after the announcement that Norway's chief diplomatic representative in SA would not be returning to Cape Town.

The European Community (EC) commission demanded that SA end the state of emergency and a multilateral decision was made by the EC, Spain and Portugal to temporarily recall their envoys to prepare for a meeting on joint anti-apartheid strategy. Switzerland urged the SA government to end the emergency and Canada announced it would recall its ambassador from SA for consultations.

Victoria Mxenge, widow of civil rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, was gunned down at her Umlazi, Durban, home. Her husband was mysteriously killed four years ago.

Unrest was reported in Soweto, Tembisa, Mamelodi, Tlhabong, Kagiso (Potchefstroom), New Brighton and Langsa (Port Elizabeth), Mthunzi (northern Natal) and Phillipsown (northern Cape).

Church leader Allan Boesak and 10 other clergymen appeared in the Wynberg Magistrates Court after being arrested for trying to enter Gugulethu to attend the funeral of an unrest vic-



□ VIOLENCE ... police fire rubber bullets after a funeral in Duduza

tim. Six policemen and a CBS TV sound engineer were injured in a hand-grenade blast after the funeral.

Also in August violent clashes between blacks and Indians in Durban's Indian townships of Inanda and Phoenix left more than 60 dead and many others injured. Clashes were said to be sparked off by conflict between the UDF and Inkatha movements.

Ten students from Wits were arrested and at least 30 injured after police used sjamboks and tearmoke to break up a demonstration against the emergency. In East London's Duncan Village 19 people were killed, and government imposed a strict curfew on Eastern Cape townships and in Soweto.

According to police, 119 people had died and 1 659 were arrested in unrest within the first month of the state of emergency — averaging four deaths and 54 arrests a day.

At the end of August, 28 clashes between security forces and thousands of demonstrators left at least eight dead, scores wounded and 29 under arrest.

Police tried to prevent activists from marching on Pollsmoor prison to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. Boesak was detained and the Rev Jan de Waal, of the NG Sendingkerk in Wynberg, was injured after being beaten by riot police.

The Western Cape was hit by the worst riots since 1976, resulting in the deaths of about 60 people.

September was the month during which 464 coloured schools were closed due to the unrest, affecting 500 000 pupils.

In October, government lifted the state of emergency in five Eastern Cape districts and in the Western Cape area in the Transvaal, but extended it to eight more districts in the Boland and Western Cape. Meetings of 100

anti-apartheid organisations were banned.

In November, police opened fire on a crowd of more than 50 000 in Mamelodi, killing 19. Police arrested 120 people as widespread violence sparked by the funerals of three pupils swept the country.

Government then banned the taking or publication of any photographs or films of unrest situations in any emergency areas, except with specific police permission.

By December the state of emergency was lifted in eight more areas. In many unrest incidents people — most suspected of being informers, councillors or traitors — were "necklaced".

During January Pondo-Zulu faction fights resulted in the deaths of 67 people, and a further 19 deaths were recorded in clashes between KwaNdebele vigilantes and Moxise residents. Massive conflict swept through Leandra, near Secunda, as confrontation between the Leandra Action Committee and a vigilante group came to a head with the gruesome murder of community leader Chief Ample Mayisa of the action committee. At his funeral, more blood was spilt in further clashes.

At the end of this January thousands of students returned to school. Whether they remain in their classes is contingent on a number of demands — one being the lifting of the state of emergency — being met by the end of this month.

Still high on the priority list is that government urban the Congress of SA Students, release detained students and teachers and reinstate dismissed teachers.

The state of emergency may have been called off, but conditions remain critical as political grievances, frustrations and anger, compounded by the economic crisis, continue to strangle SA.

Windhoek wary of August 1 promise

THIS week's announcement by State President PW Botha on the future of Namibia had a mixed reception in Windhoek.

Botha told a special sitting of parliament that the long-awaited implementation of the United Nations Namibian settlement plan could start on August 1 provided that agreement had been reached on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

A few observers in Namibia believed the announcement may herald a new South African stance on Namibian independence.

But most were of the opinion that what initially appeared as a magnanimous gesture on the part of the South African government, was in fact an attempt to divert international attention from the internal situation in South Africa.

In addition, most observers felt the "new initiative" would not change the stance of Angola's MPLA government, and that US plans to increase aid to Unita would merely harden Luanda's attitude to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

And while in Cape Town Botha described the Cuban presence in Angola as "the last remaining" obstacle to implementation of Security Council Resolution 435, in Windhoek the interim government cabinet added a few of their own.

Not only was the linkage question an obstacle to a Namibia settlement, but so was what they refer to as United Nations partiality towards Swapo. They also said a constitution had to be written before elections could take place, and Swapo should release all political prisoners and cease hostilities as a "gesture of their goodwill".

Most of the constituent parties in the interim government also expressed disappointment at the fact that they had not been consulted by Botha before his announcement this week.

Some observers felt the "initiative may have been orchestrated" in an attempt to get Swapo to the table of the so-called constitutional council, an interim government-appointed body which is assigned to draw up an

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER, Windhoek

independence constitution for the territory.

Although observers do believe there may be increased pressure on the South African government to settle the Namibian question, it is unlikely that the Botha "offer" will meet with any success.

The official Angolan news agency has rejected the South African

proposal, saying the presence of Cuban troops in Angola was a matter for the Cuban and Angolan governments respectively.

The ultra-rightwing Herstigite Nasionale Party accused Botha of "political shortsightedness" and warned that the "communists will get a hold in Namibia as well as Angola".

The HNP said Botha's plan was a "diabolical scheme out of which only Swapo and the Communists can benefit". They warned their

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proposal, saying the presence of Cuban troops in Angola was a matter for the Cuban and Angolan governments respectively.

Other anti-interim government groups were as dismissive of the new proposal as Bessinger, describing the speech as "empty rhetoric" and a "propaganda exercise".

Another Rubicon

President P W Botha announced the lifting of the State of Emergency in a special address to Parliament this week. However, he said new measures would be introduced which in effect will provide security forces with powers similar to those which they will surrender when the emergency is lifted.

Botha also announced a date for the conditional implementation of the independence programme for Namibia in terms of UN Resolution 435, but it seems unlikely that it

There is nothing new in this. The hapless 435 has come within a whisker of implementation on numerous occasions in the past, only to be relegated to the back-burner as a result of real or imagined infringements of the spirit of the putative agreement.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops is not provided for in 435, nor, for that matter, is a settlement agreement between Unita and the ruling MPLA in Angola. Both impediments have the potential to stall the Namibia peace plan for many years to come. If the linkage

will break the logjam holding up the United Nations settlement plan because of Pretoria's continued insistence that implementation must be preceded by the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The State President said the "unrest situation" in the country had improved sufficiently to enable the lifting of the emergency. He added, however, that new measures would be introduced in Parliament this year to give the security forces greater powers in future to deal with situations which could normally only be dealt with in terms of emergency rule.

Resolve differences

In the meantime, security forces would "maintain the order and protection of communities" in terms of existing laws. Botha said he had lifted the emergency in the hope that South Africans would resolve their differences peacefully and show understanding for one another.

Since the declaration of the State of Emergency last July, at least 7 880 people have been detained (of whom 7 600 have been released) and 1 170 killed in political violence either by security forces or rioters. More than 3 400 violent incidents have been recorded since August last year.

According to Botha, the situation had, nevertheless, improved to such an extent that a proclamation will probably be issued on Friday lifting the emergency in the districts where it still applied.

On the Namibia question, he said the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 was only being held up by lack of agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

In an effort to speed up implementation of the plan, government proposed August 1 this year as a date for the commencement of its implementation, Botha said. This would depend, however, on a satisfactory agreement being reached on the withdrawal of the estimated 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

Resolution 435 was adopted by the UN in 1978 and provides for a programme for Namibian independence. The President stated: "In a serious attempt to facilitate a resolution of this difficult problem, I propose that August 1 1986 be set as the date for the commencement of the implementation of the settlement plan based on United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978), provided a firm and satisfactory agreement can be reached before that date on the withdrawal of the Cubans."

was tenuous before, it has solidified in recent weeks. Washington is about to provide Unita with military assistance, Moscow is to increase shipments of arms to Luanda. If ever the MPLA needed Cuba, it needs her now. If ever it seemed that Chester Crocker would get the chestnuts out of the fire and negotiate the departure of the Cubans, that likelihood, on the evidence of what is happening now, has receded into the realm of the impossible.

Even so, the fixing of a date to start implementing 435 is about the sharpest movement we have seen on this front for four years. It may even prompt sharp movement in Havana and Washington. Only time will tell if it is yet another exercise in cynicism. The best that can be said about President Botha's Namibia statement, however, is that it seems to exclude the possibility that 435 will be usurped by a Mickey Mouse constitution tinkered together by Windhoek's interim administration.

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Slabbert
releases
NIS tapes

● From PAGE 1

was most urgently needed was a new initiative to defuse the violence by getting "ahead of the game".

This involved a political package whereby the government should immediately:

- Categorically announce the planned abolition of all apartheid laws and the restoration of voluntary choice or voluntary association independent of race and ethnicity.

- Release Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees.

- Legalise the banned African National Congress (ANC) to enable it to operate peacefully inside South Africa.

However, from the text it is clear that Slabbert regarded the police and security forces as a major obstacle to any fundamental political initiative.

He said such steps as he had suggested would have tremendous impact.

"But before you reveal it — and now I come to the second part of the plan — you will have to bring in the security forces. You must bring in the defence force and the police, and they must understand what exactly is in mind.

"These are the people who must guarantee stability in the period of transition. And if he (a security force member or policeman) does not understand what it is all about, he gets frustrated.

"Now if you cannot give a plan to that man, so that he can see that he is part of a programme, and if you cannot maintain discipline ... I want to tell you straight, doctor, the problem of discipline with the police is an enormous problem at the moment."

Later Slabbert discussed the question of a "rightwing backlash". In view of public opinion polls, giving no more than 16 percent to these parties, he totally discounted the threat.

"How can you spread 16 percent to control 84 seats to win control. I just cannot see it if you calculate in terms of conventional white politics. However, there is a threat from the right at the level of violence, and this is something that frightens me."

Barnard: "You must be very open about this, please, doctor. Do you link it to the security forces by name, the police, the defence force and NIS ...?"

It's Tapes II
WEEKLY M
as Slabbert
reveals NIS
transcript

By HENNIE SERFONTEIN

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has released a transcript of the confidential conversation he had with Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligence Services (NIS).

Barnard has up to now refused a challenge by Slabbert to release the tape recording of the conversation.

But he handed a copy of the transcripts to Slabbert and gave the former PFP leader permission to release them himself, if he so wished.

Slabbert in turn handed the transcripts to me.

The meeting between Barnard and Slabbert took place on December 2 last year, a few days after the ex-PFP leader's controversial discussion with the State President, P W Botha, the tape recording of which Botha released some weeks ago.

During the meeting, Slabbert bluntly told Barnard that the lack of discipline among the police and security forces was "an enormous problem" because it was "destroying our future".

He warned that the threat from the rightwing "at the level of violence" (geweldvlak) frightened him, because "your rightwing problem is a bureaucratic problem. It is a problem that exists within power structures (gesagstrukture). It is a disciplinary problem ... which has to be solved within the structures of the state itself."

He explained that the Barnard tapes put his conversation with Botha in the correct perspective, "because it explains why I told the State President that before the question of political initiatives can be discussed there were security matters I had to discuss with Dr Barnard".

Slabbert said that throughout the discussion Barnard asked only a few questions.

"And when I spelled out to him specific examples of torture and murder in jails, he remained absolutely quiet during the last part of the discussion, making notes, and at the end repeatedly thanking me for my visit."

According to the transcript, Slabbert warned Barnard about the "deteriorating domestic and external situation for us," pleading that what

● To PAGE 2

Slabbert: "Some elements ... it is but a reflection of the viewpoints of white politics. Thus I will not say the police as a collective group of the defence force. Jannie Geldenhuys (SADF chief), he is indeed not a CP. I mean at certain lower levels or certain officer levels, you will get these people. Therefore that man who allows the situation to get out of control on a good morning, when 100 blacks are shot dead, does you far more damage than whether Treurnicht wins 25 seats. He will win his 25 seats and the world will oh and ah, but that incident whips up emotions. Therefore I say that the rightwing problem is a bureaucratic problem. It is a problem that exists within the power structures. It is a disciplinary problem. It ... must be solved within the structures of the state itself."

Slabbert referred to events in the Western Cape monitored by the PFP.

"There are really terrible cases of indiscriminatory action and brutality and so on. In the Western Cape relations between whites and coloureds have deteriorated terribly because of the actions of some of the security forces. Rape is taking place. And this is a thing from which I cannot turn my head away. It happens."

At the beginning of the discussion Slabbert warned Barnard that a new political initiative was vital.

"We have but one chance internationally left, and this we must not squander. Because thereafter we can prepare ourselves for a siege or the continuation of the mess in which we now find ourselves."

State of emergency is to end today

STAR
7/3/86

Detainees are released

Staff Reporters and Political Staff

Most detainees held under emergency regulations have been released, and a proclamation ending the state of emergency is being published in the Government Gazette today.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said emergency detainees were released nationwide this morning, but some were still being held on criminal charges.

Up to March 4, 329 people were held under emergency regulations, mainly on the Witwatersrand and in the Western and Eastern Cape.

At least 90 people were released this morning from Diepkloof Prison and John Vorster Square, a spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) said. Another 70 were freed from Modderbee Prison on the East Rand.

The lifting of the state of emergency applies to the 23 magisterial districts where it was in effect.

President Botha announced the move in a special address to Parliament on Tuesday.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange said security forces would probably maintain a presence in some townships.

He pointed out that the President had said legislation would be amended to enable the authorities to protect lives and property in townships.

There were scenes of joy today as detainees were reunited with family and friends.

At Khotso House in Johannesburg, workers welcomed back a colleague from detention with cries of surprise. Mr Murphy Morobe, the acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, was hugged and kissed when he went there this morning. He had been released from detention shortly after midnight.

Overwhelmed by questions, he said: "I'm fine ... everybody's put."

"My morale has never been as high as it is now."

He was detained on January 22.

Mr Morobe said he was full of energy to resume his work with the UDF.

The Transvaal Indian Congress secretary, Mr Ismail Momoniat, was also among the detainees released in Johannesburg.

He said eight detainees were still being held at Diepkloof and likely to face charges.

Mr Momoniat was detained on July 21 — the day the state of emergency was introduced — with a group of people who were travelling back from a funeral in Cradock.

He said that during his detention he was questioned only once — for 50 minutes. He spent almost eight months in a communal cell and six weeks in isolation.

"I was kept for no reason at all. Our detention was merely an attempt to stifle legitimate parliamentary opposition. The state of emergency became an excuse for the police to settle old scores."

A statement issued by detainees released from Diepkloof and John Vorster Square said their period in detention had made them more determined to oppose the South African Government.

They called on "collaborators" in the tricameral Parliament and on community councils to resign.

A DPSC spokesman said the release of detainees was welcomed.

"We will have to see what steps the Government takes to reorganise security legislation to give authorities broad new powers."

BEACH APARTHEID

FINNWL

7/3/86

Wiley hits at GM

In the first government reaction to General Motors' commitment to support black employees who may be prosecuted for using "whites-only" beaches in Port Elizabeth, Environment Affairs and Tourism Minister John Wiley this week told GM's South African MD, Bob White, to keep his nose out of SA's affairs.

Speaking in the House of Assembly, Wiley was responding to Herstigte Nasionale Party MP Louis Stofberg's call for a boycott by whites of GM products. During a debate on the South African Tourism Corporation Amendment Bill, Stofberg said White's statement was a "scandal." In reply, Wiley said the beach issue had nothing to do with GM.

White's move last month followed a PE City Council committee order to council employees to prosecute blacks who "trespassed" on beaches reserved for whites. He said GM

would give legal and financial support to any of its 3 000 black employees who may be prosecuted. Last week, the full PE City Council overturned the committee's earlier decision. ■

'Discrimination can't be overcome by laws alone'

Political Staff

7/3/86

PARLIAMENT — Discrimination could not be overcome by laws alone but had to be overcome in the hearts and minds of people, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning said in Parliament.

He was replying to the motion by Mr Harry Schwartz (PFP, Yeoville) that a parliamentary committee should be established to consider the repeal of all discriminatory laws.

Mr Heunis said there was a difference between discrimination which the Government rejected as immoral and unChristian, and differentiation between cultural groups with a legal right to self-determination, which even the United Nations recognised.

The existence of different cul-

tural groups had to be recognised, he said.

The similarities of communities had to be taken into account as well as the differences.

If differentiation led to hurtful discrimination, then the relevant regulations should be adapted or scrapped, he said.

The Government was not committed to the association of groups on a rigid, ethnic basis and was prepared to accept other forms of association and grouping if these achieved better group relations.

This was why it had scrapped laws such as the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts and had introduced common citizenship for blacks.

But to remove all reference to race in the country's laws would destroy the Constitution and thus Parliament, the instrument of necessary reforms, he said.



PFP spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz



Mr Nic Olivier of the PFP ... warning on distrust.



Mr Wynand Malan ... investigation not necessary.



CP MP Mr Casper Uys ... calling for clarity.

Schwarz calls for parliamentary probe into discrimination

PFP bid to scrap race laws

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Government appeared to be divided over the removal of racial discrimination, the House of Assembly has been told.

In a major debate on the removal of discriminatory laws, Opposition speakers yesterday called for clarity about the Government's intentions.

The Progressive Federal Party urged the Government to create a climate for negotiation by taking steps to win the confidence of blacks.

Before the House was a private member's motion from Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) calling for a parliamentary investigation into all laws with a view to repealing all provisions that discriminate on the grounds of race or colour.

A warning about distrust among black people as a result of Government statements and actions was given by Mr Nic Olivier (PFP, Nominated).

He said the impression had been created that certain Cabinet Ministers and Nationalist

MPs were doing all their power to prevent the abolition of discriminatory legislation.

Black people had gained the impression that the Government was divided on the issue of removing discrimination.

Speakers on the Government side turned down Mr Schwarz's proposal for a parliamentary investigation and rejected some of the Opposition arguments.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

They gave repeated assurances, however, that the Government was committed to the removal of all discrimination on the grounds of race or colour.

Introducing his motion, Mr Schwarz said apartheid would not survive in South Africa.

"There will be those who will cling to it, mourn its passing, resist its disappearance; but go it will.

"What will follow it is vital for peaceful co-existence in South Africa," he said.

There was a new appreciation of this whole issue in South Africa. President P W Botha's

speech at the opening of Parliament had been indicative of this, but unfortunately his phraseology was open to differing interpretations.

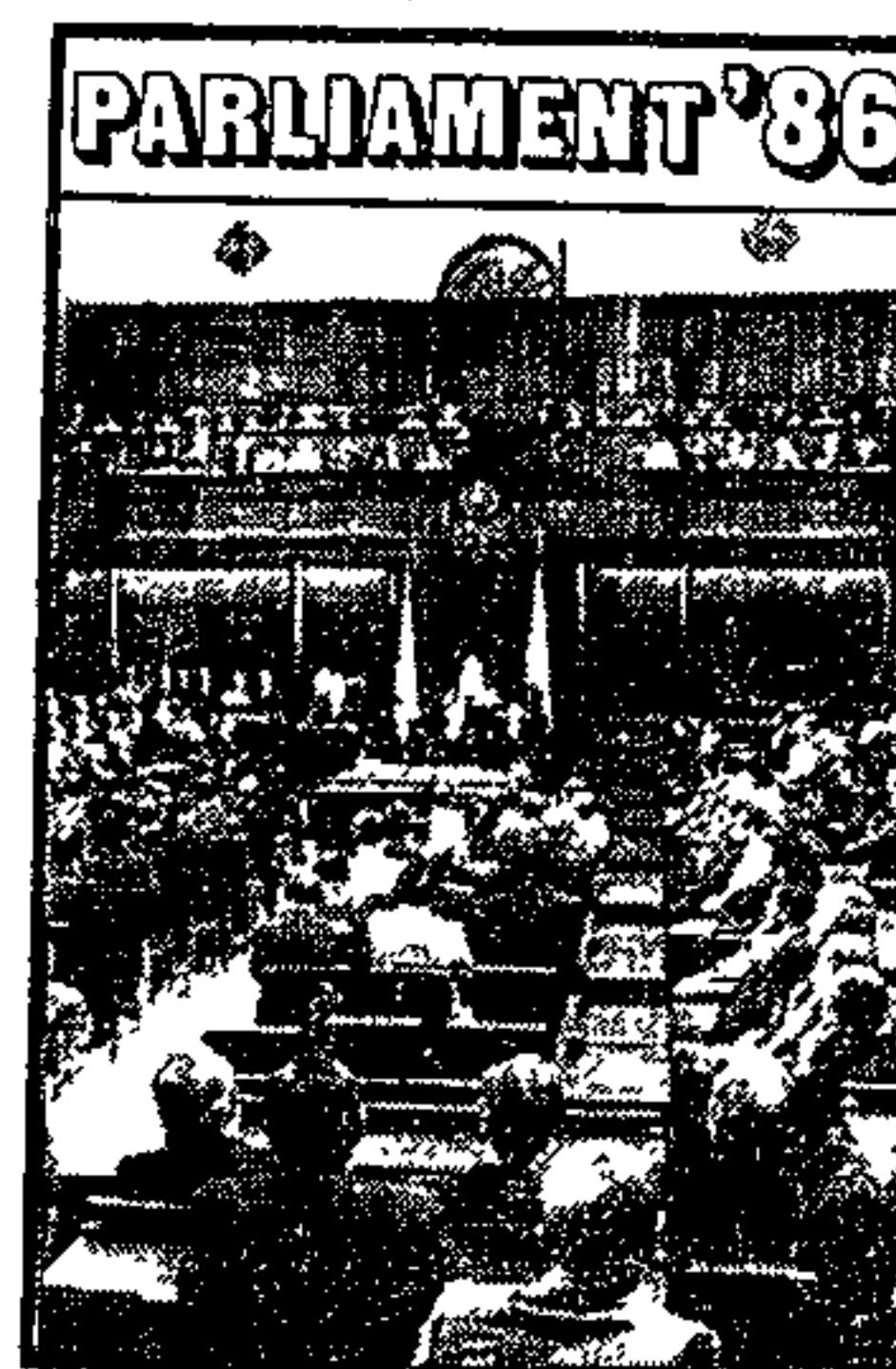
The first speaker on the Government side, Mr Wynand Malan (NP, Randburg), said he did not think it was necessary for the House of Assembly or for a joint parliamentary committee to go into this matter, as Mr Schwarz had proposed.

MPs did not have the time or the infrastructure to do this.

It was no good just to repeal legislation if there was no new structure to put in its place. Without such a new structure, a vacuum would be created.

Mr Casper Uys (CP, Barberton) said the debate on the removal of discrimination could only be meaningful if clarity was provided on what would replace the present social system in South Africa.

Replying to the debate, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the Government was committed to the removal of discrimination from



the country's statute books.

But to say that a policy which sought the self-determination of peoples was discriminatory in itself and consequently evil was "so much nonsense".

Mr Heunis said laws were not made for all time. They were the servants of the community and if they were found to be unjust or discriminatory or obsolete, then such laws had to go.

PW 'must scrap all racial Acts'

PARLIAMENT — The State President should go further than his promise to scrap the pass system — he should scrap the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and Race Classification Acts this Parliamentary session, Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North) said yesterday.

Speaking on a Private Member's motion, he said dramatic initiatives were needed and non-negotiables entrenching white privilege were not acceptable.

"To scrap the three Acts would be such a bold gesture that it would sweep away violence, restore normality and produce investment."

This, however, would only a first step towards the repeal of all discriminatory legislation. — Sapa.

Buthelezi: Use NSC for real change

ULUNDI. — Every decent South African would support the State President if he used the proposed National Statutory Council as an effective instrument of real change, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said here yesterday.

He listed several radical prerequisites for the wide acceptance of Mr PW Botha's intentions in this regard — including the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of black organizations and the scrapping of the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts and the Tri-cameral Parliament.

And he warned that the alternative of continuing apartheid would bring increased violence in which Afrikaner identity would finally be obliterated and many whites would perish.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at a meeting with top industrialists, including Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand, Mr R A Williams of C G Smith and Mr Philip Heber-Percy of W G Brown.

Release black leaders

Chief Buthelezi said that if Mr Botha seriously intended using the National Statutory Council for real change he would:

- Release Nelson Mandela and other leaders and unban black organizations so that all who wanted to could participate in the council.

- "Pronounce the death sentence" on the Tri-cameral Parliament so that negotiations could take place outside the framework in which whites laid constitutional claim to 87 percent of South Africa.

- Scrap the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts.

- Begin to act in recognition that the principles of political democracy were the only ones which could finally safeguard individual and group rights.

"I will incur any risk, and I will make every endeavour to make the National (Statutory) Council work," he said. "Because we live in crucial times we dare not blunder. We will proceed towards a stable destiny only if there is a legitimate power and legitimate opposition." — Sapa

Parliament and Politics

Staff Reporter

THE George Town Council cancelled permission granted to the Unity Movement — an organization which wants "to get the black man out of George" — to hold a meeting in the civic centre last night.

The Unity Movement (UM) began in George about two months ago, according to its leader, farmer Mr Malcolm Dubell, who insists that it is not a political movement. "Why we formed the movement is 99 per cent economical," he said.

'Taken over'

UM stood for "unifying whites, coloureds and Indians" with "full rights all the way down the line" but wanted "to get the black man out of George".

UM intended doing this through "disinvest-

ment in the black man" — withholding employment, housing, food and friendship.

Mr Dubell said black people had "taken over the town".

"There used to be 200 in 1961. Now there are over 10 000. No-one has any idea how many. It's not that we are biased or hate anybody. We are in economic trouble. There's no room. Theft and anarchy are the order of the day."

Mr Dubell said people were "in a hell of a

George bars anti-black gathering

mood" about the cancellation of the meeting. He claimed his lawyer had been told by the town clerk that permission had been cancelled "because black people from Lawaai kamp had phoned and threatened to burn down the hall".

However, the deputy town clerk, Mr Johan Basson, said he was not aware of any such threat and it had not been discussed.

"The only thing I can say is that my council does not wish to be asso-

ciated with this movement in any way," he said.

A spokesman for the George Youth Organization, Mr Kenneth Siboto, said he had been asked by his executive yesterday to "find out why they don't want to employ us. We don't understand," he said.

Support

"We support local businesses very well and would like to arrange a meeting with local businessmen to discuss this."

Mr Siboto also dismissed the reality of any threat to burn down the town hall.

Mr Dubell, meanwhile, is planning to conduct a poll "of coloureds, whites and Asians" in the area to test support. "If I can't get 90 per cent behind me I'll drop it," he said.

My followers might swing to right — PW

STAR 8/3/86 304A

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President P W Botha says a swing to the right among his followers would not surprise him in the event of unfair reaction to reform efforts made by South Africa's white leaders.

In an interview published in Washington, Mr Botha said he did not regard the right (Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party) as an obstacle to faster or further reform.

"But if there is unfair, unreasonable reaction to all the goodwill shown by responsible white leaders in South Africa, I would not be surprised if my own people turned to the right, because we are not going to abdicate our position in South Africa ... we are not going to abdicate our ex-

istence."

Mr Botha told the editor-in-chief of *The Washington Times*, Mr Arnaud de Borchgrave, this was not a reaction peculiar to South Africa — "you see it in many other parts of the world".

Asked how long the creation of a constitutional system for South Africa would take, Mr Botha said it would be wrong to predict five or 10 years. "But I am prepared to say that, provided we have the co-operation of all responsible leaders, this generation can advance very far," he added.

Mr Botha emphasised the need for minority protection in any future political model to prevent domination by one group over another. This meant a road of negotiation.

"There are no short cuts or quick fixes. It will require a lot of self-control," he said.

On the abolition of the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha said that overnight action would produce "total chaos".

He also rejected the principle of one man, one vote in a unitary state, noting that it was simply not practical politics. "But one man, one vote in a system where minority rights are protected is the way to go."

Turning to the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha said his Government had not considered how he would be released — into exile, or allowed to practice politics freely at home.

"To be quite candid with you, we haven't considered that because Mr Mandela is not pre-

pared to accept my conditions (of release)."

Mr de Borchgrave said he thought South Africa's negotiations with Angola, through the US, were about to lead to the release of Captain Wynand du Toit in Luanda.

"Not that I know of," Mr Botha replied, asking why South Africa was constantly singled out as the principal villain when there were examples of political prisoners worldwide.

On the recent disciplining of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, which was described by Mr de Borchgrave as a "humiliating dressing down", Mr Botha said: "I simply gave the National Party viewpoint."

"My Foreign Minister conceded that he gave his personal opinion, which was not the party's official point of view."

**What
did it
gain?**

Political Correspondent

men which was recorded at Dr Slabbert's request, with a copy to be sent to President P W Botha.

Dr Barnard declined to release the transcript but supplied it to Dr Slabbert who released it to Johannesburg journalist Hennie Serfontein. A summary of its contents by Serfontein appears in a special article on page 8 today.

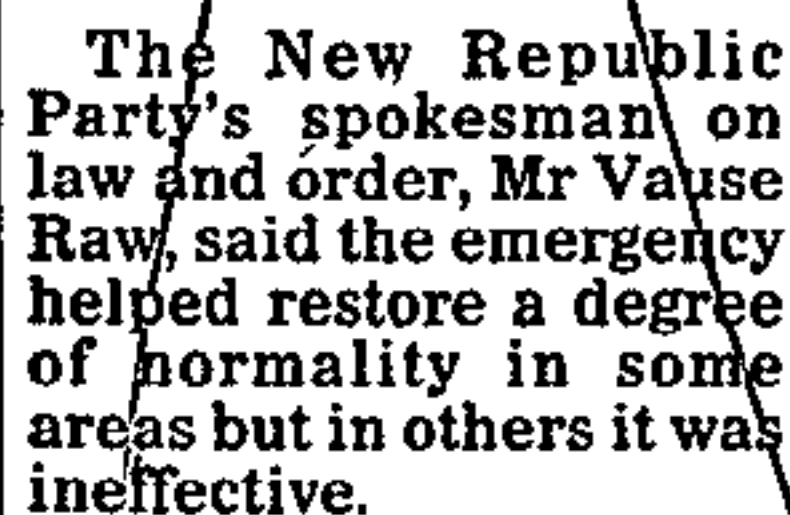
During the conversation, which took place soon after Dr Slabbert's controversial taped conversation with President Botha, Dr Slabbert suggested a political package to the government for immediate implementation to counter a deteriorating internal and external situation. The steps proposed were as follows:

OPPOSITION parties in Parliament yesterday questioned whether the seven-month state of emergency had achieved its objectives and stressed that its lifting would not in itself defuse the country's crisis.

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesperson on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said the emergency had achieved nothing as far as reducing the unrest in the country went, and that the death toll had gone up after the emergency declaration.

"I doubt the lifting ... will have any permanent positive effect unless the government really tackles with all deliberate speed the underlying grievances of the disadvantaged communities."

Normality



He said the government should now strive to improve dialogue with black communities and improve their infrastructure and services.

John Battersby reports from London that Barclays, Britain's biggest bank, while welcoming the move, made it clear this would not change the bank's tough stand on new loans to South Africa.

However, it is clear from the text of the conversation, says Serfontein, that Dr Slabbert regarded the police and the security forces as major obstacles to any fundamental initiative.

● Joy of detainees
'tempered', page 9

Police discipline a big problem

By J H P SERFONTEIN

DR FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT, former Leader of the Opposition, has told Dr Neil Barnard, the chief of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), that the lack of discipline among the police and security forces was "an enormous problem" because it "was destroying our future".

The threat from the rightwing "at the level of violence" (*geweldvlak*) frightened him, because "your rightwing problem is a bureaucratic problem. It is a problem that exists within power structures (*gesagstrukture*). It is a disciplinary problem... which has to be solved within the structures of the state itself".

This warning was given by Dr Slabbert when he had a confidential discussion with Dr Barnard on December 2 last year. It was only a few days after the controversial discussion with President P W Botha, the tape recording of which Mr Botha released some weeks ago.

Conversation taped

Dr Barnard refused to make the tapes public but had provided Dr Slabbert with a transcript which the latter has made available exclusively to me.

Dr Slabbert, who is at present abroad, said: "Before I began the discussion with Dr Barnard, I asked him to tape record our conversation. I requested him to send a copy of the discussion to the State President and one to me."

He explained that the Barnard tape puts his conversation with Mr Botha in the correct perspective. "Because it explains why I told the State President that before the question of political initiatives can be discussed there were security matters I had to discuss with Dr Barnard."

Dr Slabbert said that throughout the discussion Dr Barnard only asked a few questions. "And when I spelled out to him specific examples of torture and murder in jails, he remained absolutely quiet during the last part of the discussion, making notes and at the end repeatedly thanking me for my visit."

According to the transcript Dr Slabbert warned Dr Barnard about the "deteriorating domestic and external situation for us", pleading that what was most urgently needed was a new initiative, "a society initiative" to defuse the violence by getting "ahead of the

game".

This involved a political package whereby the government should immediately:

- Categorically announce the planned abolition of all apartheid laws and the restoration of voluntary choice or voluntary association independent of race and ethnicity.

- Release Mr Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees.

- Legalize the banned African National Congress (ANC) to enable it to operate peacefully inside South Africa.

This would create the atmosphere to move away from confrontation towards internal negotiation as it would destroy the main arguments of those blacks favouring violence. Internationally Western business groups and governments would be prepared to become positively involved in South Africa.

Major obstacles

However, from the text it is clear that Dr Slabbert regarded the police and security forces as major obstacles to any fundamental political initiative.

Dr Slabbert told Dr Barnard that such a package of steps by the government "will have a tremendous impact. But before you reveal it, and now I come to the second part of the plan, you will have to bring in the security forces. You must bring in the defence force and the police, and they must understand what exactly is in mind, where we are moving."

"These are the people who must guarantee stability in the period of transition. And if he does not understand what it is all about, he gets frustrated. He gets frustrated now. There he stands on duty for 48 hours. They tell him to maintain order here. And all that he sees are a lot of blacks mocking him. And he gets the hell in. (This puts him into a fury)."

"Now if you cannot give a plan to that man, so that he can see he is part of a programme — and if you cannot maintain discipline... what I want to tell you straight doctor, the problem of discipline with the police is an enormous problem at the moment."

Rightwing backlash

"I will mention examples, but I do not know what to do about it. Because we are destroying our future... but it is necessary that our security forces get on board with this plan."

Later on Dr Slabbert discussed the question of "a rightwing backlash". In view of public opinion polls, which gives no more than 16 percent to these parties, he totally discounted this threat.

"How can you spread 16 percent to control 84 seats to win control? I just cannot see it if you calculate in terms of conventional white politics. However, there is a threat from the right at the level of violence, and this is something that frightens me."

Dr Barnard: "You must be very open about this please doctor. Do you link it to the security forces by name the police, the defence force and NIS..."

Slabbert: "Some elements in those instances... it is but a reflection of the viewpoints of white politics. Thus I will not say the police as a collective group or the defence force. Jannie Geldenhuys (SADF chief), he is indeed not a cop. I mean at certain lower levels or certain officers' levels you will get these people."

"Therefore the man who allows a situation to get out of control... when 100 blacks are shot dead, does you far more damage than Andries Treurnicht winning 25 seats. He will win his 25 seats and the world will 'oh' and 'ah', but that incident whips up emotions."

"Therefore I say that the rightwing problem is a bureaucratic problem. It is a problem that exists within the power structures. It is a disciplinary problem. It is a line problem and must be solved within the structures of the state itself."

Cases of brutality

Dr Slabbert referred to events in the Western Cape monitored by the PFP.

"There are really terrible cases of indiscriminatory action and brutality and so on."

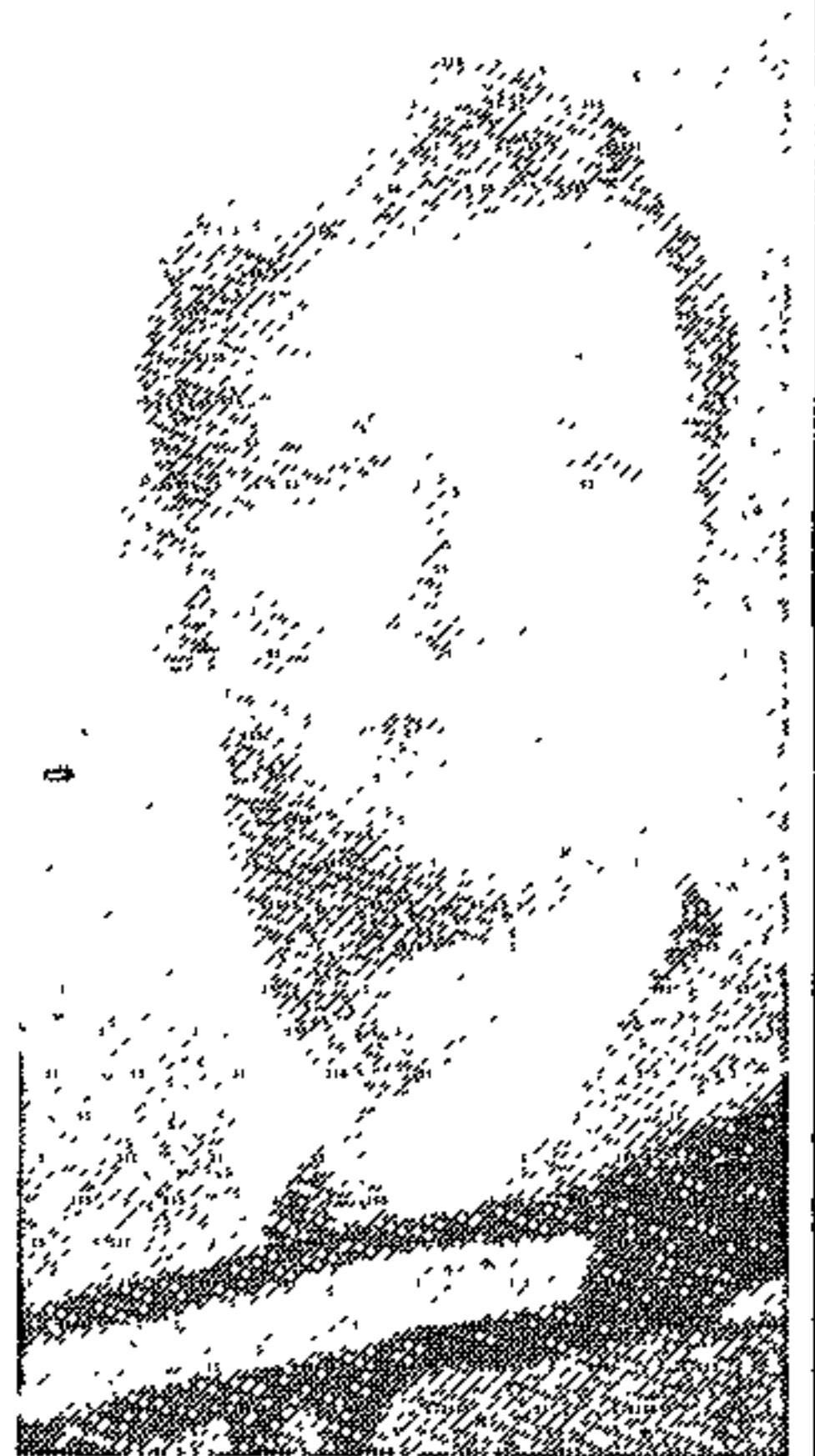
"In the Western Cape relations between whites and the coloureds have deteriorated terribly because of the actions of some of the security forces. Rape is taking place and this is a thing from which one cannot turn away. It happens."

Dr Slabbert described to Dr Barnard in detail horrific allegations of an assault on a political detainee. He named the policeman said to be responsible.

The Cape Times is withholding these details because they feature in an application presently before court and are sub judice.



Dr Slabbert



Dr Barnard

The detainee told Dr Slabbert afterwards, "I am not interested whether you are going to do something about it and whether you believe it or not. We know that it happens and that it will continue to happen. We are past that stage."

Dr Slabbert commented: "This is a very hardened viewpoint that this man adopts. In former days he would have come and asked whether one would not go and talk (to the authorities)."

□ (J H P Serfontein, a freelance correspondent, is a former political reporter of the Sunday Times.)

Government plan might be blacks in the Cabinet

Referendum?

W/C AREA'S
83/16
(364A)

TOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

WHITE, coloured and Indian voters may be asked in a referendum if they agree that blacks should be appointed to the Cabinet while the Government prepares plans for a black legislative body parallel to the present Parliament.

Some Nationalist MPs believe that such a referendum is on the cards following the announcement that a federal congress of the National Party will be held in Durban in August. The congress is expected to consider Government proposals for black rights.

While the 1983 referendum on the new constitutional system was for white voters only, the Nationalist politicians believe that another referendum could not now be restricted to white votes.

They strongly discount the suggestion that there might be a general election to test political opinion, mainly because the National Party fears the growing strength of the Conservative Party, especially in some Transvaal areas. In a referendum, seats in Parliament are not at stake.

The Nationalist argument that if significant changes are to be brought about the Government should get moving as soon as possible.

Then, if a new system including blacks could be made to function reasonably well, this would allay white misgivings by the time the next general election is due in 1989.

Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development is working on various options based on the result of consultations held by a seven-man Cabinet committee in the past few years.

These will be sifted before the federal congress.

The Government is already committed to undivided citizenship and universal franchise as well as black representation at the highest level, with self-determination over some affairs and without one group dominating another.

New proposals for black rights are at present expected to start at the highest level — the Cabinet. Some black Ministers might be appointed to the Cabinet while details of further black participation in government are worked out.

The Government still opposes the creation of a fourth chamber in Parliament for blacks, but a black body parallel to Parliament may be considered a viable option.

Only advisory

The federal congress has only advisory powers. As in 1982, any recommendations it makes will have to be considered by all four of the party's provincial congresses.

The Government is now determined to press ahead with constitutional developments involving blacks, in spite of the fact that some other schemes for consultation — including an expanded Cabinet committee to include all parliamentary parties, a black forum and now a statutory council, or black representation on the President's Council, appear to have been stillborn.

"We cannot continue with these gimmicks. None of them has worked," one MP said today. According to another MP the Government is now beginning to work on the basis of "those who are in, are in — and those who are out, are out".

Attempts to draw such leaders as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as well as some urban black leaders, into negotiations will continue.

Even if some important leaders decline to negotiate, constitutional reform moves will continue. A special effort will be made to accommodate the urban blacks.

Take your political partners We're all right

W/C - HRC 8/380 30041

TOS WENTZEL

Political

Correspondent

A POLITICAL "mating dance" has started between the Conservative Party and the ultra-rightwing, militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and, despite protests from both sides, they may soon form an alliance.

about their party having close ties with the AWB which has now begun an even more militant vigilante or "boere-brandwag" wing.

But the Conservatives do not want to turn away Afrikaner support, wherever it may come from.

War 2.

This emerged from negotiations between the two movements in Cape Town this week.

Some Conservative MPs have misgivings

In contrast to the Conservatives, the more rightwing Herstigste Nasionale Party is maintaining a 'cautiously "correct" attitude to the AWB. While not attacking it in pub-

lic, the HNP's official stand is that its members are not allowed to belong to other political organisations.

The HNP also re-members the experience of the old Herstigste Nasionale Party with the Ossewabrandwag during the World

Democracy

In the 40s the National Party broke with the militantly National-Socialist OB and opposed it as the OB became increasingly involved in politics while it was supposed to operate only culturally.

Although the AWB professes to be a cultural organisation for the Afrikaner first, it has become, since it started about 10 years ago, more interested in party politics although it has little interest in democracy.

The membership of the AWB and its real influence remain a mystery. Some Nationalist MPs estimate it has between 20 000 and 30 000

members but in an interview this week its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, refused to give the numbers as "Mr P W Botha would dearly like to know this". He added that the membership ran into "many thousands".

While his claims may well be exaggerated, it is a fact that he draws big crowds when he speaks in the Transvaal.

There were 1 500 people at a meeting in Florida last week according to Transvaal nationalist newspaper reports and 2 000 according to Mr Terre'Blanche's own count, he said in the interview.

At Klerksdorp he also drew several thousand people. At Kraaifontein on Tuesday night there were about 250.

He also claims the movement is growing at a time when white people are unhappy about the direction Mr Botha and the National Party are taking. This, he says, is why the Boere-brandwag

wing has now been started so that every Boer could be part of the resistance of the folk. The brandwag is also supposed to help when "gangs of murderers descend on us".

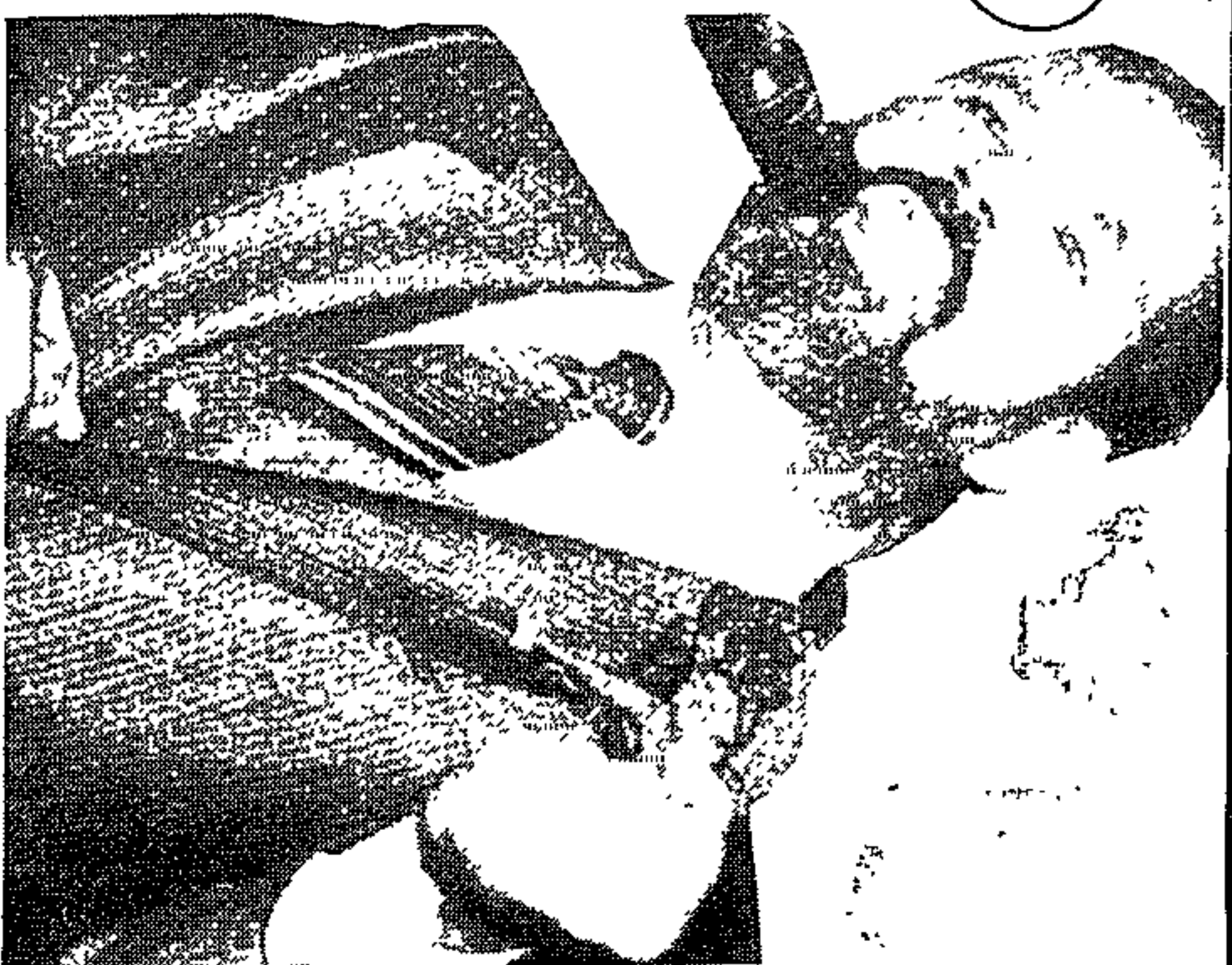
The authorities oppose the brandwag idea and a police statement this week made it plain that AWB members would not be allowed to belong to the police reserves as members of the militant body.

Dormant

Mr Terre'Blanche, 42, was once a policeman and part of the bodyguard of the late Mr B J Vorster.

Mr Terre'Blanche claims the AWB has now been organised in "burgerrade" throughout the country. It has a fulltime office and staff in Pretoria.

There is some suspicion in political circles that the AWB may have received financial aid from the huge trust funds controlled by the late Dr Albert Heertzog and now controlled by his widow.



Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche

Years ago the movement registered a Blanke Volkskorp as a political party but it has remained dormant.

Apart from more political projects, Mr Terre'Blanche claims the AWB has undertaken other practical projects such as the collection of 80 tons of food for hungry Afrikaner children on the Reef.

In an interview, he said while all order was disintegrating and the Government was capitulating the AWB was determined to restore order within a proposed "volksstaat". He said that the Boer nation had a claim to

the Transvaal, Free State and the republic of Vryheid.

In the Cape it had the right to take what it wanted and the rest could then be left to coloured people who could not expect whites to continue carrying them.

Militant

The constitution which the WAB favours is a partyless system with an executive President heading what appears to be an Afrikaner dictatorship.

There are increasing indications that the AWB is taking the CP in tow.



Dr Andries Treurnicht

THE
EMERGENCY

Botha plans tough new laws

CITY P.
9/3/86

3041A

CP Reporters

THE seven-month old state of emergency is due to end today – but already President PW Botha's Government is preparing new laws enabling them, say opponents, to put the country under a permanent, undeclared state of emergency.

Botha's abrupt Tuesday announcement of the lifting of the emergency, before a quickly convened session of the three "parliaments", came after intense United States pressure, *City Press* understands – pressure aimed not

merely at getting the state of emergency lifted, but also at seeing the release of emergency detainees and dropping of charges in a number of treason trials.

But within hours of Botha's announcement, coupled with a new Namibian independence offer, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange warned that the lifting of the state of emergency did not necessarily mean the release of detainees, nor the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

And, Le Grange confirmed later, Government lawyers are working on changes to the Public

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also at seeing the release of emergency detainees and dropping of charges in a number of treason trials. But within hours of Botha's announcement, coupled with a new Namibian independence offer, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange warned that the lifting of the state of emergency did not necessarily mean the release of detainees, nor the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

And, Le Grange confirmed later, Government lawyers are working on changes to the Public Safety Act to allow the police to act "more easily and efficiently in times of unrest".

Although he declined to give details of the new laws, reports indicate they will give police the power to impose state-of-emergency measures when they feel they need to.

They will also enable police to ban journalists from the townships.

And one report indicated that the "undeclared state-of-emergency" powers would give the police permanent indemnity from prosecution and claims by victims of police action.

On Tuesday Botha told parliament: "To enable the authorities to deal with continued unrest, without subjecting the population to the inconvenience of a state of emergency, existing legislation will be reviewed to provide the authorities with the powers required to protect lives and property effectively."

"In the meantime, the security forces will maintain order in terms of existing laws."

PFP law and order spokesman Helen Suzman said afterwards: "It confirms my fear that the new laws will create a permanent state of emergency."

● The United Democratic Front told Sapa the announcement, despite ongoing resistance and loss of life, was "acknowledgement that the emergency has not suppressed the people's desire to be free".

The UDF said the resistance had now spread beyond the emergency areas, and "we are concerned

★ To Page 2

Tougher new laws

THE EMERGENCY

● South Africans should not start celebrating the lifting of the state of emergency yet, warns Wits politics lecturer Professor Alf Stadler. "The Government could only be aiming to make the state of emergency redundant without necessarily intending to do away with indemnities granted to police," he says.

● The Organisation of African Unity says plans to lift the state of emergency could contribute to the reduction of tension - "but it is not enough".

Permanent peace would require negotiation, with the ANC, said spokesman Ide Oumarou.

"I was supposed to go through there to the cartoon to buy pancakes. Fortunately, I delayed by a few minutes," she said.

The past few weeks have seen John Vorster Square infiltrated by white bogus cops. The "cops" were arrested after having worked there for some time.

But spokesman would not speculate on any possible link.

● SA lawyers have welcomed Botha's announcement. The Association of Law Societies said at its AGM this week it hoped the lifting of the state of emergency would prove a step towards the restoration of "the rule of law".

John Vorster Square police station.

Muthi Maiva reports that John Vorster Square blast occurred in a toilet just before midday on Tuesday. Two male white policemen and two pedestrians were injured. Part of the toilet wall was blown away and several windows broken.

The floor was used by the vehicle branch, police spokesmen said.

"The damage is fairly extensive. It was caused by an explosive device whose make we don't know." A woman cleaner at the Square said she had escaped injury by a few minutes.

● The Azanian Students Movement described Botha's announcement as "redundant" - saying SA "has always been in a state of emergency".

● British Press reports on Botha's announcement pointed out it had come within 24 hours of argument between police and alleged ANC guerrillas in Cape Town and a bomb blast at Johannesburg's

★ From Page 1

Leader slams police ban on AWB

SUND. 1. 304A
By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE 9/3/86

EXTREME rightwing leader Eugene Terre Blanche has hit back at the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, for refusing to let his AWB followers join the police reservists.

This is the latest turn in the controversy that started after Mr Terre Blanche announced the formation of his commando-style force, the Brandwag, to protect whites and their property whenever the security forces could not do so.

After his announcement, the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the West Rand, Brigadier Ben Oosthuizen, warned that people wishing to take part in such activities should rather join the police reservists and work under the control of police officers.

Mr Terre Blanche, leader of the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, reacted by suggesting that his entire movement would join the police reservists.

But this week General Coetzee put the lid on such a move by bluntly stating that no member of the AWB could join either the reservists or the regular police force, but that people could do so in their individual capacity.

Crisis

This week Mr Terre Blanche said his offer had been a reaction to an invitation by Brigadier Oosthuizen.

And last night he again attacked General Coetzee at a gathering of AWB members outside Krugersdorp.

Mr Terre Blanche said the white man in Africa was going through his biggest crisis ever at a time when General Coetzee did not want the numbers of his police reservists to be doubled because he would not have any member of the AWB in it.

"If one wants to live in this country, I now have no alternative but to continue with the Brandwag and establish protection units whose job it will be to protect life and property when the police and



EUGENE TERRE BLANCHE
"Blood of innocent people"

the Defence Force cannot be there," he said.

"General Coetzee will have the blood of innocent people on his head because of this."

Mr Terre Blanche said he had also discussed the formation of the Brandwag with the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who, according to him, said that he found it acceptable and agreed that whites had the right to protect themselves within the framework of the law.

Power sharing: Will PW go to the voters?

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

S.T.

304A



A REPLAY of the procedures which led to the establishment of the tricameral Parliament in 1984 is predicted for the end of this year.

The snap announcement of a Federal Congress of the National Party in August has fuelled speculation of another constitutional referendum — this time over power-sharing with blacks.

Even party sources were surprised this week when it was announced that the Federal Congress — the rarely convened top policy-making body in the party — would meet on August 12 and 13.

Options

Party sources have since confirmed that the congress will be about President P W Botha's proclaimed commitment to power-sharing with black South Africans.

But it is not known whether the congress will be asked merely to endorse President Botha's announced proposal for a national statutory council for blacks or whether more substantive constitutional

proposals will be put before it.

The Department of Constitutional Development is working hard on presenting a series of constitutional options intended to serve as a basis for further negotiations with black South Africans.

One of the scenarios being punted in Cape Town is that concrete power-sharing proposals will be put before the Federal Congress, then be taken to provincial party congresses and eventually be put to a national referendum.

President Botha has promised that if major constitutional changes are considered they will be put before the electorate for approval.

Critics of the Government were this week cautious about the move.

They warned that if the Government presented another set of unilateral con-

stitutional proposals, it risked rejection similar to that of the tricameral proposals.

This week Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, revealed that he and his Cabinet committee had held meetings with 47 black leaders and organisations to negotiate policy changes. He did not name those involved.

Rejection

But successful negotiations with even moderate black leaders appear unlikely in the short term — there has been an across-the-board rejection of the proposed national statutory council by black South Africans. Any constitutional proposals put forward by the Government will probably be seen as unilaterally drafted.

There is now strong speculation that a referendum will be held next year after the party congresses have all considered the new proposals.

It is known that significant sections of the National Party believe the Botha administration must gain a further mandate from the white electorate for power-sharing with blacks.

SUND. TIMES

CTunis
10/3/86



Big business meets secretly on apartheid

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Chief executives of leading South African, US and British companies gathered at Leeds Castle in Kent last night for a closed meeting today to review business strategy on dismantling apartheid.

The top-level meeting, similar to one held at the same venue last year, is considered crucial for the future of multinationals in South Africa.

The meeting will be attended by about 30 company executives under the chairmanship of Mr Edward Heath, the former prime minister.

Comment

The high-powered business summit has been organized by the Rev Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Principles which recently called on US business in South Africa to assume a

bolder role in opposing apartheid laws.

Mr Sullivan will make the opening address to the conference in which he is expected to urge multinationals to endorse his "passive resistance" guidelines for foreign business.

General Motors, which will be represented at the meeting by its chief executive Mr Roger Smith, recently became the first company to implement the new Sullivan stand when it offered "legal and financial assistance" to any of its employees who opted to defy Port Elizabeth's beach apartheid laws.

Two key South African figures at today's conference will be Mr Jan Steyn, director of the Urban Foundation, who is due to address the meeting, and Mr Tony Bloom, executive chairman of the Premier Group.

The meeting is expected to be given a full

briefing on the Federated Chamber of Industries' (FCI) strongly reformist Business Charter which lays down the guidelines for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.




At the meeting will be Sir Timothy Bevan, the chairman of Barclays (UK), who shocked the South African business community with a tough warning that Barclays would commit no new money to South Africa until there was legislative evidence that apartheid was going to be scrapped.

Collapse

Sources close to the Leeds group said last week that the political backdrop to the Leeds summit had altered so radically from last year that even the premises had changed.

Since last year the Reagan administration has adopted a limited sanctions package, the policy of constructive engagement has collapsed, leading South African businessmen have held unprecedented talks with the ANC and there has been a collapse in the rand following a capital boycott last year.

Another year of violence and repression in the black townships and the ascendancy of the ANC have put new pressures on business.



30% DISCOUNT

The vital questions

PART ONE

35044

SMM 10/3/86

By the end of June we may be in our worst position yet. The ultimatums set by Cosatu, Bishop Tutu and the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee will have matured, as will the 10th anniversary of Soweto '76. There is likely to be an upturn in the number of political deaths and their self-perpetuating funerals, a downturn in the rand and a new wave of emigration and despair.

Government will doubtless respond by more reforms, which:

- The Right denounces as leading to black domination.
- The Left denounces as modernising white domination.
- Stir short-term hope in the centre, but do not allay the belief that we are ordained to violence and disturbance by inevitable struggle between black liberation and white resistance.

This belief springs from a premise which we consider so self-evident that we never examine it. We assume that black liberation means that whites lose out.

Attrition

We know there will be no rest until one man, one vote is achieved. But since white people believe this means their destruction, we settle in for a war of attrition, hoping that reforms and compromises will stave off the worst.

- But does black freedom have to mean white destruction?
- Is there a way of ensuring a stable, democratic, outcome?
- Does democracy mean "black rule"?
- Does it relegate whites to an impotent minority?

These questions are worth asking, if we seek true peace.

They are seldom asked, because we do not seek true peace. We take it as a remote ideal, unrelated to our reality.

But the lack of a political target is what causes the problems of the present. Because there is no faith in

Denis Beckett (right), editor of Frontline magazine,

argues in the recent book "Permanent Peace" that

white fears of black liberation can be disposed of by the creation of a fully democratic structure. In a

three-part series written for *The Star*, Beckett outlines the need for "intensive democracy". Today's first

part maintains that a full-scale resolution has to be sought because the

half-measures embodied in the ideas of reform, negotiation and

power-sharing do more harm than good.



activity is coloured by its effects vis-a-vis apartheid, issues from education to industrial relations to civic festivals become sources of unnecessary tension.

No amount of reform can solve these things. They are built-in consequences of the absence of a political foundation which society can agree on.

Reforms may make people's lives easier, but they do not make South Africa a more secure place. They make it a less secure place.

Each reform does something to inflame the black liberation struggle — "see, we've got them on the run".

Each reform also strengthens resistance from white people in fear of being pushed ever closer to the point where "the blacks take over".

In particular, the reformist principle of power-sharing has a disastrous effect. The "moderates" who

see their own power as diminishing inexorably towards oblivion, and resist accordingly.

The longer this process goes on, the more damage is done. Reformists hope, in defiance of the evidence, that the "moderates" will prevail. But even if a major reform move should win widespread black support for the time being, anything which leaves unfinished business in terms of further black access to a higher quality of citizenship leaves the core conflict intact.

Insofar as the mood of reform contributes to better national housekeeping, through improved education, housing and the like, it is obviously to the good.

But in the political sense there is little hope in "faster reform". The faster reform proceeds, the closer we get to the vortex of conflict.

The same effect applies to a negotiated compromise. If a structure involving minority

closer the Government comes to offering to negotiate, the more encouragement it gives to the revolutionary forces.

The route of negotiation, like the route of reform, is a whirlpool. Behind each concession lurks a new demand.

White people see their backs being forced to the wall. Black people see the task at hand as being to "defeat the whites". Both are impelled towards ethnic unity, and the perception of the South African conflict as a matter of "the whites versus the blacks" is continually fortified.

The outcome I want to see to the South African predicament is an outcome in which the peculiar conflict which faces us is disposed of — a "first prize" outcome.

One of the problems in seeking this is the belief that not only is "first prize" unattainable, but "second prize" is nearly as good.

But in reality there is no such thing as "second prize". It's first prize or no prize at all.

Disputes

First prize does not mean that disputes disappear. It means a foundation on which disputes can be handled effectively, which cannot happen while the political structure itself is the focus of conflict.

Any such structure must simultaneously fulfil the demand for black liberation and the demand for white security. If it compromises either of these criteria, it remains in dispute.

An instant response is to say that it is impossible for Azapo and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to co-exist in the same society. But the Ku Klux Klan and the Nation of Islam co-exist in America, which is not conspicuously facing collapse.

The driving force behind Nationalist and Conservative determination is the fear that if it is

Because white people live under the cloud of eventual "black takeover", all black advancement meets resistance as a "thin end of the wedge".

Because black co-operation strengthens the State, black people cannot freely exercise civic responsibility or even hold normal personal ambitions. Because every

traitors, and the idea of moderation becomes linked with betrayal. If blacks were to acquire half the central power, this does not stop the conflict. The forces which reject compromise scent victory and pursue boycotts and warfare with increased vigour. The forces which co-operate set out to increase the proportion of black power to reflect equality of population. White people

arrangement were initially agreed, it would form a new basis for the same conflict. In any case, it is unlikely that a negotiated settlement could be agreed or even entered into. Both major parties have sound reasons for rejecting it. For the ANC and most other black factions, a single common country is the absolute baseline. The

Yet why should it be either? The European democracies were once ruled by upper-classes whose fear that they would be suppressed once they relinquished control turned out to be unfounded? Have we a lesson to learn?

● **TOMORROW: Is it possible to create a democratic structure strong enough to guarantee that it works?**

Multinationals' future in SA priority of top-level business meeting 10/3/86

LONDON — Chief executives of leading South African, US and British companies gathered at Leeds Castle in Kent last night for a closed meeting today to review business strategy on dismantling apartheid.

The top-level meeting, similar to one held at the same venue last year, is considered crucial for the future of multinationals in South Africa.

The meeting will be attended by about 30 company executives under the chairmanship of former British Prime Minister Edward Heath.

The high-powered business summit

has been organised by the Rev Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Principles which recently called on US business in SA to assume a bolder role in opposing apartheid laws.

But both Heath and Sullivan have declined all comment on the meeting, or even to acknowledge it is taking place.

Two key South African figures at the conference will be director of the Urban Foundation Jan Steyn, who is due to address the meeting, and executive chairman of the Premier Group Tony Bloom.

The meeting is expected to be given a full briefing on the Federated Chamber

of Industries (FCI) strongly reformist Business Charter, which lays down the guidelines for a free, non-racial and democratic SA.

Another key figure at today's meeting will be the chairman of Barclays (UK) Sir Timothy Beyer, who shocked the SA business community with a tough warning that Barclays would commit no new money to SA until there was legislative evidence that apartheid was going to be scrapped.

The Barclays' statement, coming on

the eve of the Leeds summit, is seen in business circles as a major bid by British business to rid itself of its laissez-faire image in opposing apartheid.

It is significant that the first move should have been made by Barclays which, as Britain's biggest bank, has been the prime target of anti-apartheid groups campaigning for a withdrawal of British investment in SA.

Sources close to the Leeds group pointed out this week that the political backdrop to the Leeds summit had altered so radically from last year that even the premises had changed.

Multinationals in the spotlight

Management has collapsed, leading SA businessmen have held unprecedented talks with the ANC, and there has been a collapse in the rand following a capital boycott led by Chase Manhattan Bank last year.

Another year of violence and repression in the black townships and the ascendancy of the African National Congress (ANC), both domestically and internationally, have put new pressures on business.

Closer links — and the possibility of further talks — with the ANC is one of the items on the Leeds' secret agenda.

Other SA executives expected to attend include Barlow Rand's Mike Rothschild, Anglovaal's Basil Herzov and General Motors' Robert White.

Other companies expected to attend include Control Data, Fluor, Mobil Oil and Goodyear from the US, and Shell (UK) and Rio Tinto Zinc from Britain.

◀ From Page 1

• To Page 2 ▶

"We are taking the Government on trust on this one but we do not like enabling legislation which confers wide powers on Ministers and bypasses the sovereignty of Parliament," said Mr Ken Warren, legal advisor to Assocom.

The memorandum said Assocom would have preferred more time to study the Bill.

It urged that the powers be used circumspectly and said consistency of principle when effecting suspensions could not be over-emphasised.

SYMPATHETIC

Mr Colin McCarthy, director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said industry was sympathetic to the Bill's intentions but horrified at its scope.

Apart from commerce and industry, it had implications for housing and local authorities, he said.

The FCI also wanted to give evidence to the standing committee.

"It is absolutely necessary for the President to consult industry and commerce before using his powers," said Mr McCarthy.

"The intention is to provide a climate in which a Third World sector can develop — but you have to be very careful not to make it over-competitive against existing businesses."

Draft Bill worries industry commerce

3009
250 STAR
10/3/86

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Plans to give the State President sweeping powers to overrule legislation and promote small businesses have shocked sections of commerce, industry and labour.

The plans were disclosed in the Draft Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill.

As published, it gives the President power to suspend, wholly or partly, any law, condition, limitation or obligation if he thinks they impede economic progress to "an improper extent".

CONDEMNED

The Bill was condemned by Mrs Ruth Imrie, acting general secretary of the Trade Union Council of SA. Even bodies supporting the intentions of the Bill were aghast at the extent of powers proposed.

Mrs Imrie said: "It is a most sinister thing and represents a wholesale assault on wages and conditions of employment."

"Basically, it gives the President almost absolute power to suspend any regulation that gets in the way of employers making money."

Members of an Assocom delegation, which was in Cape Town last week, gave evidence and presented a memorandum on the Bill to the standing committee on Home Affairs on Friday.

CALL 7-15/0/3/12

SACP leader Mabhida dies

304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Joe Slovo is believed to be a front-runner to lead the banned South African Communist Party following the death of its veteran general secretary, Mr Moses Mabhida, 62, on Saturday.

Mr Mabhida, who joined the SACP in 1942 and fled into exile in 1960, died in Maputo of a heart attack.

He was an executive member of the African National Congress and vice-president of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

After the 1960 Sharpeville shootings he left South Africa to present the case of black unions to the International Labour Organization, and never returned. He was made the party's general secretary in 1981.

Mr Slovo, 59, who was a brilliant and prominent advocate in South Africa before fleeing into exile, is considered the most capable person to succeed Mr Mabhida.

Mr Slovo is deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

Shock as Bill aims to bypass regulations

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Plans to give the State President sweeping powers to overrule legislation and promote small businesses have shocked sections of commerce, industry and labour.

The plans were disclosed in the Draft Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill.

As published, it gives the President power to wholly or partly suspend any law, condition, limitation or obligation if he thinks they impede economic progress to "an improper extent".

The Bill was condemned out of hand by Mrs Ruth Imrie, acting general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, and even bodies supporting its intentions were aghast at the width of powers proposed.

"It is a most sinister thing and represents a wholesale assault on wages and conditions of employment.

"It basically gives the President almost absolute powers to suspend any regulation that gets in the way of employers making money," said Mrs Imrie.

"I think the Bill might even have gone too far for the Government and the drafters are getting kicked in the backside," said one official in reaction.

Members of an Assocom delegation, which was in Cape Town all last week, gave evidence and presented a memorandum on the Bill to the standing committee on Home Affairs on Friday.

"We are taking the Government on trust on this one, but we do not like enabling legislation which confers wide powers on Ministers and bypasses the sovereignty of Parliament," said Mr Ken Warren, legal advisor to Assocom.

The memorandum said Assocom would have preferred more time to study the Bill in view of its far-reaching economic and other effects.

Mr Colin McCarthy, director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said industry was sympathetic to the Bill's intentions but horrified at its scope.

CHARTER 7/10/11
11/3/11

Slabbert differed with Suzman

Political Staff

THE former leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, says he will remain a member of the PFP but that he and the veteran PFP front-bencher, Mrs Helen Suzman, have differed over the party's approach to the tricameral system.

In separate interviews, published in the latest issue of Leadership, Dr Slabbert and Mrs Suzman have given their accounts of the PFP's decision to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said: "Senior members in the party know that I went to them and told them I preferred not to go into the tricameral system.

"I argued that we should insist on referendums for coloureds and Asians, and blacks for that matter."

Asked if he were a reluctant participant, Dr Slabbert replied: "Oh yes. But they persuaded me to go in, and I said, if we go in, we go in boots and all.

"But I also made it clear that I would do so for a limited period."

Mrs Suzman said the PFP had shown it strongly disapproved of the new system because it had fundamental flaws as it was based on apartheid and it excluded black people.

"But we decided — largely on Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's advice — that we would engage the system and go into the tricameral Parliament.

"I want to say quite categorically that I believe Parliament has an important role to play, that it is a unique institution where the government can be held to account for its actions, for its sins.

"Dr Van Zyl Slabbert recognized this when he tried to get Parliament reconvened during the last recess to tackle the government over the state of emergency and the manner in which the police and government were behaving."

Reducing the volk to tears

11/3/86
304A
E-post



EUGENE TERRE'BLANCHE

JOHANNESBURG — Eugene Terre'Blanche leaned across his desk, his eyes narrowing with fanatical conviction. "In the next election we will win the Transvaal, the Free State and Northern Natal because that is where the Afrikaner people are, where the Afrikaner heart lies.

"P W Botha has betrayed the Afrikaners. When he said he wanted power-sharing, he was saying he would destroy their way of life. Afrikaners have a wonderful loyalty to their Government — up to a point. But just as they have been loyal, so will they fight it now."

It was the first spark of passion from this explosive leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in an interview which found him strangely courteous, even diffident at times.

But put Terre'Blanche on a podium before 2 000 ardent supporters and this 42-year-old former policeman transforms into a prophet, steeping his oratory in the atavistic nationalism of the volk with such effect that it draws tears from burly farmers and sends some women into fits of sobbing.

His message is the same as when he founded the AWB secretly 13 years ago: the Government is capitulating to the forces of revolution. The blacks will try to take all. The whites will fight for the land that is theirs. And the whites will win.

Last month Eugene Ney Terre'Blanche threw himself back on the campaign trail with a vengeance. He spoke in Standerton and Secunda, before that in Klerksdorp and Florida. More than 10 000 heard him in 28 days.

But how seriously can you take a man who speaks of setting up a white, Christian fatherland in the heart of SA; who would revert to a state a century past; who says he is not a racist but would fight tooth and nail to keep blacks, Jews and all non-Christians out of his Government?

Terre'Blanche dismisses suggestions that he is out of touch with reality. When enough white farmers have rejected the Government, he says, P W Botha will have no option but to yield to their will.

He hints at a right-wing military takeover: when the army and police in the Transvaal and Free State identify with the Afrikaner will, the battle for a white fatherland will be all but won, he says.

His message is the same as when he founded the AWB secretly 13 years ago: the Government is capitulating to the forces of revolution. The blacks will try to take all. The whites will fight for the land that is theirs. And the whites will win.

"P W Botha and his Rajbansis and his Hendrickses can have their Kaapse Korps," he sneers derisively.

It all seems so laughable, especially since the AWB's strong identification with its leader presents an image of nothing more than an insubstantial vehicle for rightist malcontents and neo-fascists.

Yet some Cabinet Ministers seem to perceive him as a threat. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has rejected dealing with the AWB and the ANC in the same breath. Defence Minister Magnus Malan has attacked the movement for its militancy.

Terre'Blanche disclaims vehemently any suggestions that the AWB espouses violence. This, in spite of the fact that two former members were jailed for 15 years under the Terrorism Act. (He was one of three members given suspended sentences in 1983 for unlawful possession of firearms, including Kalashnikov assault rifles.)

Terre'Blanche warns he will sue anyone who accuses him or the AWB of violent intent. He says the two men jailed were not AWB members at the time of trial, and points to the fact that the judge cleared the organisation itself of involvement and terrorism.

The inexplicable spate of shootings and killings recently by whites against black pedestrians in areas such as Krugersdorp, Schweizer-Reneke and on the industrial outskirts of Johannesburg are "terrible", he exclaims.

"I don't believe it could be AWB members — that's impossible. The AWB is a disciplined organisation. We will never, ever, start a revolution. But we will fight against a revolution."

That is why he formed the AWB Brandwag earlier this month — a commando to protect white interests in case there are not enough police available. It will not try to usurp the function of the police, he says.

"But if they blacks or

any 'non-Boere' try to take our land, I will counter it with white, Boer Afrikaner power — that I can assure you."

Police and Defence Force members are forbidden to be members of the AWB. Even the HNP will have nothing to do with it. The AWB is not a political party and claims to have no pretensions to become one, although Terre'Blanche once stood unsuccessfully for Parliament.

Terre'Blanche realises his extra-parliamentary role is not enough. He has on several occasions tried to develop closer ties with Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party.

"The only difference between Dr Treurnicht and us is that he believes in homelands and we believe in a fatherland," he says.

The AWB insignia bears a striking resemblance to the Nazi swastika, a three-cornered array of sevens, which, he says, represents a shield against the triple sixes of the anti-Christ in Revelation.

Political commentators have compared him with Hitler and Mussolini. A psychologist once said his oratory reflected a brilliant mind, but someone who was locked into the past, who used "denial to deal with his fear of change".

Terre'Blanche is reluctant to speak of Hitler.

"I am a Boer," he says. "I have no heroes but the heroes of the past of my people. I want to be the same as Generals De la Rey and De Wet, [Presidents] Paul Kruger and Steyn."

It is the key to his concept of a Boerevolkstaat, where there would be no party political system as we know it.

People would elect their leaders according to their skills and experience to a partyless Volksraad, which would be controlled by an AWB chief executive known as the Opperraad.

Jews, Indians, or any non-Christians could be permitted within the boundaries, but they would be totally excluded from Government. "I choose Jesus Christ ahead of popularity with the international money powers."

He draws a line between the Afrikaner Boer and the non-Afrikaner Boer. "You could be what Hitler called an Aryan, but if you want to stand against me then you will be the same as a black man who wants to stand against me."

Blacks would be allowed to work in the Republic under conditions set out by Government, but the ideal would be gradually to shift them outside its borders. No nation in the world would be prepared to give away its land to immigrants.

"We are not interested in dividing people and sharing power. P W Botha and his lot can try their consensus in those parts which are not the historical property of the Boer

people," Terre'Blanche says.

The powerful multinational companies and gold mines would be required to pay their "rightful taxes" to the people, or else face nationalisation.

He speaks of developing border industries which could utilise black labour from outside the Volkstaat so that the white population could "live in the prosperity and peace it deserves".

"I am not a racist — really not. I only want for myself what I am willing to give to others," he says.

With that sort of complexity it is hardly surprising that Terre'Blanche professes to be "not so interested in apartheid", drawing a distinction between the homeland system and what he calls the establishment of "fatherlands".

"I don't think apartheid can work. You cannot decide what the future of other groups should be. But this land — the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal — was paid for in the blood, tears and bitter sweat of my forefathers."

"It is historically the land of the Boere Afrikaners to which they have a right and for which they will fight," he says.

Bold but futile words? They echo uncannily like those of the Malans and Verwoerds of the '40s and '50s.

But as the long-contained wave of black nationalism begins to sweep across the southern tip of Africa, it is hard to see how the pretensions of the Terre'Blanches of this world can be regarded as more than rocks on the beach of change.

Central computerised accounting system

*16. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- (1) Whether the South African Transport Services introduced a central computerised accounting system for the invoicing and payment of goods traffic; if so, when was it introduced;
- (2) whether this system was introduced as a result of a project known as Marius;
- (3) whether any money has been lost as a result of the implementation of this accounting system; if so, what is the estimated loss;
- (4) whether this system is to be replaced or upgraded; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) No.
 - (2), (3) and (4) Fall away.
- MAN 5042 11/3/86*
Events in Cradock Report
17. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, during the first half of 1985, he or any member of the South African Police received a report concerning events in Cradock from any member of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly; if so,
- (2) whether any affidavits were attached to this report; if so,
- (3) whether the police in Cradock have questioned any of the persons who signed affidavits attached to this report; if so, (a) when and (b) why;
- (4) whether the police have requested or required any of these persons to sign statements regarding incidents mentioned in this report; if so, why?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
 - (2) Yes.
 - (3) Yes.
 - (a) From 11 March 1985 up to the present.
 - (b) To investigate allegations against members of the security forces.
 - (4) Yes, in order to fully and comprehensively investigate the allegations.
- Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell me whether as a result of these investigations any cases have as yet been referred to the Attorney-General of the Cape?

The MINISTER: I am sorry, I do not know off-hand.

MAN 5042 11/3/86
Occupation by non-qualified persons
18. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether any restrictions are placed on the occupation by non-qualified persons and (a) university residences, (b) school hostels, (c) licensed hotels, (d) non-licensed hotels, (e) boarding houses and (f) time-sharing facilities; if so, in terms of which statutory provisions in each case?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

- (a) Yes, the Group Areas Act, 1966;
- (b) Yes, the Group Areas Act, 1966;
- (c) Yes, the Liquor Act, No 87 of 1977, and for periods in total more than ninety days in any calendar year, also the Group Areas Act, 1966;

- (d) Yes, the Group Areas Act, 1966;
- (e) Yes, the Group Areas Act, 1966; and
- (f) Yes, the Group Areas Act, 1966.

Pedagogically neglected children

*19. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 37 on 12 March 1985, his Department has finalised the appropriate regulations relating to schools for pedagogically neglected children; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that these regulations will be finalised; if so,
- (2) whether these regulations have been promulgated; if so, when; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that they will be promulgated?

- (3) whether his Department itself handled the advertising in this connection; if not, (a) why not, (b) by which agency was the advertising handled and (c) what amount has been or will be paid to this agency for its services?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) The Department of Foreign Affairs, through its missions abroad, arranged for the publication of similar advertisements based on the State President's address of 31 January 1986, in newspapers in France, Germany, Italy and Australia.
- (b) Le Figaro; Sueddeutsche Zeitung; Corriere della Sera; The Australian and Financial Review.
- (c) R145 768.
- (2) Yes. The advertisements were directed at the middle income groups which include also policy and opinion makers in those countries.
- (3) No.
- (a) It is normal practice that advertising agents are employed abroad for the preparation of advertisements which are placed in overseas newspapers, because of the time factor, problems with translations and other technical aspects. However, some newspapers and magazines handle the preparation of advertisements themselves.

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No.
 - (a) The reason for the delay is due to a request by a large number of welfare organisations to again scrutinise the revised draft regulations.
 - (b) As soon as possible.
 - (2) Falls away.
- MAN 5042 11/3/86*
Advertisements
20. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether the advertisements which recently appeared in South African publications in the form of signed statements by the State President and to which the Deputy Minister of Information referred in his reply to Question No 37 on 18 February 1986, have appeared in foreign publications

(b) In France the advertisement was entrusted to the firm Group de Communication Gérard Souhan (Paris) and in Germany, Italy and Australia the respective newspapers prepared the advertisements themselves in close consultation with our missions.

(c) France: R4 538 which amount in included in the total outlay given at 1(c). No expenditure was incurred on advertising agencies in the other countries. The newspapers concerned prepared the advertisements themselves.

Apart from these advertisements the widest publicity were given to the State President's speech by our missions abroad through newsletters, press statements etc. Already on 4 February 1986 abridged versions of the speech were published in the German and French editions of the South African Digest which is distributed all over Europe. The English version of the speech in full, together with a report on the initial reactions to the speech, were published in the SA Digest of 7 February 1986 and were distributed world-wide (215 576 copies). In addition 23 000+ copies of a brochure "A New Beginning" containing the text of the State President's speech in full, were distributed in the USA, UK and other English speaking countries.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, will he then provide the Official Opposition with the opportunity of also putting in advertisements, at Government expense, stating that they are implacably opposed to apartheid?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member has already had the answer to that in the answer to the supplementary question to question 13 from the hon the Deputy Minister of Information.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it intended to place subsequent advertisements in those newspapers, bearing

in mind the fact that the hon the Minister of National Education and the hon the Minister of Education and Development Aid gave different interpretations of the State President's speech the following week?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, in the context of the question of the hon member, no.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, does the hon the Deputy Minister think it wise to give an incorrect impression in the overseas media as to what the realities of the South African situation are?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, that is a point of political debate, not a supplementary question.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, was the repudiation by the State President of the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs also as widely published as the State President's opening speech?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, that is not a relevant question.

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Joint management centres
*21. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) (a) How many joint management centres had been established as at 31 December 1985, (b) who is the chairman of each such centre, (c) which bodies are represented in these centres and (d) what is the purpose of the centres;

(2) whether he will furnish the House with information on the location of these joint management centres; if not, why not; if so, where are these centres located?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) Twelve.

(b) Durban, Brig J H Pretorius (SADF)
Kimberley, Brig J H de Beer (SAP)
Pretoria, Brig J P M Möller (SADF)
Port Elizabeth, Brig C P vd Westhuizen (SADF)
Bloemfontein, Brig W C Meyer (SADF)
Oudshoorn, Brig C van Rooyen (SADF)
Walvis Bay, Cmdt M van der Riet (SADF)
Johannesburg, Brig G H P Murphy (SADF)
Cape Town, Brig C A Swart (SAP)
Poietsfontein, Brig J J Bisschoff (SADF)
Pietersburg, Maj Gen C Lloyd (SADF)
Nelspruit, Maj Gen W H J F Paetzold (SADF)

(c) All government institutions which have an interest in the activities of the management centres. Where necessary liaison can be established with community organisations which could make a contribution.

(d) To co-ordinate joint government action at regional level. These centres do not have any executive powers. Execution of government action still occurs at the level of the responsible government institution.

(2) Yes. As indicated in (1)(b) above.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, will he furnish this House with the exact terms of reference under which those management committees operate?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if possible I will gladly make it available to the House. However, I would be grateful if the hon member could table that question in order that I could obtain the necessary details.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising further from the hon the Minister's reply, is it the case that apart from these management centre there are other bodies established in smaller towns to accomplish the same objective; and, if so, is it the case that a member of either the SA Defence Force or the SA Police chairs those more junior committees?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, that is correct. There are also other centres in various regions which range from joint management centres to what we call the sub and even the mini, the mini referring to the small towns. These bodies can be chaired by a member of either the SA Defence Force or the SA Police or even a civilian in the local community such as the town clerk or some other civic dignitary.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, it sounds as if these committees are dealing with governmental matters which can also be dealt with by members of Parliament. Is there any reason why members of Parliament have not been invited to serve at the management centres for the areas which they represent as members of Parliament?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is not a question of inviting members of Parliament to become members of these committees. It is a question of liaising with them, keeping them informed and getting good advice from them. This has taken place in the past.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, to whom do the chairmen of these committees report?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, they report to the secretary of the State Security Council.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, can he inform the House on what basis the members under the officer commanding are selected and by whom they are selected?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, hon members are now going into so much detail on

Up to date no application has, however, been received and consequently the matter can not be considered.

Stellenberg traffic interchange

*12. Mr J W H MEIRING asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

When will the new Stellenberg traffic interchange which connects the N1 freeway with the N2 freeway be (a) completed and (b) opened to traffic?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(a) and (b) Only certain ramps of the Stellenberg interchange were opened to traffic on 28 February 1986. The interchange will, however, be fully opened to traffic during September 1986, when the Frans Conradie Drive, giving access to the Old Oak interchange as an alternative to Brackenfell Boulevard, is expected to be completed. For the hon member's information I wish to advise him that the total cost of the project is R14.2 million of which the Cape Provincial Administration and the National Transport Commission each bears 50%.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's answer, I should like to ask him whether it is intended that this interchange will become a toll road and, if not, why not?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it will not be a toll road because it is built out of funds made available from the fuel fund. It is a project that will cost only R14 million. Therefore it is not necessary to make it a toll road.

†13. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Deputy Minister of Information:†

(1) Whether the advertisements which recently appeared in South African publications in the form of signed statements by the State President and to which he referred in his reply to

Question No 37 on 18 February 1986, were directed at certain target groups; if so, at what target groups;

(2) whether the Bureau for Information itself handled the advertising in this connection; if not, (a) why not, (b) by what agency was the advertising handled and (c) what amount has been or will be paid to this agency for its services?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) The advertisement was aimed at the total population of the country.

(2) Yes, in co-operation with the advertising agencies.

(a) Falls away.

(b) The Bureau for Information, in co-operation with the two agencies KMP Compton and Grey-Phillips, Buntton, Mundell and Blake.

(c) The Bureau for Information will pay the agencies the amount of R4 900 for the layout and artwork concerning the advertisement. The standard media and production commission will be paid to the agencies by the various newspapers in which the advertisement appeared.

Maj R SIYE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he prepared to subsidise the statement which the Leader of the Official Opposition made in response?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: No.

Mr A B WIDMAN: Why not?

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he prepared to consider, since the NP has had the opportunity through the State President to put its policy to the country, also giving all the other opposition parties the opportunity to

announce their policies at State expense? [Interjections.]

†An HON MEMBER: You have no policy, man.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the State President sets the policy of the Government and the population is entitled to be informed about this properly by the Government. [Interjections.]

†HON MEMBERS: Hok toe! (Back to your cage!)

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr. Speaker, on a point of order: May these two hon members shout "Hok toe" at me? [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! It may sound very amusing to some hon members, but I want to know who those two hon members are.

†Mr C H W SIMKIN: Mr Speaker, it was I.

†Mr W A LEMMER: Mr Speaker, it was I.

†Mr SPEAKER: The hon members for Smithfield and Schweizer-Reneke must both withdraw what they said.

†Mr C H W SIMKIN: Mr Speaker, I withdraw it.

†Mr W A LEMMER: Mr Speaker, I withdraw it.

†Mr SPEAKER: The hon members may sit. I now want to say once and for all very clearly to all hon members: In this House we have people, not animals. A cage (hok) is a place for a baboon, a monkey, a pig or whatever. [Interjections.] Order! This is nothing to laugh about; I think it is a disgrace that this is being laughed at.

†HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

†Mr SPEAKER: I will certainly not allow any member in this House to be compared with an animal again. Hon members must

thus not blame me if I take the extreme step immediately, without warning. Let it be now known once and for all: this thing has gone too far, and I do not think that this Parliament is paying any respect by such behaviour of hon members.

†Northern border: electrified fence
†14. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether, since his reply to Question No 15 on 23 April 1985, any persons have died as a result of contact with the electrified fence on the northern border of the Republic; if so, (a) how many, (b) on what dates, (c) what was the nationality of the persons killed and (d) what were the circumstances surrounding each death?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

Yes.

(a) One.

(b) 2 October 1985.

(c) Mozambican.

(d) The person apparently wanted to cross the barrier fence from North to South during the night.

†Defence Force members killed/wounded
†15. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Defence:
How many members of the South African Defence Force were (a) killed and (b) wounded in 1985?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) 104 members were killed in military operations and training exercises.

(b) The hon member is referred to the reply to part (b) of the written question number 167 of 2 February 1984.

Fears of one man one vote could be dispelled

If we accept that half-measures can't work, then we have to look at whole measures — which means one man one vote.

Most white people see this as "the end". They assume:

- That it means tyranny and a one-party State. But this can be settled by a democratic structure too strong to be subverted.

- That the 80 percent blacks would automatically dominate. But in an effective democracy, group solidarity is less important than practical interests.

- That drastic changes are imposed on their way of life. But true democracy maximises the individual's control over his own life.

- That they face impoverishment. But the history of democracy shows no impoverishment — rather a process of equalisation in line with what ordinary people see as combining their aspirations for progress with their need for stability.

So white horror of political equality is based on fears which fall away if a thoroughly democratic outcome is assured.

However, few white people have faith in one man one vote leading to any democracy, let alone full democracy. Thus most white political-energy is put into delaying or avoiding democracy — a route with a long and consistent historical record of bringing about precisely the result it least desires.

What we can do is to deliberately create an ultra-democratic political structure, or what we may call intensive democracy. This can be achieved through a remarkably thorough devolution of power in a one man one vote unitary state.

The second of a three-part series by Denis Beckett, editor of Frontline magazine, in which he argues the case for "intensive democracy".

"Remarkably thorough" devolution because no ordinary devolution can cope with South Africa's pressures.

"One man one vote" because anything else leaves the political framework as the focus of conflict.

"Unitary state" meaning one where all citizens vote directly for the top-most legislature, as opposed to a federation where they vote only in their own federal unit.

This is because any federal system leaves the black demand for more citizenship intact, and offering whites federalism as a security runs into the same problem as all other half measures — resistance as paving the way for further changes towards black domination.

In this intensive democracy, every citizen exercises a vote in several different contexts, all of them having real power to make a real difference to his life.

He is a citizen of his local community, which has substantial powers. Perhaps there need be no defined limit at all on its powers. Since no local community can cater for all the requirements of its people, the practicalities of mutual need ensure that powers are exercised rationally.

He is a citizen of his broader region and votes for a regional council. There is no "white roll" or "black chamber" or any other subterfuge. Just plain, straight elections.

Like the local bodies, these regional bodies can exercise whatever powers they find practical in the light of their need to maintain relationships

with the smaller units within them, with other regions alongside them and with the nation as a whole.

He is also a citizen of South Africa and votes in this capacity, too, in a simple general election for a national parliament.

As I see it, this structure results in a democratic society because it is quite impossible to do otherwise. There is no omnipotent ruler who can lay down the law.

There are instead vast numbers of separate sites of authority, all needing each other's co-operation to varying extents and all exercising a perpetual, structurally guaranteed, system of checks and balances on each other.

The structure is simple and natural. It does not rely on charters or constitutional gimmicks. The security it offers is not in any precarious "protection" of "minorities", but in the maximisation of free choice.

Political players are free to push whatever cause they wish. However, political decisions are not made by opinion poll preferences or by any dominant clique's interpretation of "the people's will". They are made by practical ballot-booth behaviour.

For any political force to get anywhere, it has to persuade ordinary people — concerned with rent and schooling and home improvements and the minutiae of daily life — to give it their support.

Democracies work because people vote to improve their quality of life. Hardly anybody's idea of improving

his quality of life includes alienating his fellows to the point where their resistance disturbs his own peace.

So the major parties in all democracies are parties which non-supporters can live with and which successfully undercut the appeal of rivals by settling the gripes which might add to their strength. The competitive process constantly improves the aggregate quality of life.

Intensive democracy accentuates this effect, largely by dislodging mass adherence to central parties in favour of the build-up of a web of local and regional factions and alliances. In the process it cuts out conflict between "the blacks" and "the whites" and replaces it with ordinary democratic competition between great varieties of interest groups.

If a local white community is strong on "own" neighbourhood, it legislates accordingly. Central government cannot crack a whip to order it into line, but its legislation will be jeopardised if there is enough hostility for outside forces — central or regional authorities, or adjoining black

areas — to set out to act against it.

To secure its desires, that community thus acts to minimise hostility. It seeks local black support by upgrading the black township, settling grievances and generally giving credence to the black factions which place priority on harmony.

At the same time there are forces seeking radical changes working on those same black people, keeping the conservative faction constantly on the hop and offering more and better results from more radical routes, the price of which might be disruption.

The same principles apply to all issues, local or national. All political forces can build local power bases and all compete fairly on a sound foundation for broader acquiescence.

As to what specific outcomes may be, intensive democracy has nothing to say. It does say that whatever they are, they are arrived at in a manner which short-changes no one.

● TOMORROW: Does white intransigence or black radicalism make democracy impossible?

Business heads against apartheid, poll shows

ARGUS 12/3/86
30KAT

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Most business executives in South Africa want the fast removal of the basic pillars of apartheid, according to a nationwide survey released today.

Singled out as priorities for reform are influx control and racial segregation everywhere — from beaches to universities.

The survey was carried out by Professor Jill Nattrass, of the Development Studies Unit of Natal University, and spelled out at a national convention in Sandton to find new strategies for the future of the whole industrial sector.

Influx control

Among the findings:

- 93 percent of business managers want an end to influx control.

- 89 percent demand the scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act.

- More than 90 percent want an end to segregation in transport and entertainment facilities.

- 87 percent want full racial integration at universities and on the beaches.

- 82 percent seek the removal of the Group Areas Act.

- 60 percent say the tricameral parliamentary system should go.

- The imprisonment of black leaders is condemned by 61 percent.

Stability

The survey polled opinions among managers of all political persuasions, although Professor Nattrass found evidence of a pronounced swing to the Progressive Federal Party among younger executives.

The results, she said, underscored the need for political change to restore stability.

Significantly, there was a marked drop in concern about the prospects of political unrest in the year 2000 as compared to 1990, although concern about the importance of black nationalism increased.

Management now clearly accepts that politics and economics are intertwined," she said in a summary of results. "And 87 percent said they believed political reform to be a prerequisite for a sustainable economic recovery."

'Business can beat apartheid'

GRAHAMSTOWN. — The South African business community had power it still had not unleashed in the battle to do away with apartheid, said Mr Raymond Ackerman, managing director of Pick'n Pay.

Speaking to students at Rhodes University, Mr Ackerman said although businessmen had fought for housing rights and were now fighting for the scrapping of pass laws, he believed they still had power and strength they had not used sufficiently.

Businessmen were often maligned as people who were part of the system.

"But we want the total abolition of apartheid, we want the rule of law established in this country and we want citizenship for all," he said.

"CYNICISM"

"Some people may say we are doing this because of boycotts and the disinvestment threat.

"I understand their cynicism but some of us have been doing this for up to 15 years.

"The irony is that the more we fight for apartheid to go, the more we are boycotted because we have white faces," Mr Ackerman said.

While some people might see a revolution as the answer and others chose a siege economy in which whites hung to their privileges there were still a mass of people who wanted a peaceful South Africa.

Mr Ackerman urged students to involve themselves in social awareness programmes admitting he himself had not spoken enough to black leaders before last year. — Sapa.

Parliament and Politics

KwaNatal plan may suit govt

Political Staff

THE KwaNatal plan for closer co-operation at executive and administrative level between Natal and KwaZulu is already provided for in legislation the government has been working on for some time.

It appears that the proposals put to the government in Cape Town yesterday by the Natal Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will fit neatly into plans for future provincial tier government.

Cabinet

Nationalist sources suggested yesterday it will provide for close co-operation on a regional basis and would probably satisfy the needs of Natal/KwaZulu as put to Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development,

yesterday.

Mr Heunis said at a press conference after yesterday's talks that the proposals would be submitted to the cabinet.

If, as is thought, the proposals fit into current government thinking, the KwaNatal plan could start operating by the middle of the year.

Chief Buthelezi said that he and Mr Frank Martin had formally informed Mr Heunis that their ultimate goal was a joint legislature.

Rejection of the KwaNatal proposals would confirm the views of people who said there was no future in a negotiated settlement and that fighting was the only thing left, the chief said at the press conference.

Savings

Natal and KwaZulu could save millions of rand a year through proposals for joint administration of the two regions, Mr Cadman said yesterday in a memorandum.

"For example, we believe that annual savings of between R2 million and R4 million are possible should both KwaZulu and ourselves purchase pharmaceutical requirements jointly," he said.

"This is only one example and I can assure you there are many others.

"In fact, we have identified 14 other fields of co-operation such as road traffic, education,

libraries, computers, planning, nature conservation and recreation, roads and the creation of employment opportunities ...

"The body we have in mind would, dependent on the nature of the function concerned, have to account to Parliament, the Legislative Assembly of KwaZulu, the Natal Exco or the KwaZulu Cabinet as the case may be.

"Equal representation would be afforded to both Natal and KwaZulu, the chairmanship will alternate on a mutually agreed basis, and decisions will be by consensus.

Disagreement

"In the event of a disagreement, the matter will be referred to the Administrator of Natal and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu jointly for determination."

Mr Cadman said provision could be made for joint occasional and standing committees of the JEA and the creation of statutory bodies similar in concept to the Natal Parks, Game and Fish Preservation Board, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission and others which would be responsible to the JEA.

He said the meeting was of historic significance "because I believe the welfare of the people we represent can be greatly improved were the government to accept our proposals".

Summit

SALDRU

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

U.C.T.

on SA

promises progress

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — A summit of South African, US and British business executives held at Leeds Castle on Monday appears to have made substantial progress towards an international business consensus on South Africa.

The convener of the meeting, the Rev Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Principles, yesterday described the meeting as "encouraging".

But he would not comment further on the all-day meeting at the secluded castle in Kent.

The three South Africans present at the closed meeting were Premier Milling's Mr Tony Bloom, Barlow Rand's Mr Mike Rosholt and the Urban Foundation's Mr Jan Steyn.



Mr Steyn

Pressure

Mr Steyn, director of the U.F., made an address to the conference in which he stressed the major role being played by South African business with "well-directed" reformist pressure on the government.

It is understood that the broad consensus at the meeting was that both SA business and international companies would have to step up pressure for change if the threat of total disinvestment and trade boycotts were to be averted. There was an appreciative understanding of the role of organized

business — particularly the FCI's Business Charter and Assocom's proposals for a non-racial federation — in promoting the climate for negotiation.

There was discussion about the contact last year between leading SA businessmen and the African National Congress and similar contacts between the ANC and British and US businessmen.

There were no specific proposals about follow-up meetings with the ANC, it is understood.

The meeting also reviewed the imposition of

limited sanctions by the Reagan Administration, the EEC and the Commonwealth and the impact of the foreign-debt crisis on the SA economy.

There was also a discussion on the recent moves by General Motors in Port Elizabeth and the government reaction to its commitment to assist "legally and financially" any of its 30 000 employees who defied the local beach apartheid laws.

Mr Bloom said that the Leeds meeting was another in a series of such meetings.

Constructive

"It involved a constructive exchange of views between people who had interests in South Africa," he said.

Mr Rosholt and Mr Steyn could not be reached for comment yesterday.

A spokesman for the former British prime minister, Mr Edward Heath, who chaired the meeting, said that he had "no comment" to make on the meeting.

Mr Sullivan referred further enquiries to Mr Bloom and Mr Rosholt.

PARLIAMENT — Partition could not succeed if it was forced on one group by another, or by outsiders on the people involved, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

He was replying to debate on a private member's motion by Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) that the House affirm partition as the only policy that ensured political self-determination, financial stability, economic welfare and security for the State and the individual.

Mr Heunis said the source of the conflict potential in South Africa was the heterogeneity of the country's population in terms of diversity of peoples, geographical spread and differences in rate of development.

A generally accepted set of common values was a key element in the search for a political solution, he said.

According to Mr Langley's motion, partition was held out as the only viable alternative for South Africa.

Partition was based on the premise that the dividing lines in society were so sharp that the values and interests of the various regions or groups were fundamentally irreconcilable, and

Let's search for common values, says Heunis

that total geographical separation was the only way out.

To be successful, partition had to meet certain conditions.

It had to be practical in terms of the realities of society.

It was only possible if all those involved saw it as the only remaining alternative for the problem, said Mr Heunis.

It had to be the result of negotiation between the various interest groups and had to be the chosen method to defuse conflict.

From these conditions it was clear that partition, like any other alternative, was no instant solution to the country's problems.

The CP held out partition as a panacea for all the problems of society. This was a simplistic approach, said Mr Heunis.

It was criminal to go out and get support from people on the basis of this escapism. — Sapa.

The safe way off the tiger's back

White South Africa is in the position of the man on the back of the tiger. We want to get off, but can't see a way of getting off safely.

Denis Beckett, editor of Frontline magazine, concludes his series on "intensive democracy".

Intensive democracy provides that way — a way that does not merely dispose of the particular conflict which currently curses us but also provides a lasting framework for healthy further development.

However, it combats the prevailing belief that an untraumatic future is out of the question and is apt to be initially perceived as over-optimistic.

One objection is that it is impossible to expect the whites to swallow universal franchise. Some people like the rest of the argument — high devolution and pyramids of authority — but want it on a basis of something other than the dreaded one man one vote. This is like wanting to have dams without having water. Without universal franchise there is no democracy and no stability.

White people assume that a society without minority protection is ultra-left. But intensive democracy is not left at all. It has no position on the right-left continuum. It is a basis on which political debates can be effectively resolved.

It gives a Botha or a Treurnicht no less than a Suzman or a Tutu a basis which enables their supporters to best pursue their real interests — way of life, security, jobs and general welfare, and notably the welfare of living in peace and confidence instead of turmoil.

This proposition obviously takes a certain amount of wearing in. But the wearing-in need not be lengthy.

First, believing the political process to be finally a holding operation against the future, many white people suffer from a feeling of progressing towards a locked door. Intensive democracy offers a way of turning the key.

Second, we are in the unusual position where our rulers know they can

not go on ruling forever and have a strong incentive to debar one repression being replaced by another.

Third, unlike conventional anti-apartheid avenues, intensive democracy does not call upon the white conservative to abandon his concerns. It tells him that he can live the life he wants to live better in intensive democracy than by sustaining apartheid.

It offers him security beyond apartheid and it offers the recovery of the rand and the economy, the end of polecat status, and peace.

We are already seeing much drastic change in white attitudes, change which is mainly limited by the continuing fear that finally the future is a bad place. It is not through bloody-mindedness that the average white man is prepared to go through decay and violence and odium to preserve his constitutional separation. It is because he sees the alternative as suicide. If he has a future to look forward to, the cardinal cause of conflict is removed.

It is also alleged that intensive democracy "asks the blacks to be moderate". It does no such thing. It does not ask anyone to be anything other than what he wants to be. It simply states that where people are effectively free to seek their own progress, majorities gravitate towards peaceable methods.

Given the extent of the splits and fears and prejudices in South Africa, ordinary freedom is not enough, which is why it is necessary to exag-

gerate freedom. In intensive democracy there is no single controlling majority, but a profusion of majorities and minorities creating a full and strong infrastructure.

Quite why "the blacks" should be expected to conduct themselves destructively in such a system, mystifies me. They acquire the most effective weapon yet invented, the reusable vote. They acquire it in a structure which maximises its power.

There is no need to wish or hope that people will use it "responsibly" — a concept whose meaning is totally subjective. However they use it, the only way it achieves anything is through the democratic process.

Nor do people need to "understand democracy". There is nothing to understand. All that it takes to make democracy work is variety of choice. The bigger the variety, the greater the number of sites of power, the stronger the democratic web.

What I have said in this series is but a bare outline, necessarily inadequate to settle any of the questions it raises. Some of those questions are discussed in my book "Permanent Peace". To others I do not claim to have any answers at all.

However, I suggest that the principle should not be discarded because of holes in the argument. The claim I am making is that there is an avenue available for establishing health and contentment in South Africa.

If there is even the smallest chance that this claim could be correct, or could be made correct through adequate expansion and examination, people who seek a sound South Africa should contribute towards that examination.

US should stand aloof from Botha government

Sometime in the next two decades, South Africa will probably witness a transfer of power to its black majority. The question is not whether change will come, but when and how.

What will this mean for the United States? It may in fact mean considerably less than many people assume.

South Africa's major importance for us stems from its rich assortment of minerals. Four of these — chromium, manganese, platinum and vanadium — are among the 27 we classify as strategic minerals.

The most vital is chromium, which is essential for the production of corrosion-free steel used for military aircraft, ships and tanks. There are no substitutes for it in the making of superalloys used in aircraft and nuclear-power systems.

Threat can be met

Because it is found only in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Russia, the United States National Materials Advisory Board determined in 1978 that America was even more vulnerable to a chromium embargo than it was to a petroleum embargo.

Only one scenario thus holds extreme danger for the United States — if Russia, South Africa and Zimbabwe conspired to withhold chromium from the West — and such a threat can be dealt with through a stockpiling programme.

Embargoes of the other minerals could probably be circumvented, at high cost. Factories would have to be retooled and techniques devised to use alternatives, but this cannot be counted on.

So, while a temporary stoppage of the flow of minerals would neither jeopardise America's security nor inflict prohibitive injury on its industry, continued access to the minerals is a clear priority.

Majority rule in South Africa, even if it results in the installation of a government unadmiring of the US, will not seriously jeopardise any major American interests.

Barring a monumental shift in global trading patterns, it is reasonable to expect that American and South African economic interests will remain complementary over the long term, even if Soviet influence should increase.

Whether Americans like it or not, South Africa's future is going to be determined by South Africans, writes Robert Shepard, assistant professor of political science at Colgate University in the US.

The US is likely to remain dependent on South Africa for minerals, while South Africa remains dependent on the US as a market and a source of technology.

What is certain is that the policies currently proposed in the US will do little either to prevent or to hasten SA's apparently inevitable fate.

The Administration's "constructive engagement" policy has failed to deliver on any of its promises. Its basic assumption — that white moderates would come to the fore and end apartheid — has been betrayed by a regime that declares unabashedly that real change will never be seen.

As for economic sanctions, they offer only a blunt tool for long-distance social engineering. Real sanctions could damage the South African economy, but their ability to bring about the goals their proponents desire is uncertain.

At best, they could budge South Africa toward moderate reform; at worst, they could bring to power the ideological right, or even the South African military.

No real power

Nor is there a viable middle party that the United States can help to turn into a future government. Moderates abound — Bishop Desmond Tutu, the United Democratic Front's Ntatho Motlana, the Progressive Federal Party, members of the business community and even the more moderate members of the African National Congress — and they share a strong desire to resolve their country's problems peaceably.

Combined, they may represent a majority of South Africans. But as is so often the case in polarised political situations, they have no real power and little say.

What then should America do? One possibility that has been almost completely ignored is a policy of disengagement.

With such a strategy, we would take the position that we would deal with anyone who governs South Afri-

ca. We would deal with the current Government so long as it is in power, but distance ourselves from it and do business with it on a minimal basis.

All support for it — political, economic and rhetorical — would be terminated. We would not stand in the way of change when it came and we would be prepared to deal with those who acceded to power.

Such a policy would find no favour with those who believe South Africa is a perfect place for America to demonstrate its resolve. But such people fail to take account of our broader interests.

To support a minority-based government, with a questionable future, in an area where peripheral interests are at stake, is plain bad strategy. Support for South Africa does not demonstrate our resolve; it only ties us to a losing cause whose beliefs we do not even share.

Tiny organisation

Disengagement would be equally offensive to those who would like to support the African National Congress. The trouble is that the congress is a tiny organisation with vast numbers of supporters; it is, for all practical purposes, better viewed as a concept than a political organisation.

While its leadership claims to be pledged to democratic principles, there is no reason to believe they will be upheld in the future. As America has little ability to mould the congress, the only wise policy is to wait and see what the future brings and defer decisions about our relationship with black South Africa.

To view South Africa as a square on a global chessboard, a stop on a freedom march or stage on which we can show resolve or atone for the sins of our own past is to obscure the realities of a complex and extraordinary situation. Far better to acknowledge the facts: whether we like it or not, South Africa's future is going to be determined by South Africans. — *New York Times*.

PFP chief to visit Jo-burg

12/3/86 30449
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The new leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, is to visit the Johannesburg area next week as part of a national tour to boost party morale.

Mr Eglin will also be holding a public meeting in Rosebank on Tuesday to reassure party supporters of the effectiveness of the PFP's new leadership.

He will talk of the PFP's commitment to opposing the Government and apartheid by staying in Parliament, while at the same time continuing to build bridges between the country's various groups outside Parliament.

The PFP leader has recently visited Durban and the Eastern Cape as part of his national tour.

POLITICAL REPORT

Partition plan comes under fire

Govt and Opposition unite against CP 'pipe dream'

12/5/86

Political Staff

STAR

30/1/87

PARLIAMENT — The Government and the official Opposition in the House of Assembly have rejected the Conservative Party's partition plan for South Africa.

The plan, based on the concept of hard-line apartheid, was denounced as a pipe dream and a fantasy that could only lead to conflict and violence.

Speakers of the right-wing parties, on the other hand, claimed the Government's moves towards racial integration would lead to conflict.

There were sharp clashes when the issue was discussed during a debate on a private member's motion.

Before the Assembly was a motion from Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) seeking approval of partition as the only policy that would ensure political self-determination, financial stability, economic welfare and security for the State and the individual.

Introducing his motion, Mr Langley argued that partition had been successful in some countries and that former Nationalist prime ministers had accepted racial segregation as the only course for South Africa.

Rejecting Mr Langley's argument, Mr Val Volker (NP, Klip River) said wherever partition had been applied in other countries it had been accompanied by war and economic instability. He said partition could not work in South Africa. "It is only a dream."

Mr Nic Olivier (PFP, Nominated) said partition, as a political solution, had to be acceptable to both parties involved.

It could not be used if it were to be enforced unilaterally by a decision of one group.

The concept that South African territory belonged to whites



Mr Tom Langley . . . sought approval of partition.



Mr Val Volker . . . "it is only a dream".

only was no longer acceptable.

Mr Olivier asked whether the Conservative Party would accept a one-sided decision by black people on how the country was to be divided in a partitioned South Africa.

He said any attempt to enforce partition would lead to a conflict situation worse than anything so far experienced in South Africa.

Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP, Umbilo) said the CP's partition plan was a pipe dream which would put whites in the position of having to rescue poverty-stricken masses. There would be little security for anybody even if partition were possible.

Mr Louis Stoffberg (HNP, Sasolburg) said the Government's policy of power-sharing was depriving whites of rights which were being given to others. The Afrikaner people would never sacrifice their independence.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, rejected the CP's plan as escapism which could not succeed.

B. DAY

304A 12/3/85

How SA's debt deal was put together . . .

MURRAY: What — from your perspective — was the real cause of SA declaring a debt standstill?

LEUTWILER: It originated in growing pressure on the American banks. There was more pressure in America than Europe. The American bankers started calculating the pluses and minuses. Clearly the most significant pressure came from important institutional customers, who said simply that they would not do business with the banks unless they withdrew from SA. The first bank reacting to this pressure was Chase Manhattan.

Don't ask me whether this was a well-considered step — I just don't know. But the same thing happened in a different country where I was involved — Hungary. Hungary came under pressure after the political crisis in Poland, because many banks assumed that Hungary would be unable to repay or service. Her debt banks decided not to renew short-term deposits.

The problem with both countries — Hungary and SA — was that short-term commitments were too high. There is no country in the world that can repay all its short-term debts, even when the proportion of short-term debts is much lower. That is absolutely impossible. And if one bank, such as a big American bank, starts the process, then a chain reaction is almost inevitable.

To be honest, a general withdrawal of short-term funds did not happen in SA's case. It was mainly US banks, certainly not European and very few British banks, which started the process. But this, combined with some capital flight from SA, for which you cannot blame the bankers, was sufficient to create difficulties, to make it impossible for the SA Reserve Bank to cover these outflows of capital. SA's exchange reserves were limited. But this was not typically a SA problem — it could have happened anywhere.

But there was political pressure. I know that from the US banks. They were faced with the risk of losing very important customers or starting this chain reaction against SA. Confronted with this problem, they chose the latter.

PRESUMABLY, a more thorough examination of SA's situation revealed a set of serious problems which determined the way the more neutral institutions reacted?

LET'S BE clear about one thing: SA is much less important to the big US banks than a South American country.

A US bank would have considered the matter many times before withdrawing from a big Latin American country — Mexico, Brazil or Argentina. Any banker knows that what is at stake in SA is less important because SA's external debt is much less than the big Latin American countries where American banks are more exposed. This had an impact, too.

WHAT were the circumstances that led to your involvement?

TWO MONTHS before I was first asked, I took over at BBC — as chairman of the board of a company that has problems, and is not very profitable. I thought I had more than a full-time job here. Then at the end of August the SA government declared the standstill.

I have been interested in SA for a long time. I first went there as the guest of the Governor of the Reserve Bank seven years ago. I was on very good terms with the former Minister of Finance, Owen Horwood.

I tried to help SA while I was still at the Swiss National Bank when the country had difficulties raising international capital because there was a ceiling on SA borrowings, even in Switzerland. You could call me a friend of the country — not of any particular regime. Not that I like everything that happens in SA, mind you.

One day early in September a Swiss banker called me and said there was a job for me as mediator. Shortly after that Governor De Kock visited Switzerland. Not a very successful trip, to say the least. On his visit, some (non-Swiss) bankers mentioned my name to De Kock, along with that of Lord Richardson, the former Governor of the Bank of England. He came to see me and we discussed the matter. I said I would think about it.

The first thing I did was to call the

FRITZ LEUTWILER, Swiss banker/ economist/businessman and mediator in SA's debt resettlement, talking to HUGH MURRAY, publisher and editor of Leadership . . .

deal with the problem.

My feeling was always that, in view of the political situation, we could not proceed as we would have with a Latin American country by asking for a multi-year rescheduling. The SCC did not share my view. They thought they could come forward with a very ambitious programme for a multi-year rescheduling.

WHAT HAPPENED to the proposal put by the South Africans — how was it received?

AT THE end of November, my SA partners said they wanted a multi-year rescheduling. I said this was much too ambitious. The SCC insisted on sending this proposal to the major creditor banks. It went out through my channels, but not as my proposal. I did not, however, tell the banks it was not a good proposal. I just sent it out as the SA proposal.

The reaction was absolutely disastrous. I had immediately to travel to New York for a meeting with the bankers — and at a very senior level.

They called me names, because in a way I was identified with this proposal — though they knew it was not mine. They said the proposal was counter-productive. They said it was arrogant of SA to ask for a multi-year rescheduling, and not to offer anything to the banks. Maybe with hindsight it was useful to send out such a proposal, because when I came up with my own it was received rather more positively. It was in contrast to the SA proposal.

WAS YOUR proposal largely accepted?

NOT ONLY largely! I did not make a proposal on technical questions, if you

'The bankers' reaction was absolutely disastrous'

don't call interest rates and duration technical. My proposal concerned the substance of an interim debt settlement. This was accepted. I said, take it or leave it. I will not modify it.

Then in January I went to SA to discuss my proposal with the SCC and the Finance Minister, and to meet the State President because of the political background to this problem. I did not present my proposal; it was not ready at that time. But I told the South Africans about my ideas.

They, of course, were reluctant to accept my ideas on a short-term solution because it gave them a relatively limited breathing space, with costly repayments. But I said the banks wanted a token payment as a demonstration of goodwill.

Then, the relatively generous interest rate had to be offered to the banks because of the political background. It would have been easy with, for example, the Swiss and German banks. It was much more difficult with the US banks. You have to consider the lowest common denominator, and this was acceptance by the US banks.

SOME SA bankers feel that the creditor banks pressed far too hard on interest, because SA was already paying a punitive rate. Then came the additional 1%.

YOU CAN argue about whether it should be ¼% or 1%. But it could not have been less than ¼% in SA's position. I'm not talking about the political situation there, but the economic situation. In order to get this proposal through, I offered 1%, which is on the



□ LEUTWILER . . . "I said, take it or leave it. I will not modify it."

President if there were positive signals, if he meant business when talking about reform. I left SA knowing the signals would come. I said I needed something or I couldn't continue with my mission and be successful.

I went home, finalised my proposal and sent it out, not knowing if the international banking community would accept it. I told them it was a matter of "take it or leave it". I didn't see a future role for myself if those proposals were rejected either by SA or the banking community, or both.

The banks had about 10 days to examine and discuss the proposals before we got together in London.

THAT MUST have been a nerve-racking business.

ABSOLUTELY. Most of the banks were in favour, but in many cases they said yes, but . . . For example: Yes. They agreed in principle, but wanted more than 5%. I said it was 5%. That was my proposal. I examined the issue very carefully. I knew the numbers, I knew what the South Africans could afford.

Even at 5% it would be a heavy burden. I considered everything beyond 5% would be irresponsible and too heavy a burden for SA. I was ready to have a discussion between the banks and SA about the technicalities, but the 5% was not a technicality. Then I had to fight to get the proposal through.

WHAT WOULD have been the consequences for SA if the talks had come to a deadlock?

I THINK you will believe me when I say it was not a matter of reputation or prestige that made me say I would walk out if the proposals weren't accepted. I wrote the proposal to the best of my ability and I could not see an alternative which would be acceptable to both parties. The proposal went to the limits of SA's capacity.

I think there are probably people in SA who say: "To hell with our debts. For a while, maybe we'll pay interest, but for the rest we can be self-sufficient". I don't think these people are familiar with the financial consequences of such a solution. There would be a lot of court cases: SA aircraft would be attached, likewise ships. The lawyers would be happy and extremely busy.

HOW LONG will it take SA to regain its creditworthiness and international financial credibility?

IT DEPENDS very much on political developments in SA. The more reform policies appear in positive headlines, the more banks would be prepared to do business again.

HOW DID recent political events in the SA Parliament affect SA's image?

I WASN'T very happy about the argument between the President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, nor was I happy about the resignation of the Leader of the Opposition. But not many people in Europe or the US know much about SA.

WHAT HAPPENS in February 1987 when you meet again? What happens if SA hasn't been able to meet its short-term commitments to its foreign creditors by then?

I'M SURE you will be able to meet the financial commitments. There are some risks involved, but SA is strong enough, has good people and can meet its commitments. I don't see any problems. But what happens if you don't meet the political expectations? What happens if the world comes to the conclusion that it was words, words with no action in the right direction? What if not very much has happened after the end of January 1987? That would be disastrous.

Then I don't think it would even be worthwhile to call for a meeting with the banks. This pressure will remain, and the banks, not only those from the US, will review very carefully what happened, what was implemented. Now my hope is that many more things will be implemented, that reforms will continue and the heavy criticisms will disappear.

Of course, there will be some people next year who will not be satisfied with short-term one-man-one-vote, short of the blacks or the ANC taking power. But you have a chance now. And if you continue reforms, if the reforms announced by P.W. Botha are implemented, then there is a fair chance (of improved relations). My hope is that I won't be needed in February 1987, that the banks will be ready to negotiate.

INDIVIDUALLY?

THAT IS the most normal thing — individually. There will be banks who prefer to withdraw from SA. OK. They should feel free to do so. But I'm hoping no new agreement will be necessary. I hope we can achieve that. It is my target, and it should be your target, too. But it's unconditional that you make political progress in the sense that you must do away with apartheid — what is interpreted by the world as apartheid.

WHAT ABOUT the spirit in which the deal was struck on February 20 in London? Was it done with sufficient goodwill to make commitments stick? We won't have re-orientations halfway through the initial payment period, or bad blood between the parties, will we?

BE CAREFUL. There's no deal yet. It was a negotiation with the 30 major creditor banks representing about 70% of the total claims on SA. There are roughly another 230 banks involved. I need 100% or 99.9% positive response — at least.

Brazil or Argentina. Any banker knows that what is at stake in SA is

less important because SA's external debt is much less than the big Latin American countries where American banks are more exposed. This had an impact, too.

WHAT were the circumstances that led to your involvement?

TWO MONTHS before I was first asked, I took over at BBC — as chairman of the board of a company that has problems, and is not very profitable. I thought I had more than a full-time job here. Then at the end of August the SA government declared the standstill.

I have been interested in SA for a long time. I first went there as the guest of the Governor of the Reserve Bank seven years ago. I was on very good terms with the former Minister of Finance, Owen Horwood.

I tried to help SA while I was still at the Swiss National Bank when the country had difficulties raising international capital because there was a ceiling on SA borrowings, even in Switzerland. You could call me a friend of the country — not of any particular regime. Not that I like everything that happens in SA, mind you.

One day early in September a Swiss banker called me and said there was a job for me as mediator. Shortly after that Governor De Kock visited Switzerland. Not a very successful trip, to say the least. On his visit, some (non-Swiss) bankers mentioned my name to De Kock, along with that of Lord Richardson, the former Governor of the Bank of England. He came to see me and we discussed the matter. I said I would think about it.

The first thing I did was to call the President of the Swiss Confederation, a personal friend of mine, and ask if my involvement would cause my country any harm. If he had said it would, I could not have done the job. I then asked the general managers of Brown Boveri how they would react. Some were positive, others reluctant because they thought the job would be too time-consuming. Also, my friends in the banks encouraged me to take the job. Finally, I said I would — on condition that all the major creditor banks agreed.

At the same time, Price Waterhouse and Partners approached me and offered their services as a support operation. I knew I couldn't do it alone. They're very capable people and they were of great help to me. The South Africans agreed to foot the bill, because I could not afford, nor was I willing, to pay them.

Price Waterhouse had to find out who the major creditors were. Then we had to get together with Dr Chris Stals and the Standstill Co-ordinating Committee (SCC) in order to establish the extent of the problem.

THAT WAS the first time you were able to get to grips with the problem?

WE ALL had an idea of the magnitude, but not the details. After a month or two we knew the amounts involved, and we were then able to

was absolutely disastrous

don't call interest rates and duration technical. My proposal concerned the substance of an interim debt settlement. This was accepted. I said, take it or leave it. I will not modify it.

Then in January I went to SA to discuss my proposal with the SCC and the Finance Minister, and to meet the State President because of the political background to this problem. I did not present my proposal; it was not ready at that time. But I told the South Africans about my ideas.

They, of course, were reluctant to accept my ideas on a short-term solution because it gave them a relatively limited breathing space, with costly repayments. But I said the banks wanted a token payment as a demonstration of goodwill.

Then, the relatively generous interest rate had to be offered to the banks because of the political background. It would have been easy with, for example, the Swiss and German banks. It was much more difficult with the US banks. You have to consider the lowest common denominator, and this was acceptance by the US banks.

SOME SA bankers feel that the creditor banks pressed far too hard on interest, because SA was already paying a punitive rate. Then came the additional 1%.

YOU CAN argue about whether it should be $\frac{3}{4}$ % or 1%. But it could not have been less than $\frac{3}{4}$ % in SA's position. I'm not talking about the political situation there, but the economic situation. In order to get this proposal through, I offered 1%, which is on the

'The proposals went to the limits of SA's capacity'

high side, I agree. But I had to offer something and I couldn't risk a failure. I could not run the risk of a refusal of my proposal by the banks. So it had to be relatively generous.

I was heavily criticised by some groups, who said I was going to bail out the South Africans. Obviously, I had to be independent. I went on radio and television, gave interviews to the Press, in which I criticised apartheid — not for tactical reasons, but because I don't like the policy and have never liked it.

I think I have some understanding for your political problems, but apartheid goes against my beliefs. I was very critical of apartheid. In turn, I was criticised in SA. Some people said I was a financial mediator and should not get involved in politics, but they stated quite clearly when I met with them for the first time in London that they expected some positive political signals from Pretoria. After all, they had to sell any proposals to their creditors and they needed political assurances.

The purpose of my trip to SA earlier this year was to ask the State

ready to have a discussion between the banks and SA about the technicalities, but the 5% was not a technicality. Then I had to fight to get the proposal through.

WHAT WOULD have been the consequences for SA if the talks had come to a deadlock?

I THINK you will believe me when I say it was not a matter of reputation or prestige that made me say I would walk out if the proposals weren't accepted. I wrote the proposal to the best of my ability and I could not see an alternative which would be acceptable to both parties. The proposal went to the limits of SA's capacity.

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know much about SA. All we know is what we read in the newspapers and see on television, which is mostly bad news. I blame the media and the SA government. The government could do a lot more

public relations, to put it mildly.

WHAT are your impressions of the ANC?

I'VE HAD some experiences with communists, but to put it bluntly, I'm reluctant to shake hands with a communist without counting my fingers afterwards. I don't trust them. My impression of the ANC is that it does not represent the blacks.

DO YOU really believe that SA can find a way out of its problems?

YOU TALKED about the businessmen. Listen to your businessmen. I strongly and honestly believe SA can do it. I'm an economist. Maybe I think too much in economic terms. But talking to many blacks, coloureds and Indians, I came to the conclusion that what they want, first and foremost, is peace for their children, no discrimination and a better standard of living. They know that their standard of living — although they are discriminated against — is still so much better than the standard of living of their black brothers in other African countries.

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Initial

BECAUSE
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I response

1st, March 12, 1986

Rightists causing white backlash?

A WHITE backlash is being actively encouraged and exploited by the Conservative Party and its political lookalikes in their political battle against the National Party.

Hardly a day goes by in Parliament without the CP claiming that it is the only party representing the real feelings of whites and protecting the interests of whites.

At the same time the party does everything it can to embarrass the Government.

The basis of the campaign is to create the perception that the Government's unclear and resistant moves towards powersharing are a handover to radical black government.

Example

The major example this year was the rapid reaction of the CP to the statement by Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, predicting the possibility of a black president.

It would then be possible, CP spokesmen said, for African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, to fill the post.

(It was this argument that apparently got President P W Botha to



CONSERVATIVE Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

slap down his Foreign Minister so harshly.)

This was one of the more serious examples but there are plenty more in the blatant exploitation of white fears.

For example questions asked after the dropping of race as a qualification for immigration.

Did this mean, the CP asked, that the Government now intended opening immigration offices in Pakistan and India?

One of its favourite subjects however is expenditure. CP members try repeatedly to imply the blacks pay little in

the way of taxes but are the main beneficiaries of the Government coffers.

CP members have used this argument to the full in the on-going drought and have more recently also implied this in the railway pay increases controversy.

In recent months the CP campaign of the exploitation of white prejudices and fears have taken a new, and to their political opponents, dangerous slant.

Oppose

There have been ambiguous calls by CP leaders for whites to stand firm and oppose the Government as well as a closed contact with the ultra right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB has made little attempt to hide its militarism or the fact that it is run on lines similar to the defunct Ossewa Brandwag, which became involved in subversive actions during World War II.

Quite what Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht hopes to gain from his association with the AWB with its contempt of democracy he has yet to explain properly.

The AWB stands for a one-party state with an executive president heading and Afrikaner

dictatorship.

All he has got around to saying so far is that he has the assurance that the AWB will act within the law.

Senior Conservative Party member MP Frank le Roux denies the CP is deliberately exploiting the fears of whites to gain political advantage.

All the CP was doing was mustering its forces to be ready in the case of a general election or by-election.

"The CP is not irresponsible like the Government which is surrendering white rights."

Mr le Roux says the white backlash is caused by Government action and that it has reached a critical stage.

"Any spark could now cause a rumpus."

"An example of a spark would be the intensification of ANC actions or the April ultimatum of ANC linked organisations to renew the school boycotts."

Angry

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's only representative in Parliament, Mr Louis Stofberg, said the recent by-election had proved a swing to the right because whites were becoming angry.

The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly. Com-

"They are resentful of integration."

The Government should realise that whites were slow to anger and it should not assume that everyone was in favour of reform.

If they could not "regain their freedom through democracy" they would have very few options left.

"So far whites had only used violence in self-defence."

"The HNP interestingly will have nothing to do with the AWB."

Mr Chris Rencken MP, the National Party's chief information officer, says he has no doubt that the CP and the AWB and to some extent the HNP are trying to create a white backlash against powersharing with blacks in a constitutional structure.

Shootings

"Mr Treurnicht is particularly active at the moment on a rabble rousing trail of meetings throughout the country."

"Even if the CP and AWB do not espouse violence the kind of climate they create by rabble rousing is potentially dangerous and leads to acts of violence from people with a low tolerance."

Mr Rencken gave as examples the recent shootings of black pedestrians.

While he did not attribute these actions to the CP or the AWB or their policies "I think they are the direct result of people being incited into a frenzy designed to create a white backlash".

The actions of the right-wing were not only directly dangerous but also suicidal for whites and the country in the long run as it made the possibility of finding peaceful co-existence even more difficult.

Political comment in this issue is by J. J. J. J.

Leutwiler: P.W. holds the key

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THE re-establishment of SA's creditworthiness and international financial credibility depends very much on political developments, foreign debt mediator Fritz Leutwiler told *Leadership* magazine in an interview published yesterday. "The more reform policies appear in positive headlines the more banks would be prepared to do business again," he was quoted as saying.

But he warned that if by the end of January next year the "world comes to the conclusion that it was words, words with no action in the right direction", then "I don't think it would even be worthwhile to call for a meeting with the banks". In terms of his proposals the SA foreign debt situation will be reviewed in February next year.

Leutwiler said he hoped that, provided there were moves on announced reforms and apartheid was done away with, no new agreement would be necessary as banks would negotiate with SA individually.

He also stressed that a deal had yet to be struck and that the agreement of about 230 other creditor banks was still needed.

● See Page 6



Dr Slabbert

Argus 12/3/86
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Slabbert accepts UCT lecturing post

Education Reporter

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, has accepted a teaching post at the University of Cape Town.

This was confirmed today by a UCT spokesman.

"Dr Slabbert has accepted a visiting professorship in the department of sociology at UCT from July 1 to December 31

this year," the spokesman said.

He emphasised that the appointment was on "academic grounds".

AND 1987?

"Dr Slabbert will be teaching in our undergraduate and graduate programmes as a fully operative member of the department and it is a fully academic appointment," he said.

He said there were "no firm

arrangements at this stage" about 1987.

Dr Slabbert, who announced his shock resignation as leader of the PFP last month, lectured in UCT's sociology department in 1972.

He lectured in sociology at Stellenbosch University from 1964 to 1971 with the exception of a year lecturing at Rhodes University.

Whipping 'a barbaric, outmoded punishment'

March 1986

There are a number of non-contentious clauses in this Bill. And there are some good provisions in the clauses which relate to the penalty of whipping. Thus clause 17 has a proviso which we welcome — that a whipping should not be imposed in addition to any sentence of imprisonment with or without the option of a fine, unless the whole or part of that imprisonment is suspended.

This goes some way to meet review judgments which Judge Goldstone made recently.

Then too, clause 18 deletes one of the offences for which a whipping may be imposed (bestiality or an act of gross indecency committed by one male on another). And it also limits the imposition of a whipping in cases of culpable homicide to those in which an assault is involved.

It is a pity the Minister did not remove from the list of offences carrying the penalty of whipping all those unrelated to violence.

That way he would have carried out the recommendations of several learned judges. He should also have made a distinction in law between violence against property and violence against persons.

Then there are the recommendations made way back in '47 by the Lansdown Commission that the number of strokes should be limited to five in the case of juveniles and that a whipping should never be imposed more than twice.

However, notwithstanding the improvements that are contained in the clauses affecting whipping, and even if the improvements I have just suggested had been incorporated in the Bill, we would have still opposed the second reading because the Bill adds to the offences which carry the penalty of whipping and we are in principle opposed to this barbaric and outmoded form of punishment, long since abandoned by Western communities.

In South Africa, between '52 and '65 whipping was actually mandatory for certain offences... After discretion of the courts was restored, there was a sharp drop in sentences of whipping; recently it has again increased.

Although statistics of juvenile whippings are not kept, I have no doubt that the number of strokes

The PFP's spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, spoke in the House of Assembly yesterday on the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill. This is a shortened version of her speech.

imposed each year is horrendous. It is well known that our lower courts place great reliance on corporal punishment, especially for juvenile cases.

What then of this Bill? It is no doubt the product of the Working Group of the Prisons Department, which investigated overcrowding of prisons in 1984.

Clause 18 adds to the list of offences for which a whipping can be imposed. They are: murder where the death sentence is not imposed, arson or malicious injury to property, public violence or sedition.

The hope obviously is that thereby the number of people sent to jail will be reduced. Yet a paper produced by Professor van Zyl Smit and Ms Offen of the department points out that "there is no evidence that increased use of whipping will provide anything but a very short-term solution to the problem of prison overcrowding".

Nor is there any evidence that whipping reduces the number of future prison inhabitants. As long ago as 1938 the Cadogan Committee in Britain found that 75 percent of young people who had been sentenced to whipping in two English court jurisdictions were reconvicted within two years.

Moreover, the 1960 British Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders stated that "there is no evidence that corporal punishment is an especially effective deterrent to criminal action".

From a psychological point of view, Professor Smit points out that there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that whipping actually increases the violence of a society.

Eminent judges such as Judge Fannin, Judge Steenkamp and Judge Botha have expressed their misgivings about the efficacy of whipping, though not calling for the abolition of this penalty.

Section 19 of this Bill lays down that males between the ages of 17 and 21 can be sentenced to a whipping plus any other sentence except

imprisonment with or without a fine, unless imprisonment is suspended.

What is the implication of this — surely that whipping alone has not been found to be a deterrent?

These sentences, it should be noted, are not subject to review by judges.

To sum up — the Government is resorting to tougher and tougher punishments. And it is doing so with strong political motivation.

These new offences for which a whipping can be imposed have clearly been designed to deal with persons involved in the unrest pervading the country.

Instead of tackling the grievances which are the underlying causes of the unrest, this retributive government resorts to brutal physical punishment discarded by the rest of the civilised world.

And once again the Government of South Africa is demonstrating its defiance of the social norms and human rights criteria adopted by the Western world.

Can it be that when the Government framed this Bill, and section 18 in particular, it had at the back of its mind the notion that what worked in 1953 — when the Whipping Bill was introduced to break the defiance campaign — will conceivably be effective today?

If so, the Government sadly misjudges the spirit abroad today among young blacks, especially in their determination to oppose the policies of the regime. Today they are prepared to die, let alone be whipped.

Although prison cells and police cells may echo with their cries when they are whipped, thereafter they will be out on the streets again — marching and singing songs of protest and defiance.

Only now they will be consumed with anger and hatred because of the degrading punishment that has been inflicted on them. If anything, they will be more than ever committed to the revolution.

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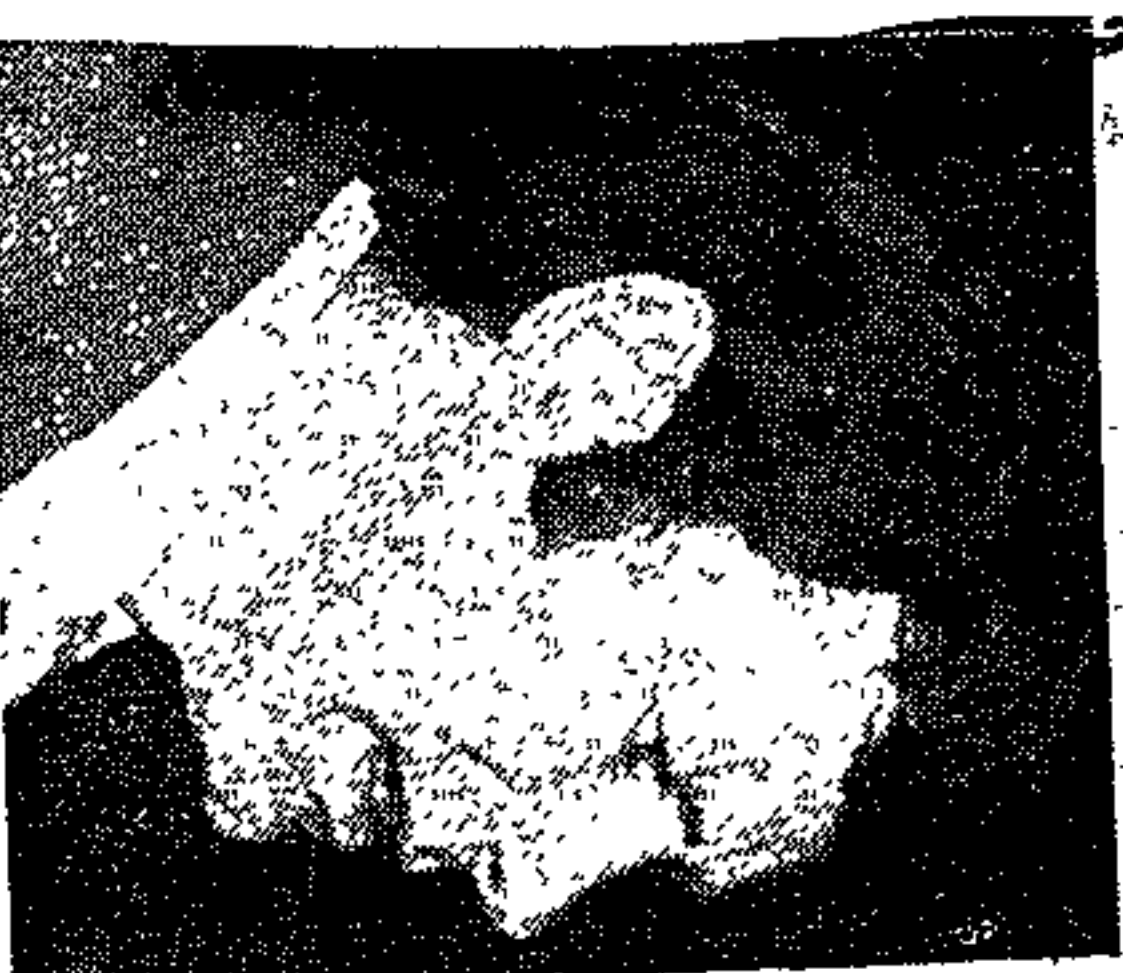
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Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress has given the assurance that it will renounce violence if the Government scraps apartheid, former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

But he told the Cape Town Press Club he did not think this would happen — and peaceful change was therefore impossible.

He said he had met the ANC in London. "I put it to them: Can I go back to South Africa



Dr Slabbert... his resignation from Parliament was not the result of a fit of pique.

SA caught in violent cycle — S

and tell them you will renounce violence if the Government restores freedom of choice, legalises the ANC, and releases Mandela?

"They said: 'You can go back and say it.'"

Dr Slabbert said that if the ANC was lying, the Government could call its bluff by scrapping apartheid. "If you don't call its bluff, you can be sure the violence will continue. If you scrap apartheid, there is a chance of ending the violence."

"The Government will lose nothing. If it restores freedom of choice it will still be in charge. It will still have the Defence Force, the police, and, God forbid, the Civil Service."

Dr Slabbert said he had undergone a fundamental shift in political thinking towards the end of last year.

"I no longer think conventional constitutional change is possible."

The events of 1985 and his own experience in Parliament had convinced him that South

Africa was going through a process of violent evolution.

"There cannot be peaceful change in South Africa. We are not going through peaceful change even now. But this does not mean there cannot be peace after violence. The question is to find a less, rather than a more, violent process of change."

Three events over the past three years had shifted his thinking: ● The implementation of the tricameral system made con-

ventional constitutional change impossible because it entrenched basic apartheid laws and constitutionally excluded blacks from Parliament. Parliament would not change itself, so the initiative for change had shifted outside Parliament.

● The move of troops from the border to the townships had militarised the internal conflict.

● And the State President had opened dialogue with the ANC by offering to release Mandel

The Star Thursday March 13 1986

17

Slabbert

if they renounced violence. This was a political and not a compassionate or humanitarian offer. And the response of the ANC was also political.

"They said if you reject apartheid, we will renounce violence. This is the only debate of any consequence in South Africa today. The rest is political pageantry."

Dr Slabbert also denied that he resigned from Parliament because of the controversial bugged interview with President Botha.

It was a political and not a personal statement. It was not the result of a psychological aberration or a fit of pique.

He said it might have made more sense to have resigned after the referendum on the tricameral constitution. That was when he had begun questioning the relevance of staying in Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said that though the tricameral Parliament could not bring about negotiated constitutional change, at first he saw it still as a forum for protest and opposition.

"The tradition of Helen Suzman shows that protest politics has its own dignity," he added.

3 DAY 13/3/86

'Promising' business summit about SA

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — A summit of South African, US and British business executives held at Leeds Castle on Monday appears to have made substantial progress towards an international business consensus on SA.

The convener of the meeting, the Rev Leon Sullivan, author of the Sullivan Principles, yesterday described the meeting as "encouraging".

But he would not comment further on the all-day meeting at secluded Leeds Castle in Kent.

The three South Africans present at the closed meeting were Premier Milling's Tony Bloom, Barlow Rand's Mike Rosholt and the Urban Foundation's (UF) Jan Steyn.



● ROSHOLT

Steyn, director of the UF, in an address to the conference, stressed the major role being played by South African business with "well-directed" reformist pressure on government.



● BLOOM

It is understood that the broad consensus at the meeting was that both SA business and international companies would have to step up pressure for change if the threat of total disinvestment and trade boycotts was to be averted.

There was an appreciative understanding of the role of organised business — particularly the FCI's Business Charter and Assocom's proposals for a non-racial federation — in promoting the climate for negotiation.

Govt is not coping with unrest

Slabbert sees no peaceful change

THERE could not be any peaceful change in South Africa, the former Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly and of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

He told the Cape Town Press Club this did not mean there could not be peace after the violence.

Government was not coping with the unrest situation and the events of 1985 had convinced him that SA was caught in a process of violent evolution, Slabbert said.

"I say there cannot be any peaceful change in South Africa — we are caught up in violence," he said.

The tricameral Parliament as an institution to implement negotiated constitutional change was "a farce." His resignation was no reflection on those who remained behind to oppose apartheid.

Slabbert said his conversation with State President P W Botha had not been the cause of his resignation. "That is a misunderstanding. It was in fact the culmination of a process and it could actually have made more sense to have re-

signed after the referendum."

Slabbert also denied that he had persuaded or advised anyone to go into the tricameral Parliament.

He made "no apologies whatsoever" for his actions.

He would continue to explore extra-parliamentary politics and if a political role crystallised for him, he would play it.

The manner in which government dealt with the ANC structured the manner in which it would deal with the rest, Slabbert said.

His negotiations with the ANC had led him to formulate a solution which had prompted the ANC to offer a cessation of violence if he could have it implemented.

His proposal, relayed to government during his conversation with the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard, called for: the repeal of all apartheid laws, the restoration of the freedom of choice and organisation, the unbanning of the ANC and the release of imprisoned leaders.

"Government has the option of calling the ANC's bluff. This is a first step in breaking the cycle of violence," Slabbert said. — Sapa.

Group of 7 sees PW Mandela

ARGUS 14/3/86

Political Staff

THE seven-member Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group has met imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and President P.W. Botha.

However, the meeting with President Botha was thought to have been fairly successful as it lasted for more than two hours.

The group has met a number of Cabinet Ministers, including the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and Foreign Minister Mr P.K. Botha.

Extra-Parliamentary politics

Is it not extraordinary how the average white South African shies away from the notion of extra-Parliamentary politics? It is almost as if it is something subversive, disloyal, or unpatriotic. The Government and its supporting media manages to give any extra-Parliamentary activity which they do not approve of a sinister quality.

Peaceful protest is made impossible by banning meetings. People nevertheless try to protest peacefully and in doing so behave unlawfully. Therefore their extra-Parliamentary protest becomes unlawful, unconstitutional, even subversive.

UDF, Black Sash and ECC meetings are banned. The PFP holds a meeting and offers them a platform to voice their protest peacefully. The PFP is accused of participating in extra-Parliamentary politics and circumventing the Government's intentions.

Has it ever occurred to the powers that be that no normal working democracy can exist without extra-Parliamentary politics? The whole American political tradition functions on special interest lobbies trying to influence political decisions. To be a lobbyist on "the Hill" can be an extraordinarily lucrative career in Washington.

Extra-Parliamentary forces can and often do determine who will be the next President of the US. How

FROM THE
OUTSIDE



LOOKING IN
Frederik van Zyl
Slabbart

else can one explain prospective candidates' sensitivity to the "feminist vote", the "gay lobby", the "moral majority", the "black vote", etc?.

And here in South Africa? Is there any way in which one can explain the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism and the eventual election victory of 1948 without taking into account the extra-Parliamentary role of the FAK, Broederbond, DRC, etc?

For quite a long time after 1948 it was more important to know what interest groups or activities that went on in the executive of the Broederbond than to listen to any

This is the first column of a regular fortnightly series by the former Leader of the Opposition.

304H

SAAC 14/3/85

debate in Parliament. Even today, a quiet urgent word in the ear of the State President from a powerful foreign banker often carries more weight than any well argued speech from a front-bencher in any of the three Houses.

Of course, in a "normal democracy", if a political party manages to capture the support of some major extra-Parliamentary interest groups, it stands a very good chance of becoming the Government. Not so in South Africa. A political party may enjoy the support of up to 80 percent of all the people in South Africa and it can still not become the Government. In fact, the Labour Party in the House of Representatives could have the support of Inkatha, Cosatu, UDF and numerically outperform the NP, say 10 to one, and it still will not be able to become the Government of the day.

The trick is, you have to have the majority of white votes in order to be the Government. Therefore, the Government will listen and look carefully at any extra-Parliamentary interest groups or activities that can have bearing on this situation: the churches, white teachers and

why are we

afraid of it?

civil servants, big business, the farmers, white labour unions etc. They can talk, protest, hold meetings and lobby. As extra-Parliamentary interest groups they can influence political decisions through Parliament. But all other extra-Parliamentary interest groups who by law do not have access to Government through the vote are viewed with great suspicion by Government and their extra-Parliamentary activities curbed in all possible ways.

But it is to no avail. The simple fact is that since the implementation of the tri-cameral Parliament the initiative and pressure for change has shifted to the extra-Parliamentary sphere.

Is there anyone with ordinary common sense who can deny that the most important pressures for change, on Government have been from black school children, workers, bankers, companies, the UDF, Cosas, ANC, Inkatha and so on? Who

does Government have in mind when it talks about negotiation? Parliamentary or extra-Parliamentary movements, organisations, leaders? The curious situation we have in South Africa is that extra-Parliamentary groups that have no access to Government through "normal" political procedures, ie the vote, apply more pressure for change than those that do have such access. Whether we have a more or less violent future ahead of us depends on how the Government is going to come to terms with those extra-Parliamentary organisations and their activities. So whatever propaganda the powers that be may dish up to discredit extra-Parliamentary politics, it is here to stay. Those of us who have the vote, cannot not sit back and hope for magic from Parliament. We will have to examine our extra-Parliamentary role as well to see what contribution we can make to more, or less violent change.

no comment on
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PETER HONEY

had suggested the foundation's R5m budget for 1986 was "beyond the capacity of the private sector" and that it was time to turn to government for funds.

"But such thinking was totally rejected by the board because the absolute independence of the foundation is still considered vital to its credibility around the world," he said.

If the country's financial position improved, he hoped to reduce subscriptions accordingly.

Sorour said the foundation's primary task was to avert the isolation of South Africa.

The SAF operated through an extensive network of influential contacts in financial, political and governmental fields in at least 20 Western countries.

"In its 25 years, the foundation has cost SA less than Eschel Rhoodie spent in one year," he said.

"Perhaps our greatest single achievement is the access we have gained to top-level decision-makers throughout the Western world."

"We have never really had enough money to undertake all the projects we wanted to and I expect we never will. "But we have always had enough to do what was necessary, and no doubt we will do it again this year," he said.

"We have never really had enough money to undertake all the projects we wanted to and I expect we never will. "But we have always had enough to do what was necessary, and no doubt we will do it again this year," he said.

The uses of terror

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In its most extreme contemporary form, the aim of terrorism is not immediately the overthrow of the State — for that takes time. Rather, terror, as a political weapon, seeks to spread more terror.

Carlos Marighela stated this position fairly well, shortly before the Brazilian authorities killed him: "It is necessary to turn political crisis into armed conflict by performing violent actions that will force those in power to transform the political position in the country into a military situation. This will alienate the masses who, from then on, will revolt against the army and the police and blame them for this state of things."

Terror tactics, therefore, are aimed at creating an unpopular rightwing backlash. Thereafter, such matters as the debasement of the currency, possible foreign military adventures, power struggles in the ruling elite — these and any number of other factors feed the revolution.

Marighela is quoted by Alistair Horne, in his monumental, and in some respects frightening, study of the Algerian bloodbath, *A Savage War of Peace*. The author comments on the guerrillas' strategy and their intention of polarising "the situation into two extreme camps and make impossible the dialogue of compromise by eradicating the 'soft centre.'"

Our centre may not be all that "soft," but, whether by

accident or design, that is the kind of situation we are increasingly finding ourselves in: polarisation. The middle ground is being eroded — and with it the chance of a negotiated settlement.

Why then does government repeatedly move in such a way as to make negotiations between black and white increasingly difficult? Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's response to the release of the P W Botha-Slabbert tapes says it all. Which homeland leaders will Botha negotiate with, if even Inkatha — let alone the African National Congress (ANC) — won't talk in such circumstances?

And if the moderate constituency which Chief Buthelezi commands has been alienated (so soon in the political year), what of those younger Inkatha members and those who join vigilante groups that seem under no control — what will their response be?

Now that the immediate economic prospects are looking better than they have for some time, the danger arises of a false euphoria — partly based on the belief that the "unrest" is not political, but wholly based on such factors as unemployment, widespread destitution and the capital drought.

Certainly, the huge crowds of the unemployed may lose some of their revolutionary zeal if they have jobs again. But they *have* been politicised, and that is going to be a major issue in industrial relations for years to come. ■

Treurnicht hits at US policy on SA

By Melody McDougall
Vereniging Bureau

If the United States wants to make itself hated by white South Africa then it must try to force its own abortive recipe for human relations on us, says Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Speaking at a meeting in the Vereeniging town hall last night, Dr Treurnicht lashed out at yesterday's reports of President Ronald Reagan's proposal of greater US involvement in bringing about change in South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht said it was time to tell both President Reagan and Dr Chester Crocker their designs for white South Africa simply meant the white man is expendable.

"We will not allow ourselves to be sold out. We have a right to be here, we are here to stay and we will fight to live in freedom," he said.

Dr Treurnicht asked when the Government would stop using harsh words against Britain and America and yet proceed to carry out their instructions step by step. He suggested it was no longer a question of "adapt or die", but rather "adapting and dying".

Dr Treurnicht stressed that in spite of the policies of the National Party there was hope for the future and that his party was on the winning road.

Bid to ban SA coal

STRASBOURG — The European Parliament yesterday called for an embargo on coal imports to the European Community from South Africa.

By a margin of one vote, members backed a statement saying "the European Parliament insists that all (EC) member states decide to end all imports of coal from South Africa."

Parliament also gave near-unanimous backing to a report calling for stronger support for the EC coal industry.

Aid from EC governments for coal mining was due to end in June this year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Pretoria boycott renewed

STAFF Pretoria Correspondent

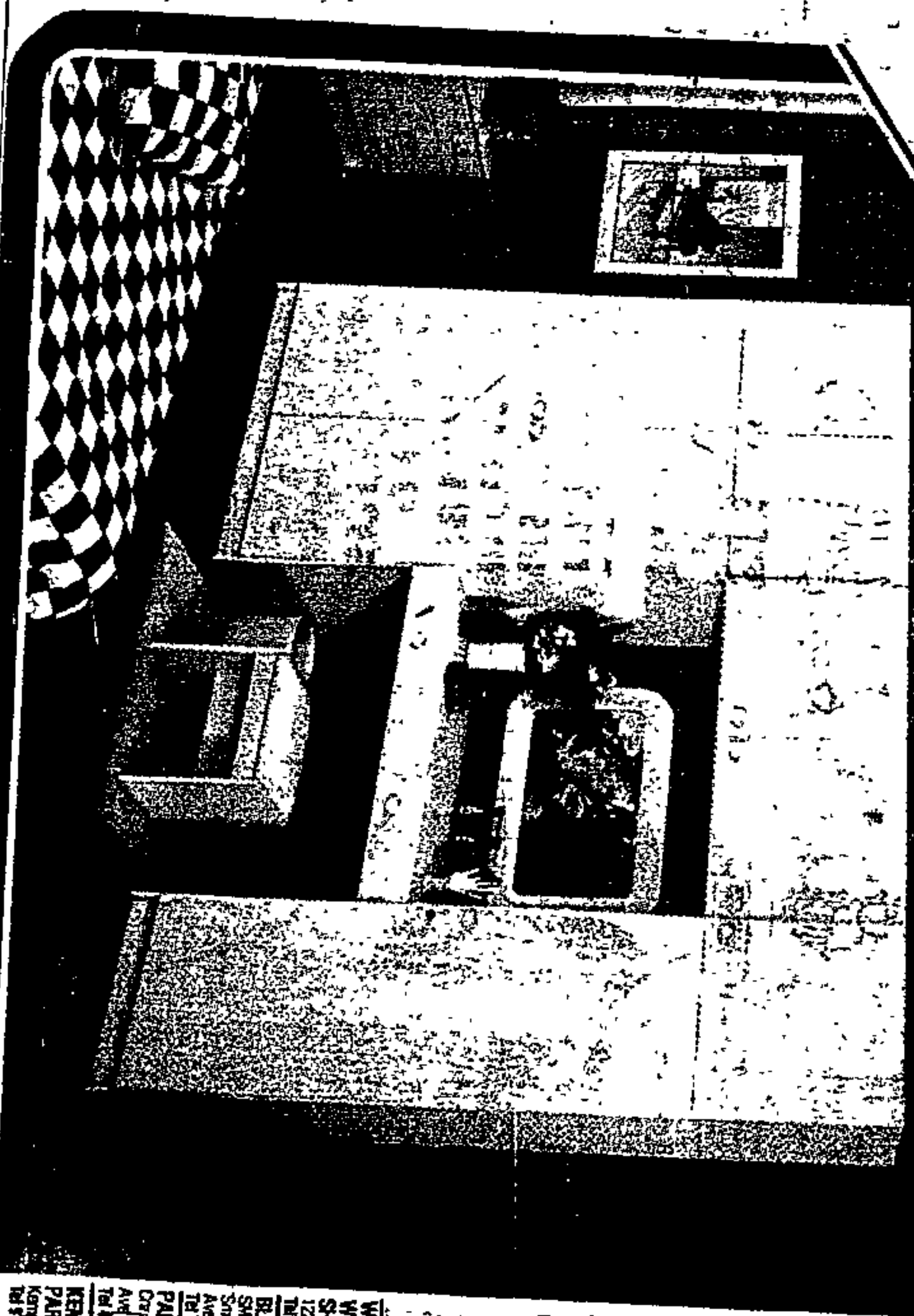
The business community in the capital is in for another tough time after the Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee's decision this week to call for an indefinite boycott of consumer goods sold by white shops from March 24.

The Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee said today the boycott would involve residents of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Soshanguve, "because their demands had not been met."

Early this year, the committee lifted a month-long boycott of white shops imposed in December last year.

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March 14, 1986

Washington — It was a sham for the South African Government to say it wanted to negotiate with black leaders and then to place the people who had to be part of the negotiations under banning restrictions, Dr Chester Crocker told the United States Congress this week.

Dr Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, said the US Administration condemned in the strongest terms the banning orders served on Mr Henry Fazzie and Mr Mkhutsheli Jack, both of whom have been described in the American Press as moderating influences on young black radicals in the volatile Port Elizabeth area.

Abuses

He made it clear that the Reagan Administration agreed with the Press reports: "These are the kind of leaders who can help to diffuse local crises in South Africa."

Dr Crocker was answering questions by Democratic Congressman Howard Wolpe, a fierce critic of the SA Government, at a Congressional committee inquiry into recent events in South Africa.

The two men, lively opponents for the past five years on US policy towards South Africa, continued to differ sharply at the hearing.

Congressman Wolpe said the Crocker policy

The 'sham' of SA's reform

SOWETAN
Foreign
Service

of constructive engagement had failed and he accused the State Department of being deceptive in welcoming developments like the lifting of the state of emergency when, he said, nothing had changed fundamentally in South Africa.

"It is an invitation to the Afrikaner Government to continue the police abuses . . .", Congressman Wolpe charged.

Dr Crocker rejected the claim that the policy had failed and said that in order to maintain credibility with all elements in South Africa, including the Government, it was important for the US to give credit where it was due.

The US had been trying to get the state of emergency lifted for months. In that sense its lifting had to be welcomed — but if it was replaced by "the same thing with a different name", then that was not progress, Dr Crocker said.

FOCUS

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SOWETAN



Dr CHESTER CROCKER . . . constructive engagement won't be abandoned.

It was important to calm the townships, to get black children back to school, to get troops and police out of the townships, and if these aims were not accomplished then progress was very limited, he said.

During his exchanges with Congressman Wolpe, Dr Crocker disclosed that the US Government had a "pattern of contact" with the African National Congress and intended to maintain it.

ANC

"We have some concerns about some aspects of that movement's activities and we have communicated these concerns very directly. So there are inhibitions but we do have communication and we intend to continue them," he said.

In another exchange Mr Wolpe said the situation in South Africa was like that in the Philippines where government oppression was an open invitation to communism — and he warned that there was a danger the ANC and others would turn to the Soviets because of the ambivalence of US policy.

Dr Crocker replied that to say the ANC would run to Moscow was to imply that they had not already done so.

Pressed on whether he would apply the term

"freedom fighters" to the ANC, Dr Crocker said that people in South Africa were fighting for their freedom in many different ways and he would not confine the term to the ANC. Pressed further, he agreed that they were freedom fighters . . . "in the generic sense".

Mr Wolpe responded: "Thank you. That's a breakthrough".

To other questions, Dr Crocker said the US had no intention of withdrawing its military attaches from South Africa as some other countries had done. Their presence served the US national interest.

"What they are involved in is the collection of information. If we did not have an interest, we would not have them there," he said.

It was a view that applied in many countries with which the US had a relationship ranging from friendship to hostility, he added.

In his main testimony, Dr Crocker repeated a statement made last year by the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, that 1986 was a

decisive year in South Africa's history.

"It is not a threat but a dispassionate prediction that South Africans cannot afford another year like the last one.

"Our hopes, our diplomacy, and our prayers are with them as they grapple with dilemmas and injustices built up over many years," he said.

The whole world would be watching closely. There were some encouraging signs, but there was much to be discouraged about as well.

Dr Crocker warned that the patience and the resolve of the US would be tested.

"South Africa's problems were not created overnight and they will almost certainly be resolved more slowly than we would like," Dr Crocker said. It was not surprising that the SA Government should find dismantling apartheid far more difficult than imposing it.

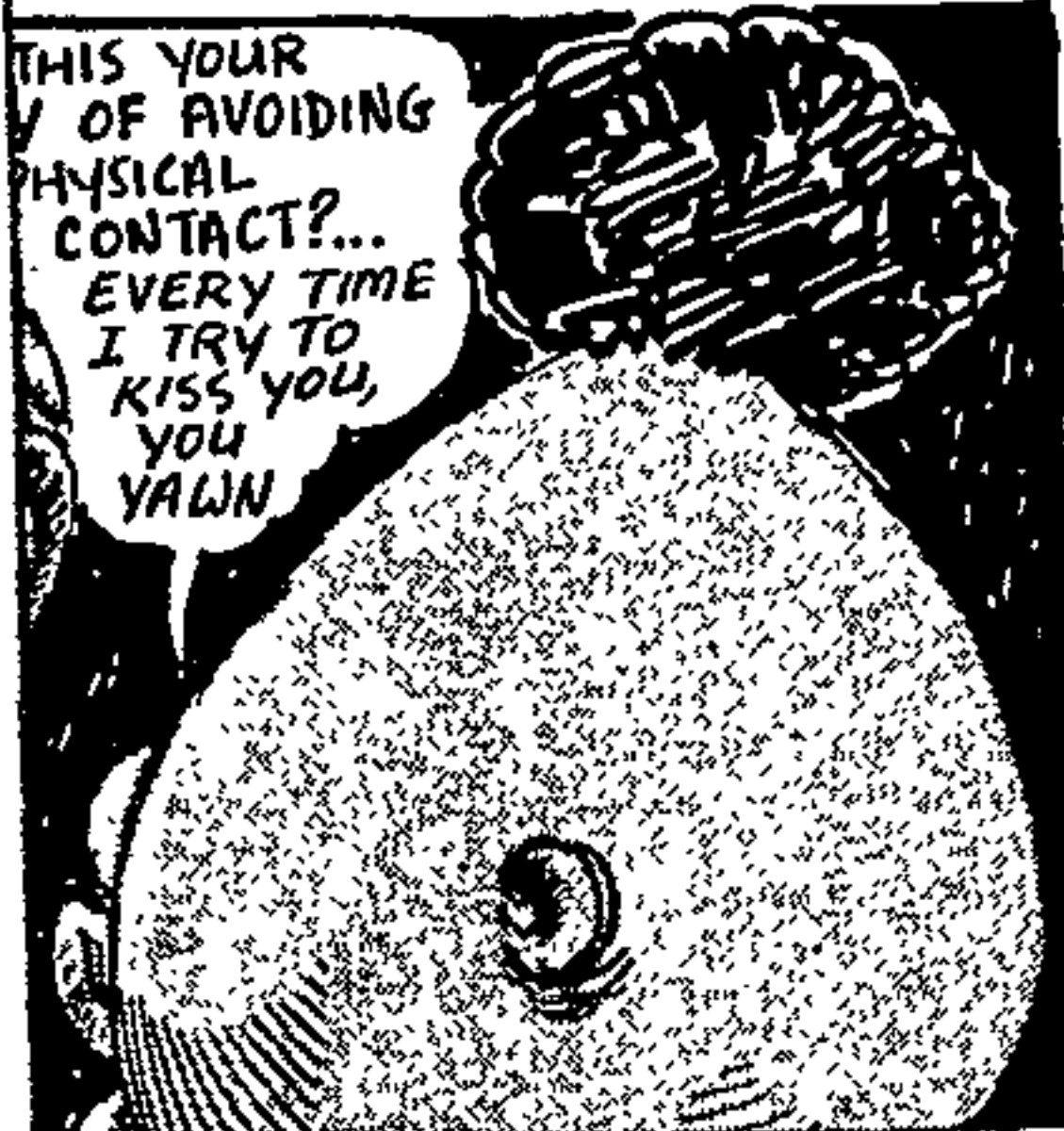
Pressure

The US was determined to act responsibly, and it was too soon to draw conclusions about the "growing crescendo" of internal and external pressure for change.

The US goal was to encourage the government to open doors . . . "and to walk through them".

"President Reagan has directed us to be even more actively engaged across the political spectrum in South Africa during this painful period," Dr Crocker said.

"It is a time when people of moderation and courage on all sides need our encouragement to produce results for their varied constituencies," he said.



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news



• BOTHA

P W adamant on Jack and Fazzie

PATRICK CULL

PRESIDENT P W Botha has turned down a request by Leader of the Opposition Colin Eglin to lift the banning orders on Eastern Cape black leaders Mkhoseli Jack and Henry Fazzie.

And, in an interview with four Progressive Federal Party MPs late yesterday, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange was adamant he would not reconsider his decision.

In a letter to Botha yesterday, Eglin asked the President to intervene and lift the banning orders, imposed on Tuesday in terms of the Internal Security Act.

"There can be no doubt that the imposition of the banning orders on these two community leaders will polarise our divided society still further and undermine the prospects that still remain of solving our nation's problems through peaceful negotiation," Eglin declared.

Botha said the law and order minister was empowered under Sections 19 and 20 of the Internal Security Act to restrict people if he was satisfied they were engaged in activities which endangered, or were calculated to endanger, State security or maintenance of law and

order.

The President said Le Grange had informed him he was satisfied that the activities of Jack and Fazzie fell within the ambit of these sections of the Act.

Botha said if either Jack or Fazzie felt aggrieved by the banning orders, they were at liberty to have the matter reviewed by the Board of Review, or to approach a court of law for relief.

Eglin said Botha's reference to the fact that the Act did not allow the President to intervene did not prevent him — as head of government and of the National Party — from dealing with the minister.

The four PFP MPs, Cape leader Roger Hulley and East Cape MPs John Malcomess, Andrew Savage and Errol Moorcroft spent nearly an hour with Le Grange yesterday.

They warned him of the danger of a renewed economic boycott, which could start a fresh cycle of violence. They said the consequences of the banning "could be more damaging than the consequences of not banning these moderate blacks".

14 MARCH 1986

Financial Mail

STATE OF EMERGENCY — 1

Now you see it . . .

Everyone breathed relief when the State of Emergency was lifted. It's doubtful whether our public life has been as blighted, economically and emotionally, in living memory as throughout the period of disturbances and repression. A hideous new vocabulary — of Casspirs and quirts, necklaces and comrades — was introduced to deal with the strange territory we entered.

Except — is it really over? On Monday the Institute of Race Relations reported that the number of deaths over the past 18 months had risen to 1 237; and that 107 people died in February, making last month the worst of the emergency since August 1985, when 163 died.

One "incident" alone shows that the troubles are far from over. Last Sunday Lebowa police shot dead six people in what was described as a running battle near Groblersdal. That kind of thing scarcely makes the front pages these days.

Secondly, news from Parliament indicates that government knows perfectly well that matters have not damped down. Legislation has been promised to return to the police the powers of action and, possibly, indemnity they enjoyed under the emergency law. Further, that President P W

Botha might be given personal powers of intervention in security matters before the end of the session — though whether that is a good or a bad thing no one can say at this stage.

It would be a sorry day if indemnity was conferred upon the police in "unrest" situations in perpetuity. It happened in Rhodesia and atrocities were committed. This is not to say that they will be here; nor that they won't — allegation after allegation about police abuses come in by the day. If they cannot, by statute, be tested in any court, we will fall further into the grimness of a South American siege state.

This is not overstating the matter. There are indications that just behind the steel interface between black and white SA, the opposing forces are actually intensifying their conflict. Some townships have indeed become "ungovernable," and for the agents of the law to be placed above the law will only heighten polarisation.

To re-introduce the powers of the State of Emergency, but to call them by another name, is not to change the reality. If it is done, it will be judged as a vast and cruel bluff by an increasingly intolerant government. ■

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FIN MAIL 14/3/86

Weight of tax burden has reached limit warning

By Michael Chester

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis, has been warned in the countdown to the 1986 Budget that further tax increases threaten to spark both a business exodus and a tax revolt among individual income tax payers.

The warning comes from Mr. Andre Spire, executive director of the Syncoir think-tank, amid intense speculation about possible new tax moves to be revealed in the Budget, next week.

At a national management convention in Sandton, called by P-E Corporate Services to discuss how the industrial sector should tackle future strategies, Mr. Spire said: "Patience with the taxation burden in South Africa has reached its limit."

"Taxation has reached levels where any further increases will lead to a tax revolt by individuals and either destroy business or else chase it out of the country," he added.

The only solution was a radical and sweeping privatisation programme to follow international leads, he argued. This

would involve handing over more and more State services — from education to health care — to the private sector.

The programme should go hand in hand with moves to strip away the regulations that hindered free enterprise.

There was a strong case to be made out that Johannesburg and other major cities should be run like business corporations, holding and selling stocks and shares and contracting out a whole series of municipal services to entrepreneurs.

'HOGWASH'

Most of the arguments used in the protection of state monopolies — such as "in the public interest" and "strategic importance" — proved on examination to be "pure hogwash".

South Africa urgently needed to undertake a fundamental rethink of the future role and function of government at all levels.

Privatisation, he said, was now capitulating the imagination of governments and politicians world-wide.

● Britain had already raised more than R55 000 million by government sales of State op-

erations to the private sector, and planned to double the total over the next three years as it denationalised such vast businesses as British Airways and British Gas.

● Japan intended to sell off Government control of its national airline, national railways and even its national telephone system by 1990.

● Brazil was investigating the privatisation of more than 100 State-owned enterprises.

● Mexico had decided to liquidate or sell no fewer than 236 State companies and agencies.

"In South Africa," he said, "the dramatic rise in Government spending will force the hand of the politicians to find alternative economic solutions — and they know it."

The Finance Minister was likely to be able to find the funds for the 1986/87 Budget, estimated at R36 billion or higher. But the options open to him now — higher taxation, borrowing and resorting to the printing presses to create more money — were unlikely to stay open in the future.

Privatisation, properly managed, was the route out of the dilemma.

Govt urged to pool brainpower for future planning

By Michael Chester

The Government has been urged to pool the top brainpower and best resources from both the public and private sectors to handle the management of economic affairs and future planning.

The advice was given by Mr. Ron Ironside, former president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, when he told the national convention that whatever the outcome of political reform, there were vastly different national requirements in the pipeline.

Failure to recognise the realities of the development needs of tomorrow would be catastrophic.

"The tasks that lie immediately ahead are daunting, and solutions, crucial to starting a long journey back to respectability in the eyes of the international community, must be found," he said.

"To a greater extent than

ever before, the private sector is involved in countering the growing threat of sanctions, loss of export markets and rumblings about trade boycotts.

YARDSTICK

"In the wake of the recent international debt settlement meetings, there are signs and sounds that cannot be ignored.

"Undertakings hinted at and commitments well publicised, have to be honoured in tangible form — a very public yardstick by which the South African Government is going to be judged, and judged harshly, should it renege or prevaricate over these issues.

"International private sector movements are devoting time and effort to findings ways and means to ease South Africa's task of changing direction via reform.

"But they are completely thrown at times by some of the actions of the authorities, which defy commonsense."



GOVERNMENT

Bringing in blacks

A new constitution — or major changes to the existing constitution to give blacks a say in central government — could be implemented as early as the first half of next year.

This is the general interpretation of the National Party's surprise announcement last week that it will hold a special federal congress in Durban on August 12 and 13.

National Party (NP) sources say it probably means that President P W Botha will unveil a new plan for black political participation in a similar way to his unveiling of the tricameral constitution at the NP's last federal congress in Bloemfontein in 1982. The difference is that the tricameral constitution's principles were far more elaborate and widely discussed in public.

According to the sources, government is now seeking to translate the various guidelines, as enunciated by Botha and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Chris Heunis, into "structural realities." They add that speedy implementation of the plan will be the key to its success.

Early strategy appears to be: introduction of the new plan at the federal congress; approval of the new deal at the four NP provincial congresses in August, September and October; and a referendum among whites (and possibly all groups) on the issue — possibly in November — as promised by Botha.

NP sources say party leaders believe they made a serious miscalculation by unveiling the tricameral constitution too far in advance. This meant critics of the system had ample time to build up a strong case against it. This, in a sense, pre-empted even token concessions such as the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages and Prohibition of Political Interference Acts and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

It is understood NP leaders decided some time ago that if and when a system to include blacks were devised, it would be implemented as soon as possible after being made public so that it could be seen to be achieving results before its critics could shoot it down.

The substance of what Botha will unveil in Durban is, of course, not clear. However, observers believe the basis of a new constitution has already been mapped out by Heunis and his legal architects.

Heunis disclosed in Parliament last week that the Special Cabinet Committee on Black Constitutional Affairs met on 22 occasions between May 1983 and last month, and that 47 meetings and discussions have been held by the committee and individual members with black leaders and interest groups. The committee has received 93 written submissions from individuals and organisations and has heard oral evidence from 41 people.

It seems Heunis has, at least, a framework within which to work on a new constitution, and even if it is not widely accepted by blacks, it could be regarded by government as another step towards a more suitable system in the same way that the current constitution was considered to be a "step in the right direction."

When lumped together, Botha's concessions to black political aspirations over the past two years are fairly significant in Nationalist terms. They could easily form the basis of constitutional rights for blacks. The concessions include:

- Commitment to the principle of an undivided South Africa, one citizenship and universal franchise "within democratic structures which will be worked out by South Africans themselves;"
- Representation for all up to highest levels on a "geographical and group basis," with self determination over "own affairs" and joint decision-making on "common affairs" — without one group dominating another;
- Acceptance of the permanence of blacks outside the homelands and acceptance that these communities are political entities entitled to political involvement and "co-responsibility up to the highest level;" and
- Freehold rights for blacks and a pledge to scrap the pass laws by July 1.



President Botha

HOMELAND CONSOLIDATION

Merging by stealth

Government has hit on a new plan for consolidating those tricky "black spots" located outside bantustan boundaries without having to run the gauntlet of removals.

In terms of a new Bill, it is now aiming to give all homeland governments the authority over such communities without having to

move them physically. For those which have resisted relocation to a homeland, this amounts to a case of taking Muhammed to the Mountain.

The Laws on Development Aid Amendment Bill, introduced this session, empowers any independent or self-governing national state, with Pretoria's agreement, "to exercise or perform the administrative control" in any area designated for black ownership in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts.

This will affect not only "black spot" communities, but also people living on Trust land townships, such as Soshanguve near Pretoria and Ekangala near Bronkhorstspuit. In terms of the Bill, all that is required to transfer the administration of an area to a homeland is a proclamation by the State President in the *Government Gazette*.

The new powers are embodied in clauses 8 and 9 of the Bill which is currently being investigated by a standing committee in Parliament.

"As it stands, the Bill does not provide for prior consultation with the affected community, nor is the formal agreement of the three Houses (of Parliament) required to validate the proclamation," says PFP MP Helen Suzman, who is on the standing committee.

If the Bill becomes law, it will reverse a Supreme Court order obtained by the eastern Cape community of Mgwali last year which established that SA had no right to transfer the government of its citizens to a "foreign country."

Mgwali was once part of the Ciskei, but was not included in the Ciskei when the final boundaries were drawn. In terms of the 1978 Black Laws Amendment Act, SA and the Ciskei entered into an agreement whereby Ciskei administered Mgwali.

The effect of the Supreme Court judgment was that SA could not hand over the administration of any of its territory to a "foreign country." The limits of the law were that only territories previously part of a homeland could be handed over to non-independent states.

The Laws on Development Aid Amendment Bill now seeks to overcome this limitation by enabling both independent and self-governing states to assume jurisdiction over certain communities not located in their boundaries. The Bill will affect not only areas which were previously part of a homeland, but all black spots and Trust land.

It is not clear yet how many people could be affected by the Bill. Clearly, however, it could be immediately applied in cases like Mathopstad, a "black spot" in the western Transvaal which has resisted removal to Bo-

ian hands in the province.

The fears are given additional credence by politicians such as Jim Allister (32), a barrister and a Democratic Unionists member of the Northern Ireland Assembly. In a recent interview he warned that if constitutional opposition to the Anglo-Irish treaty failed, there were "no lengths to which Ulster men would not go to stop it." Another, Ivan Foster (42), a Free Presbyterian minister, was quoted: "I won't be joining the 'army' of Ulster as a chaplain, I know how to use a gun."

Words such as these are only likely to encourage the paramilitary groups whose fight against the agreement could easily escalate into sectarian violence against Roman Catholics — who did not support last week's strike. The ghastly spectre of a civil war in Ulster remains ever present. ■

FM. 14/3/86 (304A)

US-SA RELATIONS

The thaw sets in

It may be too soon to expect US-SA relations to return to normal, although there was a warm response from the State Department last week to President Botha's lifting of the State of Emergency, and his signal that, subject to an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, the Namibian independence plan could start rolling on August 1.

Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for Southern African Affairs summed up his own views for the *FM* in Washington recently. Speaking before the Botha initiatives had been made public, Crocker said: "I think we see reason to keep doing what we are doing, to try to give credit where it is due. But we also will continue to make it clear what we stand for and will continue to try to broaden our message, to make sure our message is being understood in the very polarised climate there."



US's Crocker with SA's Bishop Nkoane . . . touring the townships

One of the ironies of the US-SA confrontation is that while Pretoria feels an uncomfortable American weight on its neck most of the time, Washington's communications channels to the various power groups of South African blacks are episodic, muddled by distrust and garbled at both ends by too many voices on the line.

"It is a street without joy," said one official of the situation. "There is a lot of partisanship, a lot of misunderstanding and polarisation of attitudes. So it is not surprising that the first question any (South African black) leader asks you is, 'whose side are you on?'"

It is a reasonable enough question to ask when the simplistic view of the situation is that the Americans continue to talk to Pretoria while Pretoria does pretty much what it pleases — in police rampages through black townships at home and SA Defence Force incursions into what are supposed to be sovereign neighbouring states.

Ominously, the American official attitude toward SA has become clouded in the past year by a far more threatening question than the will of Pretoria to achieve peaceful resolution of the region's problems. There is doubt whether the negotiating machinery for the entire region is up to achieving lasting compromises.

"I am not pointing a finger exclusively at the South Africans when I say that the real question is whether South Africa and virtually all its neighbours can come up with diplomatic solutions," said another official.

"Nor is there any question in our minds that the African National Congress is seeking to violate the already settled policies of South Africa's neighbours to continue to inject guerrillas across the border. So you have that complication, just as you have the complication of no one really being in charge of the children rioting at home. Indeed, there is a great deal of fragmentation within South African white society and the government's own mandate for social change," he said.

But there is credit where credit is due. The ending of the State of Emergency and the concessions on Namibia are "a solid breakthrough."

As Crocker sums it up: "The South African government has obviously built up a political consensus on pass laws and citizenship and freeholds. And they obviously have not built up a consensus on the school issue, education policy and housing. Nor do I have any reason to predict that they will in the next week. And yet, I sense that in the minds of many inside the top levels of South African government there is a recognition that those bullets also are going to be bitten and will have to be bitten before too much more time passes," Crocker says.

But the touchstone of Washington's ambitions for SA and for the region still lie more in Angola than in Cape Town. Getting South African black children equal access to good schools, getting black labourers equal treatment with whites, getting black voters fully enfranchised, those all are goals to be pur-

sued.

But the prize, the gleaming prize that dazzles the Americans, is the public humiliation of Fidel Castro when his mercenaries are finally sent home from Angola. The importance of such an event in southern Africa is obvious. The US expects the Cuban ouster from Angola to provide dividends in more rarefied arenas such as the Geneva arms talks and in the Middle East.

It is that dream which helps explain the risk the Reagan administration took a month ago when Unita's Jonas Savimbi was publicly feted around official Washington. It also explains Crocker going public with the fact that the US has agreed to provide about \$15m in military aid to Savimbi — including anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, he said — for the 20 000-man rebel force.

"Certain decisions have been made to provide both moral and material support," Crocker told a Senate hearing last month after Savimbi was safely back in the bush. "I want to state categorically here that the basis and goals of our policy remain unchanged. We seek a negotiated solution that will bring independence to Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola."

The Reagan administration's official view is that while an independent Namibia certainly would make Luanda feel more secure, there can be no lasting peace inside Angola until Savimbi is brought in to share real power within the same government of reconciliation.

Said a senior African strategist: "Our view is that you can't separate the issues of Namibia from Angola, or of the Cubans from the issue of ultimate reconciliation inside Angola because they are different sides of the same coin, the same question," he said.

And in that context the American decision to provide open support for Savimbi at the time SA is breaking the Namibian logjam takes on some reason. Clearly, it is an American bid to keep the pressure on the Cuban withdrawal issue moving along apace with South African military withdrawal from Namibia. It would not do to get the latter without the former.

Moreover, the "hail the conquering hero" treatment invested in Savimbi reflected the White House's growing impatience over the Cuban question stalemate. The Americans were no longer prepared to see their relays of negotiating teams being used as protective cover while Luanda attempts to overrun Savimbi.

Now according to these same American officials, the cards are on the table. SA has given a timetable for Namibian independence. The Americans have insured Savimbi's survival. There should be, logic operating, no way for the Dos Santos government to go now but to first get the Cubans on their way home and then to open talks, perhaps brokered by Washington, on some sort of rapprochement with Unita.

Will it happen? Again, Crocker sums it up best: "we have a real high wire act here. But we're still up here." ■

'HNP phones bugged'

304A B DA 14/3/86
THE Herstigte Nasionale Party had good reason to believe its members' telephone conversations were being listened to by government, Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg) said in the Assembly yesterday during the committee on the Post Office Budget.

Stofberg said Communications Minister Lapa Munnik was misusing his position to try to undermine the opposition, and asked whether Munnik expected the same treatment should the right-wing come to power. — Sapa.

C9711-1015 15/3/86

Slabbert claims ^{304A} rejected

By BARRY STREEK

THE Progressive Federal Party parliamentary caucus yesterday repudiated claims by the former party leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, that he only agreed "reluctantly" to participate in the tricameral constitution.

The caucus said in a statement Dr Slabbert's "forceful arguments" in favour of participation were "a material factor in persuading the party to stay in rather than opt out".

Mr Ray Swart, chairman of the PFP caucus, issued the statement which also endorsed the views of veteran front-bencher, Mrs Helen Suzman, that Dr Slabbert had encouraged the party to participate.

'Advice'

The statement follows the publication of separate interviews with Dr Slabbert and Mrs Suzman in the latest edition of the Leadership magazine.

In them, Dr Slabbert said he was a "reluctant participant" in the three-house Parliament, but Mrs Suzman said it was "largely on Dr Slabbert's advice" that the PFP decided to participate.

Yesterday's statement was the first time the caucus and the former PFP leader have clashed publicly since his sudden and unexpected resignation at the beginning of February.

Mr Swart said: "Originally there was consid-

erable discussion within the party on the issue of participation in the new system."

But the forceful arguments advanced by Dr Slabbert both to the caucus and the PFP congress in favour of participation in the tricameral system were a material factor in persuading the party to stay in.

It also quoted from Dr Slabbert's speech to the party's federal congress in November 1983.

There Dr Slabbert said: "I believe the PFP should participate in this constitution and explore every possible opportunity to pursue its principles and ideals."

"I have made no bones about the fact that I believe it is going to be more difficult to do so, but I believe we must give it a try."

"To do otherwise, to say 'no' to participation, is to abdicate all hope for peaceful, non-violent change towards our future."

"If I am asked whether I will participate in the new constitution, my short answer is 'yes'."

In his interview with Leadership, Dr Slabbert said he went to senior members of the party and "told them I preferred not to go into the tricameral system."

He also agreed that he was a reluctant participant, "but they persuaded me to go and I said: if we go in, we go in boots and all. But I also made it clear I would do so for a limited period."

PW's popularity takes a pounding in the cities

Only 50 percent of South Africa's urban white women believe that President Botha is doing a good job running the country.

This emerges from a nationwide poll of 800 women by Research Surveys, ranging from single career women to fulltime housewives.

The poll reflects an overall 14 percent decline in belief in President Botha's leadership since last year, when 57 out of 100 respondents approved of the way the country was being run.

The latest poll, conducted last month, showed sharp negative changes in attitude since the opinions of white urban women on the President's performance were published last August.

While Mr Botha appeared to retain the faith of the older-generation Afrikaans-speaking woman, the value of his leadership is apparently being questioned by younger women. Decline in support for his regime is reflected even among the over-50s.

He has lost most ground among English-speaking respondents. Only 46 percent agreed with Mr Botha's policies, compared with 58 percent last year.

Regionally he gets highest support from respondents in Pretoria and the Vaal Triangle. In Johannesburg and on the West and East Rand, Mr Botha can still count on more than half the white urban respondents for supports.

He fares less well in predominantly Afrikaans-speaking Bloemfontein — which suggests a loss of support to the right wing — and in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

The more critical attitude towards Mr Botha's leadership probably had as much to do with economics as politics, concludes Research Surveys' joint managing director Mr John Rice.

The economic pinch was reflected in the number of families that did not enjoy pay rises or bonuses.

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A Government decision to distribute copies of President P W Botha's "here is the reality" newspaper advertisement to public servants was yesterday sharply criticised by the Opposition.

The plan to do so has come to light through a circular to hospital medical superintendents and secretaries of hospitals aided by the Cape provincial administration.

The advertisement appeared in newspapers soon after Mr Botha's speech at the opening of this year's session of Parliament.

In a letter to the superintendents, the provincial secretary, Mr. B A van der Vyver, describes the advertisement as an

Govt to distribute PW advert in civil service

"open letter" and asks that it be brought to the attention of all employees at the institutions concerned.

Copies of the advertisement are included with the circular and superintendents are asked to ensure that it is distributed as widely as possible.

Mr Errol Moorcroft, MP for Albany, who obtained one of the circulars, said that it was "disgraceful" that State employees should be asked to disseminate a propaganda sheet put out by President Botha as head of the National Party.

He said the President should

explain to the taxpayers why public servants were being employed as party political functionaries.

Mr Botha has in the past said that the need for good race relations was being brought to the attention of public servants.

It appears as if the Bureau for Information asked the provincial administrations to distribute the advertisement.

Mr van der Vyver said the circular had been sent out in consultation with the bureau. It had been done purely for the information of provincial employees.

Pressuring for reform

Cap. Title 15/386
204A

DURBAN. — The principle of sanctions is increasingly being seen by foreign governments and private organizations as a means of putting pressure for reform on the South African Government, Mr Harry Oppenheimer told the national meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs yesterday.

Delivering his report as national chairman of the institute, Mr Oppenheimer said pressures from abroad were becoming powerful influences on the government's reform policies.

Serious

While it had previously been possible to ignore protest from anti-apartheid movements and student activists in Western countries, "their advocacy of disinvestment and economic withdrawal has now become a serious force".

Private sanctions from foreign banks, universities, trade unions, church groups and international corporations were the most serious form of pressure, he said.

He said the disinvestment campaign in the US was instrumental in the decision by US banks at the end of August not to extend their loans to South Africa — a move

which "raised the international pressure on us to a level never before experienced, and demonstrated South Africa's vulnerability in our economically dependant world".

Mr Oppenheimer noted that overseas concern about reform in South Africa was also reflected in the appointment of high level groups — such as the Eminent Persons Group — by both the private sector and governments to monitor the situation in South Africa.

He hoped these groups would be able to "find sufficient grounds for recommending policies other than sanctions" to their constituencies.



● ACKERMAN

Businessmen 'are fighting apartheid'

THE SA business community had more power than it had unleashed in the battle against apartheid, Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman said last night.

Speaking to students at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, Ackerman said although businessmen had fought for housing rights and were now fighting for the scrapping of pass laws, he believed they still had power and strength they had not used sufficiently.

He said businessmen were often maligned as people who were part of the system.

"But we want the total abolition of apartheid, we want the rule of law estab-

lished in this country and we want citizenship for all," he said.

"Some people may say we are doing this because of boycotts and the disinvestment threat.

"I understand their cynicism, but some of us have been doing this for up to 15 years.

Ackerman said there was still a mass of people who wanted a peaceful SA.

He urged students to involve themselves in social-awareness programmes, admitting he himself had not spoken enough to black leaders before last year.

— Sapa.

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3 DAY 15/3/86

New hope for talks between govt, ANC

Cap Timp 15/3/86

304A

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The Commonwealth's peace mission has scored a potential breakthrough in the quest to bring Pretoria and the African National Congress (ANC) to the negotiating table, informed sources here believe.

It is understood that the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) — as the Commonwealth mission is known — has put the framework of a dialogue-and-peace package to the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, President PW Botha and the exiled ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

It is understood that the emergent package could lead to the release of Mr Mandela later this year — possibly on May 31 — the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the declaration of a truce by the ANC and the opening of a pre-negotiating process or "talks-about-talks".

It was also learnt that both the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret

Thatcher, and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, are greatly encouraged by the progress of the EPG and now believe it has at least an odds-on chance to break the political log-jam in South Africa.

When the EPG left London they were confident of seeing Mr Mandela if they kept their side of the bargain not to talk to the press.

Nigeria's General Olusegun Obasanjo had made it clear to his six colleagues on the Commonwealth Group that he would withdraw and wreck the initiative unless they were allowed access to Mr Mandela.

A report yesterday in the authoritative Financial Times that the sev-

en-member peace mission had met Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison created a wave of excitement in political and diplomatic circles.

"We are naturally pleased if the EPG members have been able to see Mr Mandela," a British Foreign Office spokesman said.

A spokesperson for the Commonwealth Secretariat would not confirm that the group had met Mr Mandela and denied any knowledge of the meeting.

Real hopes

There are now real hopes that the group will be able to produce a sufficiently positive report to present to a seven-nation Commonwealth committee of heads of state in June to avoid the immediate imposition of tougher sanctions and explore further the dialogue option.

The EPG will report back to a top-level committee consisting of Mrs Thatcher, Australia's Mr Bob Hawke, Canada's Mr Brian Mulroney, Zambia's Mr Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwe's Mr Robert Mugabe, the Bahamas' Mr Lynden Pindling, and India's Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Meanwhile, senior members of the ANC and an NP MP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, are expected to attend the Foreign Office-funded conference on South Africa at Wilton Park next week.

● Mandela meets Eminent Persons, page 2

'Cooling-off' for thought



Sarah Ferguson

LONDON. — Queen Elizabeth returned from an Australasian tour yesterday to media speculation that she will be asked to announce the engagement of Prince Andrew.

The Daily Express said she would hold a "summit" meeting at Windsor Castle this weekend with Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson to discuss their romance.

The newspaper said the young couple considered themselves engaged but the Queen was recommending a "cooling off" period while they made sure they wished to marry. — Sapa-Reuters

urday, March 15, 1986

Row brews over NP leaflet blitz

Cape Times 15/3/86 30414

By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

A NEW "information scandal" is brewing following government attempts to establish a free country-wide network for distributing National Party "propaganda" — using State employees.

The latest row has been sparked by Bureau of Information (BI) moves to get State and provincial authorities to co-operate in a leaflet blitz to further publicize President P W Botha's controversial "This is the reality" advertising campaign.

The latest drive comes in the wake of a R300 000 taxpayer-funded newspaper advertising campaign to publicize Mr Botha's speech to the opening of parliament on January 31.

The campaign has already raised vigorous protest.

The superintendent of Stutterheim Hospital, Dr Piet Brink, said yesterday he "strongly objected" to the memorandum he had received from the provincial authorities in Cape Town requesting him to distribute copies of an open letter by President Botha "to all officials and employees at the institution(s) under your control".

"I am in no way prepared to act as a cheap distribution agent for the propaganda of any political party. I think it is quite out of place to expect any provincial employee to do this."

The PFP MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft — to whom Dr Brink had

written to protest said: "This puts State employees in a most invidious position. Acting as disseminators of party political propaganda is surely not part of these employees' contracts."

"Having created this precedent, how far will this go? Will every stationmaster, postmaster and member of the permanent force in time be required to fulfil this political function? It is outrageous."

A spokeswoman for the Cape Provincial Administration yesterday confirmed that copies of Mr Botha's "open letter" had been distributed to all branches of provincial government.

A spokeswoman for the Bureau of Information said last night: "The bureau believes that it is essential that as many South Africans as possible should be informed quickly and clearly on major policy announcements by the State."

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R society

seology used is of such a nature that it is open to differing interpretations.

One factor, however, appears clearly from it. There is a desire, one may call it a determination, that some changes are to come about. The question is: where is the line to be drawn? How far will the Government go? Here we enter some grey areas.

There are laws which included discriminatory provisions which have already been repealed or amended, and there are some others which are due to be repealed or changed during this session of Parliament.

Arguments

There is little doubt that it is the entrenchment by law of discrimination which has created the major problem in the eyes of not only the outside world but in race relations in the country.

Few, if any, societies can claim to be free of discrimination, but there are none that I am aware of other than South Africa where discrimination is entrenched in law.

It is Parliament which has enacted these discriminatory laws; it is therefore for Parliament to repeal them.

The arguments will be advanced that there is already a movement towards removing discriminatory provisions in the law. The examples of the immigration law, the restrictions on Indians in the Free State and Northern Natal, and even the last vestiges of job reservation, those on the mines, are likely to go.

Delicate

All of this is welcome, but the need to review all laws is there. The need for Parliament itself to take the initiative exists.

Then, too, one can anticipate the argument that there will be a dispute as to whether provisions are or are not discriminatory and the problems of the so-called non-negotiables.

The answer to this rests on the following premises:

1. Once the review process is started there will be many provisions on which virtually everyone will agree must go.

Let's repeal those laws till at the end there will only be a relatively small number on which the real debate can take place.

2. Once the process starts, I venture to suggest it will be remarkable how little difference of opinion will remain in the end. People will find each other and have much more common ground than is now believed.

By
**HARRY
SCHWARZ**



**PFP MP for
Yeoville**

There is another, perhaps delicate, issue which needs to be raised.

In the House of Representatives and House of Delegates there are members who do not have it as easy in the constituencies as perhaps those in the House of Assembly have.

They have to demonstrate to their people why they are participating in the system; they have to produce the benefits to their people of such participation.

I believe they want to participate in such a negotiating process to remove discrimination. It is not only executive action that is required to introduce laws. As their private members' motions and debates have demonstrated, they want removal of discriminatory laws.

The governing party owes it to those who have shown confidence by operating within Parliament not to block the move to appoint a committee to review all laws with a view to removing all discriminatory provisions. Yet it has blocked the appointment.

The issue of discrimination entrenched by law is a vital one. It is often said this is not

a product of recent times. Whatever the timetable as to when the laws were introduced, the reality is that they are the product of statute law; the common law of South Africa did not allow unjust discrimination.

To mention only three cases decided in the Appellate Division of our courts: Rasool, Abduraman and Lockhart all hold that where facilities were not equal and where there was discrimination on the grounds of race, it could not be enforced without specific statutory provisions. This is why statutory provisions were introduced to enable unequal and separate treatment to be meted out.

When the Group Areas Act was argued before the Appellate Division many years ago, it was said that separate areas would not mean unequal treatment. I wonder whether anyone would really try to argue that today.

Without the legislation permitting discrimination, the housing position would have been quite different, and there would never have been the "Whites Only" boards which once proliferated across the countryside and which are now mostly in the process of disappearing.

Compulsion

Statute law lies at the root of not only separation but of inequality, at the root of compulsion as opposed to freedom of association.

Certainly there are groups in South Africa and people of different colours, races and other characteristics, but need membership be enforced by law, do we not know who we are, what we wish to belong to and with whom we wish to associate?

Until all these laws are off the statute book there cannot be said to be a society free of apartheid — a society free of discrimination. Parliament put the laws on, it should take the initiative in taking them off.

One needs also to be careful that when discriminatory provisions are repealed they are not replaced by provisions which are viewed, rightly or wrongly, as entrenching a privilege in another way.

If apartheid goes, it must really go and not re-appear in a less ugly guise.

PFP split on proposal to expel Slabbert

17/3/86

307A

STAR

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Proposals to expel Dr Van Zyl Slabbert from the Progressive Federal Party have been made in PFP circles, but the party is believed to be divided over the campaign to "lynch Slabbert".

After a traumatic caucus meeting last week, the PFP repudiated claims by Dr Slabbert that he only agreed "reluctantly" to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

Dr Slabbert resigned from Parliament last month and also resigned as PFP leader, saying he wished to explore negotiation politics outside Parliament. He remained a PFP member.

The PFP Parliamentary caucus is believed to be deeply divided over its stance on Dr Slabbert. Some are baying for his blood while he retains sympathy among a large section.

The strongest "anti-Slabbert" section of the party believes he has cast doubts on the PFP's integrity and should therefore be expelled from the party.

The matter came to a head last week with the publication of two interviews in *Leadership* magazine with Dr Slabbert and Mrs Helen Suzman, the MP for Houghton.

CAUCUS

In these interviews, Dr Slabbert said he was a "reluctant participant" in the tricameral Parliament. But Mrs Suzman said it was largely on Dr Slabbert's advice the PFP participated.

The chairman of the PFP caucus, Mr Ray Swart, issued a statement on behalf of the caucus which endorsed the views of Mrs Suzman. The statement said that Dr Slabbert's "forceful arguments" for participation were a material factor in persuading the party to stay in Parliament rather than opt out.

The blatant exploitation of white fears

A so-called white backlash is being actively encouraged and unashamedly exploited by the Conservative Party and its political look-alikes in their political battle against the National Party.

Hardly a day goes by in Parliament without the CP claiming that it is the only party representing the real feelings of whites and protecting the interests of whites.

At the same time, the party does everything it can to drum up white fears to embarrass the Government.

The basis of the campaign is to create the perception that the Government's unclear and hesitant moves towards power-sharing are a handover to radical black government.

The most blatant example this year has been the rapid reaction of the CP to the statement by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha predicting the possibility of a black President.

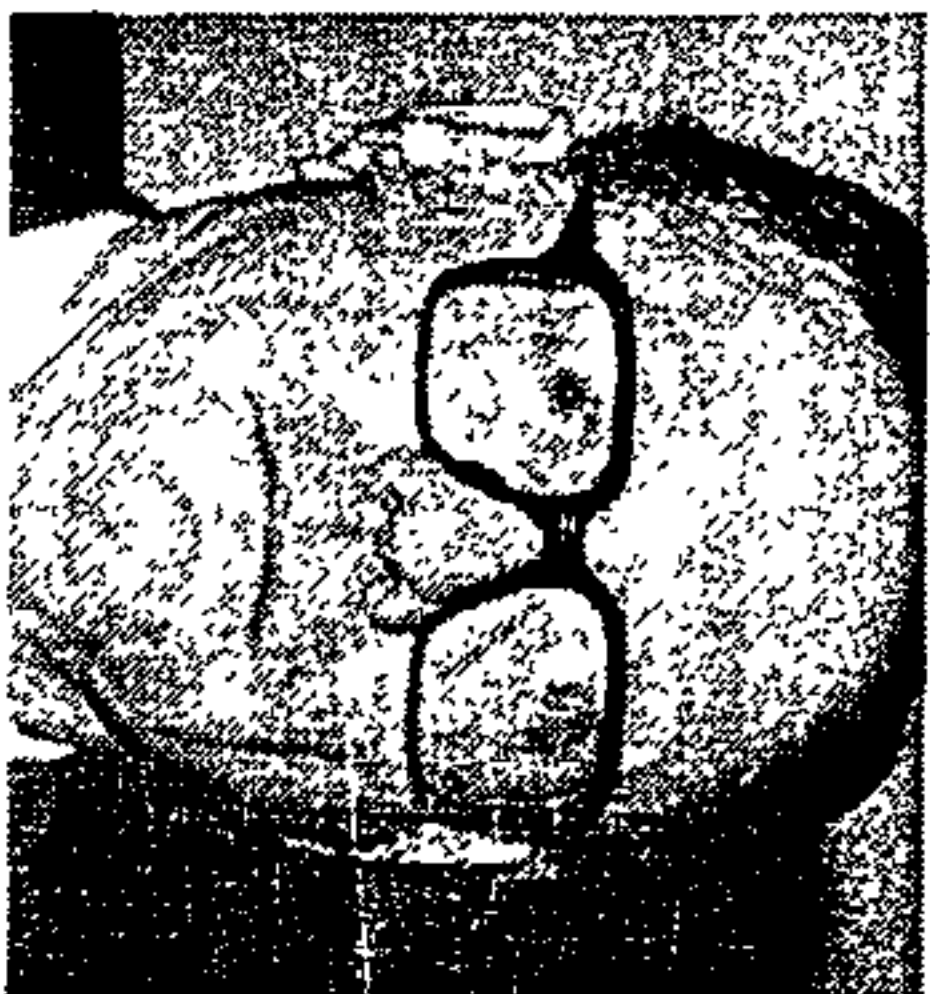
It would then be possible, CP spokesmen said, for ANC leader Nelson Mandela to fill the post.

(It was this argument that apparently got the State President, Mr P W Botha, to slap down his Foreign Minister so harshly.)

This was one of the more serious examples, but there are plenty more in the blatant exploitation of white fears.

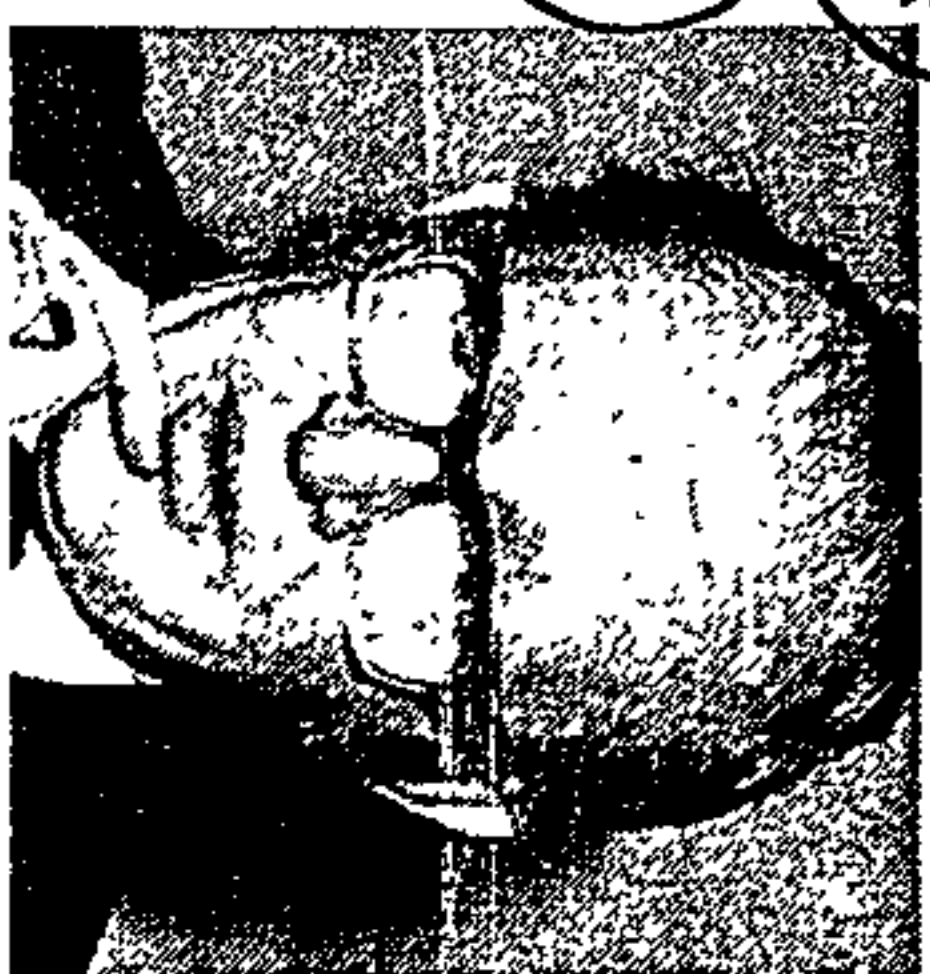
Another was the questions asked after the dropping of race as a qualification for immigration.

Did this mean, the CP asked, that the Government now intended opening immigration offices in Pakistan



Mr Frank le Roux... "Any spark could now cause a rumour."

Ultra-rightwingers are doing their utmost to create the perception that the Government's hesitations and unclear moves towards power-sharing are a handover to radical black government. Bruce Cameron of The Star's political staff reports from Cape Town.



Mr Chris Rencken... "Rabble rousing is potentially dangerous."

and India?

One of its favourite subjects, however, is expenditure and CP members try repeatedly to imply the blacks pay little in the way of taxes but are the main beneficiaries of government coffers.

CP members have used this argument to the full in the ongoing drought and have more recently also implied this in the railway pay increases controversy.

In recent months the CP campaign of exploiting white prejudices and fears has taken a new, and to its political opponents, dangerous slant.

There have been ambiguous calls by CP leaders for whites to stand firm and oppose the Government as well as a closer contact with the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

The AWB has made little attempt

to hide its militarism or the fact that it is run on lines similar to the defunct Ossewa Brandwag, which became involved in subversive actions in World War 2.

Quite what Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht hopes to gain from his association with the AWB, with its contempt of democracy, he has yet to explain properly. The AWB stands for a one-party state with an executive President heading an Afrikaner dictatorship.

All he has got around to saying so far is that he has the assurance that the AWB will act within the law.

Senior Conservative Party member Mr Frank le Roux denies the CP is deliberately exploiting the fears of whites to gain political advantage.

All the CP is doing is mustering its forces to be ready in the case of a general election or by-election, he

says. "The CP is not irresponsible like the Government, which is surrendering white rights."

Mr le Roux says the white backlash is caused by Government action and that it has reached a critical stage.

"Any spark could now cause a rumour. An example of a spark would be the intensification of ANC actions or the April ultimatum of ANC-linked organisations to renew the school boycotts."

The Hetsigste Nasionale Party's only representative in Parliament, Mr Louis Stofberg, said the recent by-elections had proved a swing to the right because whites were becoming angry. "They are resentful of integration."

The Government should realise that whites were slow to anger and it should not assume that everyone

was in favour of reform. If they could not "regain their freedom through democracy" they would have very few options left.

"So far whites have only used violence in self-defence."

Interestingly, the HNP will have nothing to do with the AWB.

Mr Chris Rencken MP, the National Party's chief information officer, says he has no doubt that the CP and the AWB and to some extent the HNP are trying to create a white backlash against power-sharing with blacks in a constitutional structure.

"Dr Treurnicht is particularly active at the moment on a rabble-rousing trail of meetings throughout the country."

"Even if the CP and AWB do not espouse violence, the kind of climate they create by rabble rousing is potentially dangerous and leads to acts of violence from people with a low tolerance."

Mr Rencken gave as examples the recent shootings of black pedestrians.

While he did not attribute these actions to the CP or the AWB or their policies, "I think they are the direct result of people being incited into a frenzy designed to create a white backlash."

The actions of the right wing were not only directly dangerous but were suicidal for whites and the country in the long run as it made the possibility of finding peaceful co-existence even more difficult.

17/3/86

K DAY 17

What business wants to Du Plessis' Budget today

RAYMOND ACKERMAN:
MD, PICK 'N PAY:
GOVERNMENT must have the courage to get the economy going in order to avoid further unrest. The Budget must be geared towards supply-side economic measures. It must not look to increased taxes to pay for government spending. It must reduce tax, and I would strongly recommend that GST be taken off basic foodstuffs.

NEAL CHAPMAN:
CHIEF EXECUTIVE, SOUTHERN LIFE ASSOCIATION:
THERE must be no more excuses for government overspending, otherwise the Budget will lose its meaning as a budgetary exercise and merely become one broad form of fiscal policy. Tax cuts would be effective as part of a stimulatory fiscal policy to support economic recovery in 1986, remembering the effectiveness of this action in the 1978/79 budget after the mid-Seventies recession. But this option has become increasingly unlikely.

Given the need for heavy expenditure on public servants' wages and salaries, the security forces and the upgrading of services and housing, budgeted expenditure will not realistically be able to increase by less than 17% — the expected average rate of inflation.

AUBREY DICKMAN:
SENIOR ECONOMIST,
ANGLO AMERICAN:
A VITAL aspect of this Budget will be to build up confidence for foreign investment, and this will require absolute honesty about the current state of the economy. I hope for bold and imaginative announcements in terms of privatisation and user charges to create some scope for tax alleviation within a relatively conservative approach.

PIERRE DU TOIT:
HEAD, TAX DIVISION,
ARTHUR ANDERSON:
FIRSTLY, the pressure must be taken off individual taxpayers. The top marginal tax rate for individuals should be limited to 50% and should be reached at a higher income bracket. Secondly, instead of increasing GST, government should spend more judiciously and apply more efficient tax administration methods.

Lastly — from the Margo Commission — I would not like to see the usual crop of reactive, half-baked legislation on technical issues to stop perceived loopholes, which end up damaging some



ALBERT WESSELS

Business Day approached various business leaders and senior economists for their views on what Finance Minister Barend du Plessis should say in today's Budget speech



RAYMOND ACKERMAN



NTATHO MOTLANA



BOB TUCKER



NEAL CHAPMAN

to heavily tax luxury goods.
DR NTATHO MOTLANA:
CHAIRMAN, SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION:
EVERYONE agrees that basically ours is a strong economy with the necessary raw materials, human resources and human potential and that the present chaos is primarily political. Therefore, it does not matter what poor Barend du Plessis proposes in the Budget if his party lacks the will to introduce political changes that must be introduced to pull SA out of the political quagmire in which it is floundering.

TONY NORTON:
PRESIDENT, JSE:
FROM THE Stock Exchange's point of view, we encourage any move to mobilise savings, because the current rate of capital formation is far too low. We also recommend Budget proposals to provide the incentive for greater mobility of capital.

THEO SWART:
MD, MCCARTHY GROUP:
IT IS imperative that the Minister focuses on perks tax issues as far as motor cars are concerned — specifically the punitive formula of current calculations. Not only motor manufacturers but many allied industries would benefit if government provided relief on this issue. Besides perks tax, high levels of individual and



BASIL LANDAU

fundamentals of the tax system.

EVERY GROENEWEG:
FINANCIAL DIRECTOR,
BARLOW RAND:
WITHOUT a clearly-defined national economic strategy, including an export strategy, it is impossible for this Budget to achieve the principle economic objectives of capital formation, new investment and new job opportunities.

LAWRIE KORSTEN:
MD, VOLKSKAS
MERCHANT BANK:
GOVERNMENT spending must not increase by more than 10%, as this will have the disastrous effect of further stimulating in-

flation. I would strongly recommend that Finance Minister Barend du Plessis starts off with a management audit on his own department and cuts down on administrative staff.

He must be totally honest in disclosing everything about the state of the economy, as this is the only way to improve credibility. He must call for assistance from the private sector and, finally, I call on Du Plessis to forfeit his job if he does not manage to control government spending during 1986/87.

BASIL LANDAU:
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
(INDUSTRIES), GENCOR:
ONE OF the major issues which

today's Budget must address is the development and protection of local industry. The authorities should take a lead from Japan, which has developed its industry according to MITI — a government body which encourages the development of trade and industry, with emphasis on exports.

Secondly, Barend du Plessis should address the reinstatement of government assistance of training in the private sector. Finally, he should do something to prevent the drain of skilled young South Africans, who are leaving SA not only for political reasons but also because of prohibitive taxation. An obvious way of alleviating the tax burden would be

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS reports from Cape Town:

OLD MUTUAL'S VIEW:
DU PLESSIS delivers his second Budget with one of his main tasks being trying to restore credibility with the public, and the financial community in particular. But with the continued profligacy of his Cabinet colleagues, Du Plessis has been left little room for manoeuvre.

The accent is, however, likely to focus on promoting a mildly expansionary fiscal policy, largely limited to introducing tax cuts at individual level. It is probable the Budget will reflect an attempt to put a brake on government spending, restricting the overall rise for the fiscal year to below the rate of inflation — guestimated to be a probable 16% to 17% on a year-to-year basis.

ORGANISED COMMERCE:
IN FRAMING his revenue requirements, Du Plessis would be ill-advised to rely again on bloated

export earnings — and therefore the tax receipts — of the hyper-taxed mining companies. The 1985 windfall from this quarter, arising from the depreciated rand, can not be relied upon.

Exporters, particularly of minerals, are running into difficulties. And as oil prices fall, other commodity prices, especially coal, are feeling the pinch and are being adjusted downward as well.

In the circumstances, it is believed Du Plessis has no option but to deliver a package that will characterise today's exercise as a "standstill Budget".

PARLIAMENTARY VIEWPOINT:
THE CONSENSUS in parliamentary circles is that today's Budget demands will top R40bn, giving Du Plessis little option but to adopt a fiscal policy leading to a reduction of direct taxes, some easing of indirect taxation and possibly a cut in the import surcharge.

It is believed certain structural changes will be introduced aimed at encouraging greater levels of domestic saving.

Increases in government expenditure are likely to be directed towards stimulating employment creation, education and housing. There seems to be little doubt, too, that allocations for defence spending will again rise sharply.

It is widely expected that the perks tax on motor vehicles and housing loans will be further postponed. In order to further finance State expenditure, there appears to be a possibility customs and excise duty on luxury items, cigarettes and liquor will be increased.

And in some quarters there are suggestions that GST may again be adjusted upwards, with Du Plessis giving advance warning that this tax may be restructured along value-added lines.

Business wants to see in Plessis' Budget today...

approached various business leaders and experts for their views on what Finance Minister Plessis should say in today's Budget speech



□ NTATHO MOTLANA



□ BOB TUCKER

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flation. I would strongly recommend that Finance Minister Barend du Plessis starts off with a management audit on his own department and cuts down on administrative staff.

He must be totally honest in disclosing everything about the state of the economy, as this is the only way to improve credibility. He must call for assistance from the private sector and, finally, I call on Du Plessis to forfeit his job if he does not manage to control government spending during 1986/87.

□ BASIL LANDAU:
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
(INDUSTRIES), GENCOR:
ONE OF the major issues which

today's Budget must address is the development and protection of local industry. The authorities should take a lead from Japan, which has developed its industry according to MITI — a government body which encourages the development of trade and industry, with emphasis on exports.

Secondly, Barend du Plessis should address the reinstatement of government assistance of training in the private sector. Finally, he should do something to prevent the drain of skilled young South Africans, who are leaving SA not only for political reasons but also because of prohibitive taxation. An obvious way of alleviating the tax burden would be



□ NEAL CHAPMAN



□ THEO SWART

to heavily tax luxury goods.

□ DR NTATHO MOTLANA:
CHAIRMAN, SOWETO
CIVIC ASSOCIATION:

EVERYONE agrees that basically ours is a strong economy with the necessary raw materials, human resources and human potential and that the present chaos is primarily political. Therefore, it does not matter what poor Barend du Plessis proposes in the Budget if his party lacks the will to introduce political changes that must be introduced to pull SA out of the political quagmire in which it is floundering.

□ TONY NORTON:
PRESIDENT, JSE:
FROM THE Stock Exchange's point of view, we encourage any move to mobilise savings, because the current rate of capital formation is far too low. We also recommend Budget proposals to provide the incentive for greater mobility of capital.

□ THEO SWART:
MD, MCCARTHY GROUP:
IT IS imperative that the Minister focuses on perks tax issues as far as motor cars are concerned — specifically the punitive formula of current calculations. Not only motor manufacturers but many allied industries would benefit if government provided relief on this issue. Besides perks tax, high levels of individual and

company tax need to be reduced.

□ BOB TUCKER:
MD, SA PERM:
LACKING detailed information, I have limited my comment to broad principles. "Where there is not vision — the people perish" (Proverbs). I have a vision for utilising our country's natural and human resources to maximise wealth for all the people.

I have a vision for containing inflation and creating new jobs and for stimulating savings to establish the necessary infrastructural base. I have a vision for developing our domestic markets and expanding the private sector while limiting the public sector.

However, that vision cannot be achieved upon old premises. We have to change our framework of thinking and this Budget constitutes the first move towards that totally different dimension. I ask to be judged by reference to the vision and not by reference to any short-term political kudos.

□ DR ALBERT WESSELS:
CHAIRMAN, TOYOTA SA:
THE AUTHORITIES must aim at containing and reducing the rate of inflation, but at the same time the Budget must be sufficiently stimulatory to encourage growth and new job opportunities. Export policy and export incentives must be seen as one way of creating new jobs.

RNCROSS reports from Cape Town:

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□ BASIL LANDAU



□ LAWRIE KORSTEN

304A



Star 18/3/86

Non-NP politicians not enthusiastic about Budget

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Mixed reactions with little enthusiasm came from politicians outside the National Party in their first response to the Budget.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said his party welcomed the Budget "with some reservations.

"It has recognised certain realities in terms of supply and demand. The cancellation of surcharge on books is most welcome and certainly an investment in the future," he said.

"It is regretted that the R36 614 000 needed for an increase in pensions and grants towards parity in five years has not been granted to us."

The Labour Party would examine the Budget for the House of Representatives with a view to seeking a further increase towards parity.

The availability of more money to finance job opportunities and to create a source of income for the unemployed, was most welcome.

"We certainly regret that the exemption of all foodstuffs from GST has not been agreed to," Mr Hendrickse added.

Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP, Umbilo), finance spokesman of the New Republic Party, said his party regarded it as a "rich man, poor man budget". It assisted rich and poor to some extent, but did little

for the middle group.

The limited concessions made to encourage internal savings were totally inadequate and the reduction of the bread subsidy was a sad blow to the household budgets of the lower-income groups.

"But we welcome the increased funding of housing, education, the removal of surcharge on books and also the relief given to working wives," Mr Watterson said.

"The Budget is quite dull and will not generate the enthusiasm and confidence necessary for a real forward surge," Mr Watterson said.

Mr Vause Raw (NRP, Durban Point) said he welcomed the abolition of the means test on the "handful" of survivors from World War I.

The Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates, Mr J N Reddy, expressed concern over the imminent rise in the price of brown bread.

The price of a loaf of brown bread is expected to go up by between five and nine cents following yesterday's announcement that the State subsidy is to be reduced from R200 million to R150 million.

Mr Reddy, who is also the leader of the opposition Solidarity Party, said that on the whole, he was happy with the Budget.

He also expressed disappointment over the fact that GST had not been reduced.

Capl Times 18/3/86

Hendrickse slams 'arrogant' Heunis

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Labour Party (LP) leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday launched a scathing attack on the tricameral system and its chief architect, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr Hendrickse accused Mr Heunis of "arrogance" for snubbing a high-priority LP private member's motion on constitutional development and not attending yesterday's debate.

"We see his absence here as a sign of the demise of the tricameral system," Mr Hendrickse said.

As Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, Mr Hendrickse's strong remarks are bound to cause tensions within President P W Botha's coalition cabinet.

The attack is also seen as a move to alert the government not to be too complacent in assuming the LP will toe the line.

The LP leader told the House that the motion proposed by Mr Jac Rabie, (LP Reiger Park), which urged the State President to appoint a committee of experts to investigate the constitutional alternative for a non-racial geographic federation of govern-

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C.T. 18/3/86

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From page 1

ment, had been deferred several times to accommodate Mr Heunis.

"How serious is the minister?" he asked. "The most urgent need is to provide political structures for South Africa. We are not moving."

Mr Heunis' department had up to 15 experts who were "fiddling" and engaged in "meaningless" activities, Mr Hendrickse said.

"It is almost a lack of faith in his (Mr Heunis's) own constitutional development."

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Heunis attended debates in both the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates but failed to turn up at the House of Representatives, which brought into question the "relevance" of the coloured House.

"Is this a visible contempt for the participation of this part of the South African community for seeking solutions? Is it arrogance? Is the minister saying: 'I know what I want and do not want to hear what you want?'"

Mr Hendrickse asked for the question to be put "as a protest to the action of the minister" and forced the debate to a close, though 30 minutes of the allocated time for the motion still remained.

Yesterday evening, Mr Heunis explained the reason for not attending the debate. He said that he had arranged another meeting after he had earlier reached an agreement with Mr Rabie to speak immediately after the latter had introduced his motion.

He said that it was only at 2.15pm, after he had arranged his other meeting, that he was told that Mr Hendrickse wanted him to reply at the end of the debate.

Reform faces catastrophe, warns Rabie

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — A massive constitutional catastrophe was looming for the reform initiative, Mr Jac Rabie (LP, Reigerpark) warned in the House of Representatives.

The little boat of reform was bobbing about in stormy waters, he said, introducing a motion calling for a commission of constitutional experts to examine the alternative of a geographic non-racial federation.

Bannings and detentions were giving greater credibility to radicals, he said. The State had to provide the moderates with incontestable results to allow them to wrest the initiative.

So far, reform proposals had all been born in the National Party. Only if blacks were brought into constitutional negotiations did reform have a chance.

"To think we can save the situation with a Federal Congress of the National Party is wildly misguided."

The Government should rather become officially involved in the Natal indaba.

Mr Rabie said the "experts" he referred to need not be only academics. They could come from the Mandelas, Tambos, Sisulus, Buthelezis, Tutus and Motlanas.

It would be fatal to expect blacks to wait for another generation of whites to take uncertain steps towards real meaningful power-sharing, he said.

Parliament and Politics

Cape Times

19/3/86

(304A)

Parliament



Mr. Colin Eglin

JOHANNESBURG.—Mr Colin Eglin yesterday strongly defended the continued presence of the Progressive Federal Party in Parliament.

In his first public speech as the new PFP leader, he also pleaded for a "major concerted effort" by South Africans to remedy the black housing crisis and avert a national catastrophe.

Addressing a public meeting in Rosebank, he said latest government estimates put the black housing shortage close to 400 000 units.

This meant that well over two million blacks in South Africa were without housing.

Approval

The State, local authorities and the private sector together provided only 16 613 houses for blacks in the urban townships during 1985.

The private sector still found today that to develop a property and sell it to a black citizen required the approval of 27 different departments of governmental authorities.

Against this background the amounts pro-

Eglin calls for action on houses

vided for housing in the Budget were "hopelessly inadequate".

He said it would be "the height of folly" for the PFP to abandon its parliamentary base and to leave the National Party government unquestioned and unchal-

lenged in the highest legislature.

The PFP will stay in Parliament .. and "reach out to the people of our South African nation wherever they may be", says party leader Mr Colin Eglin.

lenged in the highest legislature. It would be doing a grave disservice to the cause of non-racialism if it opted out and allowed the Conservative Party to take over as the Official Opposition.

In many ways the

future of South Africa was being determined as much in the townships as in Parliament.

"Nevertheless, Parliament remains a uniquely important site of power and action among the many political sites in South Africa.

"It is the only site where laws are made — and scrapped, where the government can be called into account, where there can be a face-to-face debate with the government on vital political issues.

"The answer does not

lie in opting out. The challenge facing the PFP is to stay in and to make the maximum impact in Parliament while at the same time being relevant to the wider South African political arena. It is not an either/or situation."

Inside Parliament the PFP would continue to "expose the Nats wherever they are incompetent or arrogant or a danger to the well-being of the people of our country".

Cycle

From its base in Parliament it would "reach out to the people of our South African nation wherever they may be".

If the pressures being generated in wider society did not find a sympathetic response inside Parliament, they would result in a cycle of confrontation, repression and violence.

"And so the PFP has a critically important role to play, not only in the process of dismantling of apartheid but in the reduction of the level of bloodshed and violence that attends that process." — Sapa.

but to modernise it and incorporate it into the structure of South African society.

He called on all South Africans to join together in the shaping the future.

"The Government cannot stop the march of the people away from apartheid to a new South Africa, in which we will all be free," he said.

'Black pupils' demands met

by Correspondent

DURBAN — All the demands of black pupils, as voiced by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Support Committee, have been met, says Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Training.

He had no say on troops in the townships. Speaking after opening the department's regional conference in Durban, he said his recent meeting with the crisis committee had been friendly.

The demands included the rebuilding of schools, free text books, the release of detained students and measures against sexual harassment of students.

Sanlam chief calls for national plan

An extensive national strategic plan was essential for solving South Africa's problems, according to the chairman of Sanlam, Dr Fred du Plessis.

Addressing the company's annual meeting in Bellville yesterday Dr du Plessis said:

"We dare not continue to act in an ad hoc and unco-ordinated manner without clear objectives — and without bearing in mind our unique opportunities and problems."

In view of the "increasing danger" of sanctions and boycotts, a national strategy was necessary which would cover both economic and political areas.

He said he was pleased that the Economic Advisory Council of the State President was already working on a national economic strategy, but asked for greater urgency.

It was also essential that some body should be appointed to implement the formulated strategy and its actions should be properly monitored.

POPULATION GROWTH

"The plan I have in mind must establish a co-ordinated set of goals for us," he said.

National objectives would have to be determined for population growth, the creation of employment and the share of the private and the Government sector in the economy.

A number of goals had already been accepted by the Government but they were not part of a fully integrated strategy.

"I am convinced that we can put the South African economy back on the road to success — if the political situation improves and the economy is run according to a national long-term strategy," he said.

● See Page 16.

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SA's 'trial national convention'

From JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — A trial national convention of leading white and black South Africans and high-level observers from the frontline states and the West will be held behind closed doors here next week.

If all goes according to plan, the conference will bring together for the first time executive members of the African National Congress (ANC) and at least one National Party MP — and possibly other government representatives.

The United Democratic Front, Inkatha, various South African trade unions and civic associations, South African academics and possibly Swapo and the Pan-Africanist Congress will also attend.

The former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the PFP's former federal executive chairman, Dr Alex Boraine, will be there.

But the mainstream black consciousness movement, the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), will not — because the South African Government has refused its president, Mr Saths Cooper, a passport.

Mr Cooper confirmed yesterday Azapo had decided to attend the conference but despite the intervention of the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Patrick Moberly, he has been unable to get a passport.

The UDF will be represented by its former national treasurer, Mr

Cassim Saloojee, and Inkatha by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of the movement and a KwaZulu cabinet minister.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (NP Helderkrin), who was invited to the conference and is in London, might attend.

It is understood the ANC has a senior delegation on standby to attend if certain conditions are met.

One condition is that the ANC is prepared to meet individual Nationalist MPs, but not people officially representing the South African Government.

The three-day conference — entitled "South Africa in Crisis" — will be held at the British Government-funded Wilton Park centre at Steyning, Sussex, where participants will gather on Sunday.

The Wilton Park conference will be preceded by a closed conference at the SA Embassy tomorrow which includes several Wilton Park participants.

Also present at Wilton Park will be Mr Sam Mabe, Transvaal president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa), Dr Ntatho Motlana, former leader of the Soweto Civic Association, Soweto educationist Mr Fan- yana Mazibuko and Mr Vusi Khanyle of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

The US, Britain, Canada, Australia, France, West Germany, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique will also attend.

Yesterday in Parliament

Govt rejects move for joint sittings of all chambers

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government yesterday refused to permit joint sittings of all three Houses of Parliament to debate proposed legislation.

The Minister of Transport Affairs and leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Hendrick Schoeman, dismissed a private Member's motion proposed by Mr Pat Poovalingam (Sol, Reservoir Hills), who called for joint sittings of all three chambers to consider all proposed legislation and debates.

Mr Poovalingam said such a system would be conducive to greater efficiency and better economy.

He said coloured and Indian MPs attended the weekly joint sessions like 'dummies' as they were not allowed to participate in the debate.

It cost the taxpayer R200 000 a year to maintain an MP in Parliament. The public did not benefit from the money they paid because the MP could not perform his function efficiently under the present time and money-consuming system.

The tricameral system was designed to maintain National Party domination in a country which was ruled by a white oligarchy, Mr Poovalingam said.

Cumbersome

He described the triplication of debates in each House of Parliament as a 'terrible waste of time'.

Mr Ahmed Lambat, (Ind, Actonville), called for the tricameral system to be scrapped and replaced by a single Parliament.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, NPP leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council agreed that the present system was cumbersome.

In his reply, Mr Schoeman said that a single Parliament for all the people of South Africa would signal the end to any Indians being represented in Parliament.

He emphasised that the ethnic component of South Africa could not be ignored in an alternative constitutional framework for this country.

Mr Schoeman pointed out that a total figure of R33 million was allocated for expenditure incurred in running the whole of Parliament and its 308 MPs, adding that Mr Poovalingam's figures were exaggerated.

WEEKLY M.

March 14 to March 20, 1986 15

IN THE HOUSE

Dr No hasn't a hope against AWB

JEAN LE MAY reports from
Parliament

THERE is a great deal of talk in and around parliament about how far the NP is justified in its fear of the rightwing backlash.

Worst-case scenarios being bandied about even envisage the formation of a third rightwing political party around an AWB nucleus which will attract hardline grassroots of the HNP and the CP.

Nat fears were fuelled within the last couple of weeks when AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht conferred in Cape Town.

The AWB has registered its own political party, which is dormant at the moment. But far from rejecting the AWB — as the HNP has — Treurnicht seems to be moving more closely towards it.

Some Nationalist MPs say openly that they think the CP is in danger of being hijacked by the AWB.

For charisma, Treurnicht doesn't stand a snowball's chance against Terre'Blanche, they say.

The CP, of course, denies this vehemently, but I'm not so sure.

In my book, Terre'Blanche is the most powerful and most dangerous white orator in South Africa today.

A psychological analysis of some of his taped speeches commissioned by the Sunday Express was, briefly, that as a speaker he could hold an audience in the palm of his hand.

I use the adjective "white" purposely because, although many individuals in Terre'Blanche's 3 000-strong audiences are probably CP supporters or HNP or even Nats, when the chips are down it is the demagogues who win out initially.

And the chips are dangerously close to being down in South Africa today.

Although CP and AWB policies are on the face of it poles apart at the moment, there are places where they do coincide.

Significantly, Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) had a private member's motion in parliament this week pleading partition as the only viable policy for South Africa.

The most interesting part of the debate was the way in which National Party MPs jumped to denigrate a policy which the NP itself had invented.

Tino Volker (NP, Klip River) is not one of the most notable verligtes in the house, but he summed up NP reaction by saying that partition bred conflict instead of resolving it and cited Transkei as an example of economic interdependence.

And if Volker was not thinking of the AWB's policy of *boere volkstaat* as well as Transkei, I shall be very surprised indeed.

Dr Jan Grobler, Nationalist MP for Brits (where the AWB has long been very strong) describes AWB policies as "skop-skiet-en-slaan".

And Chris Rencken (NP Benoni) holds that the AWB, "just as much as the UDF and the ANC, is trying make the country ungovernable".

It is, of course, a far shot to look on what is happening in Warmbaths right now as the first rumblings of a serious white backlash.

But the stayaway seems to have polarised black and white almost to the point of no return.

The Nationalists have too often used the white backlash as an excuse to drag their feet.

It should not be too simplistic to suggest that if they're losing support among whites, it should be sought somewhere else: among those who at the moment are a long way from parliament.

Koornhof hammers Western dishonesty, double standards

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Piet Koornhof, chairman of the President's Council, yesterday accused the Western nations of being dishonest and applying double standards in their approach to South Africa.

At a dinner in London's Cafe Royal, attended by parliamentarians, industrialists and others who had visited South Africa and who are attending a symposium at South Africa House today, Dr Koornhof said that the international community had swallowed the line that widespread violence initiated by the African National Congress was evidence of "a great surge forward in the struggle".

"An anti-South African hysteria, fed by biased television coverage and domestic political considerations, took hold of the mighty United States of America. It was expediency at its worst.

"In their panic, leading American banks misread the situation and pulled the plug on South Africa. President Reagan retreated before the storm and authorised additional sanctions and sharpened his anti-South African rhetoric."

Dr Koornhof said the campaign in the US highlighted the attitude of the entire West.

It was claimed that the hostility to South Africa was caused by apartheid and this was dishonest, Dr Koornhof said.

He suspected some big businesses were more concerned about the safety of their cash than about moral issues in South Africa.

The West had been glad to accept South Africa's help in the Berlin airlift and in Korea — when apartheid was in full cry.

"The West had no moral qualms about using South Africa's ports when the Suez canal was closed. When Springbok teams were all white, they were enthusiastically welcomed in Britain, Australia, New Zealand and France.

"There was no talk of disinvesting by foreign corporations or of foreclosing by foreign banks when business was good — but black trade

unions were not even recognised."

Dr Koornhof was it was "irony with a vengeance that the holy indignation of the world community" should have risen in direct proportion to the broadening of democracy and removal of discrimination in South Africa.

"One suspects that the real concern of more than a few international boardrooms was not South African policy (they had co-existed with that easily enough before) but the prospect, as they saw it, that the economy might pass from experienced hands into disorder."

This would not happen.

"The world's view is falsely based on a general underestimation of Pretoria's resources and determination. We will ensure that a free enterprise economy is maintained under responsible direction and management."

Dr Koornhof said Western politicians now deemed it expedient to come to terms with Pretoria's enemies and Oliver Tambo was being "feted and given a hearing in your highest institutions".

He said the West's approach was "tragic". It was encouraging and prolonging violence in South Africa and discouraging moderate blacks from negotiating with the Government.

"There are other consequences. The confidence of the ordinary White South African in the justice and decency of the Western World has been badly damaged. I doubt whether he would be anxious today to have the resources and facilities of his country placed at the West's disposal in an emergency."

"Meanwhile, the worst that revolutionaries and the world can do will be overcome."

Dr Koornhof denied that South Africa had lost its bona fides. Pretoria had delivered "over the widest field" on its undertaking that discrimination would be progressively removed and that the quality of life of all its people would be upgraded.

PFP facing fear and frustration

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leaders are trying to instil confidence in the party and give it new direction in the wake of the bad publicity it received after Frederik van Zyl Slabbert resigned.

The PFP countrywide tour came to Johannesburg this week for a night of mixed fortunes for leader Colin Eglin and his Young Lions — Peter Gastrow, Ken Andrew and Robin Carlisle.



● EGLIN

Rosebank Primary School hall was packed as Eglin spoke passionately about the PFP's responsibility to tell Parliament South Africa was polarised and angry, that moderates were being crushed and youngsters were becoming militant.

The 500 people wanted more; they wanted to know whether the PFP had a plan of action that would pull SA out of its crisis.

The meeting was a study in white fear and frustration — fear about the future, frustration over not being able to do anything about it.

Party chairman Gastrow perceived this and Eglin later also acknowledged it. But by then the party leadership had let things slip.

Gastrow came to the heart of the matter, saying many feared the future, and pointed out that the "stress factor" was becoming obvious in white society.

But many were restless. What plan of action did the PFP have to save SA? Had they not heard this all before?

Eglin spoke about a change of style and the PFP becoming much more action-orientated.

He cited PFP involvement in township troublespots as evidence of the party's growing action-orientation.

"The public wants to see action. It is sick and tired of talking," he said to tumultuous applause.

But still the unease. The big question was what constitutional option the PFP had.

Here a paralysis gripped the party leadership. Eglin did not deal adequately with the questions.

Instead, he said the chairman for the night, Douglas Gibson, would answer any questions.

Gibson offered to discuss the speech in the foyer with anyone after the meeting.

The audience, however, was not satisfied. There were shouts of: "What about now?"

Gibson had to shout that the PFP stood for a democratic SA, equal rights for all and a system in which no single group would dominate another.

There was nothing concrete in that. The people were still not satisfied.

They were no doubt wondering where the youth and blacks stood and what the PFP could do to appeal to the masses.

Eglin said that the PFP had not mar-

PETER WALLINGTON
Political Reporter

keted itself properly in the past eight years or so and had, perhaps, not refined its constitutional standpoint.

Slabbert was party leader for that period.

But if the party had failed in the areas suggested by Eglin, was it Slabbert's fault or did the party rely too much on his charisma?

Did the party rank-and-file rely too much on Slabbert, hoping one day "Supervan" would wave a magic wand and cure-all?

This might be irrelevant now, but the party leaders have to tackle the people's fears and frustrations.

Eglin recognised that the people were as frustrated with the PFP as they were at being unable to affect political events.

He asked what "anti-Nats" had done actively to oppose apartheid.

PFP leaders alone could not work miracles, he said, adding that the party needed help from its supporters.

At that point Gastrow took over. His told the people that the days of paternalistic chats over afternoon tea with selected blacks were over.

It was not enough to sit back in a big house with a swimming pool and two cars and pontificate about how nice one was to blacks, he said.

"The only way for the PFP to become more relevant is to become involved with real political action in South Africa."

Shades of Slabbert? The ex-leader told the Johannesburg launch of the PFP trust fund last year that the party had become too comfortable with parliamentary politics and that it had to get out and identify with the suffering of the people.

Gastrow pointed out that a recent PFP meeting in Kimberley was attended mostly by blacks. He said that had resulted from the PFP making inroads in the city by working and identifying with the plight of the ordinary black man.

He went on to say that the PFP had won three municipal by-elections in recent weeks under trying circumstances.

There were whites willing to support the PFP, he said. The party just had to go out and bring them in.

But the PFP has to convince whites who want change that it is the best vehicle for this.

There were many in Rosebank this week who desperately wanted a vehicle for change, but they were not convinced the PFP was that vehicle.

Yet they and the party supporters have a role to play.

John F Kennedy's saying can be altered to apply here: perhaps the frustrated, angry supporters in search of a solution should not ask what the PFP and SA can do for them; they should rather ask what they can do for the PFP and SA



● GASTROW



● CARLISLE

Koornhof speaks out

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — President's Council chairman Piet Koornhof last night told a major London conference that government's achievements towards creating an equal society were often dramatic.



He also rejected the charge that "Pretoria says one thing and does another".

He said the transformation of a black population that "only yesterday" was illiterate was so dramatic it "entitled them to a share in the government of an industrialised country".

Koornhof was delivering his opening address to the Foreign Affairs-sponsored meeting of South African and British political, business, academic and media leaders.

The conference, which goes into closed panel discussion today, will provide a detailed opinion by experts on SA's problems, progress and what the future holds.

PFP urged to join NRP in bid to help blacks

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, has called on the Progressive Federal Party and black moderates to join him in a coalition party of national reconciliation aimed at bringing blacks into Parliament.

Mr Sutton said the PFP should come back into the mainstream of white politics and stop "fiddling with the UDF".

His proposed coalition could help to finance and organise a black party of moderates willing to participate in the present constitutional system, Mr Sutton said at a by-election meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre.

There could be no peace in the townships until moderate blacks organised and mobilised themselves to protect their interests against the radicals, said Mr Sutton.

What was needed was a political movement among moderate blacks that would give them a reason to resist violence and exert the force of the majority against the radical minority. The inclusion of blacks in Parliament was the only alternative.

ANC, NP invited to UK seminar

CAPE TOWN — A seminar on South Africa's problems and future prospects will be attended in Britain next week by a wide spectrum of South African industrialists, academics and politicians, a British embassy spokesman said today.

He said the seminar had been financed largely by British companies with an interest in South Africa.

It was hoped the seminar would attract a wide range of people, including National Party members. But as the African National Congress was likely to attend, it was not known whether the NP would be represented as it was against its representatives attending talks where the ANC would be represented.

However, NP representatives had been invited and included MP Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the party's Transvaal information officer.

Among those who will attend are the Progressive Federal Party's former leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and former PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine.

Among the academics are Dr Andre du Toit of Stellenbosch University and Professor Herman Giliomee of Cape Town University.

The United Democratic Front will be represented by its for-

mer national treasurer, Mr Cassim Saloojee, Inkatha by its secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhomo, and the Azanian People's Organisation by its Transvaal vice-president Mr Dan Hlabedi.

Dr Ntatho Motlana, former leader of the Soweto Civic Association, Soweto educationist Mr Fanyana Mazibuko and Mr Vusi Khanyile of the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee will also attend.

Trade union representatives have been invited and there is a possibility that Swapo and the Pan Africanist Congress will be present.

INVITED

Also invited are representatives from the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, France, West Germany, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

● In London it was reported that more than 100 British opinion-makers would take part in a closed-doors discussion on South Africa's future at South Africa House today.

The symposium, which is not linked to next week's meeting, will cover two main topics: "Toward a more equal society — economic change in the '80s", "Democratic political options".

— Sapa, The Star Bureau

Call for the scrapping of the present racially based Constitution

'Own affairs' maintains apartheid — PFP

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The only way to abolish apartheid in South Africa was to scrap the present racially based constitution, the House of Assembly has been told.

This was one of the main arguments put forward by the Official Opposition during a debate on the own affairs system.

Mr Nic Olivier (PFP, Nominated) said the concept of "own affairs" in the constitution meant nothing but the maintenance of apartheid.

The debate was marked by attacks from the left and the right on the present constitutional system.

Before the Assembly was a private member's motion from Mr Olivier seeking the removal of all references to "own affairs" from the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983.

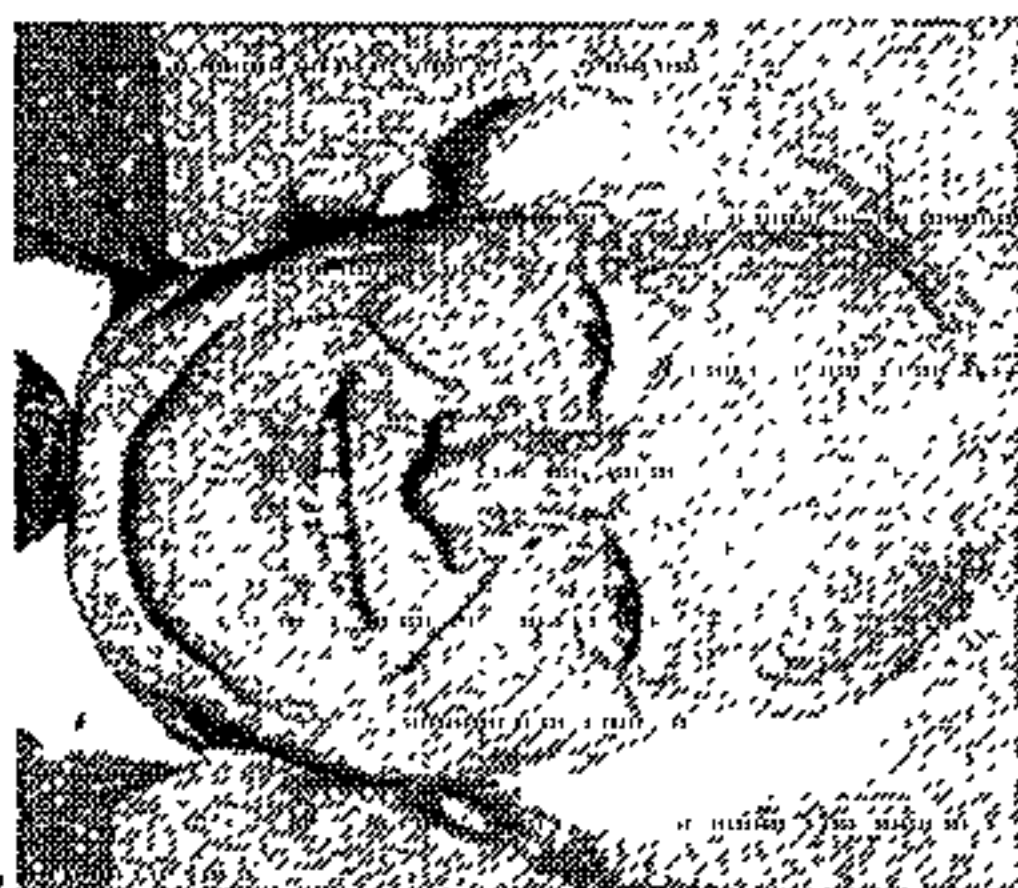
Argument

Mr Olivier said the Government's argument was that participation in the system had to be on a group basis because of the multicultural composition of the South African population.

The white group, however, consisted of a variety of cultural and religious groups.

The very idea that all whites formed a single group in the political process was a denial of the concept that participation had to be by cultural groups.

This showed that the concept of "group" under the present system was based purely on race and colour. Culture was not taken into account at all.



Mr Nic Olivier ... a variety of white cultural groups.



Mr Tian van der Merwe ... "political stupidity".



Dr Helgard van Rensburg ... defending Constitution.



Mr Jan Hoon ... whites compelled to share.

Mr Olivier's argument was taken further by Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point) who said "naked racism" was written into the race classification provisions of the Population Registration Act.

In terms of this law a Government official or the Minister concerned determined whether or not a person was accepted by a race group.

"In the final instance, 'own affairs' is political stupidity and not only a practical absurdity," Mr van der Merwe said.

The Conservative Party attacked the constitution.

grounds that the "own affairs" concept deprived the whites of the freedom granted to blacks in their separate homelands.

Mr Jan Hoon (CP, Kuruman) said the whites were being confined to a fatherland which they were compelled to share with other race groups.

Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg) asked how the Government would accommodate blacks in the system if they were not going to be given a fourth chamber of Parliament.

Defending the constitution, Dr Helgard van Rensburg (NP,

Mossel Bay) said it had to be conceded that the tricameral system was an extension of democracy in South Africa.

It was not possible for whites to have peace, security and prosperity at the expense of other groups. Nor was it possible for other population groups to have such conditions at the expense of the whites.

The PFP's proposal was not acceptable to the majority of white voters, while the CP's policy had to be rejected as "blatant white domination".

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr

Chris Heunis, said the central problem in South Africa was to find a constitutional alternative offering room for all the people.

The realities of South Africa had to be taken into account in any constitutional plan.

Mr Heunis rejected the arguments of the PFP and those of the right-wing parties.

Replying to the debate, Mr Olivier said one reality which the Government refused to accept was that the present constitution was unacceptable to the majority of people in South Africa.

basis of the Population Registration Act on which the constitution was based. This Act did not speak of culture, but only of race and colour.

Dominance

Under the present system there was not real power-sharing. The whites remained in a position of dominance.

"Own affairs" in fact, meant nothing but the maintenance of apartheid.

The Constitution had institutionalised apartheid. On that basis there could be no peace for South Africa.

What does it mean for SA?

FOR almost 30 years, a vigorous debate has been taking place on whether a black revolution is possible in South Africa. The verdict of most academics is that it is not possible — at least not in the classic sense of an armed seizure of power. Pretoria may not be able to suppress black violence, but blacks in turn are not able to seize Pretoria.

So how should the events in SA be categorized? Is it civil war, rebellion, insurrection, uprising, or plain unrest? I put this question to several South Africans who I feel are qualified to suggested answers.

Dr David Welsh, Professor of Southern African Studies, UCT: It is extremely difficult to overthrow a modern industrialized state with its massive powers of coercion. Also, many black areas have been created specifically to facilitate the movement of security forces; the black townships can be sealed off relatively easily and violence can be turned inwards to become a self-inflicted wound.

On the other hand, white hegemony is unlikely to survive intact: violence has a sapping, haemorrhaging effect on the white power structure. So we have a state of deadlock, and this will lead to a degenerative process.

The assumption is commonly made that whites and blacks have polarized and are into end-game politics. But it's more complex than that. Cleavages are emerging in all the ethnic communities. For example, the whole temperature of white politics has risen quite dramatically: note the bitterness between the National Party and the Afrikaner right-wing groups.

There is a flip side to this among blacks. They scent victory now — they think the end of white supremacy is in sight. They believe, therefore, that the decisions they take now, organizational and tactical, will be critical for the future.

As the stakes rise, so the animosities will rise; and it is not only black policemen, councillors and other apartheid collaborators who will become the victims of black violence, but also rival black organizations. One third of unrest deaths are blacks on blacks.

Chief Buthelezi is right when he says black violence will lead to SA becoming a wasteland, that a future black government will inherit a moonscape; but there is also considerable truth in the opposite contention that blacks will get nowhere without violence.



STANLEY UYS,
former London Editor
of the Cape Times,
gives his impressions
of a recent
visit to South Africa



Continued violence, I suppose, is inevitable, but it will tear at the whole fabric of society. Possibly, the best one can hope for is that after a period of endemic violence, exhaustion, deadlock and paralysis will set in and the two sides will try negotiation. This of course presupposes a rationality which may not materialize, but it's our only slim hope.

Dr Michael Spicer, public affairs adviser to Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American: The situation in SA does not fit any model with which social scientists are familiar. Perhaps the best description is to say SA is in a state of violent equilibrium.

Some areas, possibly, are in a state of rebellion, but it is a rebellion whose features are constantly shifting.

The comparison with the Iranian revolution is not, I believe, valid. The Iranians united to overthrow the Shah, but blacks in SA are divided, and as pressures build up in their communities, so the cleavages will increase. This is not a people's war, because there is no such thing as "the people".

I dislike the term "civil war" because it has a ring of finality about it, and as I see it the black struggle is going to be a long, drawn-out process in which polarization of points of view will intensify, moderates will lose confidence, emigration will increase and the economy will wind down; in other words, a degenerative process.

Prof Sampie Terblanche, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University: Ancient regimes, like the one in France or in SA, cannot be abolished overnight. More than 100 years later, it was still part of French life.

Apartheid will have to be dismantled systematically over a decade or two, and at the same time new structures will have to be put in its place.



Simply to abolish apartheid would create chaos. Nowhere in the world will a privileged class accept a 20-40 percent overnight drop in their living standards.

The economy will have to be restructured so that civilized standards are not destroyed. SA simply cannot emulate overnight the welfare states which exist in the First World. In the last resort, we are a Third World country with a Third World economy and tax capacity. The process of change will be a protracted one.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a founder-patron of the United Democratic Front: Last year, I attended a meeting addressed by an 18-year-old black. He said the government must know that from now on "violence is the word and attack is the call". When he said this, the whole audience of 2 000 rose to their feet. That's the kind of chilling experience I have had these days.

Young blacks have no intention of confining the violence to their own townships. They are determined to find a way to break out into the white areas. When that happens, we will not enter a traditional revolutionary situation, like the one in Russia or Zimbabwe. The parallel rather will be with the Lebanon, and once we are into that situation, the violence on both sides will become quite uncontrollable.

Is there any hope for SA? Probably through the churches working for reconciliation, but more likely through organizations like the UDF where whites and blacks work together with the same commitment and taking the same risks.

There is also hope in the growing realization among young blacks not only that they are helping to bring about great changes, but that they must also hold themselves responsible for the consequences of those changes — they are beginning to think more deeply about these things.

None of the South Africans whom I have quoted here practises violent change, so what are the aims of the practitioners of violence, like the ANC? Precise formulations are not easy, but from what I have been able to discover here in London, the scenario will be like this:

The ANC will not enter into negotiations with President Botha's government until certain conditions are met; and these conditions amount, in effect, to power sharing. In other words, the ANC wants a share of power before it begins to talk.

The conditions are the release of Mandela and other political prisoners, the legalizing of the ANC (and other black organizations), the creation of conditions in which a legalized ANC would be able to campaign freely in SA without inviting arrest, detention or banning, and a declaration of intent by President Botha that all South Africans, whites and blacks, are entitled as equals to decide the country's future. And the talks must be held in public, not private.

Conditions for talks

If President Botha agrees to these conditions, the process of power sharing will have started before talks are held — the ANC will not be going naked into the conference chamber, as it sees it, and the talks will be able to accelerate the process of power sharing. Meanwhile, the ANC's armed struggle will continue, but with this important difference: the emphasis will be shifted from sabotage attacks on economic and other installations around the country to the townships themselves. The weaponry that has been used in the armed struggle so far will be transferred to the townships to promote what is known now as the "people's war".

If the ANC's aims are realized — and this includes stealing weapons from the security forces — the struggle in (and outside) the townships increasingly will become an armed struggle. The ANC still has no intention of striking at random "soft targets", but there can be no doubt that it intends to escalate the armed dimension of the black struggle.

The strategy is to create no-go zones in townships, to establish street committees wherever possible to take over the running of the townships, to widen the zones of ungovernability, and gradually to grind the white rulers and their economy down until the power structure collapses.

This is not a revolution in the classic sense, but South Africa's own unique version of how to raze white rule to the ground.

But can this struggle be spread over 10 or 20 years, as Professor Terblanche suggests? I doubt very much whether SA's economy, its constitutional and political systems — and its nerves — could withstand this kind of punishment for so long. Somebody must start talking to somebody else long before then.

FCI to fight government over bannings

Cape Times 21/3/86
304 A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Business and government are heading for a showdown over the "crass and stupid" bannings this month of leading Eastern Cape community leaders Mr Henry Fazzie and Mr Mkhuseleli Jack.

After an unsuccessful meeting with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) now plans to take him to court to try to force the government to lift the banning orders.

The FCI and the Midlands Chamber of Industries met Mr Le Grange on Wednesday. The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) met the minister on Monday — without result.

'Jeopardized'

Mr Johan van Zyl, executive director of the FCI, said the bannings "raised a question mark against government's sincerity in negotiating with accepted

community leaders" and that they "only jeopardized the sincere efforts of those seeking solutions to the country's problems".

Mr Van Zyl said it was stressed to Mr Le Grange that Mr Fazzie and Mr Jack "have been involved for some time in negotiations with the local chamber of industries to find ways of reducing tensions in the Port Elizabeth area and to return the situation to relative normality".

Government officials said there was little likelihood of Mr Le Grange lifting the bannings, which were described yesterday by one leading Eastern Cape industrialist as "crass and stupid".

The bannings of the two have drawn sharp criticism both locally and internationally, prompting the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, to say the South African Government was "perpetrating a sham by saying it wanted to negotiate with black leaders while banning anti-apartheid campaigners".

However, the legal options open to the FCI are not extensive. Legal experts say Mr Le Grange's discretion could be challenged in the Supreme Court, in which case the minister might well be forced to disclose his reasons for banning Mr Jack and Mr Fazzie. So far, Mr Le Grange has maintained that it is not in the public interest to disclose his reasons.

Businessmen fear that Mr Le Grange's failure to lift the bannings could lead to another damaging consumer boycott in the Eastern Cape.

FOR ALMOST 30 years, a vigorous debate has been taking place on whether a black revolution is possible in SA. The verdict of most academics is that it is not possible — at least, not in the classic sense of an armed seizure of power.

Pretoria may not be able to suppress black violence, but blacks in turn are not able to seize Pretoria. So how should the events in SA be categorised? Is it civil war, rebellion, insurrection, uprising or plain unrest? I put this question to several South Africans who I feel are qualified to suggest answers.

Dr DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies, UCT: "It is extremely difficult to overthrow a modern industrialised state with its massive powers of coercion.

"Also, many black areas have been created specifically to facilitate the movement of security forces: the black townships can be sealed off relatively easily and violence can be turned inwards to become a self-inflicted wound.

"On the other hand, white hegemony is unlikely to survive intact: violence has a sapping, haemorrhaging effect on the white power structure. So we have a state of deadlock, and this will lead to a degenerative process.

The assumption is commonly made that whites and blacks have polarised and are into end-game politics. But it's more complex than that. Cleavages are emerging in all the ethnic communities.

"For example, the whole temperature of white politics has risen quite dramatically: note the bitterness between the National Party and the Afrikaner right-wing groups.

"There is a flip side to this among blacks. They scent victory now — they think the end of white supremacy is in sight. They believe, therefore, that the decisions they take now, organisational and tactical, will be critical for the future.

"As the stakes rise, so the animosities will rise; and it is not only black policemen, councillors and other apartheid collaborators who will become the victims of black violence, but also rival black organisations. One third of unrest deaths are blacks on blacks.

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'SA is in a state of violent equilibrium'

STANLEY UYS reports from London on his impressions after a recent visit to SA

says black violence will lead to SA becoming a wasteland, that a future black government will inherit a moonscape; but there is also considerable truth in the opposite contention that blacks will get nowhere without violence.

"Continued violence, I suppose, is inevitable, but it will tear at the whole fabric of society. Possibly the best one can hope for is that after a period of endemic violence, exhaustion, deadlock and paralysis will set in and the two sides will try negotiation. This, of course, presupposes a rationality which may not materialise, but it's our only slim hope."

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"Some areas, possibly, are in a state of rebellion, but it is a rebellion whose features are constantly shifting. This is not a people's war, because there is no such thing as 'the people'.

"I dislike the term 'civil war,' because it has a ring of finality about it, and as I see it the black struggle is going to be a long, drawn-out process in which polarisation of points of view will intensify, moderates will lose confidence, emigration will increase and the economy will unwind in a degenerative process."

SAMPIE TERBLANCHE, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University: "Apartheid will have to be dismantled systematically over a decade or two, and at the same time new structures will have to be put in its place. Simply to abolish apartheid would create chaos. Nowhere in the world will a privileged class accept a

20%-40% overnight drop in its living standards.

"The economy will have to be restructured so that civilised standards are not destroyed. SA simply cannot emulate overnight the welfare states which exist in the First World. In the last resort, we are a Third World country with a Third World economy and tax capacity. The process of change will be a protracted one."

Dr ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a founder-patron of the United Democratic Front: "Last year, I attended a meeting addressed by an 18-year-old black. He said the government must know that from now on 'violence is the word and attack is the call'. When he said this, the whole audience of 2 000 rose to their feet. That's the kind of chilling experience I have had these days.

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"Is there any hope for SA? Probably through the churches working for reconciliation, but more likely through organisations like the UDF, where whites and blacks work together with the same commitment and taking the same risks.

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But can this struggle be spread over 10 or 20 years, as Professor Terblanche suggests? I doubt very much whether SA's economy, its constitutional and political systems — and its nerves — could withstand this kind of punishment for so long. Somebody must start talking to somebody else long before then.

Privatisation 'no panacea'

TWO IMPORTANT ways of reducing the public sector's drain on resources are privatisation and extended use of user-charging. The main thrust of privatisation involves what may be termed the return or transfer of productive resources to the private sector, where they can often be more efficiently utilised than when falling under the public sector as broadly defined.

We should be fearless in looking for

Extracted from a speech given by Auditor-General JOOP de LOOR at the University of Durban-Westville



those spheres where they have come increasingly to diverge.

Such things as the proposed regional services councils levies, the changing approach to school fees, toll roads and the new system of third-party insurance provide evidence that we

PFP CANDIDATES

There were no surprises last week when the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) announced the names of two candidates to contest the pending Claremont and Pinelands by-elections.

The two frontrunners — MPC for Groote Schuur, Jan van Eck, and PFP Western Cape regional deputy chairman, Jasper Walsh — were picked from among nine aspirants to contest Claremont and Pinelands respectively.

The vacancies arose earlier this year after the resignations of the former PFP leader, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and Alex Boraine, ex-chairman of the party's federal council.

There is no indication yet when the by-elections will be held. PFP workers hope they will be before mid-year, but Nationalist sources believe a date around September is more likely.

There is speculation in Cape Town that a number of National Party (NP) MPs may be considering retirement at the end of the current parliamentary session and by-elections in their seats will be held simultaneously with Claremont and Pinelands. Two names being mentioned as possible NP retirees are Telecommunications and Public Works Minister Lapa Munnik, who holds the "safe" NP seat of Durbanville, and veteran NP frontbencher, "Witbooi" van Staden, a nominated MP.

The NP, the New Republic Party and the Labour Party are all still considering whether to fight Claremont and Pinelands, both of which are regarded as "safe" for the PFP.



THE fact that government was negotiating with black political leaders outside Parliament did not negate the role of Parliament, Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel told the American Chamber of Commerce yesterday.

• NEL

Speaking on the theme "South Africa: Rhetoric, Reality and Reform", Nel said the statement by former Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert that the tricameral Parliament could not bring about constitutional

Louis Nel slates Slabbert's 'ignorance'

al reform showed "complete ignorance". "He shows complete ignorance, not only of the role of Parliament, but also of the road of reform if it is to be constitutional."

"It cannot be denied that Parliament is the cornerstone of the democracy — limited as it may be — that we enjoy," Nel said.

It was also obvious that Parliament was the cardinal cornerstone for the expansion of democracy.

"If Dr Van Zyl Slabbert is interested in constitutional reform, his remarks are

certainly counter-productive. In all civilised countries it is accepted that constitutional reform must be effected by Parliament."

It was true that blacks were not represented in Parliament in South Africa and there was a great deal of political activity among them which the government should, and did, take note of.

"The government is prepared to negotiate, and indeed is negotiating, in extra-parliamentary politics with black political leaders who renounce violence as a

means to obtain political changes in this country," he said.

This, however, did not negate the role of Parliament.

Nel said government's commitment to reform had to materialise into reality or it would hold "no promise or hope".

During the current session of Parliament, several important matters would be translated into legislation.

Among these were the restoring of South African citizenship to blacks. Sapa.

CHE-TRAIS 24/3/86 (3044N) 2055

Saunders: Constitution 'unworkable'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE new tricameral constitution was unworkable, too costly and was skewing national priorities, the principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders, said last night.

Saunders said in his presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

He also said that he knew of "no one in government or out of it who has experience in health-service delivery, who will defend 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' hospitals".

In the field of education, multiple departments were costly and inefficient, and South Africa simply did not have the manpower and talent to staff those departments with people of adequate ability, Dr

He said that their preferred option is to have 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' hospitals.

"I have not met anybody who says it privately," he said.

The division of health services into "general" and "own" affairs would bring the medical profession in South Africa into question on ethical grounds.

Many people who had spoken to him, including members of the government and senior officials, had told him that

"we must make the constitution work".

"It seems to me that it doesn't matter what the cost is in human terms or in resources and money, but we are asked 'to make the constitution work'."

"My submission is that the constitution is unworkable, and I would add that it is increasing bureaucracy enormously, that it is too costly in financial terms for the country, and it is skewing national priorities," Dr Saunders said.

Most people would agree that the problems in education were among the root causes of unhappiness among black South Africans at present.

Yet, there were a "general affairs" education department, three "own affairs" education departments, numerous education departments in the homelands and an education department for Africans within the Republic.

The simple fact of the matter was that these

multiple departments were "costly and inefficient".

Under the present dispensation there was at least one minister who felt he could not talk to a statutory body which included members of another race group because he was an "own affairs" minister — "and yet that is the very group of people he should be consulting in making important decisions".

"The hamhandedness and intolerance shown by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the

House of Representatives in relation to the education needs of the coloured people should fill us all with a feeling of shame."

In contrast to what happened in "coloured" education, the approach of Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, was "more conciliatory and more intelligent and enabled the sensible leadership given by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee to be heeded by black scholars in South Africa".



SPECIAL REPORT
DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Reporter

Dr Alex Boraine — jubilant after successful campaigning when parliamentary politics was still the option.



Much to learn from the UDF: Boraine

"THERE is hardly a part of the human condition which the United Democratic Front does not touch.

"It represents a cry from the streets, the schools, the factories... It articulates the grievances of people who are being hit on all sides, not only by apartheid, but by the terrifying consequences of inflation, by unequal education.

"It represents a form of democracy we know little about. We have much to learn from the UDF."

And that, says Dr Alex Boraine, is precisely his intention. His resignation from

parliament and party politics followed close on the same dramatic move by his party leader and he has since publicly announced his intention to form closer links with the UDF and other extra-parliamentary bodies.

"More and more people are unwilling to buy the line that extra-parliamentary activity can be equated with subversion and revolution. There are a lot of people — establishment people — saying it's not going to work through Parliament and our (his and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's) decision, however small, has caused people to sit up and

say wait a minute, are the hopes we have in official opposition politics false hopes?

"If there's a message for the white community in our action, it's that it seems ill-advised to pin hopes for change and reform on parliamentary opposition. And the message for the black community is that there are people willing to leave status and the system and join forces with people right across the board."

Dr Boraine said it was with extreme sadness that he realised it had not been the voice of parliamentary opposition which had achieved the small

changes which have occurred so far.

"There are other forces at work — the belated awakening of business borne out of self interest, the international community sick and tired of lame excuses. And, most importantly, the voices from the townships which have brought pressure to bear on government."

And if one wanted to be a part of the new South Africa, this latter extra-parliamentary activity was not one to be ignored any longer, said Dr Boraine.

(It is a misconception that Dr Boraine intends joining the UDF. As a confederation of organisations, it is a body

which cannot directly be joined as such and while he accords the UDF a key and central role in the country's future, Dr Boraine does not see it as an all-encompassing movement and there are other groups he intends talking to as well.)

The significance in what the UDF was demonstrating was not in making the country ungovernable, he said.

"What the UDF is demonstrating — and not at leadership level but through the very people at grassroots level — is that they will not accept this government and its police anymore. And the thing I like about the UDF is that it's non-racial."

ANC 'no' to UK conference

CMT Times 22/3/86 (22/3) 3061

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — In a surprise move yesterday the African National Congress (ANC) announced that it will not attend the top-level conference on South Africa to be held here from tomorrow.

This is a further setback to the conference which was seen as a trial national convention of leading black and white South Africans.

Earlier this week the South African Embassy said it would not attend.

'Main agents'

The news that the ANC will not be there disappoints those who had hoped that the two main agents in the South African "crisis" would face each other for the first time across the conference table.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said in Lusaka yesterday the organization did not see how this conference would serve any purpose.

In a veiled snub to the British Government, Mr Sebina said South Africans did not need a mediator to intercede on their behalf.

South Africans were quite capable of organizing their own conference, he said.

He also said the ANC was not interested in sharing a platform with any member of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's movement.

Earlier the South African Government had said none of its representatives would be willing to share a platform with the ANC until it renounced violence.

The ANC has said that until there are certain definite changes in South Africa, they will not participate in any forum with South Africa.

Asked if a representative of the embassy would attend the Wilton Park conference, now that the ANC had opted out, a spokesman said that this did not apply as they had not been invited.

Contrary to speculation, Dr Piet Koornhof, chairman of the President's Council, had never intended to be present and had not been invited.

However, it is felt that a National Party MP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, may reconsider his decision not to attend.

The new national newspaper Today carried a splash report on its front page yesterday under the headline "Bloodbath must stop — Britain calls secret meeting with South African leaders".

'Bridge gap'

It claimed that Britain was acting as "honest broker" in an attempt to bridge the gap between the South African Government and the country's militant blacks.

Last night the organizer of the conference, Mr Geoffrey Denton, expressed his regret that the South African Government and the ANC would not be participating.

He said it was regrettable if any of the participants in the crisis facing South Africa felt unable to be present.

NPP accused of underhand dealings

Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — The National People's Party congress last year was paid for by a housing utility company in return for preferential treatment in the allocation of land, it was claimed in the House of Delegates yesterday.

The allegation has been made in a memorandum compiled by property developer Mr K Thambi of Dashanya Residential Development.

Those who have been sent copies of the memorandum include the State President, the Minister of Law and Order, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates and leader of the ruling NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION BLOCKED

However, Opposition moves to set up a parliamentary investigation into Mr Thambi's claims were blocked yesterday by the NPP.

The acting leader of the Opposition Solidarity Party, Mr Yunus Moolla, moved yesterday that a select committee be appointed to investigate the claims.

Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills) outlined some of the claims made by Mr Thambi.

One was that the NPP had accepted a donation covering the cost of the party's congress in October last year from Golden City Housing, a Johannesburg-based non-profit-making utility company.

In exchange, the company had received preferential treatment from the NPP-controlled House of Delegates administration in the allocation of land for housing development in the Indian township of Lenasia South, outside Johannesburg.

Another claim made in the memorandum was that friends and relatives of Indian MPs were being employed by such utility companies at high salaries, Mr Poovalingam said.

Neither this nor accepting donations for party congresses was necessarily illegal.



Mr Yunus Moolla . . . wants an investigation.



Mr Pat Poovalingam . . . outlined some of the claims.

But if there was any truth in the claims, they would be indicative of grossly improper conduct, he said.

NPP Chief Whip Mr M Baig moved an amendment endorsing the decision of the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Mr Baldeo Dookie, to hand over the memorandum to the police.

Mr Baig said the House was setting a dangerous precedent by debating whether or not to refer the claims of "a shady and notorious man" to a select committee.

Housing Minister Mr Dookie said he wanted to be sure of his facts before commenting on the claims.

The NPP leader Mr Rajbansi accused Mr Thambi of having tried to coerce Mr Dookie into allocating extra plots for his company.

Having failed, he was now trying to bring Mr Dookie's ministry into disrepute, he said.

Mr Rajbansi was adamant Mr Dookie had at all times acted correctly.

March 1986

3041

~~25/1/86~~

Parliament

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Mr Chris Heunis came under attack once again in the House of Representatives yesterday, this time from Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo).

He was speaking during debate on a private member's motion by Mr Jac Rabie (LP Reiger Park) calling for a commission of inquiry of Members of the House to investigate constitutional alternatives.

Mr Hendrickse said the intransigence of the Nationalist government and its "arrogance personified by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis," might

lead the LP to adopt strategies of exposing, embarrassing and obstructing.

It was typical of "white arrogance" that no white cabinet ministers or Nationalist MPs were present while the motion, which dealt with the constitutional future of the country, was being debated, he added.

On March 17 Mr Heunis was attacked by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the

LP attack on Heunis

House, Mr Allan Hendrickse, for not attending debate on the Constitution in the House of Representatives.

● Introducing his private member's motion yesterday, Mr Rabie said the commission which he proposed would call for and hear evidence in public in the major centres.

Parties that would be called included the African National Congress, the Afrikaanse Weer-

standsbeweging, the United Democratic Front, representatives from commerce and industry and all the parties represented in Parliament.

"It will not help if anti-system people refuse to give evidence. The Labour Party is busy with a sincere effort to bring about peace and participation for all.

"It must be done because all the models that the whites have proposed have been successful failures."

● The motion was put to the vote and passed after a division in which the Freedom Party and the DWP opposed it. — Sapa

Talks with PW 'satisfactory'

23/3/86 CITYP

3041A

THE meeting between the Association of Chambers of Commerce and President PW Botha to discuss the unemployment of black people and their participation in the political system has been "satisfactory".

Assocom said the meeting was part of its on-going contact with the authorities, and meetings took place at regular intervals.

"We had frank and open discussions at all levels of government and in Parliament," the statement said.

"The exchange of views took place in a constructive spirit."

Among the subjects of "critical importance" to the business community that were discussed were the pace of economic and



BOTHA: Held meeting with Assocom.

political reform, black unemployment and black participation in the political system.

"Possible constitutional options" were also discussed, the statement said.

There were also discussions in the business and economic outlook, South

Africa's image abroad and the implementation of the Regional Service Councils.

Assocom said it also urged the Government to make greater use of the business sector in seeking solutions to both economic and political problems.

Fund soon to reach R10-m'

R7,5-m 'Van' trust to boost PFP's size

304A
STAR
24/3/86

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The largest slice of the R7,5 million raised so far in the Progressive Federal Party's intensive fund-raising campaign will be used to boost membership and to overhaul the management of the party.

PFP secretary general Mr Robin Carlisle said today the Progressive Trust for a New South Africa (the new name for the Van Zyl Slabbert Trust) was now the PFP's main finance source.

Payments and pledges to the trust, totalling R7,5 million before the name change (after Dr Slabbert's resignation), remained firm, he said.

The trust was expected to pass the R10 million mark soon.

Mr Carlisle said the bulk of the "new money" was going to be used to boost the PFP's 40 000 membership.

"Already 10 percent of our membership is black, and we hope to increase this rapidly. The key to the party's future is to increase black and white membership."

American polling techniques

"Once whites realise the PFP has substantial support in the black community, more will support us. Once blacks see that a large number of whites support us, more of them will see us as a party with prospects," he said.

To do this, the PFP was going to concentrate not only on Parliament but also on the political arena outside Parliament.

The PFP had launched Operation Outreach and a special task force to concentrate on negotiations to achieve this, he said.

A second channel for the new funds raised by the party was to revamp the PFP's management system, Mr Carlisle said. This would involve top professionals and systems.

The party would also use the latest American polling techniques to identify the crucial issues and voter groups in elections.

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Cape Times, Monday, March 24, 1986 3

'SA crisis' conference in Britain cancelled

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Wilton Park conference on the crisis in South Africa was cancelled last night because of the refusal to participate by some of those who were expected.

However, informal discussions will continue among those present, conference director Mr Geoffrey Denton said last night.

He said the planned conference, which was due to open last night, was not intended to be a negotiating forum or "trial national convention", as some sections of the media had referred to it.

He said: "All participants are attending in a personal capacity. It is an off-the-record meeting intended like all Wilton Park conferences, to allow calm discussions in a neutral forum in the hope of contributing to mutual understanding."

Mr Denton also said reports that British ministers would be present were incorrect. They had not been invited, and therefore did not withdraw following protests by the South African Government.

PFP youth wants party to move left

STAR 24/3/86
309A

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A national executive meeting of the youth wing of the Progressive Federal Party has decided the PFP must make a major move to the political left if it is to be "relevant" in South Africa's future.

In a statement issued at the meeting in Port Elizabeth at the weekend, the Young Progressives said they felt the PFP had a role to play in upholding values such as the rule of law and the protection of individual freedom.

"But the only way these principles can be credible to the majority of South Africans is if we make ourselves relevant to the struggle for freedom through action and not words," the statement said.

Expanding on this, national chairman of the organisation Mr Andrew Miller said the PFP was in a state of crisis after the resignation of leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and now had to rethink its "traditional and old-fashioned role as a Parliamentary opposition because it is not just good enough".

He added the Young Progs had accepted the principle of "selective sanctions", of moving away from a capitalist economic system toward a social democratic or welfare state, and of forging stronger links with more radical organisations such as the End Conscription Campaign and the United Democratic Front.

The organisation had also concluded it was a "totally wrong" move for the PFP to co-operate in the tricameral Parliament by trying to have coloureds and Indian PFP members elected to the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

Nevertheless, Mr Miller said he felt white PFP MPs should continue to work in the House of Assembly "as that is where the real power lies".

ANC, Govt
veto top-level
SA conference

The Star Bureau

LONDON — At the 11th hour the African National Congress has turned down an invitation to a top-level conference on South Africa's future.

Black and white leaders from Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa have begun four days of talks at a venue funded by the Foreign Office.

They are debating the state of South Africa today and a future where violence is replaced with a negotiated solution.

The ANC withdrew on orders from its headquarters in Lusaka.

The South African Government is also boycotting the conference. It was invited to send representatives but vetoed the idea as it believed the ANC would be there.

B. Day

25/3/86 304A

Cabinet plans to transfer some white Own Affairs

THE Cabinet has approved the transfer of resorts, museums and library and auxiliary services, identified as Own Affairs of whites, to the white administration.

Delivering the Budget speech for the Administration: House of Assembly yesterday, House of Assembly Budget Minister F W de Klerk said these services would be transferred as soon as possible after April 1 this year.

De Klerk stressed that government was committed to the promo-



● DE KLERK

tion of the interests of all race groups and the elimination of disparities between races as quickly as possible.

At the same time, government was convinced that the recognition of decision-making powers on Own Affairs best equipped any population group's leaders to achieve the best results for their people.

"The welfare of the whites does not lie in prejudice to anyone else. By the same token, the welfare of other population groups does not lie in the disruption of the vested interests of whites.

"And the interests of the whites, as well as those of other population groups, can best be promoted within the framework of maximum

self-determination."

Turning to the division of health services and local-affairs matters, now assigned to the provincial administrations, the minister said there was no finality on the matter.

"Sound progress has, however, been made with the identification of the own-affairs aspects of these functions. It is trusted that finality will be reached during this session of Parliament."

"Pertinent guidelines" had been determined for privatisation, and services which could be privatised had been identified within the departments of Agriculture and Water Supply; Health Services and Welfare; and Local Government, Housing and Works.— Sapa.

possible for the faculty to open at the beginning

Wilton Park conference on SA collapses

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Wilton Park conference on South Africa has collapsed — because some black delegates have withdrawn.

Five delegates, including Dr Nthato Motlana, withdrew in protest at the presence of Inkatha representative Dr Oscar Dhlomo, and because the ANC had dissociated itself from the conference.

The five were concerned that they were being seen to be entering negotiations for a settlement in the country.

The conference was intended to provide a neutral forum where delegates from widely divergent political camps could meet.

But organisers ran into problems on the first day when the five withdrew. They were forced to announce the closure of the conference yesterday, though informal discussions between remaining delegates continued.

They have expressed regret and annoyance at the withdrawal of the black delegates and "inaccurate reporting" which prompted the withdrawal.

A conference official said late yesterday:

"I regret that some delegates withdrew, particularly as the basis for the withdrawal is misinformation."

25/3/86 SNAR

NP says: 'We will send observers'

Serious blow for kwaZulu indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — In a serious blow to the Natal/kwaZulu indaba, the National Party, Natal Indian Congress and United Democratic Front today turned down invitations to participate.

But, significantly, the NP has agreed to send observers.

Indications are that the non-participation of the two extra-parliamentary groups will not stop the conference going ahead.

Other groups which have refused to participate are the African National Congress, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

But most of the 31 other organisations invited have agreed to attend the indaba, which opens in the Durban City hall next Thursday.

The Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in a letter that the party "is directly involved in the Central

Government and consequently it would not be appropriate to participate in the indaba on the suggested basis".

But the NP would "in a spirit of goodwill, and as further evidence to our commitment to negotiation" send a delegation to attend as observers.

The delegation would be led by Natal NP chairman Mr Tino Volker and would include vice-chairman Mr Jurie Mentz and provincial secretary Mr Renier Schoeman.

Mr Botha said the party had serious reservations about the invitations being sent to some organisations whose "declared intentions and activities are at variance with the norms of a civilised order and democratic process".

He also referred to President Botha's opening of Parliament speech, in which he referred to a negotiated future and the establishment of a National Statutory Council.

The Chief Minister of

kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned in a recent speech that if the NP did not take part in the indaba it would be a "betrayal of their supporters; the people of Natal and kwaZulu; and of their own Cabinet Ministers, who invited the people of Natal and kwaZulu to come forward with a plan".

He warned that he could not be expected to participate in any forum the Government may devise at a national level if they refused to participate in the indaba.

Dr Farook Meer, spokesman for the NIC and UDF, said the NIC had decided that it would not attend the indaba but would still consult community organisations to get a full mandate for its opposition to the talks.

The UDF position was unqualified rejection. The main reasons included the view that the organisations could have nothing to do with apartheid structures.

Black walkout ends conference on SA

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — The Wilton Park conference on South Africa in crisis has been scrapped, following the walkout of most of the black participants invited to attend.

In a statement they pointed out that, in view of the status that had been given to the talks, they did not wish to negotiate on behalf of their fellow South Africans.

As they were high-level representatives of various organizations within South Africa, their withdrawal made it impossible to continue with the conference as it had been envisaged.

In an extraordinary gesture, the organizer of the conference, Mr Geoffrey Denton, issued a statement in which he said that, in view of the non-participation of some of those who were expected to attend, "the closure of the conference has been agreed".

The statement added: "But informed discussions are continuing among those present."

In their statement yesterday the blacks also objected to sitting on the same platform as a representative of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

They also objected to the absence of "the liberation movement" by which it is understood they meant the African National Congress. The ANC had in fact been invited to participate but had not been willing to do so.

The black delegates also said that they had been under the misapprehension that the conference was sponsored by an independent academic institution but had learnt of the British Government's involvement in the sponsorship.

While Wilton Park is funded by the British Foreign Office, it stoutly maintains its independence. It has hosted conferences concerning other "crisis" areas in the past.

Mr Denton said last night that the "informed discussions" with the remaining participants were continuing "very well".

No surrender, PW tells farmers

Political Correspondent

South Africa would not turn its back on centuries of civilised norms and values to surrender to leftist revolutionary chaos, President Botha said yesterday.

He was opening the third world congress of brahman breeders run by the Brahman Cattle Breeders of South Africa.

South Africa, like other countries in history, was caught in a concerted effort to kill the truth and manipulate reality: "We share this situation with all countries of the free world but because of our unique circumstances we have to carry a major burden in this regard.

"We shall do so despite the unparalleled campaign against the sovereignty of our country and despite the hypocrisy with which we must cope," he said.

"We believe in a democratic system of government. We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals and groups.

"We dare not and shall not turn our backs on our centuries-old heritage in this regard."

The country had for long been caught in the cross-fire of the struggle between the world's power blocs. The result was a country in many areas deliberately isolated from the rest of Africa. This was unfortunate and unnecessary.

White heat in Warmbaths



White heat: Warmbaths' spirit returns as the town's white residents fight a battle for a better future. White residents are the town's and fight for a better future.

THE simmering town of Warmbaths showed two different faces to the world this week — and both sides are locked on a collision course that neither can win outright.

In the sleepy dorp hewn out of the bushveld some 90km north-west of Pretoria, armed white residents are running the town's life-support systems.

They can refuse him, man the petrol pumps and pitch in on the mental tasks to defy a black labour boycott.

Just two kilometres away from white Warmbaths, passions are bubbling over in a world apart.

What started as a work stayaway in Bela Bela township turned into violence late this week as white motorists caught the ugly backlash of stone-throwing mobs.

Across the invisible divide, both sides were digging in. On the one side were defiant whites, determined to break the stranglehold of the labour boycott.

On the other were black strike organisers, allegedly helped by radical students from Soweto and Pretoria, publishing their own set of demands for labour peace as the stayaway began to bite.

Frontier

Voortrekker descendant Looi Bothma runs a petrol station at a service station at the gateway to the town.

By DAVID JACKSON

They... if the 'trekkers could name this land, we can certainly name Warmbaths.

Since the bulk of his black workforce walked off the job early last week, Mr Bothma, his wife and daughter, Joe-

ling — with more than a little help from out-of-work whites and a handful of volunteers from the local Warmbaths Hoerskool.

The top rate is around R100 a week — the same rate paid to blacks — and that's survival money for a new generation of 'poor whites' in the district who have lost their jobs in the deepening recession.

Many of them have eagerly jumped in to fill the sudden labour gap.

Now, says local Afrikaner Sakehamer chairman Nic Strijdom, about 25 to 30 per cent of black workers can't

Picture: MARGOT WILMANS

can't keep this up indefinitely. "If the same story at a popular tourist hotel in the centre of Warmbaths.

Potential guests are being turned away because of the shortage of black labour.

But essential services are being kept on schedule — thanks to whites.

"Have you ever seen our town looking cleaner?" quips Mr Strijdom.

Within a day of the boycott starting, emergency plans swung into operation with military precision.

VOORTREKKER SPIRIT RETURNS AS A DORP FIGHTS TO BREAK BLACK LABOUR STRANGLEHOLD

Security forces, consisting of the police, the security police and the local town constabulary, are on the scene.

While volunteers are everywhere — and they are determined to see through the 'siege of Warmbaths'.

Intimidation

At the Warmbaths Rinsoud, a senior citizens' home run by the NG Church, while nurses are changing the beds and doing the weekly wash — by hand.

'Inmates chip in by peeling the spuds to provide about 80 dinners.

Mrs Irma van Zyl, matron at the Rinsoud, says firmly: "We will not be taking back the striking nurses... It's criminal for a nurse to walk out on patients like this."

Late this week tensions on both sides of the ideological divide spilled over into violence.

On Thursday afternoon, Bela Bela echoed as usual to the reggae beat of Bob Marley and Peter Tosh as revolutionary anthems blared out from dozens of cheap transistor sets.

Some blacks reporting for work told their white employers of intimidation... and whispers of impending unrest.

Road-block

It was all 'tactile subtle' and sassy as the locals danced into the salubrious dance hall — and sweating couples clucked to the music of a country and western band belting out "Detroit City".

Many had come straight from a well-attended security briefing — complete with slides and graphics to illustrate the strategy of communist subversion.

Then came the news of an imminent road-block set up by black rioters using sewerage construction pipes.

While motorists were reportedly under a hail of stones... and the shadow of violence passed over an evening of merriment.

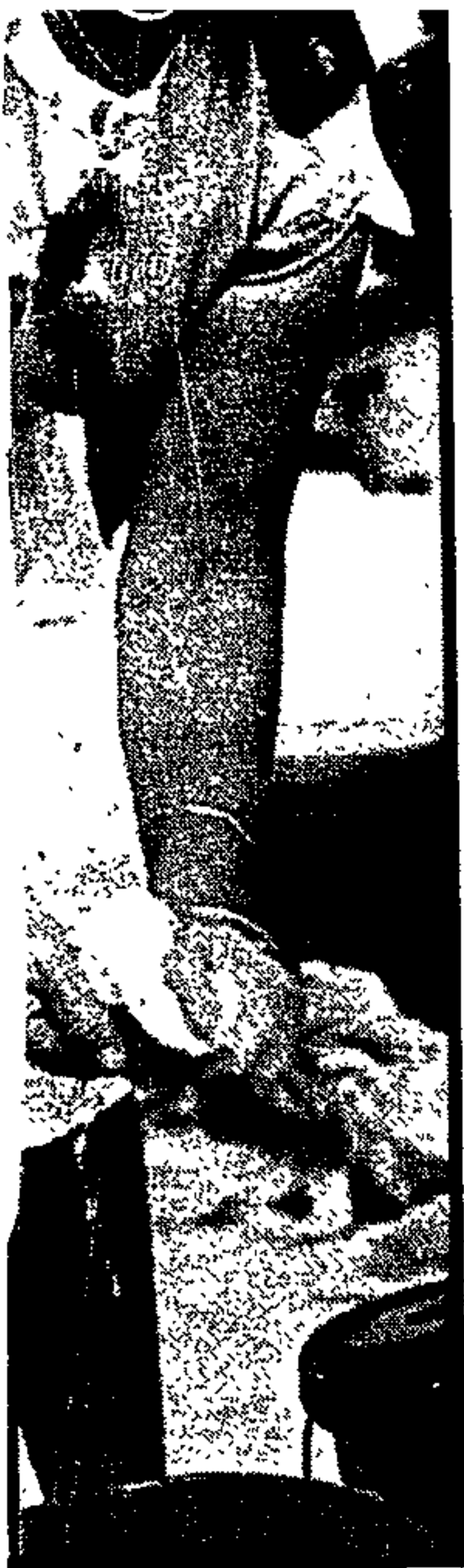
According to business sources, a so-called "Committee of Fear" in Bela Bela claims to be at the helm of events, distributing circulars calling for the redressing of grievances.

Demands include rent reduction, scrapping of corporal punishment at schools and the resignation of Bela Bela's black councillors.

The battle is on for the political soul of Bela Bela. But, said a white businessman at the nightclub bar, "This is a no-win situation."

"We need them and they need us. Maybe this boycott can knock some sense into heads on both sides."





Matron Irma van Zyl gets down to washing by hand

What started as a work stayaway in Bela Bela township flared into violence late this week as white motorists caught the ugly backlash of stone-throwing mobs.

Across the invisible divide, both sides were digging in.

On the one side were defiant whites, determined to break the stranglehold of the labour boycott.

On the other were black strike organisers, allegedly helped by radical students from Soweto and Pretoria, publishing their own set of "demands" for labour peace as the stayaway began to bite.

Frontier

Voortrekker descendant Loodt Bothma mans a personal frontier post at a service station at the gateway to the town.

"Ons is oop, boycot en al!" ("We're open, boycott and all!") a handwritten sign greets incoming motorists, while Bothma keeps a loaded shotgun and pistol within reach.

"This has been a shot in the arm for Warmbaths," says Mr Bothma, thoughtfully fingering the trigger of his shotgun.

"It's proved that the Voortrekker spirit is still very much alive in this town.

"My grandfather carried a dismantled wagon over a mountain during the Great

Trek... if the 'trekkers could tame this land, we can certainly tame Warmbaths!"

Since the bulk of his black workforce walked off the job early last week, Mr Bothma, his wife and daughter, Toekie, have kept the garage going — with more than a little help from out-of-work whites and a handful of volunteers from the local Warmbad Hoërskool.

The top rate is around R100 a week — the same rate paid to blacks — and that's survival money for a new generation of "poor whites" in the district who have lost their jobs in the deepening recession.

Many of them have eagerly jumped in to fill the sudden labour gap.

Now, says local Afrikaanse Sakekamer chairman Nic Strydom, about 25 to 30 percent of black workers may not get their jobs back when the strike is over.

"There is a strong feeling in town that we shouldn't take them back — and, in many instances, we won't need to," says Mr Strydom.

The sentiment is echoed across the work spectrum, and the Sakekamer says it has reports of productivity being doubled at some firms.

Garage owner Loodt Bothma has been tabulating a set of figures to prove that productivity is up.

"In one day, I filled 193 cars myself and brought in R3 126... there is no way we can allow unruly mobs to disrupt our livelihood."

Two of Mr Bothma's black labourers ignored threats to stay at their jobs. But the rest won't be coming back if Mr Bothma sticks to his guns.

He fired the workers with effect from Wednesday after they ignored an ultimatum to return.

Bizarre

There is a bizarre reversal of roles in this conservative town on the border of Treurnicht country.

At several garages, black motorists are seen queueing up for petrol and a wind-screen wash — and they are speedily served by white pump attendants.

Despite the brave show of defiance, others are feeling the pinch.

The local Wimpy bar — ironically a multiracial venue in a town where most restaurants are closed to blacks — was closing its doors by late afternoon, weariness etched on the faces of the white staff who have been washing the dishes and basting hamburgers.

"We've been on our feet since Saturday," sighs manager Neels Jansen.

"Productivity is up all right, but turnover is suffering.

"We are coping, but we

can't keep this up indefinitely."

It's the same story at a popular tourist hotel in the centre of Warmbaths.

Potential guests are being turned away because of the shortage of black labour.

But essential services are being kept on schedule — manned by whites.

"Have you ever seen our town looking cleaner?" quips Mr Strydom.

Within a day of the boycott starting, emergency plans swung into operation with military precision.

Security forces, consisting of the police, the security police and the local town commando and civil defence unit, have kept the wheels of the town rolling.

White volunteers are everywhere — and they are determined to see through the "siege of Warmbaths".

Intimidation

At the Warmbaths Ru-soord, a senior citizens' home run by the NG Church, white nurses are changing the bedpans and doing the weekly wash — by hand.

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Pretoria won't run all white 'own affairs' — De Klerk

Political Staff

The Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, has told Parliament that "own affairs" will not be administered only from Pretoria — this was "unthinkable".

Introducing the white "own affairs" budget in the Assembly yesterday, Mr De Klerk said there were historic and other considerations which made it necessary to recognise regional priorities and needs. Because of this, planning would be based on devo-

lution, decentralisation and a delegation of powers.

The transfer of provincial functions to the white administration would involve a huge transfer of work to the Ministers' Council of the Assembly. He hoped further announcements about this could be made during the present session of Parliament.

Mr De Klerk also said during his address:

● The Cabinet had approved the transfer of resorts, museums and library and auxiliary services identified as "own affairs" of whites to the adminis-

tration of the House of Assembly as soon as possible.

● Finally had not yet been reached about the division of health services and local affairs matters.

● The transfer of education from provincial control to that of the Department of Education and Culture would take place from April 1.

● The "own character" of provincial education departments and the educationally justifiable traditions of their schools would not be affected by the new dispensation.

How PFP will spend R7.5m

THE largest slice of the R7.5m raised in the PFP fund-raising campaign so far will be used to boost membership and to overhaul party management.

Robin Carlisle, PFP general secretary, said yesterday the Progressive Trust for a New South Africa (the new name for the Van Zyl Slabbert Trust) had become the PFP's main source of finance.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) No. (a) and (b) fall away.

(2) No.

Rebel cricket tours

*20. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of National Education:†

(1) Whether his Department (a) contributed (i) directly and (ii) indirectly to the financing of the so-called rebel cricket tours in the Republic and (b) rendered assistance in any other manner in this connection; if so,

(2) (a) what amounts were involved, (b) what was the nature of such assistance

ance and (c) in respect of what period is this information furnished?

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) (a) (i) and (ii) No funds for the direct or indirect financing of the so-called rebel cricket tours were provided for in my Department's budget.

(b) Yes. At the request of the SA Cricket Union, an official of the Department of National Education was made available for the purpose of accompanying the following touring teams as liaison officer:
Sri Lanka tour of 1982
West Indian tour of 1983
West Indian tour of 1983/84.

(2) (a)

Sri Lanka tour R3 075

Salary and out-of-pocket expenses of the official, as well as travelling expenses to enable him to join the team.

West Indian tour R2 250

Salary and out-of-pocket expenses of the official, as well as travelling expenses to enable him to join the team.

West Indian tour R2 904

Salary of the official, as well as travelling expenses to enable him to join the team.

the Minister of Justice:†

Whether (a) magistrates and (b) other members of the Department of Justice may participate actively in party politics; if not, why not; if so, subject to what conditions?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) and (b) The hon member's attention is directed to the provisions of section 30

management of a lawful political party;

(b) attend a public political meeting, but may not preside or speak at such a meeting;

(c) not draw up or publish any writing or deliver a public speech to promote or prejudice the interests of any political party."

Section 19(g):

"Misconduct.— An officer, other than a member of the services or the National Intelligence Service, is guilty of misconduct and may be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of section 20, if he—

(g) makes use of his position in the public service to promote or to prejudice the interests of any political party;

Prisons Regulation No. 71(1)(y):

"(1) A member or temporary warder who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of the Act or these regulations (other than a contravention or non-compliance which is expressly declared to be an offence under the Act or these regulations) or who—

(y) makes use of his position in the Prisons Department to promote or to prejudice the interest of any political party;

shall be guilty of a contravention of the Act or of these regulations, as the case may be."

*22. Maj R SIVE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to the reply of the Minister of Transport Affairs to Question No 17 on 18 February 1986, the investigation into the use of a South African Transport Services vehicle by security forces for patrolling townships has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed; if so, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings;

(2) whether any action is to be taken as a result; if not, why not; if so, what action;

(3) whether the security forces utilising this vehicle were members of the South African Police; if not, which branch of the security forces utilised the vehicle; if so, (a) who authorised the operation, (b) what is the (i) name, (ii) rank and (iii) experience of the officer in charge of the operation, (c) what are his qualifications, (d) how many members of the police were engaged in this operation, (e) what specified arms were used and (f) how many rounds were fired;

(4) whether any persons were (a) killed and (b) injured as a result; if so, (i) how many, and (ii) what were their ages, in each case;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(i) and (ii) The police investigations are completed. The inquest dockets have been submitted to the Attorney-General for his decision.

Call on Western leaders to rethink

Botha queries real sanctions motives



● BOTHA

BDAY 25/3/86 30/1A

IF THE real object of sanctions was to encourage revolutionary change, Western leaders would have to seriously rethink their role in this "unwarranted campaign" against SA, State President P W Botha said yesterday. Speaking at the third World Congress of Brahman Breeders in Johannesburg, Botha said there were a number of "interesting ironies" to recent calls for sanctions.

They were no longer coming only from the ranks of the Communist and Eastern-bloc or Third World countries.

"Today both the calls for economic sanctions, and the actual imposition of such sanctions, comes mainly from the ranks of

Western countries. This is the first irony."

The second irony lay in the real object and questioning of the timing of these calls for economic sanctions.

"It is said to be done to aid the under-privileged and the powerless in SA. But this uncalled-for intervention in our domestic affairs comes at the very time when we are in the most dramatic phase of fundamental reform in this country's history.

"There must, therefore, be something sinister in both the motivation and the timing of calls for economic sanctions against us.

The third irony lay in the possible effects of economic sanctions. Those actions would be mainly to the detriment of the

under-privileged and the poor, and therefore mainly the blacks of this country.

Ultimately, economic sanctions would have nearly the opposite effect from that which was envisaged, if the motivation was to be believed.

South Africa was a civilised country, believing in civilised norms and values, and upheld human dignity, life and liberty.

As a highly developed and industrialised nation, SA had a responsibility to all its communities.

It wished to take up its responsibilities at home and in the rest of Africa. But, for too long it had been caught in the crossfire of the international struggle between world power blocs. — Sapa.

White right-wing haunts NP's reform programme

A NEW SPECTRE is haunting SA — the spectre of the white right-wing. Its spokesmen claim it is growing at a rate of 7% a year, as voters turn away from President Botha's reform programme.

In the Springs parliamentary by-election last October, according to one survey, there was a 44% swing away from the National Party, and the NP would have lost the seat if it had not been for English-speaking support.

Over half the Nationalist seats in the Transvaal are irrevocably lost to them, with the Free State and parts of Natal precarious," according to a Conservative Party spokesman.

Until last year, this right-wing optimism would have been dismissed as wishful thinking by analysts who had come to the comfortable conclusion that there was a built-in limit on the right-wing's growth potential — a ceiling on its development.

The analysts argued that the catchment areas of the right-wing were the platteland and mining districts, where the residual Neanderthals lived who had failed to make the evolutionary leap from ideological Verwoerdism to Botha reformism. In other words, the extreme right-wing was a dying — or at least a static — phenomenon.

Spearhead

Now a re-think is taking place, as two new factors are added to the ideological one: white fears that the black unrest will spread into white residential areas; and a decline in white living standards, caused not only by the economic recession, but also by the transference of state spending from whites to blacks under the reform programme.

At present, the right-wing have only three parliamentary seats: the Conservative Party holds two and the HNP one (the CP has 18 MPs, but 16 are defectors from the NP who have not re-contested their seats yet).

How many more seats can the CP and HNP win?

Louis Stofberg, one of the founders of the HNP when it broke away from the NP in 1969, won the HNP's first parliamentary seat — Sasolburg — last October (after the HNP had unsuccessfully contested 350 parliamentary seats since 1969).

He told me: "We have in our hands today the key to bring President Botha to a fall. We can destroy the NP politically. It is only a question of time."

Stofberg believes Sasolburg was the HNP's breakthrough into the white industrial working class. "The

STANLEY UYS reports from London after a recent visit to South Africa

spearhead of Afrikaner nationalism today," he said, "is no longer the platteland, but the industrial workers in the cities."

Stofberg claims that the philosophies of the CP and HNP overlap, and that a merger of the CP, HNP and the extra-parliamentary right-wing groups is inevitable, although it will take time.

The HNP wrote to the CP recently on this matter, but apparently received an ambiguous reply — the CP seems to be flirting instead with Eugene Terre'Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement).

Besides the CP and HNP, there are at least four active right-wing groupings: the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, which is also registered as a political party; the Afrikaner Volkswag, an umbrella-like cultural organisation; White Homeland Action; and the Oranjewerkers.

The Afrikaner Resistance Movement has announced its intention of forming a 2 000-strong para-military Boerewag (Boer Sentinels) which will be "ready to suppress any black uprising".

If it gets off the ground, it is likely to absorb some of the white vigilante groups which are springing up in areas adjacent to black townships.

Some of the extra-parliamentary right-wing groups claim to have members who are also members of the NP. If this is true, then a line of continuity stretches from the extreme right-wing right into the heart of the NP.

Backers

One of the most important effects of the black unrest has been the respectabilising, in many Afrikaner eyes, of the right-wing.

Professor Hermann Giliomee, of UCT's Political Studies Department, forecasts that if the right-wing parties can win enough parliamentary by-elections to attract financial backers, they might at the next general elections in 1989 capture one-third of the Assembly's 178 seats.

If this happens, according to Giliomee, it will be mainly for socio-economic

reasons. About 80% of right-wing support, he believes, are Afrikaners — mainly semi-skilled workers, the lower rungs of the public service and farmers — who face a drop of 25% in real income over the next 15-20 years.

"Already," Giliomee told me, "government is cutting back on the massive state intervention on behalf of whites. One-fifth of farmers' incomes comes from the state, white workers are protected by the traditional colour bar and public service salaries are inflated."

"The government is committed to equal spending on welfare services for all population groups. Over the next 15 years, spending on education for whites will fall by 30%."

Sampe Terblanche, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University, concurs. Already, in the 1983 referendum on the new constitution, according to his estimates, 40% of Afrikaners had voted against the government.

Right-wing support fell off soon afterwards, but since the black unrest and the economic recession it has picked up again.

"Economic factors can be the real growth point of the right-wing," Terblanche told me. "In the Thirties, Forties and Fifties, the Afrikaners economically were the underdogs and that was the real source of the NP's strength."

Protected

"In the Sixties, Seventies and Eighties, many Afrikaners have developed into a typical middle-class. But others have failed to get rid of their underdog mentality, and they are the right-wing supporters of today."

"They have been protected and privileged for too long to be able to accept, politically, the fall in living standards that is taking place due to the recession and to the dismantling of apartheid."

Dr Piet Cellie, chairman of Nasionale Pers and former Editor of *Die Burger*, accepts that right-wing motivations are no longer primarily ideological — that they are related to white fears over the black unrest and to the economic recession.

"The right-wing could grow," Cellie said. "Therefore, getting SA on to a more even keel economically is a political priority for any government."

So where does the NP go from here? Will it stall the reform programme to stop the drift of voters to the right-wing? Or has it gone too far to turn back? And what role will the PFP and English-speakers play?

Manuel calls on Govt to unban ANC

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

MR Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the United Democratic Front, has called on the Government to unban the African National Congress.

In his first interview since Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, lifted the banning orders on him and Mr Jacob Issel yesterday, Mr Manuel vowed to become more deeply involved in the fight to end apartheid, called for the release of all political prisoners and for all political exiles to be allowed to return unconditionally.

Mr Manuel was banned for five years last year.

"Of course I am happy that the order has been lifted. Now I will become deeper involved in the fight to end apartheid. We challenged the State and won."

The two orders were revoked for "technical reasons", according to Mr E Mohammed, of Essa Moosa and Associates.

On the strength of Saturday's decision by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court to declare the banning order on Eastern Cape community leader Mr Mkhusele Jack invalid, attorneys for Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had asked the Minister to cancel their banning orders on the same grounds.

BACK AT WORK

The Argus Port Elizabeth Bureau reports that minutes after his five-year banning order was declared invalid by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday afternoon Eastern Cape United Democratic Front vice-president Mr Henry Fazzie was back at work.

However his delight was tempered by a feeling that the respite might be temporary.

"I am sure that Mr le Grange will be working on ways to reimpose my banning order in a manner which will be acceptable to the courts," he said.

● See Page 7

Candidates to be put up

304A

STAR
Pretoria Correspondent

26/3/86

The National Party and Conservative Party have both announced they are to put up candidates in the coming by-election in Pretoria's Ward 15.

The vacancy is the result of the resignation of PFP city councillor Mr Andre van der Merwe, who has moved to Johannesburg.

The Progressive Federal Party announced last week that Mrs Mary Hammond-Tooke would be its candidate for the by-election in the ward.

Labour Party getting bitter'

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, held meetings throughout the country with black leaders but was not prepared to talk to his own parliamentary colleagues in the House of Representatives, Mr Peter Jacobs (LP Alra Park) said yesterday.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the "own affairs" budget, he said the Labour Party had come into the new dispensation to participate in preparing a budget for all South Africans and to enter into a process that would bring peace.

Instead they were becoming bitter. In the present session neither President P W Botha nor the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, had come into the House.

Handful of radicals

The government was allowing the country "to go up in flames" for the sake of a handful of right- and left-wing radicals, Mr Cecil Herandien (LP Macassar) said during the debate.

He said the government appeared to respect only those people who advocated violence.

"Last year we accepted that the budget for the House of Representatives was inherited and not much could be done to change it. But this year's budget again shows that whites will use figures to dominate coloureds.

"We are working towards a just South Africa but we can't accept this budget."

Discriminatory legislation

Members of the House had entered into the new dispensation at great cost to themselves but got discriminatory legislation in return, said Mr Barend Andrews (LP Rawsonville) during the debate.

He said it was apparent the Afrikaners found it difficult to attain parity because they were incapable of sharing what they had.

One of the aspects of discrimination was that there was no backlog in housing for whites but thousands of coloureds were on waiting lists.

In his area there were 1 600 people on the emergency waiting lists alone, Mr Andrews said. — Sapa

APC - TWP 26/3/86

Informal crisis talks successful'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Although the Wilton Park conference on "South Africa in Crisis" has been called off, informal talks are continuing among those participants still attending.

What is more, they were successful and had achieved a great deal, Mr Geoffrey Denton, organizer of the talks, said yesterday.

While he regretted that not all those who had been invited to attend felt able to do so, those who were still present were pleased with the way the talks were proceeding.

Mr Denton was speaking after nearly all the

black guests invited from South Africa had pulled out.

It is thought they did this after the ANC made it known they would not be attending.

One of the few black participants believed to be participating is Mr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in KwaZulu.

Whitehall sources yesterday said white South African delegates would almost certainly make individual efforts to see members of the ANC during their visit to the UK, although the organization's non-participation at the conference had made round-table talks out of the question.

Do away with 'own affairs' says Schwarz

26/3/86 STAR 304A

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Opposition finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) has called on the Government to do away with the "completely irrational concept" of own affairs.

Speaking in the white "own affairs" budget debate in the House of Assembly, he said there was still no indication of how the Government arrived at allocations of money for the "own affairs" of the different Houses of Parliament.

So far a formula had not been worked out, according to the Government, and yet allocations had been made in the main

Budget.

Mr Schwarz moved an amendment opposing approval of the white "own affairs" budget.

The main grounds on which he opposed the budget was that the form of the constitutional structure within which the funds were to be appropriated was "neither practical, nor financially efficient nor politically acceptable".

Mr Schwarz also objected to money being appropriated while it was not available.

An amount mentioned by the Minister of the Budget and which had also appeared in the main Budget estimates had, in

fact, been cut back by two per cent, according to Mr Schwarz.

He said the "real crunch issues" were:

- Would there be movement towards equality of services for all population groups?
- Was there a timetable for reaching equality of services?
- Would the country's economy develop fast enough to sustain a move towards this equality?

Mr Schwarz appealed to the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr F W de Klerk, to review the whole concept of the division between "own affairs" and "general affairs" and to do away with "the completely irrational concept".

Parliament and Politics

NP observers at Natal indaba

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

THE National Party is keeping the door open on the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in Durban next week and is to send a senior delegation of three MPs as observers.

This was revealed yesterday in a letter to the organizers, released by NP provincial leader and Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha.

He said that as the indaba's proposals were to be submitted to the government and as the Natal NP was part of the

central government, it would not be "appropriate" for it to participate on the suggested basis.

"However, in a spirit of goodwill and as further evidence of our commitment to negotiation as a method to further constitutional development, we propose to send a delegation to attend as observers."

Leading the team would be Mr Val Volker, provincial chairman and MP for Klip River. He would be accompanied by Mr Jurie Mentz, MP for Vryheid and deputy provincial chairman, and Mr Renier Schoeman, a nominated MP who is provincial secretary.

Mr Ray Swart, provincial leader of the PFP, described the NP decision as a "lukewarm approach but better than the boycott attitude it has adopted to similar discussions in the past".

'Non-violence'

The organizers, Dr Oscar Dhlomo of the KwaZulu Government and Mr Frank Martin, Natal MEC, have said the main aim of the indaba is to reach consensus on the "creation of a single legislative body to govern the combined area of Natal and KwaZulu".

In his letter to the organizers Mr Botha said: "We appreciate Chief Minister Mangosuthu

Buthelezi's frequently expressed support for the principles of self-determination and non-violence.

"Therefore, we have serious reservations about the inclusion in your list of invited participants of some organizations whose declared intentions and activities are at variance with the norms of a civilized order and democratic process."

Buthelezi

● The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night welcomed the presence of a National Party delegation as observers at the indaba.

He said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that if whites took any political steps, however faltering, he would "lead them by the hand and encourage them to take the next one".

He described as predictable the rejection of the invitation by Dr Farook Meer of the Natal Indian Congress.

The moment that the external mission of the African National Congress sneezed, the NIC and the United Democratic Front normally caught a cold, he said.

The African National Congress and the Azanian Peoples' Organization have also rejected participation.

Yesterday in Parliament

Non-racial S A 'impossible'

March 1986 304A Mercury

**Parliamentary
Correspondent**

NO GOVERNMENT and no country could make South Africa a non-racial country, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

He said this in reply to a

private Member's motion proposed by the Rev Edward Manikkam (Sol Rylands) which stated that the need for a 'non-racial society' demanded the opening of all Indian residential and commercial areas and educational, recreational, health and other facilities to members of all population groups.

Mr Heunis said a non-ra-

cial society was 'based on the misconceptions of the realities of the South African society'.

'The South African society is multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multiracial. By stating the facts, I'm not condoning the injustices. No government, no country, can make this country non-racial.'

In reply to MPs who

charged the minister and his party with responsibility for its apartheid laws, Mr Heunis said: 'I resent being accused of being the evil-doer. My party and my people have done more to change the history of this country.'

'I need no law to protect my identity as an Afrikaner. I need a law for all groups to protect their rights.'

The local option as several MPs demanded in terms of the recent moves made by the East London and Durban city councils to allow integrated residential areas did not cater for the wishes of minorities, he said.

Solidarity MPs on two occasions appealed for the motion to be put to the vote.

Mr Heunis charged such a request to be 'unfair' and said that in a democracy all views should be heard.

The chairman, Mr Raman Bhana, allowed him to continue and the minister ended his reply saying: 'No one can accuse me of racism.'

First step

Introducing his motion earlier, Mr Manikkam told the House all Indian MPs had promised their respective constituencies they would dismantle apartheid, which included the Group Areas Act.

As a first step, he proposed that all Indian facilities be opened to all population groups, hoping that the rationale would encourage MPs in charge of coloured and Indian 'own affairs' to follow suit.

Current Government policy which supported group rights and group protection was rejected if it was enforced by laws, Mr Manikkam said.

He challenged the Government to hold a referendum to test the views of the people who would be affected by integration as he proposed.

Mr Pat Poovalingam (Sol Reservoir Hills) said MPs in the tricameral system hoped to use the 'own-affairs' concept 'to show up the hypocrisy of apartheid'.

Star 26/3/86

Ministers believe toughness counter-productive

Govt takes softer line on ANC talks

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government appears to be taking a softer line towards South Africans who insist on holding talks with the African National Congress.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha, the man ultimately responsible for the issuing and withdrawal of passports, has declined to comment on resolutions taken on two English-medium university campuses during the past week to hold talks with the ANC.

A spokesman for his office yesterday said such talks were hypothetical and the Minister would not comment on them.

Last year the Government moved swiftly to prevent a group of Stellenbosch University students from visiting Lusaka to talk to the ANC.

Passports of the students involved were withdrawn, while those who had not yet applied for travel documents were told they would not be granted.

ORDERS

It was widely believed at the time that that was done under the personal orders of President P W Botha, chancellor of the university, who had publicly appealed to the students not to go.

Mr Botha was also said to be angered by the group of businessmen and others who had made the journey to Lusaka as he had appealed to the public, as

head of state, not to do so.

From Mr Stoffel Botha's reaction to the English university students it would seem that the Minister is taking a more moderate line.

It is understood that many Ministers feel that it is counter-productive to stop people going to Lusaka.

They believe the publicity is not worth the effort and, that in any case, those people who have defied the Government's wishes have had their eyes opened by what they have seen and heard.

Under those circumstances it is felt the Government will not try to stop the students from talking to the ANC, unless the students make their visit a major issue of political defiance of State authority.

House of Assembly

CAPE TOWN — The government should realise the concept of own affairs was not only a political, social and economic issue but one of practicality and logicity, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeville), said yesterday.

"We need to do away with this completely irrational concept," he said when the second reading debate on the House's own affairs budget for 1986/87 resumed.

He moved an amendment opposing approval of the budget on the grounds, firstly, that "the form of constitutional structure within which the funds are to be appropriated is neither practical nor financially efficient nor politically acceptable".

Secondly, the money to be appropriated by the bill "is not available from the State Revenue Fund in terms of... the constitution, nor from the House of Assembly's other own sources of revenue".

The Minister of the

Make discrimination punishable Widman PFP: ^{204A} DISPATCH scrap 26/3/86 own affairs

Budget, Mr F. W. de Klerk, had said R4 836,720 million was needed for the 1986/87 financial year, but this figure, which appeared in the main Budget estimates, had been cut back by two per cent.

Mr De Klerk had given no indication of how the money had been arrived at, and according to which principle it had been decided what allocations would be made to the three Houses for own affairs budgets.

Mr De Klerk interjected, saying the matter had been "covered by the main Budget".

Mr Org Marais (NP Waterkloof) said the PFP wanted own affairs to be scrapped but the racial divisions "coincide with our economic divisions".

Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP Bryanston), said the government was undoing its own efforts towards equal educational opportunities by insisting on rigidly separated educational structures. Racial separation in education prevented the development of healthy relationships between children.

The control the provinces had lost over de-

termination of educational policy would also be denied to the House, he said. The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, had said the traditions and attitudes that had applied would not be affected by the changeover.

But if he wanted to make the system work, he had to cleanse the Transvaal Education Department of race prejudice, arrogance and corruption.

Mr Roger Burrows (PFP Pinetown) said it did not matter whether the fires at Natal University had been started



MR BURROWS

by radicals from the political left or right but "we who are in the middle must confirm that we are not going to be intimidated by either".

Mr Alf Widman (PFP Hillbrow) said discrimination on racial grounds should be made a punishable offence. "The sin (of apartheid) is that it is to be found in the statute books enacted in law."

The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works in the white own administration, Mr Amie Venter, said a national survey would be made of the housing needs of whites, coloureds and Indians.

He announced additional relief for whites who, despite measures introduced last year, were still unable to afford their rents. — Sapa

NP to attend Natal-Kwazulu talks

THE leader of the Natal National Party (NP), Stoffel Botha, has accepted an invitation on behalf of his party to attend as observers the KwaZulu-Natal indaba in Durban next week.



● BOTHA

The NP had reservations about certain other participants and or-

ganisations and, as the Natal party was involved in central government, it could not "participate in the indaba on the suggested basis", Botha said.

In a letter released to the Press yesterday and addressed to Dr Oscar Dhlomo of the KwaZulu government and Natal MEC, Frank Martin, Botha said his party would participate "in a spirit of goodwill and as further evidence of our commitment to negotiation as a meth-

od to further constitutional development".

The delegation will be led by the Natal party chairman and MP for Klipriver, Val Volker and will include his vice-chairman and MP for Vryheid, J H W Mentz and the Natal party's provincial secretary, Renier Schoeman.

They would report directly to Botha on the deliberations, the letter said. — Sapa.

National Party won't last another 18 months, claims CP

24/3/85

Political Staff

STM

The National Party and the African National Congress had similar visions of a "new South Africa". Consensus Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the white "own affairs" debate in the House of Assembly, he said ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo saw the new South Africa as a country where there was no apartheid. And the NP was saying apartheid would be dead in the new South Africa.

There was a similarity between these visions and the Government should spell out its vision of the "new South Africa". Dr Treurnicht quoted the Minister of the Budget, Mr

F W de Klerk, as saying earlier in the debate that the principle of own affairs, within a framework of maximum self-determination, was the key to peaceful co-existence in South Africa.

This was a statement with which he could agree, Dr Treurnicht said, but the original concept of self-determination had been so watered down by the NP that it no longer had the same meaning. In the Government's policy of power-sharing there would not be real self-determination for the different communities — particularly not for whites.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP, Rissik) said later that there was "immense tension" within the NP ranks on the course the Government was taking and predicted that it would not remain the governing party for another 18 months.

He said even senior political writers in NP-supporting newspapers were writing of the "agitation" among NP backbenchers and their fear of the threat posed by the CP because of its growing support among voters as a result of Government policy.

"The NP cannot be trusted with the future of the whites... that is why it is on the way out and the Conservatives are coming in."

Mr van der Merwe said he was normally cautious about making predictions in politics but "I want to predict that the NP will not stand another 18 months."

The Government was acting without a mandate from white voters and the CP was just waiting for a general election or a referendum.

27/3/86

APRIL 1986

WEEKLY MAIL

IMAGINE the State President were given the power to allow unlicensed drivers in unroadworthy vehicles free use of the roads — by individual exemption.

Sounds stupid, but this is much less than the power PW Botha will have once a law is passed by parliament to "deregulate" industry.

At the moment, there are laws in South Africa that set minimum wages for workers, say how many toilets there must be in factories, make rules to protect workers' health and, in general, provide for minimum standards in industry and business.

Now the government has decided to give the State President the power to set aside any of these rules and to deprive workers of what level of protection they provide.

A Bill has been presented to parliament to allow this. It is called the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill.

Why does government want the president to be able to cancel laws and rules that have been established over many years? The answer is that some people have the idea that regulations on minimum conditions discourage businessmen. They say that if employers can pay wages as low as they want (below the minimum set by law at present), if they can ignore rules about safety, health and working hours, then this will create more jobs.

Factories will be cheaper to run, wages will be less and profits will be more.

This move of the government is backed by a group of businessmen called the "Free Market Foundation". They are totally opposed to regulation.

They say that regulation holds back productivity, discourages innovation, ties the businessman up in "red tape" and prevents economic progress. Regulation, they say, inhibits competition and elevates the government bureaucrat above the entrepreneur.

All these charges are, in some degree, true. But there is a reason that our society made these rules to govern business in the past and will need rules in the future.

Business is concerned first with profits, not people. You may think this is good or bad: it is merely a fact. Businessmen are not all self-limiting.

The regulation of business did not begin because of some desire for bureaucracy and paperwork. It began because, to give one example, African migrant workers from Malawi and north Mozambique were dying from pneumonia on the gold mines. The government had to ban the Chamber of Mines from recruiting "tropical natives" by passing a law in 1913. The death rate from pneumonia fell.

Historians have pointed out that regulations in the past have often

If the law's a nuisance, get a cancellation

A little-noticed Bill gives the State President the power to exempt any industry from regulations which set minimum wage and safety standards. The argument is that cheaper labour will make for more profitable factories and, ultimately, for more jobs. MARTIN NICOL disagrees.



Drawing: CARL BECKER

made it possible for business to prosper. A striking example of this is found in South Africa's minimum wage legislation, a major target of the deregulators.

Businessmen were utterly opposed to the Wage Act in 1925. They resented the idea of a "third party", with no real knowledge of their industry, dictating uneconomic wages and conditions for factory workers. In the Cape Town clothing industry, strenuous efforts were made to prevent a wage determination from being published.

Employers condemned the proposals as "totally impossible" and said their adoption "would spell immediate ruin".

But the Smuts/Hertzog coalition government accepted the Wage Board recommendations and minimum wages rose by 50 percent between 1926 and 1928.

After the determination had been in operation a year, the attitude of the employers to wage regulation changed radically. One employer stated that the determination "had increased the efficiency of his employees, and he was now getting an increased output at a lower cost per unit under the conditions laid down by the Wage Board." Other employers concurred.

The clothing manufacturers discovered in 1929 what RH Tawney once described as "the economy of high wages". They were led to this

discovery by minimum wage regulation.

This principle was resolutely pursued by the first chairman of the Wage Board, FAW Lucas KC.

"Sweated wages mean inefficiency, ill-nourishment, discontent and consequently low output," he told the inaugural meeting of the board in 1926.

"The evidence (shows) that even in the worst sweated industries there is a proportion of employers who are paying fair wages and giving good conditions to their workers. It seems to us that where one employer can pay good wages there is no reason why those who are paying sweated wages should not be compelled eventually to rise to the same standard as the good employer."

The board acted to raise wages towards the levels paid by "enlightened employers".

In the Cape clothing industry, higher wages attracted a "better class" of employee and output and profits rose along with wages and the numbers of workers employed.

As Lucas stated: "The board's aim is to create a system of justice under which industry will be stimulated and its products justly distributed."

The Wage Board has, of course, long abandoned any such goal. There is no doubt that, today, both the Wage Board and the minimum wage system governed by industrial councils are seriously flawed and in dire need of improvement. But improvement is not served at all by the new Bill.

The inevitable effect of the Bill will be further to weaken and undermine minimum wage regulation. It will give an opening to sweaters and super-exploiters of labour at the expense of their employees' health and the well-being of responsible employers and their workers. The new law can be used to undercut the wage standards established by industrial councils and enlightened employers. The vast majority of minimum wages are already below recognised poverty datum lines. The new law threatens to undermine the whole system of wage regulation and to reduce wage standards to the lowest, sweated levels.

You either have minimum wages for everyone, or not at all. To fulfil the dual aims of stimulating the economy and promoting social justice, the minimum wage system has to be consistently constructed and carefully monitored. Already it has been weakened by exemptions and the exclusion of border areas and "homelands" from minimum conditions.

The new law will make it even harder for minimum wages to be used as a creative instrument of state, employer and trade union policy.

The Bill is as arbitrary, as harmful, as senseless, as allowing unroadworthy cars on the road — where they are a danger to passengers, pedestrians and other motorists. An insistence on roadworthy cars — and on licensed drivers — makes the roads safer. It is the same with roadworthy factories and businesses.

Deregulation should mean less queuing for vehicle tests and the speedy and reliable repair of faults. It should not be allowed to mean the removal of all standards.

Anyway, does PW really need more powers? Hasn't he had enough?

● Martin Nicol is a research officer at the University of Cape Town's South African Labour Development Research unit.

Indaba guest list

30617
28/3/86

DURBAN. — The organizers of next week's KwaZulu/Natal "indaba" said yesterday that 29 out of 40 organizations invited to take part had so far accepted.

In addition the National Party and Tucsá are sending observers.

A definite "no" has come from the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Natal Indian Congress.

Seven organizations have not responded officially although some have indicated in press reports that they will not participate.

These are the African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organization, the Conservative Party, Council of Unions of SA, Congress of SA Trade Unions, the Pan African Congress and the United Democratic Front.

The list of acceptances include: The Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Black Allied Workers Union, Coloured Ad Hoc Committee, Durban City Council, Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, Labour Party, Natal Agricultural Union, Natal Chamber of Industries, Natal Municipal Association, Natal Provincial Council, National Peoples Party, New Republic Party, Peoples Congress Party, Progressive Federal Party, Maritzburg City Council, Reform Party, Solidarity.

Parliament and Politics

PFP walks out over accusation

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Members of the Official Opposition staged a mass walkout of Parliament yesterday afternoon in protest against accusations that they were "advocates of violence".

The charge was levelled at them by the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, and led to a successful lone stand by Mr Harry Schwarz to have the remarks declared unparliamentary.

Taking several points of order while the rest of his PFP colleagues were out of the chamber, Mr Schwarz said Mr De Klerk made the situation worse each time he tried to explain his original remarks.

Replying to the own-affairs budget debate, Mr De Klerk said he agreed with Mr Roger Burrows (PFP Pinetown) who condemned the fire-bomb attack on the University of Natal. But he found it strange that the PFP did not protest at the arson and violence in the black townships.

Amid interjections, he said: "With a few exceptions they act as advocates of arsonists and people committing acts of violence in the townships."

Mr Schwarz, on a point of order, questioned whether it was parliamentary to claim someone was an advocate of crime.

Rephrase earlier remarks

Mr De Klerk retorted that this had not been his intention and attempted to rephrase the remarks by saying the PFP members acted as advocates of violence in the sense that they regarded it as justified because of certain acts by the government.

This was worse than the original statement, said Mr Schwarz, but the chairman of the Assembly, Mr Rex le Roux, said it was an expression of opinion and therefore not unparliamentary.

Mr Schwarz was not satisfied.

Mr De Klerk attempted to rephrase his remarks and said the PFP, while not advocating violence, tried to justify it.

This was even worse, said Mr Schwarz, adding that if the ruling was allowed to stand debates would be reduced to a "slanging match".

Mr Le Roux agreed that it was a "serious matter" and allowed the debate to continue while he considered the issue.

Mr De Klerk said he would withdraw his remarks as he wanted the Opposition back in the chamber.

Members returned and later Mr Le Roux said that in 1972 it had been ruled as unparliamentary to say a party acted as a mouthpiece for subversion.

Mr De Klerk had used the word "advocates" in this sense and therefore his remarks were unparliamentary and he had been right to withdraw them.

LIBERALISM

Search for relevance

Three important questions emerged at a recent SA Institute of Race Relations symposium on the nature and future of liberalism in SA.

The first concerns the economy. Is pure, free-market laissez faire, capitalism; or a form of mixed economy, most appropriate to modern-day liberalism? Secondly, if liberals are to act as honest brokers in future negotiations between Left and Right, should they be prepared to compromise their philosophy to facilitate a rapprochement? The third question concerns liberal attitudes to political violence.

A series of lectures by the University of Cape Town's Charles Simkins last year, entitled *Reconstructing South African Liberalism*, is emerging as a seminal work in the liberal debate in SA. The opening paper at the symposium, delivered by UCT academic Tony Morphet, summarised Simkins' work.

Simkins notes that liberal philosophy remains highly influential "in defining terms of political discourse" in SA, both on the Left and the Right. But, as a coherent political grouping, liberalism is in a state of defeat.

A major reason for this is its vulnerability to attack from Marxists, who have denigrated liberalism as "the first line of defence for white capitalist inequality." Liberalism needs a clear defence against these attacks which, he accepts, are partially valid.

The problem with a pure free-market system, he says, is that it does not take account of previous injustices. While accepting that it is an efficient economic system, he adds:

"A free-market system in which one group has prior holdings in nearly everything, and the other group holds hardly anything, will be efficient ... for the benefit of the title-holders."

To redress these inequalities, Simkins proposes:

- State-supported land purchases for small farmers and co-operatives — without damaging the efficient sectors of agriculture;
- A limited form of shared public/private investment, the principle of which would be to improve the condition of the least well off;
- All controls which limit the ability of blacks to accumulate capital, and which prevent their equal access to public service positions, must be abolished;
- Ideally, there must be equal access to social services; and
- There must be scope for individual self-realisation. This will require opening markets by breaking up large concentrations of wealth, and a welfare safety net "from the cradle to the grave."

The crucial economic goal for the next 40 years is the reduction of poverty "from a mass condition to an exceptional one," says Simkins.

Liberal options on political structures include one, or a combination of geographic federation, consociationalism, and a unitary state. Simkins seems to prefer the first two: they are more likely to reduce conflict and protect minority rights. Universal adult suffrage is taken as given; and another feature is a Bill of Rights.

Saan columnist Ken Owen, paints a gloomy picture of SA in the foreseeable future. Liberalism, he says, is "sandwiched between the rival barbarisms" of Left and Right. The State, argues Owen, has military and police resources far beyond what it has used until now. While the Left is euphoric at having made parts of the country ungovernable, it seriously underestimates State power. Hence the present "revolution is around the corner" syndrome. The effect is competition between the irresistible force of black radicalism and the immovable object of the white security forces.

There is a fairly large faction in the National Party (NP) prepared to talk to the non-Communist leaders of the African National Congress (ANC), observes Owen. But such moves are unlikely to succeed. A universal franchise and freedom of association is a minimum requirement, but the NP will not be able to sell this to its supporters.

All liberals can do now, is to urge reform, protest against abuses of State power, campaign for a (pure) free-market economy, fight international sanctions, and "plead the cause of liberty, law, reason, compromise and negotiation."

Former Liberal Party member Jill Wentzel returned to the theme of leftwing violence. She attacks those liberals who underplay the coercive methods used in the townships in the name of the "liberation struggle." She talks bitterly of necklacing, enforced attendance at meetings and funerals,

and other aspects of the totalitarian hold the youth have over the townships. And she is even more bitter over the "slide away from South African liberalism" by liberals who accept that structural violence justifies, or at least adequately explains, the response in kind.

She warns against the failure to recognise the direct relationship between means and ends. Political violence, she says, is eroding what remains of the middle ground. The consequences for a future SA are ominous.

Educationist David Adler and Wits University philosophy professor, Jonathan Suzman, debated the nature of the middle ground in SA. Adler argues that the liberal position on violence — to condemn it whatever its source — fails to get to grips with its basic causes. And he questions whether the middle ground and liberalism are the same thing in SA today. If liberals are to be relevant, they will have to shift to the middle ground, which could imply accepting some seemingly illiberal positions — like limited nationalisation of industry and affirmative action programmes, he says.

Suzman, on the other hand, argues that "the outcome of a compromise between villains is not necessarily acceptable to the liberal." Nevertheless, he says, liberals should attempt to play the role of honest broker and try to ensure that the compromises are in line with liberal philosophy.

At a time of rapid political polarisation in SA, attempting to revive liberalism appears courageous indeed, and requires more than a little faith. It will be interesting to see whether the challenge is taken further and formalised, perhaps, in a political party. ■

Free to slave? FIN H/11C

Is it a good idea gone wrong? Concern has been expressed that government moves towards deregulation of business may undermine key rights of workers in areas such as health, housing and safety.

The Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill published earlier this year was generally welcomed by commerce and industry as a necessary step towards cutting red tape by allowing the State President to suspend certain regulations without first seeking parliamentary sanction.

But a number of civil rights and worker organisations, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Committee Against Removals (NCAR), believe the Bill may be bad news for employees.

In a statement in Cape Town, the NCAR said the President could use his discretionary powers in terms of the measures to "undermine the trade union movement and introduce 'sweat shop' conditions for workers wherever and whenever he may wish.

"The NCAR views the possible scrapping of health and safety protections, of enforce-

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ment of contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the Workmen's Compensation Fund, and of provisions such as the supervision of and use of machines, as irresponsible in any society.

"SA has evolved some commendable labour legislation over the past six years. Is all this to be scrapped in the name of provision of employment or extension of benefits of the free enterprise system to black entrepreneurs?" the statement said.

Cosatu has expressed similar fears. Some organisations also argued that the time allowed for submissions on the Bill to the Joint Standing Committee of Home Affairs, which is considering the measures before they are debated in Parliament, was too short. It expired last Friday after being gazetted on March 7, two weeks earlier, the NCAR said.

Chairman of the Home Affairs committee and Nationalist MP for Innesdal, Albert

Nothnagel, says although the deadline for submissions has expired, he believes arrangements can be made for some late submissions. He says the committee decided to invite Cosatu to give evidence. Submissions were received from a number of organisations including the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federated Chamber of Industries and various trade unions. ■

Friday March 29 1986

se news

304A STAR 29/3/86

Pik for President . . . if he keeps on playing his cards right

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The time is probably closer than most people realise when the State President will no longer be elected just because he is the choice of the National Party.

And that does not mean that he or she would be the choice of the Conservative Party.

Under the present Constitution the President is chosen by an electoral college appointed after the election of a new Parliament.

The electoral college is made up of 50 members of the governing party in the House of Assembly (whites, and at present, Nationalists), 25 members of the majority party in the House of Representatives and 13 members of

the majority party in the House of Delegates.

This gives the white governing party a majority of 12. If just 45 of the white members of the electoral college vote for the same candidate, that person will be the State President.

It is not clear what would happen if some of the white members teamed up with the coloureds and Indians to form a majority against their colleagues.

Presumably there could be legal repercussions if white MPs voted for someone other than the candidate they were directed to support by their party caucus. It would be highly unlikely that the caucus of that party would nominate MPs who might be tempted to try such a stunt, so this scenario is likely to remain hypothetical.

What is much more likely to happen in a near-future presidential contest is a compromise deal between the various governing parties in the National Party's system of power-sharing. And in this regard there are some interesting theories.

If it comes to pass that black groups are successfully incorporated in a power-sharing system, such as a geographical/racial federation the Government is currently toying with, the issue of who gets the presidency is going to be very sensitive.

It is highly unlikely that the National Party will allow any system which enables a powerful presidency to fall into any but its own hands.

On the other hand, if the National Party expects to continue to be able

simply to impose its sole choice of president on the other groups then the system is unlikely to be viable.

Observers believe that the minimum the National Party, or any other white governing party for that matter, could expect to get away with would be a compromise candidate — a person who is the most acceptable to the majority. In this regard the only name mentioned is the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

It is being said that Mr Botha has been catapulted to the forefront of the presidential stakes because of his recent remarks that he would be prepared to serve under a black president.

Far from losing credibility because of the humiliating dressing down he got

from President Botha for making the remarks, Mr Pik Botha has apparently gained considerable support.

Nationalist insiders say that he received immediate support from not only a large section of the party's MPs and membership, but also from surprising quarters elsewhere in Parliament.

But what has happened outside Parliament and white politics, they say, has been even more astonishing.

Mr Pik Botha probably has the highest credibility rating of any Nationalist leader in the black community at large, they say. His admission on the black president has seen to that.

Within the system he remains the popular choice of the white electorate. A random survey of coloured and In-

dian MPs shows that among Nationalist politicians he is definitely their choice for the presidency.

Mr Pik Botha's only problem area — a key area — is the limited support he enjoys within the NP caucus.

However, his supporters say that his courage in stating his views on the black presidency has increased caucus support. Certainly it has caused the estimated 40 or so MPs (out of 127) who support him to rally closer to his leadership, they say.

It is only a matter of time for many more to see that he is the one white politician in the country who has the broadest support among all the communities — and that he is the whites' best chance of leading the country out of its turmoil.

Midrand man quits NP

8 JAN 29/3/86 304A
The chairman of the Midrand management committee and former mayor of the town, Mr Martin Grond, this week resigned from the National Party in protest at the Government's actions in establishing a coloured group area in Midrand.

His resignation follows a bitter fight by the council and residents against the Government's plan to move about 400 coloured families from trouble-torn Alexandra to Midrand.

Mr Grond has been a member of the NP divisional council in the constituency and has been involved in the local government of the Olifantsfontein/Halfway House area since the late sixties.

He said he did not intend joining another party. He had resigned because the Government had taken steps which were detrimental to Midrand and its ratepayers.

Ministers' share row: Botha 'not concerned'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President has said it was of no concern to him if cabinet ministers accepted preferential share allocations as long as it did not involve a conflict of interests with their political responsibilities.

President P W Botha was responding to the row brewing over the acceptance of a total of 32 700 preferential shares by seven senior cabinet ministers and two deputy ministers from Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (Metpol).

He told a Johannesburg newspaper, the Sunday Star, that if a conflict arose it was the duty of individual ministers to bring it to the State President's attention.

But he did not respond to an appeal by the Progressive Federal Party finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, to initiate a code of conduct governing ministers' shareholdings, the newspaper said.

Business transaction

Mr Schwarz condemned the ministers for accepting the offer as the PFP did not accept that it was normal practice to offer shares to opinion formers, and called on the Registrar of Financial Institutions to investigate the question of preferential shares and the method of their allocation.

But the ministers involved said they had viewed it as a normal business transaction, the newspaper report said.

The Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, F W De Klerk, said he had been assured by the company's MD that the application forms

had been offered to a wide cross-section of the community.

He said as he was not involved with the activities of Metpol through his portfolios, he regarded the purchase as a normal business transaction.

Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport Services, said there was nothing sinister about his decision to purchase the shares and the invitation to him to do so was done in open correspondence.

He said he believed he was as entitled to the shares as any other member of the public.

Mr Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, said Metpol's offer had reached him in the post and there was no indication this was by virtue of his position as a minister.

He said it had not crossed his mind that he was accepting the offer in his official capacity.

No conflict of interest

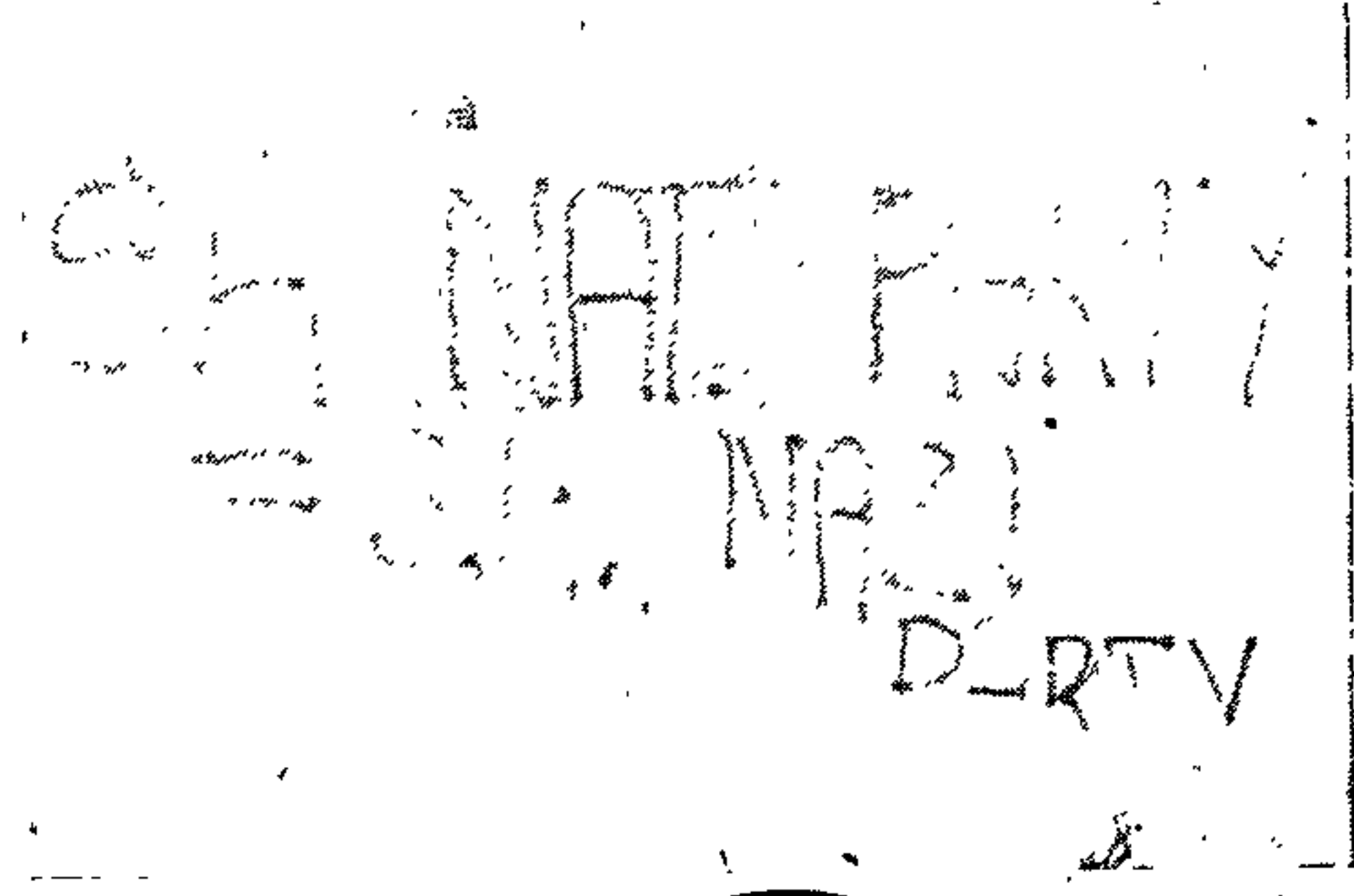
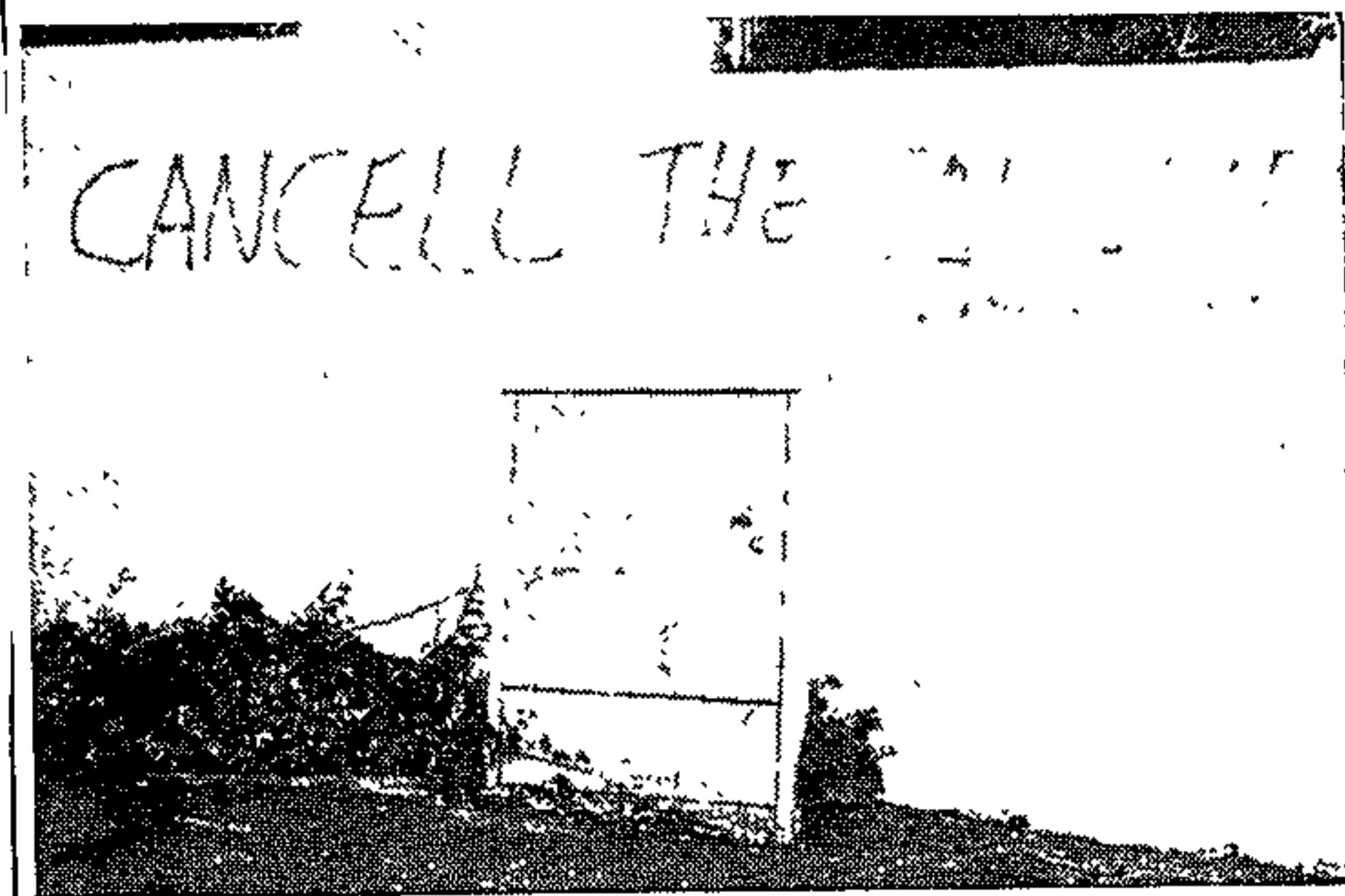
The Deputy Minister of Industries and Commerce, Mr Kent Durr, said he had obtained authority from two senior ministers, Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Minister of Industries and Commerce who also bought shares, and the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

He said the purchase represented no conflict of interest as he did not administer the insurance industry.

The other ministers involved are the Minister of Manpower, Mr P T C du Plessis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr P J Badenhorst, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, and Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Minister of National Health.

LET TAMBO
BE HEARD

Y CAN SURVIVE ON A DIET OF PDP AND...
BOEREFORCE



The future of South Africa through the nozzle of a spray paint can ... Is the writing on the wall?

Pictures: Ivor Markman

Strident voice of the City's walls

By MALCOLM FRIED

LURIDLY daubing their way across the walls of Cape Town, graffiti artists are fast blossoming into yet another extra-parliamentary pressure group.

Beyond the vaunted chambers and measured debate of Parliament, slogans such as "Botha be Rastafari" and "Let peace rule now" bake on dozens of City walls.

"You can't survive on pap and boerforce", a scribe, hungry for change, has scrawled on an Observatory garage. And another wails: "The force is with us but we don't want it".

Nearby, the less subtle "SA Nationalist Party is SA Nazi Party" vies for support with the simple "Womyn Unite" (sic).

In a children's play-park, the poignant voice

of concerned youth enters the fray: "Pentagon city disco brothers and jivers want happiness in our land today".

Stencilled prints of marijuana leaves float across gates and shutters and surrealistic Jimi Cliffs and Stevie Wonders lie plastered on pavements in white paint.

Swathes of angry Arabic, translated as "Allah is Lord" and "Death to

infidels", glare off the wall of a warehouse.

"Let Tambo be Heard" blares a fence in Lower Main Road contributed, presumably, by a supporter of interviews with banned organizations.

An artist in the Gardens, no doubt swept away by strident feelings, has abandoned the staid conventions of spelling with "Cancel the Call-Up".

The State President

also features, coming in for a drubbing with "P W is the terrorist", "Botha is Hitler" and the mysterious "Botha's rock reggae sucks".

Opponents of graffiti are not impotent, however, and a large mural in Oranjezicht covers what used to be a favourite Cape graffiti canvas. Now, only a parade of chubby pastel animals catches passing motorists' attention.

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CAPT Tint 3/1/86

Campaign against indaba launched

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A campaign to oppose the Kwa-Zulu/Natal indaba was launched in a hotel here last night by an alliance of rightwing groups under the umbrella of the recently-formed Action White Natal.

The campaign will begin today when three protest documents are presented to the chairman of the indaba, Professor Desmond Clarence, at its public opening session at 10am in the City Hall.

The documents will be presented by the chairman of Action White Natal, Mr Barry Wolmarans; the chairman of South Africa First, Mr Arthur Morris, and two prominent Natal Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) members, Mr Oscar Hattingh and Mr Kossie Erasmus.

The Durban representative on the HNP national executive, Mr Martin Louw, said the campaign would include a Natal petition. An anti-indaba meeting would be held on May 19.

He said that after today's indaba meeting, 40 delegates from the groups at last night's meeting would form an ad-hoc committee to coordinate the campaign.

The HNP and Conservative Party refused to take part in the indaba.

The HNP's reasons were, among other things, that the organizers had not been given a mandate by whites to hold the indaba; that the Anglo American Corporation and "a small group of rich people" were behind it; that the indaba would lead to the disintegration of borders between races.

Talk to ANC, says Toti victim's father



Flashback: Police sift through the wreckage after the Amamzimtoti bomb blast.

Zondo given five death sentences

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Amamzimtoti bomber Andrew Subisiso Zondo raised a clenched fist, shouted "amandla" and rushed from the dock to the cells after receiving five death sentences for the murder of the people who died in the blast.

Zondo, 19, yesterday left the dock before hearing the judge pass a 10-year prison sentence on him for the attempted murder of other shoppers in the Sanlam Centre.

Before passing sentence Mr Justice Leon asked Zondo if he wished to say anything.

"FRIENDLY"

Zondo said he was sorry for those who had lost their friends, "kids" and families in the limpet mine explosion.

"I also wish my country to be friendly to neighbouring countries," he said.

The court found there were no extenuating circumstances.

Mr Justice Leon said South Africa was a deeply divided and troubled country.

Zondo had been one of the thousands of black youths who left the country to take up arms and had been vulnerable in adolescence to pressures put on him.

He said Zondo's experiences had no doubt played a significant part in his joining the African National Congress.

The placing of the bomb had not been an act done for any personal gain.

Mr Justice Leon said Zondo had seen it as a way of serving his own people.

Dealing with the conflicting evidence of Zondo and his accomplice, Mr X, the judge

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A Pretoria man whose son was killed in the Amamzimtoti bomb blast still believes the South African Government and the African National Congress should start talking.

Mr Johan Smit, a Villeria businessman, has one condition: that the ANC should renounce violence.

If the organisation had the support of the majority it did not need violence as a power base during any negotiations, he said.

Mr Smit's eight-year-old son Cornio was killed after he persuaded his grandfather to stop at the Sanlam Shopping Centre in Amamzimtoti on December 23 so that he could buy Christmas presents for his family.

His grandmother, Mrs Anna Smit, was also caught in the blast and doctors are waiting for her muscles to strengthen before operating to correct her badly injured foot.

"Not vengeful"

Mr Smit said he did not feel vengeful towards the 19-year-old Andrew Zondo, who was sentenced to death yesterday for the murder of the five who died.

For him the matter ended with the tragic death of his son, and it was now in God's hands.

"The young man who has received the death sentence must have known that people would be killed and I don't think he should have wanted violence," Mr Smit said.

During the trial Zondo admitted he was an ANC member and that he had planted the bomb at the shopping centre.

Mr Smit believes that negotiations between the Government and the ANC are a priority. South Africa did not need a foreign referee in any negotiations, he said. Both sides had to recognise each other and "act as adults".

But it appeared that both were too stubborn, he added.

Peaceful change in SA an elusive goal, says UK newspaper

3/4/86

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LONDON — A combination of political success and military failure could persuade South Africa's leaders to find a solution leading to a flourishing, multiparty and nonracial South Africa.

However, this remains a distant and elusive goal, says the London *Financial Times* in a special supplement on South Africa published yesterday.

The newspaper says that given the degree of polarisation and bitterness in the country, the goal could be achieved by:

- Releasing all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

RETURN OF EXILES

- Lifting the ban on the ANC and other banned organisations.
- Allowing the return of exiles.
- Starting negotiations with real black leaders.

The *Financial Times* concedes that this will not be easy. Most whites have only a vague idea of who the real black leaders are, and how strong their support is.

The same applies to most blacks. People like Nelson Mandela, who have not been allowed to speak in public for over two

decades, are martyrs and symbols, not flesh-and-blood politicians with weaknesses.

There is also the risk that when it comes to counting heads, what looks now like black unity against apartheid and white domination will degenerate into bitter internecine fighting, possibly on tribal as well as ideological and political lines.

Ultimately, however, this kind of process will have to take place in South Africa — with the risk that when it does, the die-hard whites will take to the streets with their guns — trained as much on a government it accuses of selling them out — as on blacks. If it reaches this point, then the military might have to step in.

This is precisely the kind of scenario which responsible black leaders and the overwhelming black majority want to avoid as passionately as most middle-of-the-road whites.

This is why the ball is now in the court of black leaders, especially, but certainly not exclusively, the ANC, to come forward with something more creative than the stereotype formula of "one man, one vote in a unitary South Africa".

Black politicians applaud Tutu's sanctions call



Mr Jaap Marais

By Maud Motanyane
and Duncan Guy

Black political organisations have come out in strong support of Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for punitive sanctions against South Africa.

But the whole spectrum of white political organisations — from the Progressive Federal Party to the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) — as well as commerce and industry, have rejected the bishop's stand.

Bishop Tutu yesterday carried out his long-standing threat, calling on the international community to apply punitive sanctions to help bring about change in South Africa.

DETRIMENTAL

One of the important questions relating to the issue of sanctions is how they would affect blacks. It was most of the white organisations that used this argument as a basis for rejecting the call, saying sanctions would be detrimental to blacks.

But black political organisations welcomed the bishop's stand as the last remaining non-violent way to achieve change in South Africa.

UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said: "Given the way the State has behaved towards its own citizens over the past 18 months, calling for punitive sanc-

tions has become one of last options open to people committed to peaceful change," he said.

"We hope that Bishop Tutu's call and that of the National Education Crisis Conference in Durban will be seen by the international community as a desperate call from the oppressed section of the South African society to exert more decisive pressure on this racist Government."

An Azapo spokesman said the call for economic sanctions was long overdue.

"The continued maintenance and support of this unrepresentative minority regime has left us with the conclusion that the so-called Western democracies have been silent about the iniquities of this Government simply because it is white," he said.

"It is simply a despicable shame that more than 1 000 black lives were lost over a period of a year because of protests against education and the general state of affairs in the country, while the Western countries maintained a deafening silence".

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais called on the Government to take action against Bishop Tutu, who was "declaring war in the name of God".

The PFP spokesman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said: "I'm against sanctions because of the horrendous effect it

will have on widespread unemployment in South Africa, which has no social security safety net, but at the same time it should be clearly understood that if sanctions are imposed it will not be due to Bishop Tutu — the blame rests entirely on P W Botha and his Government for failing to honour their undertaking to dismantle apartheid."

A PFP representative on the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said: "We have seen black leadership emerging in big business. If sanctions are applied, these opportunities will close and there will be a leadership vacuum."

UNEMPLOYED

Assocom said it regretted Bishop Tutu's call. Chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons said: "Like Bishop Tutu, business has been involved in the process of change for many decades and believes that a growing economy remains an essential condition for evolutionary reform in South Africa.

He said businessmen found it hard to reconcile a call for economic sanctions with their daily experience of blacks seeking work at shops, offices and factories. Governments did not suffer pain, people did.

He said successful economic sanctions would also weaken the blacks in the very sphere in which their power had been growing — on the labour market.

black enemy is becoming invisible



□ BOTHA ... no-win

SOUTH AFRICA, then, is at an impasse. Pretoria cannot suppress the black unrest, and the blacks cannot seize Pretoria. "A worst case scenario is projected of a short, sharp, brutal and destructive revolution," Dr van Zyl Slabbert said when I interviewed him on the day before his resignation.

"I do not see this happening. Rather, I foresee SA drifting into a period of prolonged siege and inconclusive violence.

"There are certain thresholds we could cross which would make SA a very desperate society to live in. One is if the country became totally isolated — this could nurture an evil government.

"The other is if black violence spills over into white residential areas and provokes counter-violence from whites. Then we could drift into a Lebanon-type situation with no-go zones."

Adrian Guelke, a former Capetonian now lecturing at The Queen's University, Belfast, has been comparing the Northern Ireland and SA situations. He said in a recent lecture here in London:

"Once systems like Northern Ireland and SA, characterised by coercive dominant-subordinate relationships, reach a point where the political system's capacity for coercing the subordinate community is put in doubt, it becomes simply impossible to criminalise political violence, whether the violence is of a revolutionary or vigilante kind.

"In these circumstances, political violence rapidly becomes inter-community violence. It becomes representative violence. That is to say, political violence is no longer seen as simply the actions of individuals, but as representative of the community from which it emanates and for which that community is accountable."

Blacks in SA are already moving into this conflict situation, and now with the formation of vigilante groups, a counter-movement is stirring in the white community.

It is clear where government's priority lies: it is to avert this impending confrontation, because once it happens, the country's last precious political asset — the cross-cutting goodwill between the white and black communities — will disappear, and the race war will begin.

But the prospects of government averting the confrontation are not encouraging. In 38 years of dealing with the anti-apartheid struggle, the authorities have learnt nothing.

Unleashing the police is still the only remedy they know, although all that this has achieved over the years has been partly to take the leadership of the black community out of the hands of elected leaders and disperse it in the back streets of the townships.

The UDF is an example. It has been structured in such a way that, even if its national and regional leaders are taken into detention, decision-making and organisation can continue at a township level where it is almost inaccessible to the police.

The tougher the police become, therefore, the more fragmented the situation in the townships will become, as UDF cadres are forced to share power with the hard core of the apartheid generation, the brutalised wolf pack who ride in on the wake of the political mainstream.

Government's black enemy, in fact, is becoming invisible, and all the recent talk by Ministers of employing the hitherto vast, untapped coercive resources of the state is so much pie-in-the-sky.

Short of bombing the black townships, there is little government can do except kill more people, detain more people — and generate more black fury.

Sooner or later, government will have to talk to the black community — but who will talk to government? When the time comes to negotiate power-sharing, as remorselessly it will come, government's real problem will be to find representa-

STANLEY UYS
in London continues
his impressions of a
recent visit to SA



□ SLABBERT ... "prolonged siege"

tive black leaders capable of controlling their own people.

Professor Hermann Gillomee made this point some time ago, when he said government would discover that even more dangerous than the existence of a large and influential black organisation would be the absence of one.

Professor Heribert Adam made much the same point to me when he passed through London last week. Whites, he said, might well find that their long-term interests were best served by an autocratic black government.

There is then no police solution to SA's problem, only a political one: for the rising level of violence in the white community to subside, the level of violence in the black community must first subside — and this is possible only if certain minimum black demands are met.

But the lesson of the times, surely, is that these demands will not be met by President Botha's reform programme.

This is not to say that all Botha's reforms are "cosmetic," or whatever the current dismissive word is. It just means that the reforms are contributing nothing to reduce the level of violence in the townships.

Botha, in fact, is getting the worst of both worlds. First, his reforms merely tell blacks that the apartheid system is ceasing to function efficiently, that whites are on the defensive and that raised black expectations and morale are justified. In a sense, therefore, the reforms are adding to, not detracting from, the level of violence in the townships: they fall short of meeting demands, yet they inspire blacks to believe that the hated system is cracking up.

Second, whereas the reforms were meant to have the maximum effect on blacks and the minimum effect on whites, the opposite is happening: the reforms are having the maximum, counter-productive effect on conservative whites and the minimum pacifying effect on blacks.

Caught in this no-win situation, where can Botha go from here? What are his options?

One suggested option is that he should relieve the strains on Afrikaner unity by stalling the reform programme.

The historical background is interesting. In the late Sixties, pressures for apartheid reform built up to a point where they could no longer be contained within the National Party — within the Afrikaner nationalist consensus.

The problem with this consensus is that, while it ensures an Afrikaner monopoly of political power, it has little flexibility in adjusting to change.

The conflict within the NP was resolved by the HNP breakaway in 1969. This widened the consensus and allowed the introduction of reforms, until the pressures for further reform built up again and once more were stifled by the consensus.

So a second break had to occur — the Conservative Party in 1982 — to give reform space in which to breathe.

Now the pressures have built up again, but this time so rapidly and massively that they are not likely to be released through just another minor breakaway.

Now the application of a radical reform programme — the only kind of programme that will have meaning for blacks — could tear the NP asunder. And this is where President Botha has faltered and stopped.

Botha has come to the frontiers of this reform potential because he is not prepared to preside over the dissolution of Afrikaner nationalism.

No doubt he will still come up with reform ideas — he has not called a federal congress of the NP in August for nothing — but it can be predicted already that the ideas, especially if they relate to a new constitutional dispensation for blacks, will be so convoluted as to make absolutely no impact on the currents of violence that are running in the black townships.

Putting the brakes on the reform programme, therefore, or diverting it into esoteric highways and byways, is one suggested option.

A more realistic option is to replace the Afrikaner consensus with a more broadly-based consensus of white voters within which radical reform will become possible.

The majority vote is certainly there: the catchment area includes not only English-speakers (PFP members among them), but also the growing number of Afrikaner nationalists who accept (as Gavin Relly once put it) that the party is over.

In my discussions with PFP leaders it was put to me that the divide in parliamentary politics was between the NP and PFP on one side and the CP and HNP on the other: the former supporting reform (albeit at different tempos) and the latter resisting it.

Here, in broad outline, then, is a way out of SA's impasse, although obviously neither the NP nor the PFP would survive such a realignment intact. There seems to be no other way in which the mould of white politics can be constructively broken.

Stalling the reform programme may be an option for Right-wing whites who dream of an ethnic remobilisation of Afrikaners and the restoration of apartheid in its Verwoerdian purity; it is not really an option for SA.

Dr Piet Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers and former Editor of *Die Burger*, believes Afrikaner nationalism has burnt its bridges.

"We had to try apartheid," he explained to me, "in order to prove that it does not work. Socialists in Britain were not very different. After the war, they too had to change under the pressure of new insights. They also know now that the best-laid plans sometimes don't work."

"Afrikaners are busy learning that this is not just their country — that they are not going to be the only bosses forever. They will not accept one-man-one-vote, but at least they know now what is impossible."

Harald Pakendorf, Editor of *Die Vaderland*, perceives a new fluidity in white politics. He believes there are about 50 Nationalist MPs who are at least a "little concerned" over the pace of reform.

"This does not mean they are going to form a new party," Pakendorf told me, "but it does mean they will have to stand up and be counted."

"The whole question of the pace of reform will have to be discussed now in the NP's parliamentary caucus, and there are enough critically-minded MPs to make it a meaningful discussion."

"Whatever comes out of this discussion, it is not impossible that we will see a third force establishing itself in the country. I am not saying this is about to happen — just that the possibility exists."

"The conflict between whites has run its course and Afrikaners are losing their cohesiveness. Either a third force will be established now, or the NP will have to become a less nationalistic party."

Historic KwaNatal 'indaba' starts

DURBAN. — Representatives of 31 organizations taking part in the Natal/KwaZulu "indaba" began deliberations here yesterday under tight security for the first day of what could be six months of deliberations on the future governing of the two regions.

But nine major extra-parliamentary groupings, including the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Natal Indian Congress, the Pan African Congress and the Azanian Peoples' Organization, have refused to participate in the talks.

The one clear goal of the conference is the formation of a joint governing body for Natal and KwaZulu which would represent a historic first in South African constitutional development.

The ruling National Party and the moderate Trade Union Congress of South Africa, Tucs, are present at the "indaba" as observers and it was decided yesterday they

would not have voting rights.

A large contingent of foreign diplomats and more than 1000 people representing the majority of KwaZulu and Natal's political, business, industrial and agricultural groupings were present at the opening.

Security

On the ground floor were 420 delegates, advisers and invited guests who met under the strictest security measures following the attack two weeks ago on the University of Natal offices of one of the architects of the indaba, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

The chairman of the indaba is former University of Natal principal Professor Desmond Clarence and the two

main forces behind it are KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Natal's senior MEC, Mr Frank Martin.

Yesterday's opening session marked the start of the second negotiation phase between KwaZulu and Natal.

The first phase produced an agreement between Natal and KwaZulu to administer the region jointly. The proposals for the first phase have been submitted to the government.

Speaking at the opening session, Chief Buthelezi warned that the participating organizations could be subjected to intimidation including violence to prevent success.

The indaba was not a national voice which was representative of all the people of the country "but the time is ripening for that voice to emerge".

'Timely'

"None of us believe that apartheid can last. Everyone of us knows that change is in the very air we breathe. This 'indaba' is poignantly timely."

He said there was a strong lobby that said the time for reconciliation and negotiation was past.

"They believe that the only thing that is left to do is to maim, burn and kill in order to bring about change in this country."

"We say such a moment has not come as yet."

Professor Clarence said the target, a single legislative assembly for Natal and KwaZulu, would permanently defuse the ongoing unrest and high tension between groups in South Africa. — Sapa and Own Correspondent



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By ^{the}PATRICK LAURENCE

already invoked predictions of failure from several sceptical, head-shaking observers — that will only be the beginning of the problem. The National Party sent observers only. It will thus not be bound by any decision hammered out at the Indaba.

If, as some observers contend, there can be no regional solution in

Co-hosted by the KwaZulu government and the largely moribund Natal Provincial Council, the indaba's primary task is to seek consensus as far as possible on the structure and composition of the envisaged legislature. Yesterday's session was the first of many to come.

Whether delegates representing political parties and institutions, ranging from Inkatha through the politically antediluvian New Republic Party to the Afrikaanse Handels-instituut, will be able to devise a common formula, either by consensus or majority vote, remains to be seen. But even if they do — and they have

already invoked predictions of failure from several sceptical, head-shaking observers — that will only be the beginning of the problem. The National Party sent observers only. It will thus not be bound by any decision hammered out at the Indaba.

The idea of a single nonracial or multiracial legislature for Natal is, of course, contrary to government policy. It will negate the racially-structured regional councils on which Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis has spent so much time and so much taxpayers' money. But even if the NP does approve a united nonracial or multiracial KwaNatal, as the proposed integrated region has been dubbed, it will still suffer from a major if not fatal defect.

The indaba has been shunned by major political forces: the United Democratic Front and the Azanian

People's Organisation, as well as the outlawed African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress (to whom invitations were sent out of naivete or as part of a publicity ploy).

If, as some observers contend, there can be no regional solution in KwaNatal without Buthelezi and Inkatha, the time is rapidly approaching when there can be no solution without the UDF and the ANC and, to a lesser extent, Azapo and the PAC.

If, however, there were Jeremiahs yesterday forecasting doom for the indaba — one saw the participation of the NRP as a desperate but futile attempt by it to ward off political death — there were also people who feared that it might succeed: whites, from ultra-rightist organisations, including the Herstigte Nasionale

Party and the Action White Nawl.

They handed out pamphlets lambasting the organisers as the tools of profit-making capitalists; Anglo-American was a central factor in the plot to sacrifice whites for profit, the HNP availed.

But Dumeleau was concerned about a "different danger. He wanted delegates in his opening address to be careful of saboteurs, citing the burning down of the university offices of one of the key men behind the indaba, Professor Lawrence Schleimer, as a reason for his counsel to delegates to be careful. But his speech contained hopeful and apocalyptic notes. The indaba was a "trust with destiny", an opportunity to "cut the Gordian knot of racism and injustice", a "forum where the people's voice will be heard" and a chance to "banish violence from our political scene".

BY GARRY TRUDEAU

Slabbert speaks on UDF platform

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Opposition, will be speaking on a United Democratic Front platform in Johannesburg next week.

The meeting is part of a new UDF "Call to whites campaign", intended to present UDF affiliates as a political alternative to whites opposed to the government.

Titled "Where to white politics?", it is the first in a series of five such meetings.

The meeting is organised by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), a UDF affiliate.

Slabbert will speak alongside Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Nthato Motlana, leader of the Soweto Civic Association, and Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC.

It will take place at the City Hall on Wednesday evening.



Potgietersrus, Prieska, Queenstown, Riversdale, Stanford, Stanger, Stellenbosch, Simon's Town, Somerset West, Strand, Swellendam, Tongaat, Tulbagh, Volksrust, Vredenburg-Saldanha, Vryburg, Warrenton, Witbank and Worcester.

Proposals still being considered were from Brakpan, Durbanville, Frasersburg, Glencoe, Goodwood, Grabouw, Montagu, Potgietersrus, Vredenburg-Saldanha and Worcester.

Twelve proposals have not been considered and are being held over because of:

- The non-existence of town-planning schemes (in Noupoot, Riversdale, Simon's Town, Stanford, Tulbagh and Warrenton);
- Requests by local authorities who want to review their decisions (De Aar, Nigel and Prieska); and

- Negotiations still being conducted with local authorities to obtain proposals for either larger free trading areas or relocation of boundaries of adjoining group areas (Ladysmith, Nancefield and Pietersburg).

Heunis said while it was government's aim to have all CBDs turned into free trading areas, no action would be taken against local authorities who have not proposed open CBDs.

"The opening of CBDs to all population groups is in the first instance a matter for local authorities. The Department (of Constitutional Development and Planning) is at present actively negotiating through its regional offices with the local authorities of all municipalities and boroughs to give urgent consideration to this matter.

"It is trusted that in this way all local authorities will be persuaded to submit proposals for free trading areas," Heunis explains.

Although any interested party can request an investigation into the establishment of a free trade area, government deems it desirable that the proposal come from the local authority concerned, Heunis says. It is not possible to say when all CBDs will be open, he adds.

The CBDs of Johannesburg and Durban were opened to trading by all earlier this year. Other towns and cities are expected to be given the go-ahead soon to open their CBDs.

POLITICS

Rage on the Right

Increasingly militant posturing by rightwing parties in Parliament, coupled to an alarming growth in support for the ultra-Right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), has shocked government. The resurgence of reactionary support is being seen as the most serious threat to government's reform initiatives.

Some Nationalist MPs now acknowledge privately that they have lost touch with their constituents and have little chance of holding their seats in a general election. The situation has arisen in the wake of escalating



AWB's Terre'Blanche ...
infiltrating the forces

township unrest and the spillover of violence into some white areas like Krugersdorp.

In Parliament, the presence of the Herstigte Nasionale Party's (HNP) Louis Stofberg, and reports that Conservative Party (CP) supporters are flocking to join the AWB, have jolted CP MPs into renewed militancy. There have been repeated veiled warnings to government that conservative whites will use whatever means they deem necessary to protect what they believe to be theirs.

Government is particularly concerned by the infiltration of AWB supporters into nearly every facet of Afrikaner society — particularly the police, civil service, and the army. National Party (NP) MPs also say there is clear evidence of efforts by AWB members to gain control of school and sports committees, church and town councils. The NP's MP for Ermelo, Hendrik Tempel, said in February that there was evidence of AWB infiltrations of the police reserve and the commando there.

In his controversial interview last year with National Intelligence Service chief, Neil Barnard, the former Progressive Federal Party leader, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, expressed concern about a possible rightwing backlash in the police force in particular and the bureaucracy in general.

AWB supporters drew up a petition earlier this year calling on government to remove the Krugersdorp black township of Munsieville. It was signed by 11 000 people and presented to government by the CP.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche earlier this year established a para-military force in spite of claims that his organisation rejects violence as a political tool. Its activities are being carefully monitored by government. The AWB's "citizens' councils" (*burger-*

rade) throughout the country are understood to have recruited thousands of men for the para-military force. Some of them emerged briefly when they joined white vigilantes in patrols along the border between Munsieville and neighbouring white suburbs after rioting broke out in the township.

Government's concern at AWB influence in the security forces was illustrated last month when Police Commissioner Johan Coetzee reiterated the SAP's rejection of AWB members within its permanent ranks or in the police reserve.

In an interview in February, the NP MP for Brits, Jan Grobler, accused the AWB of "Afrikaner imperialism" and likened the organisation's policies to Hitler's national socialism. Yet the CP has renewed efforts to draw closer to the AWB. Talks were held between Terre'Blanche and CP leader Andries Treurnicht in Cape Town a month ago.

The AWB has moved into new areas this year. Terre'Blanche's first major public meeting in Port Elizabeth last month drew 1 200 chanting supporters. It has also become more daring. In February, an AWB group shouted down Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel at a public meeting on his home turf in Bethal.

The AWB is reportedly also gaining support from professionals in small towns. The well-known rightwing activist, Robert van Tonder, edits the AWB's mouthpiece, *Die Stem*, which has a claimed circulation of 22 000. A former leading member of the CP, Alkmaar Swart, a Pretoria academic, now backs the AWB.

In Parliament, the HNP's Stofberg has taken the lead in highlighting conservative white resistance to government policy. Last month he said whites would be "ploughed under" if blacks were brought into central government. "The HNP and I say to you (the government), to the PFP and to the world: the Afrikaner people will never give up their sovereign political independence. Never, even if it means we must use other methods to continue our struggle," he warned.

In another debate he rejected the strategy of winning the "hearts and minds" of blacks and effectively called for an all-out military campaign against insurgents.

Stofberg said that soldiers in uniform were to a "disturbing degree being used for welfare services (in black communities). They are giving education in the homelands and performing other social services. They are delivering babies. This is not a soldier's work." He added: "The situation has deteriorated and the war has spilled over into South Africa." The army was not fighting to win the war, but to win time for a political accommodation, Stofberg said.

The CP's Tom Langley accused government of being unable to maintain law and order, and of having lost control. "There is widespread destabilising of the internal situation. The country is in a state of unrest, the Red flag waves in residential areas and Mandela is quoted freely," he charged. "Land-

KwaNatal: the footsie-footsie option

A PROMINENT financial journal proclaimed in a recent article. "There is a way out. With all SA calling for solutions to its grave and fundamental problems, one option presents itself as a realistic, low-risk starting point to a new future: it has been called the Natal/KwaZulu option."

Optimism about the "KwaNatal" option has become infectious of late. A whole range of influential "moderates" — politicians, academics, businessmen — have embraced the cause. And even the central government, after publicly snubbing the advocates of KwaNatal for several years, appears poised to leap on the bandwagon.

The KwaNatal option proceeds from two ideas. One is that Pretoria, instead of imposing its own solutions on Natal and KwaZulu, should allow "moderate" forces in that region to pursue their own political solutions and exercise greater authority over the region's affairs. The other is that Natal and KwaZulu should combine to form an integrated administrative, planning and political entity called KwaNatal.

To some these goals may sound unobjectionable. To others the initiative may look like a quirky attempt by white Natalians to regain the autonomy they lost in 1910. But it is in fact something more — and arguably more sinister — than either of these responses allows. It is an attempt to provide what its advocates call a "realistic" model for constitutional reform throughout the country. By realistic, however, they appear to mean a conservative model that can defuse political conflict while leaving largely intact the existing distribution of political and economic power. It has already been rejected for this reason by most credible black representatives.

The vision of KwaNatal was hatched in the second half of the 70s, in opposition to central government attempts to fit Natal and KwaZulu into the apartheid straitjacket. Pretoria wanted to consolidate the fragmented KwaZulu bantustan into 10 units instead of 48, forcibly resettling perhaps half a million Africans in the process. And they wanted KwaZulu to accept political "independence".

A whole range of vested interests in Natal/KwaZulu rejected this formula. Provincial bosses warned that it would lead to administrative chaos by forcing Natal and KwaZulu to duplicate infrastructures they could share in common. The sugar barons argued that it would create inefficiency in their industry, which could not afford any disruptions to the continuous flow of sugar cane needed to keep their capital-intensive mills running profitably. Many farmers complained about losing land to consolidation. KwaZulu insisted that it would never accept "independence". And almost everybody predicted that a straightforward apartheid solution in Natal

There's an infectious new enthusiasm about the go-it-alone KwaNatal option. To many it appears the last hope for peaceful, orderly change. But behind the facade of reform is an essential conservatism: the KwaNatal model will hardly alter the existing distribution of political power.

By DARYL GLASER

A Wit academic, he is conducting research into the Natal/KwaZulu option.

and KwaZulu would lead to conflict and political instability.

In its place they pleaded for a KwaNatal option. In 1980, calls for a regional solution found expression in two major commissions. The Lombard plan, sponsored mainly by the sugar industry, was the more conservative of the two. Taking apartheid territorial divisions as its starting point, it suggested that KwaZulu, "white rural Natal and the Durban metropolitan area should have separate but equal representation in a common legislature, coupled to institutional protections for the white minority and the 'right' of different races to 'voluntary exclusivity'."

The slightly more "radical" Buthelezi commission began its work in the same year and reported in 1982. Advertised as the first "black initiative" in the game of constitutional reform, the commission was sponsored by Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement through the KwaZulu legislative assembly. In contrast to the parochial efforts of the University of Pretoria academics who produced the Lombard report, the Buthelezi Commission's star-studded cast included top businessmen, influential local and overseas academics and numerous politicians and technocrats.

The Buthelezi commission called for a "consociational" solution in Natal/KwaZulu. What this label meant was that the provincial administration, the KwaZulu government and local Indian politicians should collaborate via an executive coalition or "elite cartel". Beneath them should be a legislature entailing disproportionately large representation for minority groups, minority vetoes, an independent judiciary and other minority "protections".

The commission rejected "compulsory" in favour of "voluntary" group association, and favoured "geographical" over "ethnic" units of representation. But it did not question apartheid's premise that the central political challenge is containing conflict between "cultural segments". And while the commission called for a "mixed market economy" in which the state would

Buthelezi and Martin: Cosy, comfy bedfellows

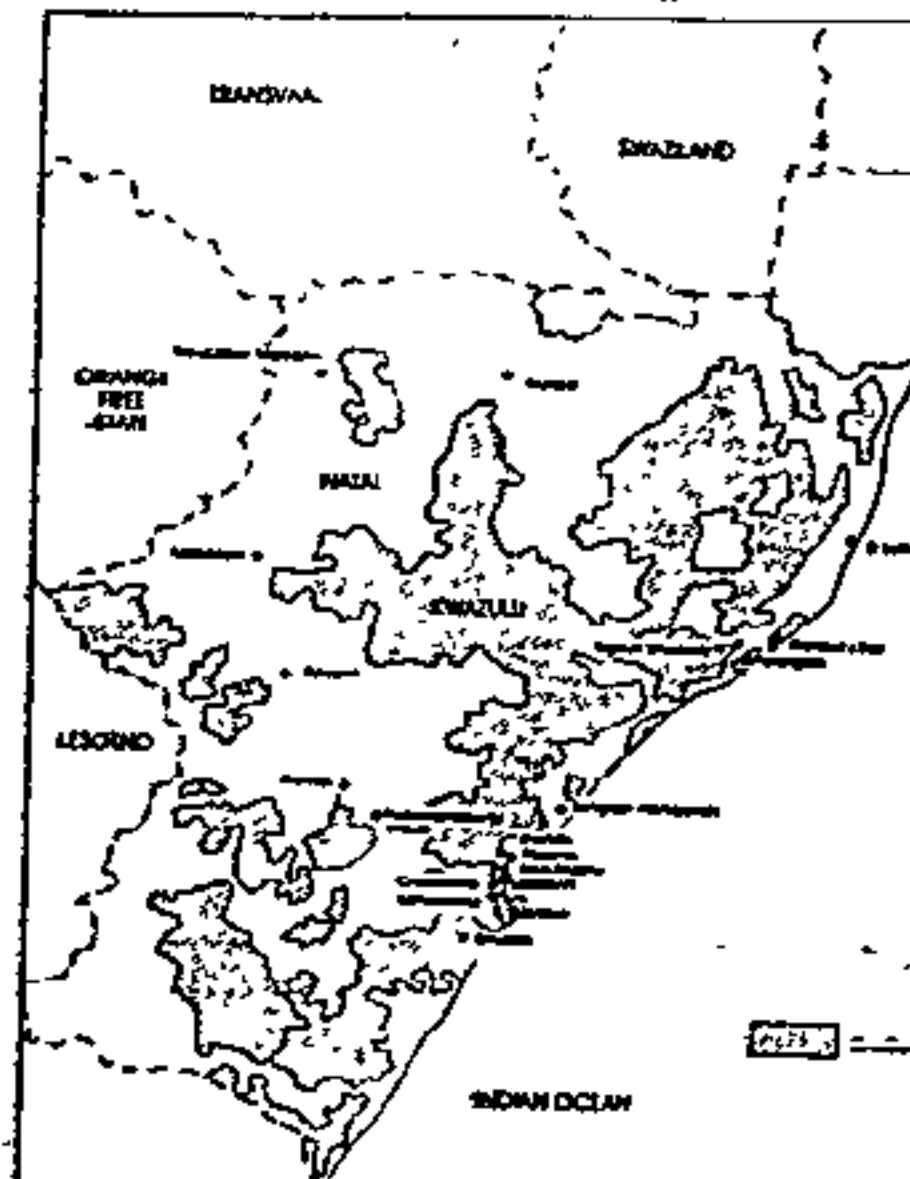
intervene to satisfy basic needs, as well as joint planning between Natal and KwaZulu in fields like health, education and the provision of infrastructure, it did not even begin to outline ways in which the existing distribution of socio-economic resources could be decisively altered to the benefit of the impoverished black majority.

The central government, having refused to participate in the Buthelezi commission's deliberations, initially distanced itself from the commission's findings. Even National Party "verligtes" preferred to adopt a wait-and-see attitude, while in public successive NP Natal leaders — Owen Horwood, then Stoffel Botha — ridiculed Buthelezi's pretensions. The NP was clearly not then ready to embrace any significant departure from its existing policies.

The New Republic Party — while Natal's dominant party — responded cautiously. It endorsed administrative co-operation between Natal and KwaZulu (MEC Frank Martin has campaigned for it since 1977) but, fearful of losing its provincial power base, it has rejected political fusion. Other influential reformers, however — Natal businessmen, the PFP, liberal academics, conservative Indian politicians — endorsed all of the Buthelezi commission's major goals, and began to step up their pressure on Pretoria.

In 1985 the central government appeared to change its mind. Two cabinet ministers, Gerrit Viljoen and Chris Heunis, sent clear and positive signals to the KwaNatal crusaders. The ministers "agreed" that Natal was different; that it should get a special dispensation; and that the Buthelezi commission could form a basis for negotiating future constitutional models. Earlier, in late 1984, the government had appointed a joint planning council to carve out a role for itself in the KwaNatal build-up.

The central government has not, however, given the KwaNatal initiative its unqualified embrace. Its refusal to consider a common legislature for Natal and KwaZulu, even while conceding a common administration and executive, has infuriated reformers, so did the recently tabled proposals for KwaZulu land consolidation, and the resignation of joint planning council chairman Louis Rive, allegedly over central government intransigence, has added to tensions. But despite these setbacks, the KwaNatal crusaders have been greatly emboldened.



Scattered fragments that will be together by the KwaNatal option.

Even the NRP has now joined the KwaNatal roadshow, arguing, with reborn fervour, the for a fully politically unified region. No doubt imminent phasing out of provincial government — and therefore the NRP's Natal power base helped-to-concentrate mounds.

While all these battles have been going on, "co-operation" between Natal and KwaZulu has been proceeding anyway. In fact it began initially at a purely administrative level — as back as 1980. It accelerated in 1984, when KwaNatal campaigners began to force the government's hand. Following the grandly "Ulundi Accord" of November 1984, KwaZulu and the provincial administration began to convene meetings to map out the transition to a fully politically integrated KwaNatal.

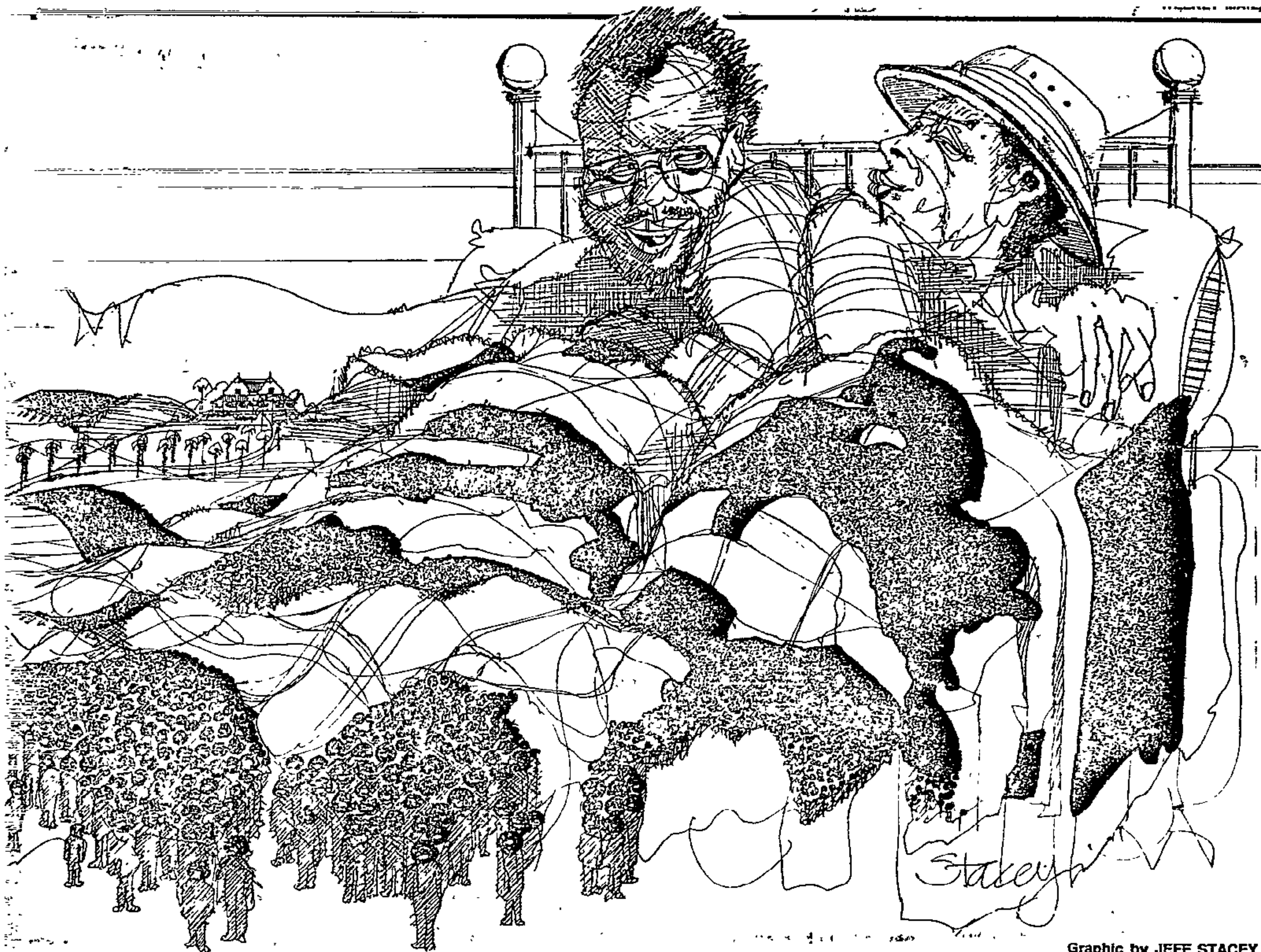
Plans for a single legislative body are currently being finalised at the KwaNatal "indaba", with observers in attendance. However, given the relatively conservative character of both Lombard and Buthelezi commissions, and refusal by most black organisations to participate in the indaba, it seems unlikely that the final product will be acceptable to KwaNatal's black majority.

A discreet nod from Pretoria

WHY has Pretoria given the green light to KwaNatal? A careful reading of official documents and statements suggests that the answer lies in the government's goal of "regionalisation". Nowadays even the government and NP recognise that bantustan "independence" cannot serve as a lasting political solution for the country, but pressures from the right and left have eroded their ability to take initiatives. It serves their interests to give less hamstrung "moderates" in the regions and localities leeway to devise new formulae, thereby clearing a path to — and buying time for — future national "solutions". By giving blacks a role in regional dispensations and metropolitan

and local government, the central government hopes to deflect political pressure from itself.

The KwaNatal initiative fits in neatly with the government's Good Hope regional development plan. Both are accompanied by rhetoric about "devolution of power" and "cross-border co-operation" between South Africa and its bantustan satellites. Many conservative reformers, including National Party "verligtes" and the New Republic Party, see KwaNatal and the Good Hope Plan as providing the scaffolding for a future confederal-constitutional model which they hope can be sold to South Africa's blacks, and to the world at large, as a legitimate substitute for majority rule.



Graphic by JEFF STACEY

A favourite alternative to apartheid

WHY has Natal/KwaZulu become the frontline of constitutional "reform" in South Africa?

It alone features politically dominant white groups outside National Party control and a contender for black political leadership — Buthelezi and Inkatha — with a base in state structures and a fair-sized constituency outside of them. It is this combination which makes possible a multiracial elite initiative outside the aegis of the central government — an initiative which, at the same time, can aspire to a degree of popular legitimacy and to serve as a laboratory for "reform" elsewhere in the country.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Chief Buthelezi is the lynchpin of the whole KwaNatal drive: without his participation it would be impossible for white Natal's conservative reformers to find a formula that is both "moderate" and credible. Buthelezi, for his part, must see a multiracial KwaNatal as offering a stronger and more defensible launching

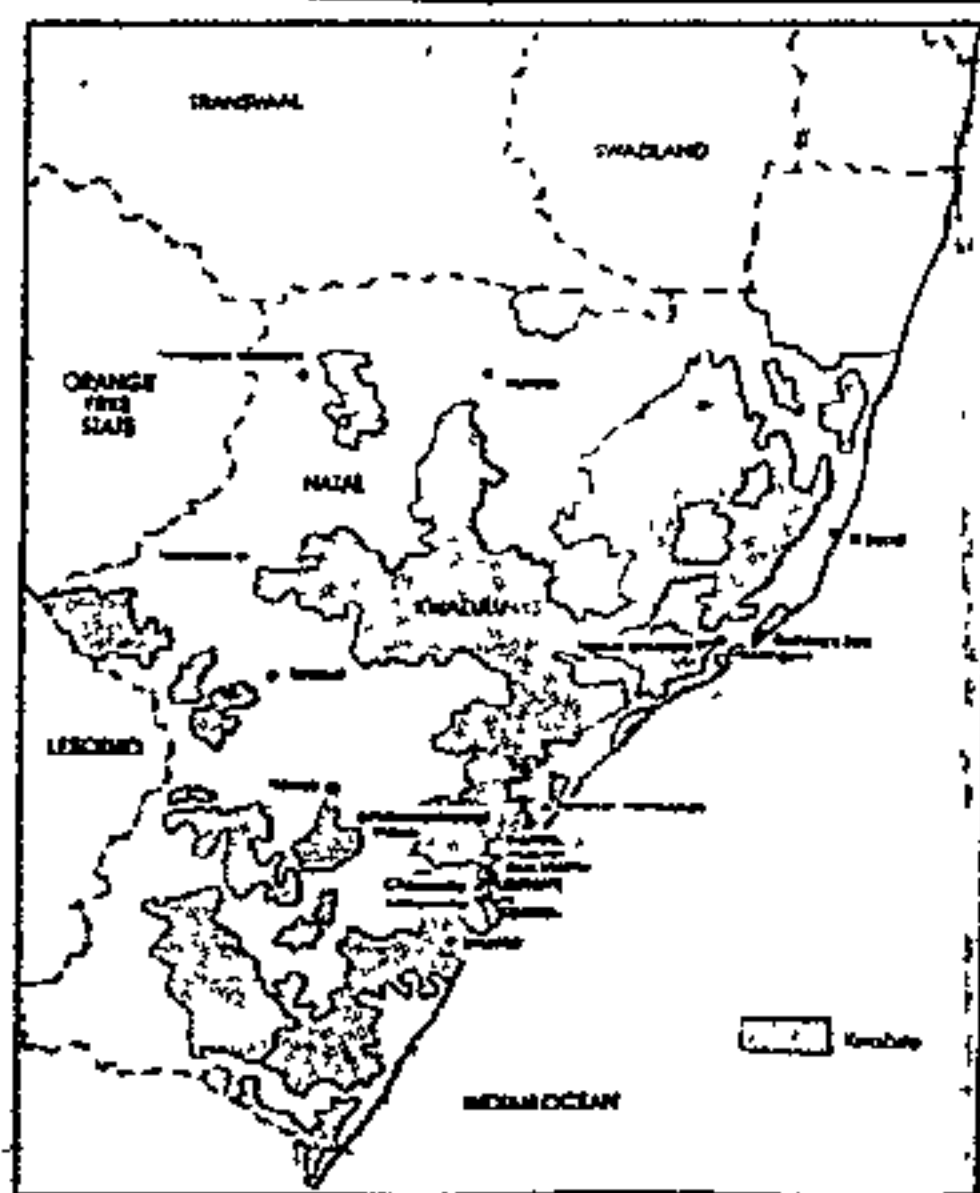
pad for his — and Inkatha's — national ambitions than does the KwaZulu bantustan.

Natal/KwaZulu has another feature underlining its claim to special treatment, and underpinning Buthelezi's importance to a "moderate" political settlement in the region. On the Reef, the majority of blacks live in "white" areas outside the bantustans. In Natal, nearly all urban blacks live in KwaZulu, in dormitory townships and informal settlements abutting "white" urban centres.

This has buttressed arguments about the need for direct administrative co-ordination between Natal and KwaZulu. It has also facilitated the political side of the KwaNatal initiative. On the Reef the majority of urban blacks have no links with, and many have never seen, the bantustans to which they are assigned. In Natal/KwaZulu, however, most urban blacks fall under the control of the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi. Even where they do not support Inkatha, they are vulnerable to its

patronage or political coercion. A deal with Buthelezi thus raises the hope in white Natalians that the majority of Natal's Zulus can be "persuaded" — by one means or another — to play ball with the KwaNatal initiative.

It was in fact the growing challenge to Inkatha from rival, more radical black groups which provided the immediate context for the Buthelezi commission in 1980. The Zimbabwe African National Union's electoral triumph, evidence of growing black sympathy for the ANC's stepped-up guerrilla warfare in a region that provides ideal terrain for insurgents, and spreading student and school boycotts all intensified the fear amongst conservative reformers that Buthelezi would go the same way as Muzorewa. The Buthelezi commission represented an explicit attempt to supply the controversial Inkatha chief with the breakthrough he would need in his coming battles with political rivals.



Scattered fragments that will be pulled together by the KwaNatal option.

Even the NRP has now joined the KwaNatal roadshow, arguing, with reborn fervour, the case for a fully politically unified region. No doubt the imminent phasing out of provincial government — and therefore the NRP's Natal power base — helped to concentrate minds.

While all these battles have been going on, direct "co-operation" between Natal and KwaZulu has been proceeding anyway. In fact it began — initially at a purely administrative level — as far back as 1980. It accelerated in 1984, when the KwaNatal campaigners began to force the central government's hand. Following the grandly-titled "Ulundi Accord" of November 1984, KwaZulu and the provincial administration began to convene meetings to map out the transition to a fully politically integrated KwaNatal.

Plans for a single legislative body are currently being finalised at the KwaNatal "indaba", with NP observers in attendance. However, given the relatively conservative character of both the Lombard and Buthelezi commissions, and the refusal by most black organisations to participate in the indaba, it seems unlikely that the final product will be acceptable to KwaNatal's black majority.

It is extremely unlikely that representatives of the region's black majority — other than Inkatha itself — will submit to the KwaNatal game plan. The ANC, UDF, Natal Indian Congress and Azapo have already rejected the initiative, which they see as an attempt to bolster Buthelezi, seduce them into acceptance of a white-dominated federal-confederal system and to divert them from the goal of a unitary political system. These suspicions are solidly grounded.

KwaNatal advocates insist that their project is non-partisan. Their claim is not entirely plausible. The indaba is the culmination of a deal struck between KwaZulu and Natal's provincial bosses. And there is strong evidence that KwaNatal campaigners are consciously seeking to promote Buthelezi. One quote, from the Buthelezi Commission's political and constitutional subcommittee, will suffice to make the point:

"We are particularly mindful of the fact that one black leader of moderate and co-operative inclinations (Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha) should not have his position undermined by heightened radical mobilisation ... and we feel bound to make such proposals as will protect the position of the leadership that exists." (Vol II, p 116)

Attitude surveys show that Inkatha is losing

ground fast in all black urban areas, including those inside KwaZulu. Any attempt to foist Buthelezi on Natal/KwaZulu is certain to spark a Zulu-versus-Zulu conflict that could permanently scar the region.

It should also be noted that Schlemmer and others have called quite openly for a "cartel" of black and white "elites". In practice this is likely to amount to an agreement forged behind the backs of the region's inhabitants, who will be offered, if they are lucky, an opportunity passively to ratify the new dispensation. (The first open session of the KwaNatal undaba had seating for precisely 720 people; most of the rest will be behind closed doors.)

Nor does the Buthelezi commission break cleanly with the apartheid concept of group representation. A future KwaNatal is likely to contain built-in "minority protections" to safeguard the position of whites. The Buthelezi commission favours separate representation for culturally defined segments in the executive and block representation in the legislature, a minority veto in educational and cultural matters and so on.

The commission disingenuously treats whites as one minority amongst many, ignoring that

minority's entrenched and privileged position. Its chief concern appears to be to protect, not minority rights, but minority privileges.

Through minority protections and other mechanisms, the advocates of KwaNatal seek to prevent the black majority from acting as a unified force in the struggle for a real redistribution of power and amelioration of the region's glaring socio-economic inequalities. The consociational model seeks to "share, diffuse, separate, divide, decentralise and limit power" and to ensure that there are "areas from which the parliamentary majority is barred" (Buthelezi Commission, vol II, p 125). The Buthelezi commissioners also call for the creation of allegiances based on "classes and regions" in order to prevent collective black action against white minority interests. (Vol II, p 107) At best, it seems, the black majority can hope for relief from apartheid's more gross features — such as forced removals — while the black middle class and white big business will find new opportunities for expansion.

Even opposition to land consolidation, dressed in impeccably anti-apartheid rhetoric, would be likely, if it succeeded, to freeze the existing, inequitable distribution of land in Natal/KwaZulu.

BAN ALL SIGNS OF RACISM

A CAMPAIGN has been launched by an MP to have all apartheid signs in South Africa declared "undesirable" in terms of the Publications Act.

Mr Willie Meyer, Labour Party MP for Robertson in the House of Representatives, believes he has a strong case for the scrapping of apartheid notices on the grounds that they bedevil race relations and could even be a threat to the security of the state.

He said in an interview he was planning to submit a formal complaint to the Publications Board. If this failed, he would be prepared to take the matter to the Supreme Court.

Harmful

Mr Meyer's argument is that in terms of certain provisions of the Publications Act any publication or object could be declared "undesirable" and could, therefore, be prohibited by law if it is:

- "Harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic," or
- "Prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order."

Another provision says a publication or object shall be deemed to be undesirable if it or any part of it "brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt."

Mr Meyer said he believed he would be able to find thousands of witnesses who could testify that apartheid notices, especially "whites only"

SLEGS VIR BLANKES

signs, were "undesirable" in terms of these provisions.

Such notices, displayed at public places,

were certainly harmful to relations between different race groups and could even disturb "the peace and good order".

A change of heart — can it be achieved?

Speaking in the House of Assembly recently, the Minister of Constitutional Development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said that white South Africans need a change of heart. Thereby he echoed what men of the calibre of Alan Paton and Laurens van der Post and Harry Oppenheimer have been saying for a long time.

Coming as it does from a senior member of the Cabinet, Mr Heunis's statement is to be welcomed. However, judging by other pronouncements of his (eg the Group Areas Act is not negotiable), his concept of change falls short of what is truly needed.

The fact is that until the general body of the electorate comes to the realisation that apartheid is fundamentally wrong and must be completely eradicated, reform is doomed and polarisation will continue unabated. So how is the change to be brought about?

Afrikaner tradition being what it is, there can be no hope that attitudes will change in the direction required unless the country's political leaders, and in particular the State President himself, demonstrate that their own outlook has moved in that direction.

Beyond dispute

That Mr Botha has undergone a metamorphosis in his political thinking is beyond dispute, but he still doggedly refuses to concede that basic apartheid dogma lies at the root of our troubles.

He persists in addressing audiences on the theme that apartheid is the product of history and that white South Africa in general and Afrikaners in particular have no cause to feel guilty or conscience-stricken about what has happened since 1948.

There can be no hope of resolving our problems unless and until the whites in general, and Mr Botha in particular, can be persuaded that the corner-stone of all apartheid laws, the race classification sections of the Population Registration Act, is an affront to human dignity and must be abrogated.

In 1950, less than two decades after the Nazis had outraged the civilised world by passing laws to enable them to discriminate against, and indeed ultimately to decimate, Germany Jewry, and a mere five years after the end of a world war which had had to be fought at unbelievable cost in terms of human life and resources to eradicate Nazism, Mr Botha's party unfeelingly and arrogantly spawned similar classificatory legislation to provide the foundation for the whole complex structure of laws discriminating against non-white South Africans.

Discriminatory laws

During the ensuing 35 years, millions of South Africans have suffered indignities and hardship through the application of these discriminatory laws, a process rendered possible only by initial classification as a matter of law of South Africans into different racial categories based on ancestry, physical characteristics and acceptance by a particular community.

Deriving from the statute as they do, the classification procedures themselves constitute a disgraceful injury about which South African whites seem to have little knowledge.

The Population Registration Act compels every person whose name is to be entered in the population register to be classified according to race or ethnic grouping or both.

It affords the victim the opportunity to object to a classification thus imposed upon him or her or their minor child, but

Rowland Peart (right) looks at race classification and how it impairs human dignity. The author served as a SAAF pilot during World War 2, represented both Transvaal and Northern Transvaal at golf, practised at Pretoria and Johannesburg Bars for 27 years and acted as a judge for a short while in 1978. Since 1980 he has been a senior partner in a law firm.



imposes a heavy burden of proof on the objector by means of various specified presumptions.

(Incredibly the legislation as originally framed also gave the right of objection to third parties. Anybody could lodge a small deposit with the Department of Home Affairs and then object to another person's classification. As can be easily imagined, this provision presented ample scope for giving vent to some very nasty human failings such as spite and vengeance and prejudice, but it took the legislature 19 years to appreciate the offensiveness of the provision and to repeal it.)

An objection to a classification is considered and decided by the Race Classification Board. The Act provides for the proceedings to be held in camera at the option of the objector, and not surprisingly very few objections have ever been heard in public. This has undoubtedly contributed to the ignorance of most whites as to what is involved.

Ugly experience

I have represented objectors to race classifications on three occasions and I can honestly say that in 34 years of active professional practice, I have not experienced anything uglier. Perhaps my account of some of what I witnessed will help to persuade white South Africans who care to read further to realise that this legislation cannot be tolerated by a nation that wants to live with its conscience and to take its place again among the civilised communities of the world.

On the first occasion, I received instructions from the Child Welfare Society acting as the nominal objector on behalf of a newly born infant which had been placed in its care.

A young girl from a coastal orphanage had conceived the child and been admitted to a Pretoria maternity home for her confinement. Based on information supplied by her, the race of her baby was entered in the hospital records as white. The day after the birth, the matron saw the child for the first time. She interrogated the mother who broke down and admitted that the father was a black man in the employ of the orphanage.

The girl was immediately deprived of her baby and both were summarily discharged from the hospital. The facts of ancestry were conveyed to the department, where a clerk recorded the race of the child in the register as "black", on the basis that it was standard practice for the progeny of mixed unions to be registered according to what was considered to be the "lower" of the races involved.

The hearing of the objection before the board thus became something of a test case on whether or not departmental practice was correct.

The legal representative of the department argued that no matter

how white the offspring of a mixed union might appear or how established the acceptance of that offspring in the white community, he or she should receive the "lower" classification. The board refused to confirm the "correctness" of this procedure, and the child in question was classified as "coloured".

My second appearance before the board was on behalf of a widower and his adult son. The father was a long-time employee of a well-known Pretoria firm and the family had lived for many years among a respectable coloured community that was located on the eastern outskirts of Pretoria.

Leave home

But the department had classified them as black and this meant that they would be compelled by law to leave their long-established home and their friends and to move to a black township where inevitably the quality of their lives would suffer dramatically.

So objections were lodged in terms of the Act. I remember only too well the cold and unsympathetic attitude of the members of the tribunal who heard the objections, and especially the heartless cross-examination by the representative of the department.

The questioning went along these lines:

Q: You say that you and your son should be classified as coloured and not as black?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you agree that you and your son do not look coloured?

A: No.

Q: Come now, look at your son. Look at his nose, isn't like yours, isn't it?

A: I suppose so.

Q: See how fat it is and how wide are his nostrils. Those features are typical of a Bantu, aren't they?

A: No answer.

Q: Now look at your son's lips. They are also like yours, aren't they?

A: Yes.

Q: They are thick and fleshy, aren't they?

A: Yes.

Q: They are also typical of a Bantu, aren't they?

A: No answer.

The third of my experiences involved representation of a woman and her three children. She was of Mauritian origin. She was dark skinned, but not obviously in appearance not a white person.

She had married a white man from Natal. The marriage had failed and the husband wanted a divorce, but my client was a Catholic and would not agree.

So the husband resorted to the apartheid laws. He persuaded the department to classify his wife as coloured and then sued for the annulment of the marriage on the ground that it was in contravention of the Mixed Marriages Act.

The classification of the mother as coloured meant that the children had to be similarly classified. Fortunately for my client, we were

able to produce convincing evidence of acceptance by the white community in which she lived.

She and her witnesses stood up well to a thoroughly distasteful cross-examination from the representative of the department and, improperly, from two of the three members of the board.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has in his book entitled "The Last White Parliament" stated that apartheid is offensive and repugnant because it "dehumanises those who suffer from its disadvantages and brutalises the humanity of those who enjoy its privileges".

His description fits perfectly the effect on the victims and the conduct of the privileged in the three examples which I have given. Each one of them involved a gross insult to the dignity of fellow human beings.

Yet they are only three instances among thousands upon thousands of similar ones. Last year, 35 years after the Act first came into effect, there were more than 1000 reclassifications; no doubt many more attempts to achieve reclassification were unsuccessful.

It can thus be safely assumed that the degrading procedures generated by the Act are still being suffered on a large scale.

Innocent victims

And, of course, it is not to be forgotten that having effected the "necessary" classification, the Government has then been able to implement legislation for social engineering on an unprecedented scale, causing hardship and suffering to untold numbers of innocent victims, very very few of whom have been white.

In the light of these facts, how can our elected leader persist in his attitude that we who fortuitously are white-skinned are free of blame and have no cause to feel pangs of guilt?

Our present situation desperately needs the introduction of a measure of humility into the utterances of our political leaders instead of the arrogance and humbug to which we have been subjected for so long.

Above all a public statement of apology from the State President for the errors of the past and particularly for the hurtfulness of compulsorily inflicted racial discrimination would do enormous good for human relationships in our troubled country, not to mention for our international image.

Moreover, it would lead others who still need to do so to re-examine their own attitudes. No doubt some will contend that public repentance will be construed as weakness, but history and human experience have surely taught us that in the long run the bully fails, no matter the physical strength at his disposal.

It is only when that physical strength is harnessed to a cause which is just and to conduct which is honourable that survival can be reasonably ensured.

Will PW's council or Indaba end the logjam?

By Bruce Cameron

CAPE TOWN — As the violence and polarisation in South Africa increases so does the number of organisations seeking peaceful solutions to the apparent logjam.

And the number of suggestions for solutions are as varied as the organisations making them — but so far there is little sign of success.

The Government has mooted a national statutory council, the Progressive Federal Party with Inkatha has attempted to start a broad-based movement to force the Government into a national convention, the New Republic Party is suggesting a government of national reconciliation and Assocom has repeatedly attempted to sell its proposals for a federal government to anyone who would listen.

Even the African National Congress has suggested a broad alliance to force change.

Botha's super-Cabinet

The initiatives have not been limited to South African groupings — the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group has been seeking common ground for negotiations and various foreign academic and quasi-academic groups have also been studying ways for a breakthrough.

Senior members of the Government admit in private they have not been able to draw sufficient credible leaders to the negotiating table.

Many candidly say that President FW Botha's proposals to form a type of super-Cabinet — the national statutory council — is a dead duck.

In his opening address to Parliament the President announced his intention of negotiating the establishment of a national statutory council consisting of representatives of the South African Government, the governments of the self-governing national states as well as the leaders of the other black communities and interest groups.

Asked for a progress report, a spokesman for the President's office said "It is the nature of negotiations such as these that much work is done in private. Every negotiation consists of a process of stages and results."

Mandela

"If this stage becomes a matter of public controversy the process of negotiation maybe jeopardised."

And the Government's main constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, would not comment.

More and more it appears the only thing that will break the logjam of negotiations will be the release of security legislation prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the African National Congress and a concerted effort by the Government to get rid of apartheid legislation.

Even moderate leaders



Chief Buthelezi



Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Pik Botha



Mr FW de Klerk

like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have indicated they are not prepared to negotiate within the confines of apartheid. They want to negotiate a new system — not the dismantling of the old.

Even some verligte members of the National Party now see this as the solution but they are very much in the minority.

Indications are that the Eminent Persons Group, which has now twice visited South Africa, is mainly canvassing this line.

In return it is attempting to get the ANC to declare a moratorium on violence and to negotiate with the Government.

Moves to push for a government of national

reconciliation to enable the Government move far faster and to draw up a new constitution suggested by the NRP and Sanlam's Dr Fred du Plessis are not new but have been derisively dismissed in the past by the National Party.

The NP points to its two-third majority in the House of Assembly and the 80 percent "Yes" vote in the referendum to show it has general white support while President Botha appears to firmly believe he has massive support in the black communities.

With this sort of support, it argues, there is no need for a government of national reconciliation.

On the one hand Presi-

dent Botha talks about apartheid being an outmoded concept but in the next breath refers to the preservation of communities, leaving little doubt that he is talking about race groups.

Backlash

But the overall impression given by members of the Government is that they know they are in serious trouble without answers.

They know the tricameral system is merely a stopgap, that have already lost control in many townships, that getting agreement from a few compliant homeland leaders can no

longer be called negotiation and that tinkering with the current system will not be the answer.

But they clearly do not want to do anything that could remove rights or privileges of whites.

The reason for the current indecision appears to be the fear of losing out to black majority rule on the one side or to total white minority rule with its possibly even more violent backlash on the other.

There is again loose talk in political circles of elections being suspended or postponed to allow the Government to institute reforms which would normally see a white right-wing backlash.

The precedent for this

has already been set: A general election should have been held this year but with the implementation of the tricameral system it was postponed until 1989.

The Natal/KwaZulu indaba is being seen as a catalyst that could break the logjam but even here the Government has kept its distance.

Black president

Initially it attempted to find ways of not participating but in the end agreed to observer status using as an excuse that it will have to be the final adjudicator of whatever is decided.

A substantial part of the problem is the vast range of opinion in the NP over the speed and type of reform ranging from Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha's view that there could be a black President to Mr FW de Klerk painstakingly spelling out in Parliament the entrenchment of white rights.

Any move by the Government seems to be preceded by enormous debate and difference which must seriously retard reform.

'Broeders want to talk to ANC'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The Broederbond is seeking talks with the African National Congress, according to a report in the London Financial Times.

This has been confirmed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Patti Waldmeir, reporting from the Zambian capital, says emissaries of the Broederbond have approached the ANC through an intermediary, proposing talks.

"The national executive committee of the ANC, its top policy-making body, has met to consider the request and has sought more information on the proposed purpose of the meeting and on which Broederbond officials would attend.

"The executive's initial response to the approach is understood to have been negative, although a future meeting was not ruled out."

"AT SOME EARLIER STAGE"

The ANC's formal position, she writes, is that "it will only negotiate with a defeated white regime which is preparing to hand over power and that it is still premature to consider even talks about talks".

She says: "The thrust of the so-called 'grand alliance' strategy is clearly to prepare for the possibility of negotiations at some earlier stage.

"The timing of such talks appears to be a subject of debate within the ranks of the ANC leadership."

● The chairman of the Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange, who is also rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, was not available for comment today.

Slabbert to speak at UDF meeting in Johannesburg

CAPE TOWN — Former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert will speak from a United Democratic Front platform in the Johannesburg City Hall on Wednesday night.

The meeting has been organised by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), an affiliate of the UDF, and is part of the front's "call to whites campaign".

Titled "Where To White Politics?", the meeting is the first of five intended to offer a political alternative to whites opposed to the Government's policies.

Confirming that he is to address the meeting, Dr Slabbert said it did not necessarily represent any convergence of views between himself and the UDF. "I have made it quite clear a long time ago that I will talk on any platform."

Dr Slabbert will speak alongside Mr Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Nthato Motlana, leader of the Soweto Civic Association, and Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches. — Sapa.

Broederbond seeks talks with ANC — report

The Star Bureau

3044

LONDON — The Broederbond is seeking talks with the African National Congress, ANC sources in Lusaka have been reported here as saying.

Patti Waldmeir writes in *The Financial Times* that the ANC headquarters in Lusaka confirmed that emissaries of the Broederbond have approached the ANC through an intermediary, proposing talks.

She said: "The national executive committee of the ANC, its top policy-making body, has met to consider the request and has sought more information on the

proposed purpose of the meeting and on which Broederbond officials would attend.

"The executive's initial response to the approach is understood to have been negative, although a future meeting was not ruled out."

Talks with the Broederbond would "represent the closest step yet to negotiations between the ANC and the Government of President P W Botha."

During the past six months, the ANC has held talks at its Zambian headquarters, in neighbouring Zimbabwe and Mozambique and in Europe, with a wide range of interest groups from South Africa.

Waldmeir said: "The aim has been to form a broad-based anti-apartheid alliance to increase domestic political pressure on the South African regime."

The ANC's formal position is that "it will only negotiate with a defeated white regime which is preparing to hand over power and that it is still too premature to consider even talks about talks."

"The thrust of the so-called 'Grand alliance' strategy is clearly to prepare for the possibility of negotiations at some earlier stage."

"The timing of such talks appears to be a subject of debate within the ranks of the ANC leadership."

(2)

872

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Members of the Black Population Groups
(b) Conciliation Board Agreements	—	116	—	—
(c) Arbitration Awards	—	—	—	—
(d) Wage Determinations ...	229 100	126 200	45 200	626 900
(Estimated figures)				
(e) Orders: All races—133 674 (Separate figures are not readily available).				

The figures are as at 31 December 1985.

6/4/86 *Escm*
496. Mr L. F. H. OF BERG asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:†

What was the average (a) cost per ton per year of the coal purchased by Escm, and (b)(i) cost and (ii) selling price of a unit of electricity generated by Escm, in each of the latest specified 10 years for which figures are available?

THE MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS:

	(a)	(b)(i)	(ii)
	Rand	C/kWh	C/kWh
1975	4,05	0,8418	0,7950
1976	5,39	1,0360	1,0360
1977	6,22	1,4854	1,5353
1978	6,67	1,6961	1,7887
1979	6,97	1,8759	1,8980
1980	8,12	2,1361	2,0242
1981	9,71	2,3636	2,2811
1982	11,75	2,8640	2,8038
1983	12,44	3,4655	3,3591
1984	12,55	3,7365	3,5842
1985	12,92	4,1180	

*Final audited cost not yet available.

6/4/86 *Agri*
520. Mr R. W. HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:

What is the estimated area that was lost for agricultural purposes as a result of (a)

urban development, (b) desert encroachment and (c) industrial expansion as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS:

(a) and (b) Approximately 3,703 million hectares as at the end of 1985.

(c) Approximately 32 million hectares are affected by aridification. This area is, however, not necessarily lost for agricultural purposes.

6/4/86 *Marketing Act*
540. Mr P. A. MYBURGH asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:

What was the total cost, (a) including and (b) excluding administration expenditure, of each board established in terms of the Marketing Act No 59 of 1968, for the financial year 1984-85?

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS:

Expenditure of the Agricultural Marketing Boards 1984-85

	(a)	(b)
Potato Board	R'000	R'000
Dry Bean Board	1 850	255
Dried Fruit Board	1 806	1 392
	2 186	1 785

	(a)	(b)
	R'000	R'000
Egg Board	7 662	5 502
Karakul Board	288	258
Cotton Board	1 182	720
Wheat Board	21 899	15 415
Lucerne Board	210	93
Maize Board	35 002	26 327
Oil Seeds Board	5 458	2 178
Banana Board	2 569	1 137
Canning Fruit Board	516	158
Rooibos Tea Control Board	3 255	2 412
Deciduous Fruit Board ...	17 761	8 111
Chicory Board	1 238	598
Citrus Board	12 460	6 687
Dairy Board	10 918	6 601
Mohair Board	1 143	757
Tobacco Board	1 320	763
Meat Board	34 913	21 753
Wool Board	24 900	20 500

The above amounts include the boards' expenditure in respect of items such as product promotion, stabilisation, research and contributions to industry organisations. Direct operational expenses incurred in connection with the marketing of products, eg for storage, handling, treatment, processing, fumigation and shipping are not included. The difference between the amounts under (a) and (b) represents the administrative expenditure, which is the only real cost of the boards as such.

565. Mr M. A. TARR asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:

(c) Since the transcript was an annexure to a press statement it was made available to any person on request.

(d) R300,00.

(b) The former Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly and reporters who are holders of Parliamentary lobby tickets, as well as to Ministers, Embassies, Members of Parliament, Directors-General, officials, private organisations and members of the public on request.

(a) 200.

(b) The former Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly and reporters who are holders of Parliamentary lobby tickets, as well as to Ministers, Embassies, Members of Parliament, Directors-General, officials, private organisations and members of the public on request.

(c) Since the transcript was an annexure to a press statement it was made available to any person on request.

(d) R300,00.

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 14 on 9 April 1985, the investigation by the National Marketing Council into the operation of the control boards has been completed; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether the Council has submitted a report; if not, when it it anticipated that a report will be submitted; if so, what were the findings;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS:

(1) No, owing to the extent of the investigation.

(2) The investigation into the Dairy and Cotton Schemes is completed and reports submitted. The remaining schemes are being investigated simultaneously by the National Marketing Council and it is expected that the investigation will be completed within the following twelve months.

The National Marketing Council has found that in respect of the Dairy

7/4/86 *Agri*
551. Mr P. G. SOAL asked the State President:

(a) How many copies were produced of the transcript of the taped interview with the former Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, as referred to in his reply to Question No 1 on 4 March 1986, (b) to whom were copies of these transcripts made available, (c) why were transcripts made available to each of these persons and (d) what was the total cost to his Department of producing and distributing these copies?

Nyerere to head PW trial

The Star's Foreign
News Service

PARIS — Former Tanzanian President Mr Julius Nyerere is to preside at an international tribunal in June to "try" South African President Mr P.W. Botha for "crimes against humanity".

The "prosecutor" will ask for the death sentence for Mr Botha.

Four prominent South Africans will be invited to be among 10 "plaintiffs". They are Bishop Desmond Tutu, poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and mining magnate Mr Harry Oppenheimer. Other plaintiffs will include ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma.

The tribunal is being organised by the Association of African Jurists (AAJ).

An AAJ spokesman in Paris said: "The tribunal will be held on the island of Goree, off Dakar, which is infamous because it was used as the capital of West African slavery for several hundred years".

'Race laws must be scrapped this session'

It's D-day for SA, predicts Suzman

SPAR 7/4/86 3041A 206

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

It is D-Day for South Africa, Mrs Helen Suzman has warned, saying that unless dramatic action is taken by Parliament during the rest of this session to scrap discriminatory laws, she fears the danger of total isolation of the country.

The House of Assembly resumes work this afternoon after the Easter recess, and the House of Representatives and House of Delegates take their seats again next week.

About 100 pieces of legislation will have to be pushed through Parliament during the rest of the session.

Yesterday Mrs Suzman, the veteran Progressive Federal Party parliamentarian for Houghton, said she believed the rest of the session was crucial for South Africa.

"We have got to see adverts translated into action now. Discriminatory legislation must be repealed and major steps must be taken to resolve the crisis with which we are confronted, otherwise my crystal ball is full of threatening symbols which point to our total isolation.

"The Government must shake itself out of its confusion and euphoria. The three months of the session left are the equivalent of South Africa's D-Day. The country has this chance to pull itself out of the quagmire into which the Government has led it — or else it will sink."

High on Parliament's agenda in the coming months will have to be legislation scrapping influx control (as promised by President Botha), introducing uniform identity documents for all race groups, providing for "orderly urbanisation", and restoring South African citizenship and property rights to blacks.

President Botha is expected to make major announcements on the new urbanisation system when he speaks during his Budget Vote debate next week.



● BUTHELEZI

Buthelezi slams PW

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has strongly criticised State President P W Botha and accused him of burying his head in the sand. At the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi quoted Botha from a *Washington Times* article where he said (about apartheid): "The monotonous way it is used as a trigger word by the international community to unleash a torrent of abuse against SA really makes me smile."

The chief said: "Here the State President is denying that apartheid is the root cause of the levels of violence which are now busy becoming endemic in South Africa. In his opening address to Parliament the State President said that apartheid is outdated." — Sapa.

cratic Front (UDF) the African National Congress (ANC) were not par-

him Botha in Washington. He said leaders of same breath dent had brush" as their "bir- inden-

be catastrophic plent politics did

indaba will only who are commit- cency are shown

April 4 to April 7			
Latest			
M/A	C/R	3 months	12 months
997	0,3313	12,00	1172
NO MOVE			
80	0,3280	12,00	1172
LONDON CLOSE			

APR 30 1986
APR 30 1986
**Broeder
approach
to ANC
'indirect'**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC said yesterday it had not been approached directly by the Broederbond for talks.

An ANC spokesman was reacting to newspaper reports in The Financial Times in London which said the Broederbond was seeking talks with the outlawed organization.

However the spokesman confirmed that a third party, whom he declined to name, had asked whether the ANC would talk to the Broederbond if the request was made.

The chairman of the Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange, was not available for comment yesterday.

The spokesman said any organization that wanted to talk with the ANC must ask directly, just as other organizations had done.

He said the ANC national executive had not yet indicated what the organization's position would be if a formal request was made.

During the past year the ANC has met a wide range of Western diplomats and representatives of South African business and political organizations to discuss the situation in the country and the ANC's attitude to the future.

Last week a delegation from Nusas visited Harare for talks with the ANC. Other groups who have spoken to the ANC in recent months include businessmen, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Convention Movement and the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

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Broeders 'don't want to see ANC'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Broederbond is not seeking talks with the African National Congress, said the president of the Afrikaner organisation, Professor J P de Lange.

Yesterday it was reported that the Broederbond had approached the ANC through an intermediary, proposing talks.

'IN THE DARK'

"We have not approached the ANC for talks. I am completely in the dark as to where this rumour originated," said Professor de Lange.

He added that it was "wishful thinking" on the part of the ANC to consider that the Broederbond would request talks.

"The ANC is a terrorist organisation and we could not hold talks with them," he said.

TUESDAY, 8 APRIL 1986

Middelburg (Transvaal)
Secunda
Standerton
Wakerstroom
Ermelo

MAN'S MARKS 81486-468 3047
*24. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether he or any members of his Department intend attending a so-called provisional national convention of leading South African political leaders which is to be held in London soon; if so, why;
- (2) whether his Department is involved with arrangements for South African politicians to attend this convention; if so, (a) why and (b) who are the politicians;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the Government's standpoint in this connection?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) No, as far as I am aware, no so-called provisional national convention of leading South African politicians was held in London. Rumours to that effect were pure newspaper speculation and were confused with a conference organised by the Wilton Park Conference Centre on the theme "South Africa in Crisis" and which ultimately was cancelled and replaced according to reports by an informal exchange of views. Neither myself nor members of my Department were invited to the conference.
- (2) No.
- (3) No, it is not proper or customary for the Government to take a stand on unfounded newspaper speculation.

Belfast
Bethal
Volksrust
Piet Retief
Carolina

MAN'S MARKS 81486-468 924
*25. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 26 on 18 March 1986, any person escaped capture in Guguletu on 3 March 1986; if so, what were the circumstances surrounding this escape;
- (2) whether the identity of this person has been established; if so, who is this person;
- (3) whether the police received any information that this person (a) was a member of the African National Congress, (b) had received any military training and (c) was armed; if so, (i) what information and (ii) when;
- (4) whether this person has since been apprehended; if so, (a) when and (b) where;
- (5) whether the post-mortem reports on the persons killed on this occasion have now been completed; if not, why not; if so, what was the cause of death in respect of each such person;
- (6) whether any of the persons killed had gunshot wounds in the head; if so, (a) how many and (b) what was the (i) nature and (ii) extent of these head wounds;
- (7) whether the police had any (a) information on when these persons became members of the African National Congress, (b) knowledge of which part or formation of the African National Congress they belonged to and (c) access to records of the membership of these persons of the African National Congress; if so, (i)

TUESDAY, 8 APRIL 1986

what is the nature of this information, (ii) to which formations of the African National Congress did they belong, (iii) what records did the police have access to and (iv) where did they gain access to these records;

- (8) with reference to paragraph 5 (b) of his reply to the above-mentioned question, (a) where did the training of these persons as terrorists take place, (b) what were the dates of this training, (c) who conducted the training and (d) what is the nature of the evidence in the possession of the police that these persons received such training;
- (9) whether the police received any information on the number of persons who would be involved in the proposed attack on a police station, as referred to in paragraph 11 (c) of his reply to the above-mentioned question; if so, how many persons were there to be in this group?

†THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, when the shoot-out began, a person or persons fled from the scene.
- (2) No, investigation to determine without doubt his or their identity, is continuing.
- (3) No.
- (4) No.
- (5) Yes, according to the finding of the post-mortems the cause of death with regard to each of the persons is attributed to gunshot wounds.
- (6) Yes.
- (a) All the deceased.

(b) (i) and (ii) Until the inquest has taken place, I am not prepared to furnish the detail of the wounds.

- (7) (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) No.
- (i) to (iv) Fall away.
- (8) (a) Some in the RSA and others abroad.
- (b) During the period May 1985 until December 1985.
- (c) The African National Congress.
- (d) It is neither the policy nor the custom to make known such information.

(9) No.
Kobokweni magistrate's court
*26. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether any officials attached to his Department were witnesses to an incident at the Kobokweni magistrate's court near White River on or about 11 March 1986; if so, (a) what officials and (b) what was the nature of the incident;
- (2) whether a crowd of persons was present at the court on that date; if so,
- (3) whether any court proceedings were interrupted as a result of the presence of this crowd; if so, in what manner;
- (4) whether any officials attached to his Department took any action in regard to this crowd (a) as a result of court proceedings having been interrupted and/or (b) for any other specified reasons; if so, (i) who, (ii) what action and (iii) with what result?

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Unrest a reason for NP congress

Political Correspondent

ONE of the main reasons for the National Party's federal congress in August is the unrest, according to the Nationalist, the official organ of the National Party.

In the main article of its April edition the publication says unrest is leading to increasing despondency among whites.

This was exactly what "the revolutionaries" wanted.

They wanted white fears to be changed into anger to make peaceful coexistence impossible.

"Neither South Africa nor the whites would survive" if a fully blown conflict between whites on one side and blacks and coloured people on the other broke out, the article said.

"NIP IT IN THE BUD"

The publication said that to nip the threatening revolution in the bud, an alliance of white, brown and black democrats was needed against the onslaught of white, brown and black radicals.

For this reason the National Party followed the policy of co-operative coexistence.

People had to know and understand why the Government did certain things and where it was going. This was one of the main reasons why the federal congress had been called, the Nationalist said.

● So far Nationalists have not been given any clear reasons for the congress. It has been assumed in political circles that it will mainly concern black political rights.

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FOIA

Slabbert to speak from UDF platform

FORMER PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert will speak from a UDF platform in Johannesburg tomorrow night.

The meeting was organized by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), a UDF affiliate, and is part of the UDF's "Call to Whites" campaign.

Entitled "Where to white politics?", the meeting is the first of five intended to offer a political alternative to whites opposed to government policies.

Dr Slabbert said it did not represent a convergence of views between himself and the UDF.

"I have made it quite clear a long time ago that I will talk on any platform. I don't think we should read into it much more than that." Mr Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Nthato Motlana, leader of the Soweto Civic Association, and Dr Beyers Naude, SA Council of Churches general secretary, will also speak.

Natal indaba hits first snags

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

THE Kwazulu/Natal indaba has hit its first snags and the next meeting has been put off for a week for delegates to prepare position papers.

There have been differences of opinion over the modus operandi, the scope of the indaba and decision-making powers of the delegates.

However delegates say the difficulties were not unexpected although some expressed surprise they had cropped up so soon.

And Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday distanced himself from the indaba, but delegates interpreted this today as a move in case the indaba went sour.

The first division occurred after Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, moved that the indaba petition the Government to declare a moratorium on the the proposed scrapping of the Natal Provincial Council and the Regional Services Council.

Delegates agreed that President P W Botha should be asked for the moratorium on the provincial councils but agreement was not reached on the RSCs.

The issue was debated at some length and this included an explanation of the RSCs by National Party observer Mr V A Volker.

The indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, declined to confirm this in an interview but said the RSCs were third tier government and the indaba was dealing with the second tier.

He also objected to the Press being given information about was being debated behind closed doors.

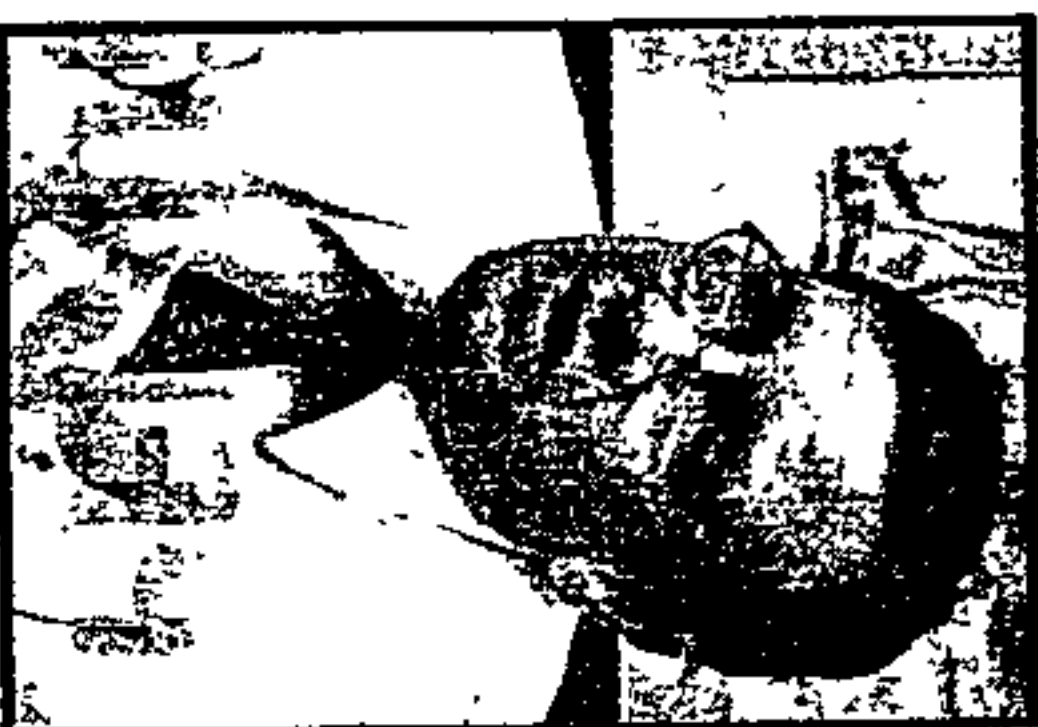
The issue of Press coverage has also been raised with some delegates, particularly the New Republic Party delegation insisting on almost vir-

tually complete secrecy about debates.

It is understood delegates agreed that only the chairman should make statements.

Key role of business in the processes of change

JAN STEYN, Urban Foundation Director and former Cape Supreme Court judge, talks to Stephen Cranston



□ STEYN: "... a reasonably just society is indeed attainable."

CRANSTON: How do you see urbanisation proceeding when influx control goes?

STEYN: Urbanisation of our black communities was and is inevitable. Broadly speaking, approximately 80% of other population groups have already urbanised and less than 50% of blacks have done so.

It was therefore apparent and, indeed, beneficial that a process of urbanisation should take place. I say beneficial because pressure has to be taken off the land and there are also great benefits for society in a properly managed urbanisation process.

There were a wide range of interest groups, both black and white, who became involved in the programme through which we sought to promote a more rational approach to urbanisation in SA. They formed the core of what is today the Private Sector Council, which has brought together a powerful alliance to promote its objectives on this wide-ranging issue.

The problem that faces us is that the policies of the past — and especially the belief that the black man was a temporary sojourner — have created enormous developmental challenges. In many areas inadequate or only rudimentary infrastructure exists. Massive over-crowding has already occurred (the average occupancy of a two-bedroom house in Soweto is 11 people).

ownships were situated far from the workplace, which meant long hours of travel and poor productivity which — coupled with over-crowding — caused considerable resentment.

I think the immediate task that faces SA is the rapid normalisation of the situation, the alleviation of the pressures through vigorous urban and rural development programmes, proper planning to accommodate urban growth, a dynamic housing policy and the allocation of very substantial resources in order to give content to a rational urbanisation strategy.

None of these thoughts are based on a principle of patronising handouts, but on an approach through which people are given access to resources and opportunities and thus are enabled to help themselves.

Will we be able to avoid the uncontrollable urban sprawl seen in other parts of Africa?

I THINK a great deal depends on the content of our urban policy and on our determination to implement that policy dynamically. We have considerable advan-

tages over other Third World countries, because we have a well-developed industrial base, we do have considerable infrastructural development, we have a high skills level and considerable human resources.

I think a great deal is going to depend on whether government is prepared to enter into a genuine and dynamic partnership with the private sector and the black communities in attempting to meet the challenges that face us now and those that lie ahead.

The question is are we in the process of urban development going to see in real terms the abandonment of the ideologies of the past? If this does take place and dynamic implementing structures are created, I am confident that we will be able to avoid the worst of the distortions that have taken place elsewhere in the Third World.

YOU ARE an outspoken critic of disinvestment. How can you persuade an increasingly sceptical West to continue, and even step up, investment in SA?

I THINK all the arguments pro and con disinvestment have been articulated repeatedly and the debate has become sterile. The Foundation is concerned about human suffering and how organised injustice can be eliminated and human degradation can be alleviated through a planned process.

power politics fail to appreciate the reality of the situation in which so many of our fellow South Africans live. I would rather see us resort to using our energies and our resources (both foreign and internal) in a well-structured programme to help us break out of the present impasse. I would in this regard like to suggest three thrusts. They are:

Firstly, a dynamic programme directed at the transformation of our society away from apartheid. As immediate targets, capable of achievement by July 1, we would certainly hope to see:

- Full property ownership for blacks (so-called freehold title);
- The restoration of citizenship to all those who were unlawfully deprived of that right;
- The dynamic termination of influx control and the announcement of a rational urban and rural development policy;
- The end of the dumps and the creation of a common identity document, the sole purpose of which is to enable the individual to identify himself;
- The final abandonment of all ideologically-based forced removals;
- A dynamic programme of de-regulation to facilitate access to economic opportunities.

Long-term, under this heading, we would look to the development of an educational system which speaks of equality and is structured so that it will gain the acceptance and participation of black leadership.

Finally, and compositionally, the carefully-planned process of the elimination of all remaining statutory and regulatory constraints based on race. Only thus will we be able to establish the integrity of the process of transformation of our society to "beyond apartheid".

The second thrust, which does not fall within the mandate of this organisation, relates to the initiation of a real negotiation process for which the legitimisation of black political activity appears to me to be a pre-requisite.

This will eventually lead to the design of a constitutional framework through hard and honest negotiation. I do believe, however, that the initiatives identified under the first thrust already are essential pre-conditions for the initiation of real, hard bargaining amongst equals to seek a common future.

The third — and vitally important — thrust is one which is only too often ignored by decision-makers — i.e., the delivery of hardware developmental projects to alleviate the level of human suffering.

I think if these three thrusts were to be initiated and unfolded with dynamism, we could begin to diminish the level of distrust which presently is so prevalent in our society.

I must emphasize, however, that there are today very real opportunities for dynamic development programmes, through which a delivery of housing, educational and economic opportunity products can take place.

The Foundation is one of the organisations in SA which is positioned to play a very real role in this respect. Its present programmes are designed to deliver R100m's worth of these products in the year commencing April 1, 1988.

I believe that it is possible for us to position ourselves to quadruple the value of our products and to attain the delivery of R400m worth of development programmes within the next two to three years.

I want to emphasize that this will not be done by the Foundation alone. It has established a number of non-profit utility companies in various parts of the country through which much of its project activity will be initiated. We will, insofar as is possible, use community-based organisations and private sector agencies in order to give content to such a programme.

On the issue of foreign investment, I would reiterate my view

that we can generate a 2% and 3% growth from internal resources. We need a minimum of a 5% growth rate if we are going to create jobs for the majority of people coming on to the job market.

That difference can only come from well-targeted foreign investment directed at the alleviation of human suffering through planned programmes promoting fundamental change and development programmes directed at the advancement of our deprived communities.

Enlightened self-interest alone, and the protection of the enormous investments which the West — and the UK in particular — has in our society, requires this kind of investment in order to promote the process of fundamental change.

I have a very real fear that external catalysts, such as the Eminent Persons Group, are going to direct their resources exclusively at the initiation of a political process in SA.

While this process is an essential part of the process of change, it is but one part. The other two thrusts are of equal and fundamental significance and importance.

It is essential that black and white South Africans should recognise these realities and work towards bringing about also this kind of change and these developments.

Black leadership has an important role to play in this respect. I have been encouraged by black response to overseas interventions. They will accept help in the liberation process, but they have a very real understanding that their ultimate liberation and a stable and just SA "beyond apartheid" can only be secured in a process of negotiation with their fellow South Africans.

WHAT DO you say to the argument that businessmen have not done their share for the export of goods to get involved in politics? BUSINESSMEN have no more

"rights" per se than other citizens in respect of "political" issues. The quality and level of their concern are, however, considerably enhanced by at least two factors.

The first is their legitimate interest in the maintenance of a sound and stable environment in which not only to make profits (and thus to contribute to the tax base) but also to create jobs, secure investment capital and to promote the economic well-being of our society.

Secondly, the exposure, expertise and experience of a successful businessman in SA enhances his capacity to make a contribution also on issues that have a relevant political content.

By relevant, I mean that which relates to an area in which the business leader has a legitimate interest as a successful entrepreneur.

A COMPLAINT made by you and other members of the private sector has been that government puts too much emphasis on group and minority rights. Do you see any kind of group rights as legitimate?

I HAVE no complaint about recognising the validity and significance of ethnicity and the rights of groups to protection. Our over-riding concern must, however, always be with fundamental human rights.

In the protection of group rights, we cannot be seen to be violating what are real and inviolable human rights, such as access to property, the preservation of the supremacy of the law and the establishment of equal educational opportunities.

Moreover, the entrenchment of group rights as a point of departure in resolving conflict has failed. The HSRC's highly-significant report on inter-group relations states this very clearly when it says:

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

The challenge that faces us in the restructuring of our society along lines that are manifestly fair are formidable, but the goal of a reasonably just society is indeed attainable through resolute action and wise leadership at all levels in our society.

Business leadership has a key role to play in the promotion of the processes of change in our society and in securing dynamic developmental activity evidencing that change.

The Urban Foundation will, I am confident, remain a key catalyst in helping to secure progress towards these goals.

SOWETAN

9/4/86

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issue a new Book of Life to everyone — immediately writing off the R35 million which he conceded the first Book of Life scheme had cost.

That August he had said the Book of Life system would "remain unchanged for at least the next couple of years."

The long, gruelling, process began all over again. The new "book" was half the outer dimensions of the old and had only 17 pages compared with the old "book's" 49 pages.

Lost

But there was little improvement in the con-

the referendum on the new Constitution, many still had not received either an old or new "book" and special arrangements had to be made to issue them.

Meanwhile, about 400 000 South Africans with valid drivers' licences but who had failed to meet the deadline for inserting their li-

authorities throughout the country since each of them has to undergo a new drivers' test.

Almost incredibly, after months of deliberation, the whole process is to begin yet again, this time including at least 20 million South Africans — and, at the behest of the police, their fingerprints.

SOUTH Africa has had to pay for apartheid — in money and in lives. Today's *FOCUS* is on the cost of identity documents for whites, coloureds and Indians, and now Africans too. The costs of reference books and the earlier passes are not taken into consideration in these calculations.

The high cost of apartheid

2044
SOWETAN
9/4/86

IT is probably impossible to calculate the full amount wasted by the Government in its attempts to give every adult South African an identity document, but one irrefutable assessment can be made — the amount is monumental and the bungling of the task over the past 38 years must rank as nothing less than an administrative scandal.

They have been working at the simple objective since November 16, 1948, when the then Prime Minister, Dr D F Malan, announced to a cheering National Party congress in the Transvaal that in furtherance of apartheid, all adult South Africans would be issued with an identity card which would indicate their race and which would be linked to a national population register.

By the end of 1950 the Government had issued "experimental" identity cards to 50 000 public servants as a pilot project.

A year later, the then Minister of the Interior, Dr T E Donges, placed an order with the Government Printer for 11 million identity documents — those pale green, plastic cards of yesteryear.

Piled

A huge chunk of the initial cost was concealed. The country's white, coloured and Indian adults (they numbered about 3 million in 1952) were required to pay for the two photographs needed and the State paid for the completed card only.

A special new population registration building was put up in Pretoria (at a 1957 cost of R550 000) and the scheme hobbled along, with long queues throughout the country, first for photographs, then for the forms, and then for the distribution

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

of cards. Newspapers reported people fainting during day-long waits outside Government offices.

But in February, 1958, Dr Donges told Parliament — to cries of "skande" from the opposition — that of the total of 2 370 000 identity cards for which photographs had been received, 164 000 had actually been issued and 1 611 000 were piled up waiting to be distributed.

Few people ever found a reason for using their first identity card and the whole system appeared to smother under the weight of its own paperwork.

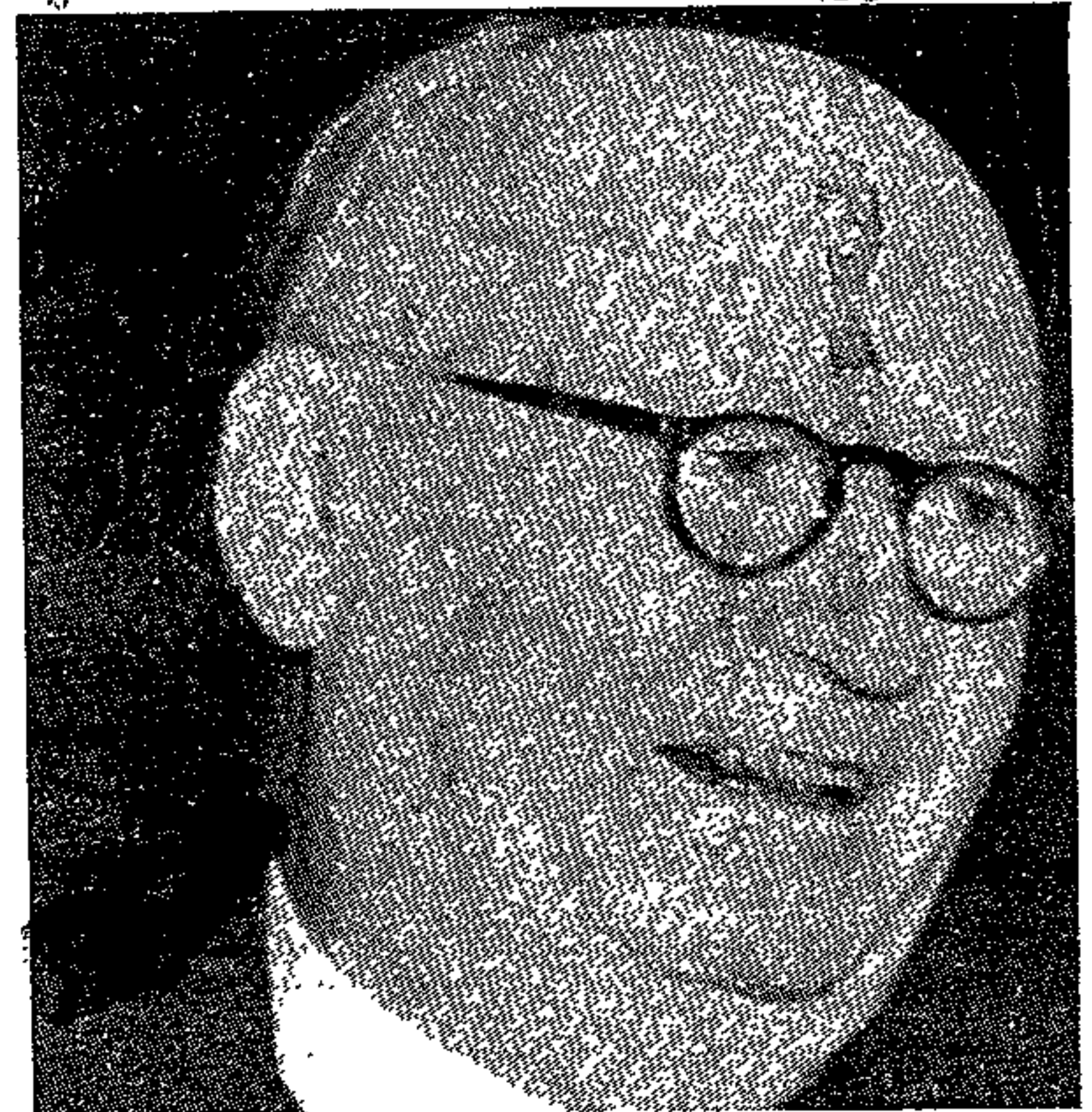
Then, early in 1972, moved by the vigorous enthusiasm of Dr Con-

nie Mulder at the helm of the Ministry of the Interior, the Government decided to have another crack at it all and the chaotic era of the Book of Life came into being.

It was an early disaster, with massive backlogs mounting up, incorrect information being included in the completed "books" and documents getting lost.

A department spokesman disclosed in 1973 that slightly more than 500 000 "books" had been issued in the first year and that the scheme was undergoing "some growing pains" although Dr Mulder assured the country that everyone would have their "book" within three years.

Eight years after the project began, and amid rumours that the whole system faced imminent collapse, the new Minister of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, whimsically decided to



Dr D F MALAN . . . former premier.



Dr CONNIE Mulder . . . vigorous enthusiasm.

fusion and delays. When it became compulsory for voters to hold a Book of Life to vote in

cences in their "books" automatically lost their licences and they are now inundating traffic

Parliament struggle for power

sharing have been closed to them. Coloured and Indian MPs, on the other hand, say the opposite is true and that they are making gains through participation.

While the workings of the tricameral system deprive them of real power, Mr Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the NPP leader, both cabinet ministers without portfolio, indicate that they do have a say at cabinet level.

However, both Indian and coloured MPs boast of using their muscle at the standing committee level by blocking or amending legislation before it is tabled in Parliament. It is believed that the LP had blocked five pieces of legislation dealing with education which were not acceptable to them.

Many MPs nevertheless object to the standing committee system, as each of the three ethnic groups in Parliament cast their votes separately. One Indian MP described this system as the antithesis of democracy.

Several MPs, particularly those in the House of Representatives, have threatened to walk out of Parliament if the pace of reform is not stepped up. But both coalition partners of the government, the NPP and LP, also realize they cannot frustrate, threaten or embarrass the government indefinitely.

The House of Delegates, which last year clearly had an edge over its coloured counterpart in terms of grappling with key reform issues, has this year been plagued by in-fighting.

The opposition Solidarity Party has alleged that the ruling NPP has turned a blind eye to irregularities in the allocation of land to property developers in Lenasia. The NPP of Mr Amichand Rajbansi has doggedly resisted attempts to appoint a parliamentary select committee to investigate the charges, arguing that the matter had already been handed over to the police for inquiry.

The attempted merger between the NPP and Solidarity is also in difficulty. The move has been shelved because of a temporary interdict granted by the Natal Supreme Court. The interdict to prevent the merger was sought by a minority of Solidarity hardliners led by Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills.

Two Solidarity MPs who have been given portfolios on the Minister's Council — Mr J N Reddy, Solidarity leader, who is now Minister of the Budget, and Mr Ismail Kathrada, MP for Verulam, who is Minister of Health Services and Welfare — are continuously under fire from the rebel group.

Another major reshuffle is expected to take place in the Indian Ministers' Council some time next year. NPP sources say that some of their ministers are not able to break the grip of the white bureaucracy; they have inherited and who still hold key positions in the administration of own affairs.

Many Indian MPs are disgruntled by the current state of affairs, especially in housing matters, and are pressing for the appointment of stronger and more creative ministers.

4 Cape Times, Wednesday, April 9, 1986

'Junior partners' in

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

PROTEST politics has been the dominant style in the coloured House of Representatives this year, with the ruling Labour Party adopting a more aggressive attitude towards the Nationalist government.

On the other hand the parliamentary process in the Indian chamber, the House of Delegates, has been marked by allegations of corruption and fraud.

One Labour achievement was in getting the whites-only House of As-

sembly coffee room opened to all races.

Days before the mid-session recess, a strain was evident in relations between the LP and the chief architect of the tricameral system, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

The LP had wanted Mr Heunis to reply to a private member's motion on constitutional affairs which they felt warranted his high-level response. An agreement with Labour Party whips that he could speak earlier in the debate be-

cause of another important engagement, and that the reply would be given by Mr Heunis's deputy, Mr Piet Badenhorst, was cancelled by the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse accused Mr Heunis of "arrogance" for snubbing a high-priority LP debate and interpreted it as signalling the "demise of the tricameral system".

Last year the strategies of both the LP and the ruling National Peoples Party in the Indian House appeared to be one of heaping praise on

the State President, Mr P W Botha, for his reform initiatives and hoping this would be rewarded with more concessions.

Both the Indian and coloured Houses seemingly have little ability to curb the government's wide-ranging powers and prevent it from taking decisions unilaterally on matters of general affairs.

Some observers believe the bargaining power of the government's "junior partners" in the tricameral system is decreased because all avenues for real power

BUD DAY Durr defends Botha speech

THE State President's address at the opening of Parliament this year had been one of the greatest speeches ever heard in the House and had provided a clear statement of intent for South Africa's future, Deputy Minister of Finance and of Trade and Industry Kent Durr said yesterday.

Replying to the Budget debate, he said P W Botha's speech had spelled out the "universally accepted values" on which a framework for SA would be built.

South African society was deeply divided and in a state of conflict for historic, demographic and geographic reasons and a solution to these problems would have to be found.

This could best be done by persuading all moderate people to sit down together to find common ground. That was what government was attempting to do.

Referring to the Budget, Durr said it was a "brilliant document" when one considered the circumstances in which it had to be devised.

It was criticised by the Progressive Federal Party because it did not do enough for the blacks, and by the Conservative Party because it did too much. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had succeeded in striking a balance between the two extreme attitudes.

Durr said the Budget had been "a miracle in the circumstances" because of the constraints placed on Du Plessis by the work of the Margo Commission, which was investigating the entire tax structure. — Sapa.

Plea to govt not to pre-empt Indaba

RAY SWART, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, appealed to government yesterday not to 'pre-empt' the KwaNatal Indaba and make it more difficult for a decision to be reached.

Speaking during the Budget debate, he said the Indaba was a sincere attempt to find solutions to regional problems on a non-racial basis, while the rest of the country faced increasing political violence and unrest.

Government produced little evidence of a "grand plan" of its own to deal with the deteriorating situation in the country as a whole, Swart said.

Government had three alternatives, he said.

It could opt for far-reaching reform, positively and urgently; it could sink back into an increasing siege situation and prepare for the worst; or — just as bad — could dither between the two and do nothing.

This appeared to be the position chosen by government at present, Swart said.

Government had committed itself to the rhetoric of reform, but was reluctant to talk to anyone with whom it believed it would disagree.

"While government retreats in this fashion and displays its arrogance to-

ORMANDE POLLOK

wards any proposed solution other than its own, or to any negotiations other than those it deems appropriate, the situation in the country is worsening at an alarming rate," Swart said.

"In fact, to many, the aim of ungovernability is seen to be succeeding."

Government appeared to be mesmerised by threats from the left and right, stalling between the two.

Instead, it should be attempting, as a matter of urgency, to secure the middle ground occupied by the vast majority of South Africans of all races who were seeking nothing more than a peaceful solution to the country's problems based on recognition of human dignity of all and the rights and aspirations of all sections of the society.

Government should produce an acceptable manifesto of reform to be negotiated, and then try to achieve a moratorium on violence and unrest while negotiations proceeded.

By arranging a federal congress in August to consider the unrest and further constitutional adaptations, the National Party appeared to be subjugating the interests of the country to the whims of the party.

"Are we to expect no meaningful changes between now and August?" he asked.

UNREST IS A BIG WORRY

9/4/86

BOA

ONE of the main reasons for the National Party's federal congress in August is the unrest that is dragging on, according to the *Nationalist*, the official organ of the National Party.

In the main article of its April edition, which has just appeared, the publication says that the unrest in black areas is leading to increasing despondency in the hearts of many whites.

This was exactly what the revolutionaries wanted.

They wanted white fears to be changed into anger to make peaceful co-existence and co-operation be-

tween South Africa's population groups impossible.

Neither South Africa nor the whites would survive if the fully blown race conflict between whites on one side and blacks and coloureds on the other broke out.

Only the Russian instigators of revolution would be the victors in such a conflict.

For this reason the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and other reactionaries who fanned racial hatred made of themselves the "useful idiots" to whom Lenin referred in his revolutionary series.

This was the road to white suicide in South Africa.

Alliance

The publication says that in order to nip the threatening revolution in the bud, an alliance of white, brown and black democrats was needed against the onslaught of white, brown and black radicals.

One of the main reasons for holding of federal congress of Nationalists

For this reason the National Party followed the policy of co-operative co-existence.

The publication said everyone in South Africa agreed that the present situation would not continue indefinitely or unchanged.

People therefore had to know and understand why the Government did certain things and where it was going with South Africa.

This was one of the main reasons why the federal congress had been called, the *Nationalist* said.

So far Nationalists have not been given any clear reasons for the congress.

White conflict



PIK BOTHA



CHRIS HEUNIS



F. W. DE KLERK

There are 127 National Party MPs. What happens when President Botha goes? Factions are being formed and there is talk that Pik Botha has the support of 30 MPs; Chris Heunis 35; F. W. de Klerk 28; with 24 on the fence. Is there a power struggle behind the scenes?

around South Africa; but the outcry among the white right-wing would be even more deafening, because they would feel that victory was being snatched from their grasp.

Whichever way one looks at South Africa's future, therefore, a period of instability is inevitable now in white politics.

Hitherto, in spite of black unrest over the years, white rule has been relatively stable; and although they would probably never admit it, this has been a reassuring element in the calculations of Western gov-

ernments and foreign investors.

At least, they could argue, if white rule is stable within its own parameters, it can still be used as an instrument of reform. But now if it becomes unstable, and the centre can no longer hold, then nothing will be predictable. Then South Africa will be overtaken by huge uncertainty.

My guess is that the impending instability in white politics will cause as much alarm among Western governments and foreign investors as the previous two years of black violence have

done, because the first casualty of white political instability will be apartheid reform.

Probably, another result of white political instability will be the creation of a vacuum into which the military will begin to move, just as they have done regionally in Southern Africa.

A new phase of South Africa's troubles, therefore, may just be beginning. The white-black conflict has destabilised South Africa seriously enough as it is. A white-white conflict now will add dangerously to this destabilisation.

10/4/86

DISPATCH

304A

Danger of a white-wi

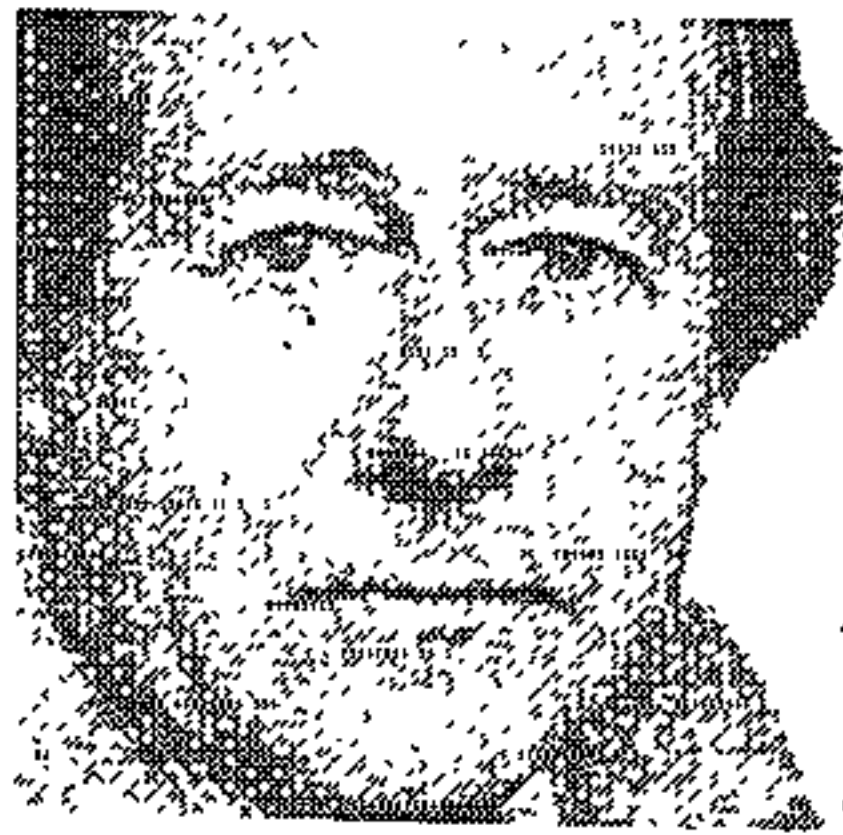
There can be little doubt now that a crisis is impending in the National Party over the whole question of apartheid reform.

Opinion in the NP's parliamentary caucus of 127 MPs, where so much latent power lies, is becoming increasingly confused and fragmented. The caucus, with no clear idea of where the party is going, is starting to form potentially warring factions.

Recently, the *Vaderland* published the names of about 30 verligte MPs (Pik Botha's group), although some sources suggest that three of these MPs — Cuyler, Tempel and Hugo — belong rather to the right-wing. On the other hand, Barend du Plessis's name was omitted.

Heunis, according to some caucus-watchers, has about 35 supporters and De Klerk about 28. The rest, I am told, are "draadsitters" (fence-sitters).

This faction-forming is not evident on the surface yet, because President Botha is still firmly in control as party leader; but the sub-surface activity is indicative of the caucus's loss of faith in Botha's ability to map out a future for the NP. Preparations are already be-



Stanley Uys writes from London on his recent visit to South Africa.

ing made, therefore, for a power struggle when Botha goes.

The Conservative Party and HNP meanwhile are oozing self-confidence as they recognise the symptoms that preceded their own breakaways in 1969 and 1982.

Last week I suggested that two options might be open to President Botha — to stall the reform programme so as to relieve the build-up of disunifying pressures within the NP, or to go for broke with a programme of radical reform and move towards coalition rule with the PFP.

Neither option of course would avert the approaching crisis in the NP. Stalling reform would simply heighten the belief among Nationalist MPs that the NP has lost direction; and it would further inflame black opinion, which in

turn would then bring the NP caucus under even more pressure.

As for throwing caution to the winds with a programme of radical reform, obviously this would blow the NP apart. So, either way, whatever option President Botha exercises, there is no escape from the crisis.

There is a third option, and that is to suspend the constitution. Ministers have been dropping hints about this ever since the present parliamentary session opened. They may be doing no more than testing the wind, but this in itself is revealing.

There are — from President Botha's point of view — good reasons why the constitution should be suspended.

First, it is becoming increasingly unlikely that elections can be held again for the coloured and Indian

chambers. In the present climate of township violence, standing for election for either chamber would be a kamikaze exercise.

It would not be surprising in fact — if the unrest in South Africa's black townships persists — if coloured and Indian MPs do not preempt the next elections by walking out of parliament, or in other ways bringing the functioning of their chambers to a halt. Parliament admittedly could continue to function on only one cylinder, the white House of Assembly, but if the PFP goes on strike as well, there would be no point in continuing with the parliamentary charade.

The government has another device to which it could resort — bringing in the President's Council to impose binding decisions in disputes between the coloured

and Indian chambers on the one hand and the white chamber on the other, but again this would simply reduce parliament to a charade.

These possibilities may sound far-fetched; but the lesson of the past two years has been that what is unthinkable today happens tomorrow.

The other reason why the constitution might be suspended is if the right wing were to be seen to be gaining ground appreciably: if they looked like replacing the PFP as the official opposition, and — more important — creating a political climate in which Afrikaner voters were seen to have come adrift from the NP and to be up for grabs. This would have a devastating effect on the morale of Nationalist MPs. Suspending the constitution probably would need the consent of the NP caucus — that is, the approval of the majority in the House of Assembly. If Nationalist MPs decided to support the suspension of parliament, the rationale would be the saving of their own political skins.

The outcry internationally, in the white opposition, and among blacks, over suspension of the constitution would reverberate

Suzman appeals for end to 'ludicrous' funeral restrictions

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10/4/86

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) has appealed to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to stop imposing "ludicrous" restrictions on funerals in order to "try to offset the dreary cycle of more shootings, more deaths and more funerals".

She said during the Budget debate that no one observed the restrictions, which brought the law into ridicule.

About 10 000 people had attended a funeral in Vosloorus on April 4, although the local magistrate had stipulated that only 50 could attend.

Mrs Suzman asked: "Were the police supposed to go in and arrest 9 950 people?"

"And since it was, and always is, the police who have the unenviable task of trying to implement



Mrs Helen Suzman.

unenforceable laws and restrictions, the usual ugly confrontation took place."

Four were reported shot dead and many injured, and that night youths stoned and petrol-bombed the houses of councillors and policemen.

Mrs Suzman said the Government should read the first few pages of the Kannemeyer Commission report "which had a great deal to say" about funeral restrictions.

She said: "I recommend that every National Party MP should make it his business to attend one of these funerals, heavily disguised as a human being."

"The Minister of Law and Order should go in his own little Airwolf."

"Nothing will bring home to him more just what the mood of his black compatriots is."

Mrs Suzman said the mood of pessimism in the country was even greater than in "the darkest days of World War 2".

But the Government seemed "blissfully unaware" that the pressure mounting inside and outside the country was leading South Africa into the same predicament as Ulster.

Only one piece of legislation indirectly affecting apartheid had appeared this session — the Bill to deregulate businesses.

Suzman calls on govt to 'get up off its butt'

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party MP for Houghton Helen Suzman said yesterday she would not go on fighting against disinvestment and sanctions unless government took positive steps to dismantle apartheid.

Speaking in the Budget debate, she said she had not changed her attitudes about sanctions and disinvestment but that "I will not go on fighting for a lost cause unless the government gets up off its butt and does away with apartheid."



● SUZMAN

"I can tell Honourable Members it is a totally lost cause these days to campaign overseas against sanctions and disinvestment."

Suzman said it was becoming clearer as the parliamentary session proceeded that National Party MPs "live in their own dream world, insulated against the pressures mounting up from inside the Republic and also from outside SA."

"Government members are apparently blissfully unaware that if the present trend continues, South Africa will end up internally in a situation approximating that of Northern Ireland and, externally, effectively isolated from the entire Western world."

Another delusion which apparently lulled government into a sense of false security was their conviction that the world was not really serious in its threat to impose sanctions.

NP members were still relying on their long-held belief that the country's importance to the Western world — as a bastion against communist imperialism, and its vital sea route — would protect it against punitive action.

They were ignoring the fact that the

European Community delegation last year called for stronger measures against SA, that US congressmen who had paid a similar visit recently were determined to tighten restrictions, and that the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group was likely to be unfavourable, she added.

"I would also lay odds that US President Ronald Reagan's advisory committee will not find much to gladden their hearts during their stay here," she said.

Government should also not lapse into a stupor of false security because the US State Department and the British government had rejected the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu's recent call for disinvestment and economic sanctions.

Pass arrests

Suzman said she had been warning government for seven years that SA would be engulfed by a tidal wave of punitive measures unless it, at least, desisted from outrageous and provocative actions and started to dismantle apartheid.

"For the last time I make that appeal again," she said, and called for, among other things, a halt to pass-law arrests; a moratorium on influx-control, which government has said would be abolished in July; the release of political detainees; and the abandoning of consolidation proposals, which belonged to the "discarded Verwoerdian nightmare".

She said although Parliament was already into the second half of this year's session, the only positive action government had taken so far was opening central business districts in some cities.

"... We are involved in a low-key civil war, with young blacks convinced that victory is around the corner if only they can keep up the pressure." — Sapa.

SA needs stability for investment — PFP



Mr. Ken Andrew

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Stability in South Africa would not come out of the barrel of a gun but only when the country had a government with the consent of the governed, the Assembly was told.

Mr. Ken Andrew (PFP Cape Town Gardens) said without stability South Africa would not attract fixed investment locally or from abroad.

He was speaking in the House of Assembly's budget debate which was dominated yesterday by argument about unrest.

Mr. Andrew said South Africans should face up to the price they were paying for apartheid.

LOST CONTROL

They should face the fact that if the country failed to attract further foreign investment over the next five years, even if disinvestment were not taken into account, there would be one million more unemployed people by 1990 than would otherwise have been the case. Greater unemployment would lead to greater unrest and even less investment. There were already numerous areas where the Government

had lost control — in schools, at funerals, in townships where no rent was being paid and where police were unable to provide protection to ordinary citizens. Policemen had been driven from their homes.

Such instability would not be suppressed by Casspirs, nor by detentions and banings.

An increasingly ungovernable country would not attract investment, he said.

"It is a price I am not prepared to pay. I do not want group areas, segregated schools and political oppression, let alone be required to pay for

them," Mr. Andrew said.

He asked members on the Government side whether they were prepared to pay the price of apartheid.

ONSLAUGHT

"If you are prepared to pay that price, then you must realise you are destroying this country for the sake of a few more months or years of exclusivity. History will damn you for it, and so will the children of South Africa, black and white."

Earlier Dr Barend Geldenhuis (NP Randfontein) said revolution was still "light years

away" in South Africa, although the country had experienced "a severe revolutionary onslaught."

School children were being used as revolutionary agents because the instigators knew they could not be shot at, he said. The solution was to deal with the crisis of authority in black townships.

The breakdown in family life and in parent-child relationships had to be dealt with. It was a social problem which had to be solved by means of better housing and improvements in family life.

PFP wants a General Election this year

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has called on the Government to hold a General Election as soon as possible this year.

It has also accused the Government of an undemocratic delay in calling by-elections in the Pinelands and Claremont seats.

Mr Roger Hulley, the Cape leader of the PFP and MP for Constantia, made the call last night

at a meeting in the Pinelands Civic Centre to launch the candidacy of Mr Jasper Walsh for the Pinelands seat.

Mr Hulley said this month was the fifth anniversary of the 1981 General Election. By all the rules of South Africa's electoral tradition, the Government should have called a General Election to renew its mandate from the electorate.

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MP slams PFP Indaba role

10/11/86 BUS DAY

THE KwaNatal Indaba had shown the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) had neither the muscle nor the will to draw the ANC and the UDF to the conference table, even in a harmless regional context, said Con Botha (NP Umlazi) yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading Budget debate, he said the way the PFP had "tried to muscle in on the Indaba" was "too funny to be believed".

The Indaba had provided a "heaven-sent opportunity" for the PFP — which for years had been pleading for a

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national convention — to persuade the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its "fellow travellers" to take part.

However, not only had it failed to do so, but it even failed to announce that it had attempted to do so, Botha said.

Without trying to detract from the Indaba, he added, it had been the rule rather than the exception of government, ever since it came to power, to talk with responsible black leaders. He said he shared the wish, with his fellow Natalians, that some good might come from the talks. — Sapa.

CAT-TIMES 10/14/86 (364A)

Radicals, moderates 'a threat to whites'

Political Reporter
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— Radical and moderate blacks were both a threat to whites in South Africa, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party leader and MP for Waterberg, said yesterday.

Speaking during the second-reading budget debate in the House, Dr Treurnicht quoted extensively from an interview with Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, which was recently published in the Sunday Star.

Dr Treurnicht said he distanced himself from the view that Mrs Mandela is a "mother of the nation" since she was not of "my nation".

He quoted Mrs Mandela as saying: "What Pretoria says is of no relevance whatsoever." He also quoted her as say-

ing that an insistence on the protection of minority rights was "the insanity of the white man".

The CP leader said radical blacks like Mrs Mandela did not intend to dismantle apartheid with "gloves" but in a "brutal manner".

'ANC comrades'

Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, who was portrayed as a moderate black leader and president-designate of South Africa by the State-controlled mass media, had publicly acknowledged that he held the same goals as the ANC.

"He (Buthelezi) says he agrees with his ANC comrades," said Dr Treurnicht.

He rejected allegations from the Nationalist benches that his party endorsed the views of the radical

Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

He added: "I do not accept that a man like the Rev Allan Hendrickse (coloured cabinet minister) should rule over me, and my people."

Mr Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal) described Dr Treurnicht as "a very dangerous man for the politics of 1986".

He irreparably damaged race relations with the type of emotional appeals he made to people, Mr Nothnagel said.

Blacks became radicals because of the homelands policy which was implemented over the years. The National Party now sought measures for power-sharing.

"We accept power sharing with blacks at every level in South Africa, but we reject the domination of one group over the other," Mr Nothnagel said.

APR 10 1986

Foreign investment: SA getting too much stick, not enough carrot — BP chief

Financial Staff

REFORM is being hampered by economic factors not entirely of South Africa's making and it needs a healthy economy if violence and ultimately revolution or tough oppression are to be avoided, says the chairman of BP Southern Africa, Mr Ian Sims.

"To succeed, the reform process here needs more investment, not less: more freedom of trade and association, not sanctions, not disinvestment and definitely not isolation," he said last night at the SFW Nederburg wine auction dinner.

The turmoil in the country was the product of hope, not despair.

"The ferment of debate in South Africa is the result of changes taking place and the expectation of more to come — and come it will."

South Africa could, with the world's help, provide a model of First and Third World partnership by the year 2000, with a political system balancing the needs of its developing citizens with those of "its First World job creators".

He could foresee the growth of black professional managers and entrepreneurs who would increasingly join their white compatriots in lifestyle and aspirations.

"South Africans need help to speed up change. Indeed, the concern of the world over South Africa is welcome if it is positive and helps move aside the roadblocks thrown up by those at the left and the right, whose objectives do not coincide with the peaceful goals of power-sharing and equity.

"But while it is accepted that the carrot and the stick will be used, many feel that right now there is too much stick and not enough carrot."

Unemployment was a major cause of black unrest and provided fertile soil for demagogues of the left and right who would bring about a less free society.

"Nobody in South Africa, black or white, really wants to exchange one form of oppression for another even worse. The Western world cannot want that to happen either."

Pressure on Parliament will force change: Slabbert

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Black schoolchildren, trade unions and other pressure groups in South Africa had been more effective than Parliament in generating change, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said in Johannesburg last night.

Dr Slabbert told a crowded United Democratic Front "Call to Whites" meeting that he believed effective future pressures for change would also be generated outside Parliament.

It was the first meeting addressed by the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party since he resigned from Parliament in early January.

While speaking from a UDF platform, Dr Slabbert stopped short of saying that he would join the extra-parliamentary pressure group.

But he said he remained convinced that real change could be forced only from a position such as that adopted by the UDF.

Sharing the platform with Dr Slabbert were Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Jac Jacob, of the Natal Indian Congress (a UDF affiliate); and Mr Murphy Morobe, of the UDF executive.

"It is practically impossible to change South Africa under the present tricameral

system because it has been totally discredited," Dr Slabbert said.

"The pressures for change generated by black schoolchildren, by black labour movements, by townships, by businessmen — for whatever reason — have been far more successful than the pressures generated inside Parliament.

"It is, therefore, no longer a debate as to which pressures are more likely to succeed but rather a question of what kind of pressures are going to be generated outside of Parliament."

NOT REJECTED

Dr Slabbert said that he did not reject the role of Parliament completely and added that protests against apartheid, and exposing and attacking the evils of the system — tactics made famous by people such as Mrs Helen Suzman — had a role to play.

"But protesting against apartheid is not the same as changing it," Dr Slabbert added.

He said he was convinced that anyone who said that white South Africans were irrelevant to the future of South Africa was living under a dangerous illusion.

"But, equally, I can say to you that whites who believe that they can carry on playing white politics are also

living under a dangerous illusion.

"I resigned from the PFP and from parliamentary politics because I remain convinced that the present Government has no intention of getting rid of the basic cornerstones of apartheid," he said.

Dr Beyers Naude called on whites to put their fears behind them and go out and talk to their fellow South Africans.

"Don't draw into a laager — go out and discuss, debate and argue with other South Africans about the country's future," he said.

"Open your hearts and open your minds to what they are saying. If other whites can conquer their fears, why not you?"

"You would be surprised at the warmth and the openness and the welcome you will get from the black community," Dr Naude said.

He called on white South Africans to "really cross the Rubicon" and help to change the country for the betterment of all.

The UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said that it was gratifying to see the meeting so well attended and he encouraged white South Africans to broaden their thinking and participate actively in the search for peace in the country.

April 1986

PFP team looks beyond the Van Zyl Slabbert knock

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A rather unkind joke is doing the rounds in political quarters:

Knock knock.

Who's there?

Van.

Van who?

Oh, so you've forgotten the PFP Leader already...

It is not true, of course. The charismatic Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, far from being forgotten, may well have a major place in future South African history books.

But for the moment, the party he left so precipitately is getting along fine without him.

One senior PFP man said: "We miss him as a talented colleague whose input was very highly valued".

BATTENING OF HATCHES

"It was a big shock when he left, but the party is bigger than the man and there was a battening of hatches in Parliament and around the country.

"There is more evidence of a team approach these days," he said.

Another prominent MP confided: "Van played his cards too close to his chest. He must have done a lot of wrestling with himself.

"Nowadays we are acting more in concert. I feel part of a team again and I feel better for it."

There is little doubt that a new spirit infuses the Progs under the leadership of Colin Eglin, with a realisation that in the past they probably had too many eggs in one basket.

Their organisation is being re-vamped to make it more sound and there will be increasing use of professional consultants to polish the party image.

The PFP will try harder in future to project clearly what it is, what it stands for and where it is going.

But if things are better under Eglin the organiser, it is in the political sphere that Van Zyl Slabbert the thinker has left a definite vacuum.

His departure — and especially the reasons he advanced for it — threw up some questions which have not been satisfactorily answered.

This is why the Parliamentary caucus will closet itself for a weekend soon, cut off not only from the formality of the



Dr van Zyl Slabbert ... "party is bigger than the man".



Mr Eglin ... a new spirit under his leadership.

caucus room but also from telephones and other distractions, as it tries to re-define its position.

STRATEGIC ISSUES

The party has done well in Parliament so far this year, but the get-together is to focus on long-term strategic issues rather than short-term tactical ones.

By the time the federal congress takes place in Johannesburg in August, the caucus should have its act together and officials say feed-back from the grassroots level should be positive.

Meanwhile PFP leaders are in the process of proving that "Van" was right when he said no party could depend on one man and that his going would not kill the PFP.

PFP says apartheid costs R3bn a year

APARTHEID was costing more than R3bn a year in lost economic opportunities, PFP finance spokesman Brian Goodall said yesterday.

The bill for administering the policy exceeded R1bn and, he said, it was a financial anvil around the country's neck — inhibiting growth and the creation of wealth.

The cost was financed by:

- ☐ Income tax;
- ☐ Resorting to heavy borrowing: In

GERALD REILLY

1975-76 interest payments on national debt amounted to 4,9% of government expenditure. Ten years later it had risen to 14,2%.

"We now spend more on servicing debt than we spend on welfare services, pensions and public health combined."

Goodall said another indication of the enormous cost of apartheid

was that, while the number employed in manufacturing had remained almost constant for the past 10 years, employment in the government sector had increased by 40%.

"Through apartheid we have spent ourselves into a crisis reflected in lack of growth, increasing debt and growing unemployment."

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vaal.

Two brands of white anxiety

WEEKLY MAIL 30/11/86

● From PAGE 1

week demonstrated a new factor in South Africa's already critical political situation: disillusioned whites who are seriously considering joining the United Democratic Front.

They showed the extent of their anxiety over the apparent impotence of parliament to resolve the crisis sweeping across the land, and the sincerity of their quest for a meaningful role in future events, by turning up in their hundreds to a UDF "call-to-whites" meeting.

They crammed into the small hall on Wednesday night, overflowing down the stairs and even on to the streets outside, to hear about the extra-parliamentary option in their troubled society.

Not even a bomb scare, communicated to the chairperson of the meeting, Tom Waspe, first by a police officer and then by a city councillor, could induce them to leave.

The audience, the majority white, gave a standing ovation to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, who quit parliament to search for a more relevant role outside its sinecured ranks. They applauded when told that the African National Congress had described him as the "New Voortrekker".

Slabbert did not specifically urge whites to join the UDF, but he did make it clear that he believed the major pressures for change were being generated outside parliament: from black scholars and workers and from anxious businessmen.

The repressive state actions against the UDF, from the August 1984 parliamentary elections for the coloured and Indian chambers onwards, were geared to try to drive blacks back into discredited apartheid institutions, Slabbert said. But they had failed. They had not — and could not — establish the credibility of these institutions.

He urged whites to demand the abolition of apartheid, including its bedrock law, the Population Registration Act, which compulsorily categorises South Africans into distinct racial groups.

"Whites must persuade other whites to come to terms with a fully non-racial democratic South Africa," Slabbert said. "That is our responsibility."

Murphy Morobe, acting UDF publicity secretary, dismissed the contention of opposition MPs that apartheid could be undermined from within. "You cannot demolish a structure and remain inside," he said. "You cannot demolish apartheid by remaining in it."

The UDF had been criticised by rival black organisations for "opening its doors to the sons and daughters of the oppressors", but it stood by its belief that there was a role for whites in the fight for "peace, freedom and democracy", Morobe said.

Earlier Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, told the packed hall that the time for mere debate was over and that the time had come to join the "democratic organisations" fighting for a nonracial South Africa.

The veteran Afrikaner rebel, Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, exhorted whites who were besieged by fear to leave the laager and confront their fears by engaging black people in discussion about the future.

When Waspe announced that the meeting would end with the singing of the national anthem, a member of the audience asked: "Which one?" Waspe did not reply. But when the audience stood there was no doubt. They sang *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and the Sotho version, *Morena Sechaba*.

Meanwhile, **NORMAN GREENBERG** reports that the HNP — represented in Parliament since October by lone MP Louis Stofberg

— appears doomed to insignificance, at least in Johannesburg.

This was the impression generated by Tuesday night's meeting in the City Hall, where only some 200 gathered to hear leader Jaap Marais deliver a rambling 90-minute address in support of his philosophies.

For one Pieter Willem Botha — a man for whom he obviously has the lowest regard — he reserved the most barbed of his comments; but he also attacked with zest Winnie Mandela, Pik Botha, Chester Crocker, Fredrick van Zyl Slabbert, the SABC, Nelson Mandela, Magnus Malan, Oliver Tambo, Anglo American, Britain and the USA, Allan Boesak, Beyers Naude, Henry Kissinger, Desmond Tutu and a number of other choice targets on his Left.

South Africa, he declared, was in a state of war, against both Communism and certain Western forces. The country, he said, was facing international isolation, internal turmoil and financial distress.

The solution, he proposed, was to get the National Party out of power. Once this had been achieved, the HNP would urgently (via an overhaul of the tax system) arrange a redistribution of wealth back to the whites, stomp down — hard — on township unrest and blockade and, if necessary, invade certain neighbouring countries.

The most bizarre moment of the evening came when Marais issued a challenge to liberals. Would they, he demanded to know, be prepared to fly in a Boeing after it had been serviced by blacks?

Later, he baldly stated that blacks were incapable of reaching the same state of development as whites.

All this the audience absorbed with a kind of politeness rather than with any wild enthusiasm. A number of those present, it became apparent, had come only out of curiosity and after a while began to drift away.

WEEKLY MAIL
Progs walk out
8041A 11/4/86

ALL but two members of the Progressive Federal Party walked out of the House of Assembly yesterday after the chairman ruled that the word "saboteur" — applied to Helen Suzman by the Minister of National Education, F W de Klerk — was not unparliamentary.

Only Suzman herself and a whip, Graham Macintosh, remained behind. The rest followed the PFP's Chief Whip, Brian Bamford, who warned earlier that if the remark was not withdrawn, "I will be getting out of this place". — Sapa

US set for more talks with SA

11/9/85 SPAR
Political Correspondent 304A

CAPE TOWN — Another round of high-level talks between South Africa and the United States is to be held soon.

This was confirmed today by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. It was understood the meeting would be held in Europe within the next two to three weeks.

News of the new round of talks first leaked out through State Department sources in Washington. Confirmation of the talks follow soon after President Ronald Reagan had praised President Botha for the way in which he wanted change while up against a faction stubbornly holding on to the past.

The last meeting the Minister of Foreign Affairs had with the US State Department was in the third week of last month when he met Mr Frank Wisner, deputy assistant secretary of state for African Affairs in Frankfurt. The week before they met in Cape Town.

Mr Pik Botha said today such talks were on going. As in the past, all matters affecting South and Southern Africa including the Namibian situation would be discussed.

3044 SMAR 11/4/86

The Star Fri

Apprehensive whites hear two different bugle calls

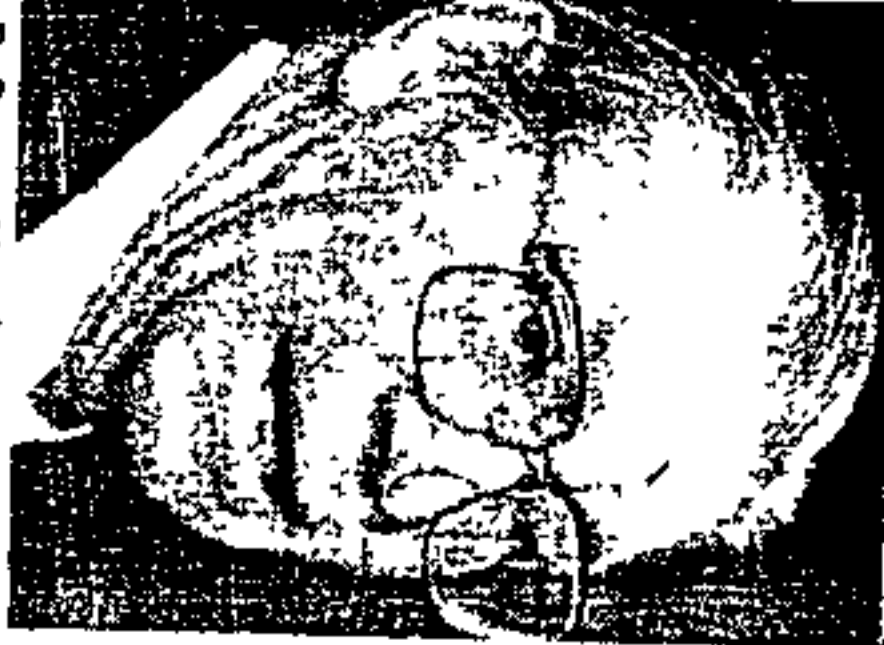
By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

There were two "calls to whites" within two days in Johannesburg this week.

Both meetings were held in the City Hall and both dealt with the political situation. The similarity ends there.

On Tuesday night about 500 whites were told that negotiation, change and reform were words which would eventually destroy South Africa.

The speaker was Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the right-wing Herstigte National Party (HNP).



Dr Beyer Naudé... solution is to open people's minds.

TIME TO TALK

The next night more than 1 000 people — mainly white — crammed into every corner of the smaller Selborne Hall. The crowd split over into the foyer, stood on the stairs and even on the pavement outside.

The words that more than half the crowd had to strain to hear told them to put their fears aside, talk to their fellow black South Africans and help

the multiracial crowd. They spoke softly and stated their case in a calm, logical manner.

Just the evening before a row of white men in smart suits had sat on a platform behind Jaap Marais. Their leader was telling a whites-only audience in an often shrieking tone to cling to something that will never be anything more than a dangerous dream.

Mr Marais conceded that across South Africa millions of black people were angry and bitter, that many thousands of schoolchildren, hundreds of trade unions, and dozens of extra-parliamentary pressure groups were stating in no uncertain terms their opposition to apartheid.

But the fault for that, he added, lay squarely with the Government's feeble attempts to pacify via change and reform while denying the logical conclusions of such measures. This, Mr Marais said, raised expectations in the black community and led to unrest. But, he added, there was a solution to the violence which was turn-

ing South Africa into one big battlefield.

His answer contained only greater violence.

Impose shoot-on-sight curfews, close the country's borders with black Africa, and use the considerable power of the Defence Force to crush any resistance — inside or outside of the country — and the problem is solved, he said.

The next day the UDF meeting was told that there had been too much killing already — from Pretoria to Amanzimtoti and from Mamelodi to Lange. The answer, speakers said, was not contained in rows of coffins. Rather than withdrawing into a laager, white South Africans had to conquer their deepest fears and go out and talk to their fellow black countrymen.

Debate the future, listen with an open heart and an open mind to what they have to say. Dr Beyer Naudé told the meeting.

He promised white South Africans that they would find a great willingness to listen, and



Mr Jaap Marais... solution is to close the country's borders.

a warmth and a welcome that would surprise them. Two meetings, in the same building complex within a day of each other — and a world apart.

There was something deeply symbolic in the contrast between about 500 whites huddled together in the vastness of the City Hall on Tuesday night and the multiracial and overflow-

ing crowd the following evening. The HNP supporters came to listen to a man whose beliefs they already shared, while the next night hundreds of whites came to learn something new about beliefs many of them still instinctively mistrust. The HNP plan was to mobilise enough white South Africans to take control of Parliament — a Parliament deemed just a day later by another meeting to be not worth controlling.

SOLUTIONS

The supporters of the HNP clapped and cheered, convinced that they knew how to solve the country's problems. The next evening hundreds of whites came silently and in confusion — desperate for a solution they knew was not that simple.

In the final analysis, perhaps it was the topic under discussion at the UDF meeting which aptly summarised both meetings: "Where to, white pollitics?"

PFP urges brake on motor industry decline

THE motor industry was too important to SA to be allowed to continue its decline, John Malcomess (PFP Port Elizabeth Central) said yesterday.

It was time the industry was granted tax relief and government should consider the representations of the Motor Industries Federation to the Margo Commission on SA's tax structure, he said.

Speaking during the Second Reading debate on the Budget, Malcomess said car sales this year were 25% down on last year and if the trend continued, total sales for the year would be 160 000 compared with 301 000 in 1981.

The price of cars had climbed "astronomically" and more and more people, especially blacks, were unable to afford new cars.

The drop in sales had also increased unemployment. The number of employees in car plants had dropped from 47 570 in December 1983 to 33 346 in December

1985. A loss of 25 000 jobs had been estimated in the components industry.

Malcomess said the biggest reason for the plight of the industry was the extent to which it was taxed.

In 1985, government had collected R3 644m in tax on sales of cars, parts, petrol and in other levies related to the industry.

● COMMENT: Page 5

Malcomess said government charged GST on a vehicle an average of four times in its lifetime, collecting tax each time it was resold.

"There is even tax on tax. GST is levied on retail prices, which includes customs and excise taxes."

There were also additional taxes like provincial licence levies and registration fees.

GOVERNMENT

To sink or swim

304A
FIN M/ALC
11/4/86

Parliament reconvened this week after the Easter recess for what is being seen as the acid test of government's commitment to real change.

Veteran Progressive Federal Party (PFP) MP, Helen Suzman, for example, has said that the remaining three months of this session are "the equivalent of South Africa's D-Day."

She explained: "The country has this chance to pull itself out of the quagmire into which the government has led it — or else it will sink."

While MPs braced themselves for a flood of reformist legislation, the National Party's official propaganda organ, *The Nationalist*, lifted the lid somewhat on the hitherto unclear reason for calling a special federal congress of the party in Durban in August.

(*Current affairs* March 14).

An article in the latest edition of the NP mouthpiece says one of the most important motives for the congress is for government to explain why it is taking certain action, and where it is leading the country.

The article goes on to say the existing state of affairs in SA, including increasing racial polarisation and violent unrest, is intolerable. The time has come for a cooling of emotions and a sober assessment of the future, it adds.

The Nationalist also warns that white SA could not win a war against blacks because of the overwhelming imbalance in numbers and the harm that would be done to the economy. Neither SA nor the whites would survive such a war and "only the Kremlin would win," it states frankly.

The congress will be held against the background of yet another mooted "new deal" for blacks, which will be encompassed in legislation due to go before parliament by the end of May.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis will pilot most of the new laws through the three Houses. They are likely to include:

- Provisions to scrap pass laws, give back South African citizenship to those blacks who lost it when "their" homelands were given "independence," and introduce a common identity document for all South Africans;
- An "orderly urbanisation" policy to re-

place influx control;

- The establishment of a Statutory Council to be headed by President P W Botha, which will act as the main arena for negotiating change with black leaders;

- Provisions to extend freehold land rights to blacks; and

- The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act.

MPs of both the NP and the PFP agree that unless real progress can be made towards significant political change before June, the chances of restoring lasting peace

in SA are slim. Apart from the need to defuse internal unrest through real reform, government has to convince foreign governments, particularly the US and the Commonwealth, that it is serious about an equitable political accommodation of blacks in

central decision-making.

President Botha is likely to use the pending reformist legislation as a base at the federal congress to explain further just how he plans to satisfy black political aspirations. The big question here, of course, is whether credible black leaders — that is, those who are held up by many blacks as their true leaders — can somehow be brought on-side.

But, overshadowing both the rest of the parliamentary session and the federal congress are: escalating and increasingly well-orchestrated township violence, labour disputes, and consumer and school boycotts; mounting white rightwing anger at government's perceived inability to restore normality to the country (*Current affairs* April 4); and, unrelenting foreign political and economic pressure for change.

The Nationalist refers to all three problems in its latest issue and sharply attacks the African National Congress (ANC), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), and Western governments for what it calls destructive and negative responses to SA's crises. Its editor, Benoni MP Chris Rencken, says Western governments are misdirecting their efforts against SA.

"Refusals to roll over loans, sanctions, disinvestment and démarches are demonstrably destructive and counter-productive," writes Rencken, adding: "It is nothing short of inane on the part of Western governments to call in South African ambassadors when-

ever the police are constrained to contain riotous revolutionaries and to call on the government to end violence and start talking to black leaders. Pressure and persuasion need to be directed elsewhere if peaceful progress is to be made."

Rencken also slams "moderate" black leaders who are frustrating government's need to be seen to be negotiating real change. "They also need to be told to show courage. It simply gets nobody anywhere if they merely pay lip-service to the rejection of violence or disinvestment and then fail to translate rhetoric into reality by coming to the conference table," he charges.



Botha



Heunis

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, will face a demonstration as well as a boycott when he opens the multimillion-rand Natal Playhouse in Durban tomorrow.

The Black Sash has invited several organisations to take part in the demonstration.

PW faces demo and boycott in Durban

The Natal Provincial Administration rejects suggestions that there will be any significant boycott and the Natal Performing Arts Council is said to have a plan to fill 300 seats at the last

minute.

A number of South African artists have called for a boycott.

Mr Andrew Verster of Durban said he had no idea what support the call would receive.

"I think a lot of people feel under some sort of obligation to go," he said. Another boycotter, Professor Christopher Balantine of the University of Natal, said the invitation was outrageous.

But a spokesman for the Administrator said: "I don't think we'll have a boycott. We sent 1 200 invitations and had about 1 100 acceptances."

Revolution

has begun — Eglin

CAT Times

11/14/86

306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Politics in South Africa had already entered a revolutionary phase, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

In a scathing attack on the government's handling of the crisis facing the country, the Progressive Federal Party leader warned that "the pendulum has already swung from evolution to revolution".

Speaking in the budget debate, Mr Eglin said that at a time when a deeply divided South Africa was "facing more life and death decisions than ever before", the government remained "far removed from the harsh realities".

Fundamental structural changes had to be made if the country was to be saved.

"Viewed in a historical perspective, the politics of South Africa has already entered a revolutionary phase," Mr Eglin said.

The revolt of the

masses in the country against the system, and the authorities and structures underpinning that system, had started — "and has developed a remarkable impetus during the past year".

Mr Eglin said the government should not "bluff" itself, but should look at some of the indicators that reflected an emerging revolution:

- The collapse of local government and civil administration in many areas of the country.

- The emergence of informal structures and organizations deriving their legitimacy and power "from the people".

- The inability of civil authorities in many townships to protect the citizens from crime — or from intimidation.

"The fact is that some

townships are no-go areas for State officials except when operating under the protection of the fire power of a Caspir."

- There was a "massive" disregard and defiance of the laws, regulations and decrees made by the government.

"One thing is certain. The revolt cannot be put down nor the revolution turned back by the police or security forces..." Mr Eglin said.

"The more the government relies on repression or coercion, the further it takes white South Africans into a state of internal seige and external isolation from which they will find it increasingly difficult to extricate themselves."

The cost of this would not only be felt in terms of a weakening economy and the increasing loss of human life.

Options

"But one by one the options for a negotiated settlement on a reasonable basis that would provide real protection for the rights of minorities will simply fade away."

If the government followed its current course, the people of South Africa would be left with no options — "only the gloomy prospect of being under one or another form of tyranny".

Mr Eglin said that if there was to be any hope for peace in South Africa, then apartheid with its "domination and minority privilege" had to be scrapped entirely.

The government must urgently undertake a vast programme of economic reconstruction of the society.

It was also critical that a system of genuine power sharing be evolved in South Africa, Mr Eglin said.

SUITS

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Equal franchise a final step in process of change

11/4/86 SPAR 304A

An interesting suggestion is made by Denis Beckett, editor of *Frontline*, on how South Africa could solve its constitutional and political difficulties.

What is needed is quite simply a political system based on one man, one vote as soon as possible.

He shows an understandable impatience with procedural formulae on how we can move from A to B and feels that if we get to the heart of the matter, ie the franchise, many of the existing political fears and prejudices would disappear as a result of democratic politics taking its course.

All the problems relating to reform, or national conventions, constitutional conferences, negotiations and bargaining should, and could, be dealt with during the ordinary course of government based on universal suffrage.

There is something appealing in the very simplicity of this position.

I for one agree that no "solution" is going to work if it ignores the vote on an equal basis for everyone, and I obviously agree that a democratic form of government is preferable to a non-democratic one.

Dominance

But this position begs the question in more ways than one.

For example, who is going to extend the vote to everyone? The Government of today? This Government has spent the last 3½ decades systematically structuring our society in such a way that no threat to its position of political dominance is possible by constitutional means.

Why would it all of a sudden disregard what it has done for so long and give everyone the vote on an equal basis?

But let us assume that the Government is prepared to do just that. In terms of the existing tricameral Parliament this would be unconstitutional. The tricameral Parliament cannot function on a "one man, one vote" basis on a common voters roll.

It consists of three separate racial Chambers each with its own separate voters roll as determined by the Population Registration Act. In fact, all the blacks that would

MY VIEW



by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

now suddenly have the vote would have no Chamber or Parliament to go to.

Where do they go to under such circumstances? What do they do with the vote?

The point I am making, is that this Government long ago realised that the vote was the crucial issue in South African politics.

That is why once it had used its numerical superiority in white politics to get control, it painstakingly and systematically took away any possible basis of access to its power-structure and created separate structures where others who could pose a threat, could exercise the vote.

Of course, it soon became clear that this kind of voting had no real influence on political decisions that affected the majority of people in the country.

That is precisely why the majority of people — excluded from Parliament — are determined to press their demands for one man, one vote on an equal basis.

This is precisely what the Government has denied them and this is precisely what Mr Beckett says the Government must give them.

The vote in any "normal democratic" society is given political substance by ordinary people through their membership of political parties, interest groups and institutions.

That is why we can read the political profile of a country by the percentage of people belonging to

this or that organisation, church or even suburb.

In South Africa we have not allowed this normal kind of institutional development to take place.

On the one hand, we have the Government with its institutions and, on the other, the majority of people who either reject or refuse to participate in them.

Before the vote is going to operate in any "normal" sense of the word, those objectionable structures must go and people must be allowed to freely demonstrate what movements, organisations or parties they would like to support and belong to.

So it would seem to me that before the vote is going to be extended on an equal basis to everyone, a few other things are going to have to happen.

For one, pressures are going to increase on this Government to get rid of apartheid structures and institutions.

Heightened

Also, people must be allowed to organise freely and legally in South Africa. This must mean unbanning organisations and releasing political prisoners.

No doubt this would precipitate even more heightened political activity demanding a new constitution in which political aspirations can be democratically reflected.

In short, an equal franchise will be the culmination of a process of change. This change is going to be more or less violent depending on the actions of Government and those who oppose it.

The Government can reduce the level of violence by committing itself to the total abandonment of apartheid.

This means getting rid of laws such as the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act and the institutions which they underpin, for example, the tricameral Parliament.

This is what is meant by the phrase: "You cannot reform apartheid, you must get rid of it." Only once we have rid ourselves of it can "the vote" come into its own.

Artists boycott PW premiere

By CARMEL RICKARD

MOST Natal artists and a number of other leading figures in Durban will be boycotting this week-end's official opening of The Playhouse theatre complex in the city because the State President PW Botha is to officiate.

Painter Andrew Verster said he first discovered Botha would be officiating when he received his invitation about three months ago.

He returned his invitation, writing on the back of the card that he would not be attending, "because it is insulting to have invited PW Botha to open our opera house".

He said he thought it a bad thing, at a time when reconciliation was needed, to invite the head of the Nationalist Party and "politicise art in this way".

"It is a bad thing to involve the culture of Natal with the policy of the National Party — and that is how this occasion will be seen by the majority here."

"I'm not saying our culture is not

already politicised but it is very clumsy and unfortunate to reinforce it in this way."

Natal University Professor of Music, Chris Ballantine, will also not be going. Like Verster he feels the choice of the opening work — Beethoven's ninth symphony — ironic, saying it is a work which clearly reflects the call for a new society and reconciliation.

"If Botha were to take the implications of the ninth symphony seriously he would resign after the performance along with his government, unban the ANC and there would be majority rule."

Ballantine said Beethoven was sympathetic to the revolutionary movement of his day in France and had been quoted as saying that if the censors had understood his music they would have jailed him.

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Saboteur jibe BUS DAY prompts mass 11/4/85 304A PFP walkout

ALL but two PFP members walked out of the House of Assembly yesterday after the chairman ruled that the word "saboteur" — applied to Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) by National Education Minister F W de Klerk — was not unparliamentary.

The incident occurred during the Budget speech of Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Only Suzman and a whip, Graham MacIntosh (Maritzburg), remained while the other PFP members followed Chief Whip Brian Bamford (Groote Schuur), who had warned earlier they would "be getting out of this place" if De Klerk did not withdraw his remark.

The altercation started as Le Grange, at the beginning of his speech, said that the SA Police's efforts to maintain law and order in the unrest areas were the "primary targets" of the PFP.

De Klerk interjected that Suzman was a "saboteur of the police".

Rising on a point of order, Bamford said that unless this were withdrawn "we are getting out of this place".

Addressing the chair, De Klerk said the PFP had accused government members with the word "saboteur".

House chairman Rex le Roux ruled that according to his dictionary, the word was not, *per se*, unparliamentary unless it had a connotation attached to it, for example the country's security. — Sapa.

BUD DAY 11/4/86 304A

Call to 'tame wild horses'

OPPOSITION leader Colin Eglin must tame the wild horses in his party because they were on a dangerous road, Gert Terblanche (NP Bloemfontein North), said in the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, Terblanche said if Eglin failed to do so they would run away with him and, in the process, harm SA.

Eglin owed it to the House to say whether he was going to allow the leftist elements in his party to take him in tow.

The PFP was prepared to talk to African National Congress leaders in Lusaka

and it was now up to Eglin to say whether their hearts were in Parliament or outside "with the destructive forces".

There were competent leaders in the PFP, but they were not leftist enough. For this reason all the key posts in the PFP were filled by left-wing backbenchers who were ruling the party, Terblanche said.

SA must have a strategy to combat the forces of anarchy, but needed the help of the PFP. So far that party had not done its share, he added. — Sapa.

Revolution has begun, PFP chief warns govt

THE revolution had already begun and could not be turned back by the security forces, Opposition leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Second Reading of the Budget in the House of Assembly, he said it was "almost past the hour" for the country to evolve a system for the genuine sharing of power.

"If the government allows South Africa to continue as it is, we South Africans — black or white — will be left with no options; only the gloomy prospect of being under one or other form of tyranny, decided not by ourselves but by other people."

Eglin said the situation could still be saved if government scrapped apartheid, embarked on a vast socio-economic reconstruction of society and negotiated a new, democratic and non-racial constitution in which all shared real political power.

These factors would determine whether the country had a government based on democracy or on tyranny, or an economy based on

private initiative or Marxism.

Eglin said that, apart from certain long-term factors that had led to unrest, the prevailing "mood of rebellion" in the country had been intensified by factors for which Government was responsible.

These were the actions of the security forces, which had radicalised blacks still further and consolidated their hostility towards the authorities, and the failure of the government to fulfil reform expectations it had stimulated.

"One thing is certain. The revolt cannot be put down nor the revolution that is starting turned back by the police or security forces, no matter how well-armed and equipped they may be," Eglin said.

"The more government relies on repression or coercion, the further it takes white South Africans into a state of internal siege and external isolation."

The cost to the economy and in terms of human lives would become increasingly uncomfortable while the options for a reasonable, negotiated settlement that would

provide real protection for the rights of minorities would simply fade away.

Referring to the programme of socio-economic reconstruction proposed by the Progressive Federal Party, Eglin said money allocated in the Budget for such programmes was hopelessly inadequate.

The PFP proposed:

- Massive upgrading of living conditions in the townships;
- Removal of all restrictions that denied full access to the free enterprise system, including bars on education, employment, ownership and entrepreneurship;
- Massive deregularisation to allow members of the country's Third World population to enjoy the opportunities of the Western economy and;
- Positive action to ease the process of urbanisation, and in housing, education, training, service and land.

The programme would require large amounts of money but, with imaginative handling it could become a major strategy for economic growth, Eglin said. — Sapa.

Eglin: govt is top-heavy

NO ECONOMIC objective could be reached if the economy were held back by the "massive expense" of a top-heavy government structure and bureaucracy, PFP leader Colin Eglin said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the Second Reading debate on the Budget, he said government was the biggest growth industry.

It employed 40% of white workers in the civil service and their numbers were growing.

The growth in the structure of government was also alarming, with duplication of office bearers in the tricameral Parliament and the homelands. There were now five ministers of education, four of health and agriculture and six responsible for housing.

If one took into account the independent homelands, there were five presidents and equal numbers of foreign ministers, finance ministers and ministers of defence.

To these figures had to be added the 46 ministers and 481 members of the legislative assemblies of the non-independent homelands.

If blacks were brought into the tricameral Parliament, there would be a total of 968 MPs, 189 members of the President's Council, 103 Cabinet ministers and ministers of own affairs, 31 deputy ministers, 10 chairmen of the various Houses, 19 deputy chairmen and 88 whips, Eglin said. — Sapa.



● HEUNIS

Heunis warns of attacks on Parliament

DEMAND for the removal of all apartheid measures would mean abolition of Parliament before a substitute had replaced it, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

During the Budget debate he said there was a trend among the opposition to question Parliament's role and its ability as an instrument of reform.

"It is being questioned, disparaged and undermined," he said. "They (opposition parties) threaten that if government does not act with strength, they will take the law into their own hands. They say that if certain action is not taken, they will withdraw ..."

They also demanded the immediate removal of all apartheid measures.

Heunis said: "That implies the removal of Parliament before a substitute is put in its place. In terms of such demands the instrument which must carry through reform must be removed before the structures of reform are in place."

"This feeds mistrust in the parliamentary process. It undermines the concept of a democratic solution and casts suspicion on democracy itself. How can we wish to extend democracy to all other South Africans if we question its relevancy?"

It was time every MP stood up and declared what his commitments were. Every South African outside the House should do the same.

"We can not subscribe to democracy and ignore the important adjustments which have been made over the past five years."

"We do not subscribe to democracy by reaching back for white domination and total partition. Nor do we when we fail to accept the realities of this country."

These realities were that there was no common value system, either political, social or economic, among the peoples of SA. — Sapa.

BUS. DAY / 11/4/86 (304A)

CP partition plan is 'unChristian'

THE Conservative Party's policy of partition, taken to its logical conclusions, could not be justified under the mantle of Christianity, Hernus Kriel (NP Parow) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during the Budget debate, he said the CP, in order to achieve its goal of a white-majority state, would have to move more than half the black population to the homelands.

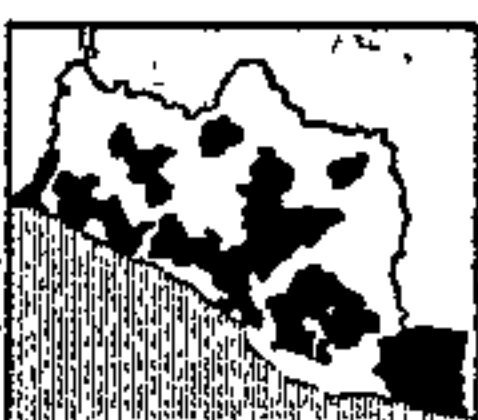
Then the problem would be what to do with blacks who remained inside white areas, because CP policy provided for spending white taxpayers' money only on whites.

The CP would have to convince those blacks to vote for people in the homelands who would be unable to improve their daily lot, Kriel added.

"I would be ashamed to motivate a policy like that to voters under the mantle of Christianity." — Sapa.

11/4/86

THE NATAL INDABA Sense and sensitivities



SA is indeed a country of paradoxes. While the security forces and township youths are daily involved in violence and death, in another part of the land, Natal-KwaZulu, people of different race groups are slowly groping towards a political accommodation of sorts. Precisely what the nature of the beast will be remains to be seen. But it is a most welcome development at this stage of our sorry history — people talking instead of warring.

In the Durban City Hall last week, representatives of a vast array of interest groups and divergent political opinions sat solemnly around the table to confer over the constitutional future of their region.

The meeting has been dubbed the Natal "Indaba." It seems, quite simply, to legitimise a situation which many already accept as a reality — that Natal and KwaZulu are inextricably intertwined and, for all practical purposes, should be treated as a single administrative and legislative entity.

Most people should have no difficulty with that. The facts — economic and political — speak for themselves. But given the mindset of "own affairs" politics that characterises the thinking in the ruling hierarchy, such notions verge on heresy.

Equally, the possibility that something good, no matter how remote, might flow from the Indaba discussions is viewed with misgiving by elements on the far left and far right. The words "political accommodation" just do not form part of their lexicon. They will do anything, including firebombing the homes and offices of university academics, to ensure it does not take place.

It comes as little surprise, therefore, that organisations like the African National Congress (ANC), Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) — or, for that matter, the Conservative Party and the Herengte Nasionale Party — will not be among the delegates. They were invited.

While it is too soon to know whether the "Indaba" on the fusion of Natal and KwaZulu will produce concrete results, the fact that it is taking place at all is welcome. It could influence wider-ranging talks at a higher level.

though.

Their non-presence is a pity. If anything workable is to emerge from the Indaba it is important that its participants consult as widely as possible. Never enamoured with the Indaba proposal in the first place, government, richly, finds itself in the position of the reluctant debutante. It does not want to be seen to be actively obstructing what is, in effect, an attempt at "genuine power-sharing" at the regional level. That cliché has been used too often in Rubicon speeches of the past, and Pretoria's credibility could be seriously impaired if it continues to pay it no more than lip-service.

At the same time, government's distaste for home-grown constitutional initiatives that by-pass the constitutional workshops of parliament, the Special Cabinet Committee, and the President's Council, is well known, even understandable.

Government no doubt has its own vision of what second-tier government should look like under the new constitution — though it has yet to spell out precisely what that is. Perhaps the federal congress of the National Party (NP) in Durban in August will provide a suitable occasion for it to elaborate? Talk in parliamentary circles is that the NP is

considering multiracial legislatures of some kind which will have the option of including national or homeland states.

Quite conceivably, though, its proposals will bear little resemblance to the Indaba proponents' ideal of a multiracial legislature presiding over a unified KwaNatal.

For government to have resorted to a compromise to escape its dilemma might seem ironic — given that that is what the KwaNatal discussions appear to be all about. It has decided to allow three Natal Nationalist MPs, Val Volker, Jurie Meitz and Renier Schoeman, to sit in on the talks as non-voting "observers."

In the circumstances, it is not hard to sympathise with Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha's view that government could hardly participate officially in the discussion, the upshot of which is quite likely to be recommendations contrary to current government policy.

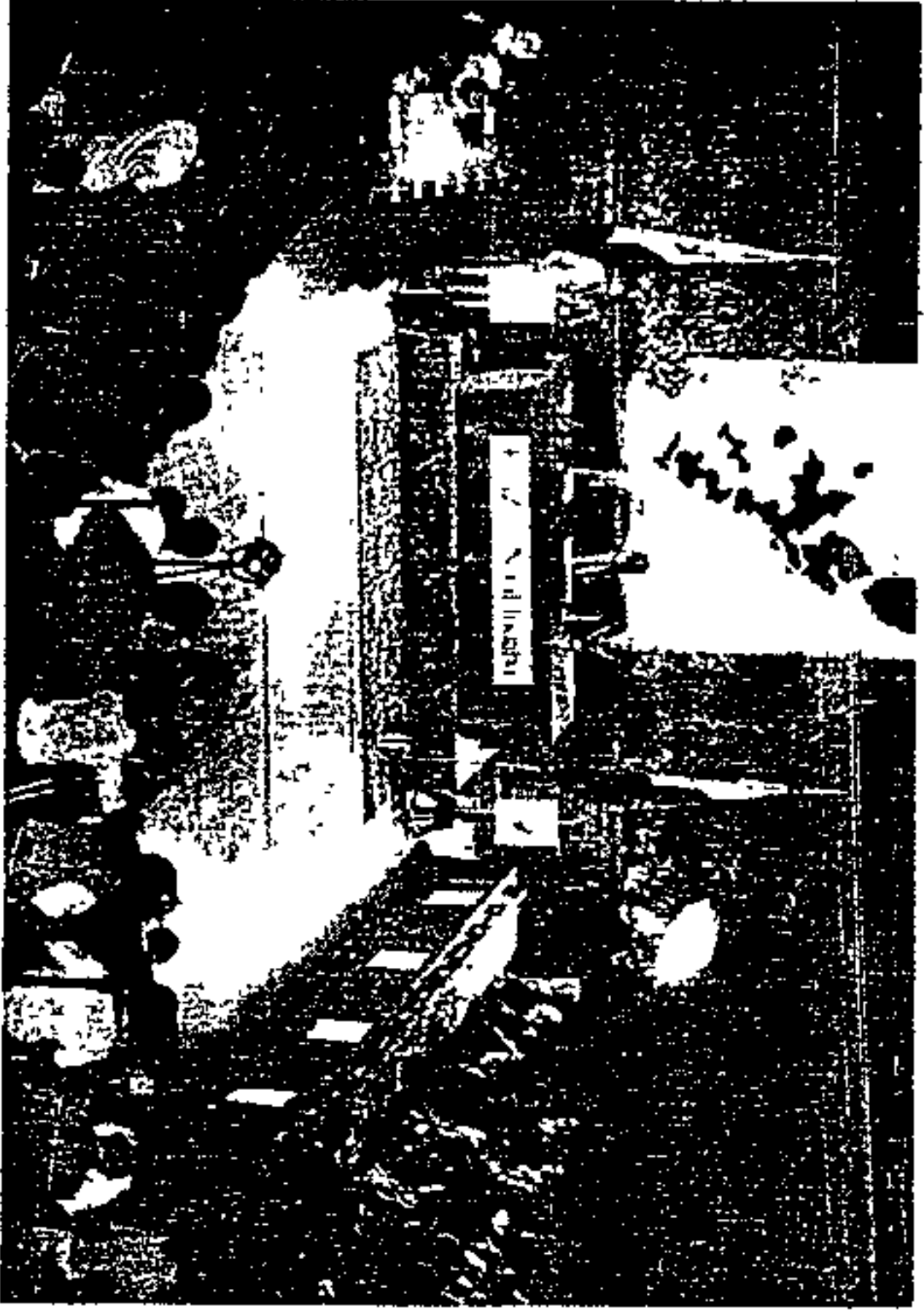
To Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and main proponent of the Indaba, the MPs' actual status seems not to matter. The important thing, he stresses, is that "they are there."

Of course, there was always the threat that Buthelezi might refuse to participate in government's own National Statutory Council discussions, should Pretoria snub his Indaba. That, too, might have been a coercive element in ensuring some form of government presence.

"Observers" or "delegates," call them what you will, what is important is that there will be NP members present — to offer inputs if necessary, and carry reports of progress back to government. That, in itself, is something of a breakthrough.

All this should be seen against the background of government's rejection of the report of the Buthelezi Commission, only a few years ago. The report advocated a form of "consociational" government for Natal and KwaZulu; and, indeed, right up to the present has not lost its relevance. It is likely to form the basis of the Indaba delegation's submission to the Indaba.

Now that the political posturing is over and the delegates have taken their seats around the conference



The Indaba opens... people are talking there

ECHOES OF HISTORY

It is, perhaps, more than mere coincidence that the Durban City Hall has been chosen as the venue for the historic Natal "Indaba."

Across the street, the old Post Office building, then the City Hall, performed a similar function some 78 years ago in October 1908, when heads of state gathered for the National Union Convention.

Their deliberations were fruitful indeed and culminated in the country being tied into Union two years later and more firmly into the bosom of the Commonwealth. The significance of that earlier political milestone was not lost on Durban's mayor, Stan Lange. Quoting from the opening address of his counterpart of the time, he noted how he hoped from their deliberations "a South African constitution will be evolved that will prove acceptable to every colony, and that will materially hasten development and prosperity of the whole sub-continent."

No doubt there are those who cherish similar hopes for the Indaba today.

With a historic precedent of that stature, it is understandable that a conscious air of expectancy should surround this latest convention initiative. Though essentially dealing with regional issues, it could well have an impact beyond Natal's borders.

As the delegates gathered, however, the scene outside the City Hall did not quite reflect the importance of the occasion. The brigades of Inkatha youth that one has come to expect at these events



Buthelezi... a long process

were absent, along with their banners and sloganeering.

The Hall itself stood proud and serene, now that the traffic has been banished from Church Street and the approaches to the building paved.

Inside, the atmosphere was different. The mood of the curious onlookers seemed to contrast with the sombre, almost leaden presence of the delegates seated around the horseshoe table. It was as if they seemed to sense destiny calling.

Light from the stained glass windows of the baroque building streamed down as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi took his place at the podium to explain Inkatha's and the KwaZulu government's involvement. Behind him the crazy patchwork map of homeland KwaZulu in white Natal, like the splashes on a painter's palette, was a graphic reminder of the pressing need for unification.

A difficult road lay ahead, the chief minister told his audience. The Indaba, should it be successful, was only the beginning of a long process towards the normalisation of South African society along democratic principles.

There was a strong body of opinion, he noted, which believed the time for dialogue, reconciliation and negotiation had passed and that the only political options open were violent ones.

But "We say such a moment has not yet come." More than anything else, Inkatha's presence at the negotiating table underscored that.

table, what can we expect this regional initiative towards power-sharing to yield? The answer, no doubt, will be revealed only once the talking is over and formal recommendations emerge.

On a more immediate level, government has already recognised the need for some form of shared administrative responsibility for Natal and KwaZulu. There is a loose working arrangement between the two administrations, and a Bill, which will formalise that into a statutory joint executive, is currently before parliament.

What the Indaba backers envisage, however, is that this co-operation should eventually lead to a total fusion of the two administrations into a single, multiracial, administrative and legislative body. And this is where they part company with the NP.

It cannot be said that the central government is oblivious to the practical advantages of shared administration in Natal-KwaZulu in areas of overlapping interest, such as roads, traffic, hospitals and game conservation. The cost savings alone will probably be enormous. The facilitating Bill is therefore likely to pass unhindered.

But with ethnicity still very much at the

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centre of its constitutional master plan, and reform initiatives launched from this basic premise, talk of multiracial legislatures is a little too much for Pretoria to swallow — at present.

The Indaba, however, is not talking of secession for Natal — or of blacks in Natal-KwaZulu giving up any aspirations they may have to participation at the centre. Natal would still be very much a part of SA and, as such, any proposals emanating from the Indaba would have to fit, constitutionally speaking, with the rest of the country.

It does imply, perhaps, that the constitution might have to be redrawn to make it fit. That's not the worst thing that can happen. For many, the tricameral parliament has always been regarded as a temporary measure or ruse. In future, even government might consider a federal constitution, which makes "local options" like KwaNatal less unthinkable.

Initial reports from the Indaba indicate it has already run into an early obstacle. The problem is that the principal negotiators — the elected, but soon to be phased out Natal

Provincial Council, and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — face an odd deadline. If government presses ahead and replaces the Natal exco with a nominated exco, with the coming of the regional services councils in June, it could damage the credibility of the discussions. Consequently, government is being asked to delay the implementation of its own constitutional package until the talks are concluded.

This could prove a shrewd move on government's part — if acceded to. After all, government could well consider incorporating elements of the Indaba's recommendations into its own plans for second-tier government.

And certainly, if the Indaba comes up with proposals that at least seem workable, government would have great difficulty in rejecting them out of hand. In the highly charged political atmosphere of the day, there is a need to reward moderate initiatives — of which the Indaba is clearly one. Also, the eyes of the Western world will be on Pretoria. The "Natal option" appears to have much support abroad; and if govern-

ment throws it out it could well expose its reformist intentions as a sham. It can't afford that.

Of course, it is entirely possible the Indaba will come up with diffuse proposals. A common litany among blacks is that there are no credible forums where they can negotiate their constitutional future with dignity.

If the Natal Indaba retains some credibility — with government participation — it could well provide a safety valve for black political frustrations and take some of the impetus out of the vicious cycle of violence and repression we appear to be caught up in.

Moreover, it could be good for the cause of negotiation in general. Having sat around the table together and tested what could be achieved mutually, the participants may well have paved the way for further negotiations at a higher level.

By implication, if it succeeds in turning the proposed National Statutory Council discussions into a full-blown Indaba on a national scale, where there are no non-negotiables, then its achievements will not have been wasted. ■

HIGHVELD

The margins narrow

After faltering badly in 1983, Highveld Steel and Vanadium's profits took on a white-hot glow in 1985. And the key to its recovery over the past two years was the strength of export markets. In the year to end-December exports reached a new high of R372,5m (R219m) and boosted group turnover to R662,1m (R450,2m), also a record. Despite the weakness of the local steel market, earnings a share improved to 58c (38,9c), which allowed a 7c increase in the year's total dividend to 24c.

A worrying factor, though, is the lower contribution of the local market, which has traditionally been more profitable than exports. While overall sales have improved, the operating profit margin has narrowed. Even with the higher rand contribution from exports, the operating profit margin has dropped to only 11,2%, compared to 20,5% in 1982.

What's happened is that local inflation has climbed so rapidly that the profitability of the domestic market is being eroded. Most

On the face of it, with fat profits, Highveld's share price has definite upside potential. But until the local market recovers, the company will remain heavily dependent on exports and will therefore be extremely vulnerable to sanctions.

sure. The effects might even ripple into the export market. Chairman Leslie Boyd notes, with concern, that if the disparity between the South African inflation rate and that of its major trading partners continues, it "will soon negate the temporary export advantages arising from the weak rand, and will result in South African products being uncompetitive overseas."



World steel production and consumption in 1985 was marginally higher than the year before. In the US, though, production dropped by 4% while its consumption remained little changed, with imports making up the difference. However, the pressure of steel imports reached levels which prompted US steelmakers into attempts to limit imports. This resulted in voluntary restraint agreements (VRA) with SA and other major steel exporting countries. As most bilateral trade agreements were finalised by end-1985, a more stable US steel industry is foreseen.

But Highveld's US market potential will be restrained, since the VRA system was determined according to imports into the US during the 1981-1983 period. Nonetheless, the US remains Highveld's most important foreign market.

In any steel operation there are three phases: mining, steel making, and finishing. Traditionally the US has been strong in all three. One analyst notes, however, that with the emergence of cheaper producers like

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duce the new ID documents at a rate of around 5 000 an hour to meet the deadline.

In its latest annual report, the Department of Home Affairs says overtime work in the population registration section had to be stopped last year to save money. The report says an estimated 676 738 whites, coloureds, Indians and Chinese over 16 have not yet been issued with ID documents.

In 1984-1985, the department issued 552 013 new or replacement documents, the report says. ■

PARLIAMENT

Schwarz lashes out

The Progressive Federal Party's finance spokesman, Harry Schwarz, has proposed a five-point plan to extricate the country from what he believes is an unprecedented political and economic morass.

In a stinging attack on government during the Budget debate in parliament this week, Schwarz said it has become an accepted fact that the policies of government and the administration of those policies are the major contributory factors to SA's problems.

He said five immediate actions were necessary to mount a political and economic rescue operation over the next five years:

- Apartheid must be abolished as soon as possible. A parliamentary committee needs to identify all racially discriminatory measures with a view to eliminating them;
- Government needs to agree to talk unconditionally to leaders of all communities. Talks could develop into negotiations, but if there is no talking, there can be no negotiation;
- The (political) centre needs to be bolstered so it not only holds, but advances and becomes a meaningful united force of people of all races to deal with extremists on the Left and Right;
- An economically viable formula must be found within which a realistic plan can be implemented to remove discrimination from the provision of social services; and
- A major project must be launched to provide employment on such a scale that the majority of poverty-stricken people can improve their quality of life. The programme should include building a wide range of community and services centres.

Schwarz said the survival and unity of the centre ground of SA's body politic was vital. "If there cannot be freedom of expression of centrist views, whether in the black, coloured, Indian or white communities, because of physical fear or psychological pressure, then the centre has already lost the first round," he said.

There is a growing awareness in some government circles of the realities of the economic problems confronting the country, and the linkage between politics and economics has been accepted.

The vast gulf in the quality of life between the different population groups has been

appreciated for some time, and while some progress had been made towards addressing the problem, much has yet to be done. "If, therefore, the economic problems are to be solved," Schwarz said, "what is required is courage and action of such magnitude that it captures the imagination of the community and which goes to the root of the problem." Projects were needed on a scale similar to those used to combat the poor white problem of the Thirties.

"Patchwork and gestures" are no solution and the Budget had failed to show either the imagination or determination to deal with the pressing problems, he charged.

The advantages of a concerted effort include: the creation of jobs which will make the restoration of stability much easier; the employment of under-utilised production capacity; and an increase in consumer demand as a result of increased employment, Schwarz said. ■

ANGLICAN CHURCH LEADERSHIP

Tutu or who?

Representatives of SA's 2m-strong Anglican Church meet in Cape Town on Monday (April 14) to elect a successor to Archbishop Phillip Russell who retires as head of the Church in August. It is a decision which could have far-reaching implications — not only for the Church itself, but also for its relations with government.

The Church of the Province of South Africa, as it is more properly known, has been a vociferous opponent of the National Party since it came to power in 1948. The first archbishop of the "apartheid era," Geoffrey Clayton, told the then PM, JG Strijdom, that he and his bishops would be forced to disobey the Native Laws Amendment Bill as it restricted freedom of worship. His successor, Archbishop Joost de Blank, was involved in a running battle with Strijdom's successor, Hendrik Verwoerd, for the seven years he led the Church. And the three men who succeeded him, Archbishops Robert Selby-Taylor, Bill Burnett, and Phillip Russell have all been implacable opponents of government.

Relations between Church and State could, however, deteriorate even further if the 500-member Electoral College chooses Bishop Desmond Tutu to succeed Russell. Tutu has been increasingly in the forefront of black opposition to government, and recently called explicitly for sanctions against SA, even though he sees his political role as being forced on him while the real black leaders are in jail.

The 54-year-old bishop has indicated that he would prefer not to move from the Johannesburg Diocese where he has been since stepping down as general secretary of the South African Council of Churches in 1984.

However, there can be little doubt that the Nobel laureate will be nominated and, if elected, will accept. That would draw back

the curtains not only for confrontation with government, but also with conservative whites within the Church who are increasingly vociferous in their opposition to the strong political and anti-militaristic stands taken by the Church. Tutu's disinvestment call also rankles with many.

Tutu's election may also result in white defections from the Church to more conservative havens, or push them into a state of "lapse," thus creating financial problems for a church whose 28% white membership contributes some 80% of its finances.

The other front-runner is Bishop Michael Nuttall, of Natal, who, while no less opposed to apartheid, is more acceptable to white Anglicans.

Tutu and Nuttall both had support at the last election in 1981, but neither won the necessary two-thirds majority of votes. The matter was consequently referred to the Synod of Bishops who appointed the senior bishop of the Province, Bishop Russell.

While the names of Tutu and Nuttall are most frequently mentioned there may be as many as six nominees on Monday. The sole "outsider" mentioned is South African-born and-educated Archbishop K M Makhulu, of Central Africa, who is also Bishop of Botswana.

Others likely to be nominated are Bishop Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth and Bishop George Swartz of Kimberley.

Swartz is a former Suffragan Bishop of Cape Town and therefore assured of sizeable support from an Electoral College consisting overwhelmingly of people from that diocese; the other dioceses provide less than 10% of



Bishop Tutu ... candidate to succeed Archbishop Russell

the members of the Electoral College.

The successful candidate will have to achieve a two-thirds majority both from the laity and the clergy, the two "houses" voting separately. And they have just three days before the matter is referred to the Synod of Bishops who will then decide who will succeed Russell.

Bearing in mind the racial composition of the electoral college, it will not come as a surprise if the more conservative elements manage once again to force a "hung" college, leaving the Synod of Bishops to decide. And that could well see Swartz elected as a compromise. ■



Gericke ... preserving independence with a listing

crayfish a day. Midway through university, he joined fellow diving enthusiast and current MD of Darling & Hodgson's Underwater Construction, Harry Fuchs, to form Palinaurus Trawling. Its sole asset was a boat they had converted into SA's first refrigerated stern trawler.

Problems arose concerning exclusive fishing rights in the Tristan de Cunha area and they sold the vessel at a good profit to I & J. Gericke was still in his early twenties and went back to finish his M Sc.

Then came a stint as personal assistant to Chris Griffith (a man reputed to eat nails for breakfast, he was so tough) at Anglo American. He learnt a lot and completed his MBA but working for a large corporation didn't suit him. A job with Bakke Industries (one of the big three in polystyrene packaging) followed; he launched Plastamid and learnt the basics for Sunpak.

He returned to university to study marine archaeology and undertook a study of marine archives in Amsterdam and London for a venture into deep sea salvaging. Sea Bed Enterprises was formed and large amounts of metal were raised and sold at good prices. This helped establish Sunpak, with 20% partner Kobus du Plessis, after their graduation. Again the accent was on technology.

"Polystyrene manufacture is difficult. We didn't want to go into something that anybody could start up tomorrow," Gericke explains.

Gericke sees the industry expanding in the direction of fast food and throw-away packages. The opening of new food stores is generating greater demand for fruit, vegetable and meat packaging; Gericke considers there is still room for considerable innovation.

Adopting a pragmatic approach, Gericke

believes less sophisticated standards will be required as standards of living fall. "We are looking at a country that is getting poorer, which means things will become more basic, including packaging."

ALEX VAN BREDA

Whipping boy

Alex van Breda, Chief Whip of Parliament and Nationalist MP for Tygervallei, sees himself as the "operations manager" of the tricameral system.

Van Breda's essential task is to co-ordinate debate and joint standing committee meetings of the three Houses of Parliament to ensure a continuity of business and the least possible inconvenience to either MPs or Cabinet ministers.

Trying to satisfy the demands of not only a "general" affairs Cabinet, but also three "own" affairs Ministers' Councils, as well as 308 fairly individualistic MPs, may seem unenviable, but Van Breda (55) enjoys it.

"The first year after the implementation of the tricameral system was obviously the most difficult. We were dealing with people who had no background or experience in parliamentary procedure. Effective communication was the key to success," he says.

Under the new constitution, "general affairs" legislation must be debated separately in all three Houses. The Cabinet minister responsible, or his deputy, must be present to hear the debates and reply.

Van Breda must co-ordinate the debates in collaboration with the leaders of the three Houses and the various party whips and try to keep everyone as happy as possible — a seemingly impossible task.

"It is important to get through to the whips that their Houses are not the only ones who need to be satisfied. Compromise is essential," he says.

He believes that at times his job is more "crisis management" than anything else, but

he enjoys the challenge despite the stress.

Constituency work must be slotted in after hours — not that there is much time, says Van Breda. Many nights are spent planning proceedings for the following few days and re-arranging schedules to fit in with the arrangements of Cabinet ministers. Van Breda estimates he spends an average of between 16 and 18 hours a day doing his job.

To assist him with his planning, he sits in on Cabinet meetings to get a better feel for legislative programming. He adopts a diplomatic approach when asked if a single chamber and joint debates would not be more practical.

"My reply would have to be of a political nature, but that is not my function. My primary job is to execute the work allocated to me and not to decide policy," he says.

He comments, however, that in his view, debates in a common chamber may in fact take longer than three separate and simultaneous discussions because of the greater demand there would be on debating time by all parties.

Van Breda also co-ordinates meetings of the 16 joint standing committees in Cape Town during the parliamentary session; and in Pretoria during the recess.

"The standing committees place a heavy load on MPs, particularly those from the smaller parties who must try to cover as much ground as possible," he says.

Van Breda's political background has equipped him well for his post. For six years before his appointment in 1984, he was the National Party (NP) chief whip. He was elected to parliament in 1966 after serving in the Cape Provincial Council for six years for the Vasco constituency.

Before entering public office, Van Breda worked as an administrative clerk for the NP from the age of 19. Later he was provincial secretary of the NP's youth league and was subsequently appointed senior NP organiser.

At the time of his election to parliament in 1966, he was the youngest Cape Nationalist MP.



Van Breda ... tricameral system's "operations manager"

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One-man-one-vote can't work

AN interesting suggestion is made by Dennis Beckett, Editor of Frontline, on how South Africa could solve its constitutional and political difficulties.

What is needed is quite simply a political system based on one-man-one-vote as soon as possible. He shows an understandable impatience with procedural formulae on how we can move from A to B, and feels that if we get to the heart of the matter, ie the franchise, many of the existing political fears and prejudices would disappear as a result of democratic politics taking its course. All the problems relating to reform, or national conventions, constitutional conferences, negotiations and bargaining should, and could be dealt with during the ordinary course of government based on universal suffrage.

There is something appealing in the very simplicity of this position. I for one agree that no "solution" is going to work if it ignores the vote on an equal basis for everyone, and I obviously agree that a democratic form of Government is preferable to a non-democratic one.

But this position begs the question in more ways than one. For example: Who is going to extend the vote to everyone? The Government of today? This Government has spent the last 3½ decades systematically structuring our society in such a way that no threat to its position of political dominance is possible by constitutional means. Why would it all of a sudden disre-

gard what it had done for so long and give everyone the vote on an equal basis?

BUT let us assume that Government is prepared to do just that. In terms of the existing tri-cameral Parliament this would be unconstitutional. The tri-cameral Parliament cannot function on a one-man-one-vote basis on a common voters' role. It consists of three separate racial chambers each with its own separate voters' role as determined by the Population Registration Act. In fact all the Blacks that would now suddenly have the vote would have no chamber or Parliament to go to. Where do they go to under such circumstances? What do they do with the vote?

The point I am making, is that this Government long ago realised that the vote was the crucial issue in South African politics. That is why once they had used their numerical superiority in White politics to get control, they painstakingly and systematically took away any possible basis of access to their power-structure and created separate structures where others who could pose a threat to them, could exercise the vote.

THE VAN ZYL SLABBERT COLUMN



Of course, it soon became clear that this kind of voting had no real influence on political decisions that affected the majority of people in the country.

That is precisely why the majority of people excluded from Parliament are determined to press their demands for one-man-one-vote on an equal basis. This is precisely what the Government had denied them and this is precisely what Mr Beckett says the Government must give them.

The vote in any "normal democratic" society is given political substance by ordinary people through their membership of political parties, interest groups and institutions. That is why we can read the political profile of a country by the percentage of people belonging to this or that organisation, Church or even suburb. In South Africa we have not allowed this normal kind of institutional development to take place.

ON the one hand, we have the Government with its institutions and on the other, the majority of people who either reject or refuse to participate in them. Before the vote is going to operate in any "normal" sense of the

word, those objectionable structures must go and people be allowed to freely demonstrate what movements, organisations or parties they would like to support and belong to.

So it would seem to me before the vote is going to be extended on an equal basis to everyone, a few other things are going to have to happen. For one, pressures are going to increase on this Government to get rid of Apartheid structures and institutions. Also that people be allowed to organise freely and legally in South Africa. This must mean unbanning organisations and releasing political prisoners. No doubt this would precipitate even more heightened political activity demanding a new constitution in which political aspirations can be democratically reflected.

In short, an equal franchise will be the culmination of a process of change. This change is going to be more or less violent depending on the actions of Government and those who oppose it. The Government can reduce the level of violence by committing itself to the total abandonment of Apartheid. This literally means getting rid of laws such as the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act and the institutions which they underpin, for example, the tri-cameral Parliament.

This is what is meant by the phrase: "You cannot reform Apartheid, you must get rid of it." Only once we have rid ourselves of it can "the vote" come into its own.

Priorities in question

Is the Bureau of Information there to promote the interests of the ruling National Party (NP), or those of the country as a whole?

Extraordinarily, an NP-controlled parlia-

mentary committee has raised this question by sharply criticising the Information Bureau, recently hived off from Foreign Affairs to become a department on its own, headed by Deputy Minister Louis Nel.

In its report to parliament, the Standing Select Committee on Finance said it "noted with dissatisfaction" that some of the aims of the bureau, as set out in the Budget estimates, "are not correct." The bureau is now expected to become the centre of a major

political row during the Budget debate which began in parliament this week.

The bureau's aim, according to the estimates — which provide it with R28,85m — is "to foster a positive attitude towards SA." Under various sub-headings, other aims of the bureau are: "To enlighten the community on government policy, national achievements and problems, with a view to fostering positive attitudes among all population groups; to promote the image of the RSA via

internal as well as foreign media representatives in the RSA; to promote the RSA's general image locally and overseas by means of audio-visual material, own publications and distribution of publications acquired by purchase; and to promote and co-ordinate effective communication on a national level."

The bureau, whose chief reports directly to President P W Botha, has an authorised staff of 598 people, 32 of whom earn over

WEEKLY MAIL 11/4/86

Later, he baldly stated that blacks the state
Left side

Broeders do want ANC talks

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE secret Afrikaner Broederbond is interested in talking to the outlawed African National Congress, despite pro forma denials by the AB chairman, Professor JP de Lange.

Weekly Mail can confirm Lusaka-based reports that the ANC was approached by an emissary acting for the Broederbond on the question of discussions. Weekly Mail knows the identity of the emissary but agreed not to disclose his name.

"Both sides are very eager to talk," he said. "They want to search to see if they have anything in common which could lead to a negotiated settlement."

But, he added, there was no prospect of formal discussions in the immediate future.

One problem for the Broederbond is that many top Broeders are members of the government and President PW Botha has ruled that there can be no discussions with the ANC while it remains committed to armed struggle and retains its ties with the

● To PAGE 2

Broeders do want talks

● From PAGE 1

South African Communist Party.

One way round the obstacle would be for the AB to send a Broeder in the guise of, say, an academic, who could then report back informally to his Broeders.

According to Gerrit Oliver in his book "Praat met die ANC", four Afrikaner academics, among them De Lange, planned to see the ANC last year but were dissuaded from doing so by Botha.

But that was last year. The exigencies of the situation may have persuaded them to go ahead now.

Despite its obscurantist image, the AB is a modernising, adaptive force. Its role is to monitor the political situation closely in order to appraise how best to ensure the survival of Afrikanerdom. Clearly the ANC is a major component in the present crisis. Equally clearly its views are pertinent to the Broeders' appraisals.

PFP walks out after Suzman is referred to as a 'saboteur'

PARLIAMENT — All but two members of the Progressive Federal Party walked out of the House of Assembly yesterday after the chairman ruled that the word "saboteur" — applied to Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) by Minister of National Education Mr F W de Klerk during the debate on the Budget of Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange — was not unparliamentary.

Only Mrs Suzman and Whip Mr Graham MacIntosh (Pietermaritzburg North) remained behind. The other PFP members present followed Chief Whip Mr Brian Bamford (Groote Schuur), who had warned earlier that they would "be getting out of this place" if Mr de Klerk did not withdraw the remark.

The altercation started as Mr le Grange, at the beginning of his speech, said that the South African Police's efforts to maintain law and order in the unrest areas were the "primary targets" of the PFP.

Mr de Klerk interjected that Mrs Suzman was a "saboteur of the police".

Rising on a point of order, Mr Bamford said that unless this was withdrawn "we are getting out of this place".

The chairman of the House, Mr Rex le Roux, ruled that the word was not, per se, unparliamentary unless it had a connotation attached to it, for example the country's security.

"I feel that, strictly speaking, the word 'saboteur' is not unparliamentary."

With the exception of Mrs Suzman and Mr MacIntosh, PFP members walked out. — Sapa.



Mr Brian Bamford warned:
"We'll leave this place."

Eglin outlines steps to avoid tyranny

STAK (3044)
4/4/86
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — South Africa had to take three major steps if it wanted to avoid the gloomy prospect of living under one or other form of tyranny, said leader of the Progressive Federal Party *Mr Colin Eglin*.

In a major speech during the Budget debate, Mr Eglin said the Government would have to take urgent and far-reaching steps to bring the country back to normality.

There were three areas where the battle for the future of South Africa would be won or lost:

- The scrapping of apartheid.
- An imaginative socio-economic reconstruction of society.
- A nonracial constitution with real sharing.

DEMOCRACY

The action taken by the Government in these areas would determine whether the country would have a Government based on democracy or tyranny, whether the economy was based on private initiative or Marxism, and whether society respected the freedom of the individual or placed people at the mercy of the mob.

Mr Eglin said there could be no compromise on the scrapping of enforced separation and discrimination.

Apartheid would not be eliminated as long as the Population Registration Act or any law incorporating compulsory race classification, remained.

Socio-economic reconstruction

would require a massive upgrading of black living conditions and positive action on housing, education, training, services and land.

The direct participation of all citizens in central government was the most critical issue on the political agenda.

This would only be achieved by joint decision-making on all issues by properly elected representatives in shared constitutional structures at all levels of government.

Local government and civil administration had collapsed in many parts of the country, alternative informal structures of power were evolving, the school system operated not at the command of the State but at the behest of pupils, townships were no-go areas for State officials except under guard and there was a massive disregard for and defiance of laws.

Mr Eglin said after a 25-year ban on the African National Congress, the people of the townships had for all practical purposes unbanned it.

The revolt could not be put down or turned back by the police and security forces.

And the more the Government relied on repression, the more white South Africans would find themselves in a state of internal siege and external isolation.

Hopes for a negotiated settlement providing protection for the rights of minorities would increasingly fade away.

Slabbert's plan is to 'undermine violence'

12/3/86 STAK 304A



Dr Slabbert ... not promoting any particular party.

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

Former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, has told University of Pretoria students he wants "to investigate outside Parliament how to undermine (ondergrawe) violence".

He told a lunchtime meeting organised by the Forum society on campus that, until South Africa broke its "spiral of violence", attempts at negotiation would founder.

Dr Slabbert listed three ways for returning stability:

- The discontinuation of the use

of force, "which has the effect of trying to hold down the lid on a boiling pot".

- The creation of opportunities so that communities can stabilise themselves.

- Getting rid of apartheid, allowing freedom of association, letting blacks organise internally and then negotiating, as the African National Congress asked.

Dr Slabbert said the third option was the most viable, but it did have risks — it could lead to an increase in strikes and consumer boycotts.

However, debate between the Government and the ANC was

vital as it affected everyone.

The current violence was affecting all South Africans, and threatened to destroy the country's human resources.

Dr Slabbert said his new aim since leaving Parliament was to talk to all parties involved in the political debate.

He said there must be debate among extra-parliamentary bodies on ending the violence.

Dr Slabbert said he was not promoting any particular party.

"I am not a UDF junkie or an ANC groupie. My patriotic response (to violence) is to talk to all parties in the matter."

CALL TIA'S
12/4/86
3661

Ban on ANC lifted — by the people

The End Conscription Campaign's photographic exhibition "Conflict in South Africa" is on view at the Baxter Theatre. It was opened by PROF COLIN BUNDY of the Department of History at UCT, who dealt with the issues of consent, coercion and the use of state violence. This is an edited extract of his speech.

ALL modern states rely upon their violent or repressive apparatus (police, armed forces) as the ultimate guarantor of the prevailing social and political order.

It is also true that in many societies recourse to the ultimate weapons is infrequent.

A whole series of less repressive institutions also serves to stabilize, perpetuate and guarantee the social order: courts and the legal system, the welfare provisions of government, shared values and commitments among the citizens, various degrees of political participations and electoral choice — and so on. All societies depend for their continuity on a mixture of consent and control, a combination of legitimacy and coercion.

South Africa for many decades has been a society in which the element of consent is fairly low and the element of coercion relatively high — but over the past 18 months this imbalance has become rapidly and significantly more lop-sided.

Increasingly, the South African state can preserve its continuity *only* by reliance on its armed forces: in many areas of the country, consent is bankrupt, coercion paramount. "Troops out of the townships" is no empty slogan, but one which addresses itself directly to the breakdown of legitimacy and its replacement by an undisguised, ubiquitous and direct repression.

The End Conscription Campaign has assembled some 200 photographs on the general theme of conflict in South Africa. These photographs also have a good deal to say about terrorism and about soft targets: well, so does the SABC, you might say. But let me define my terms. By terrorism, I am using the dictionary definition — the pursuit of political goals by intimidation and violence. This seems to me to describe fairly precisely the threat of state violence and the use of state violence on a massive scale.

As for soft targets: look at the photograph of the 11-year-old victim of the Thornton Road ambush shooting; look at the rows of coffins at the mass funerals; look above all at the disparity in firepower between the armed forces and an unarmed civilian population.

Many of the photographs speak of another reality in the townships: the emergence of the ANC as a major political force. Surely one of the most important developments of 1985 was the unbanning of the ANC — not by the state, but by the people.

Levels of anger

And if this seems alarming then I think it is appropriate to quote from a recent analysis of the ANC by its foremost scholar in South Africa, Dr Tom Lodge:

"The ANC has never employed a policy of indiscriminate terrorism. In the eight years of guerrilla warfare (since 1977) its civil cadres have on the whole attacked targets in such a way as to minimize the risk of civilian casualties. There have been deviations from this rule... but nevertheless the ANC has consistently refrained from bombing places in which large numbers of civilians can be expected to congregate."

Finally, many of the photographs also record the counterweight to state violence, the mounting levels of anger and resistance by the dominated majority.

This resistance takes many forms — and a number of these are reflected through the lenses of the photographers whose work is collected in the ECC exhibition.

A whole range of these would include the youths in the East Rand, peering round the corner of a building, with stones in their hands; the striking Samcor workers; the banners waved at the Cosatu launch; the dancing women in uniforms proudly proclaiming allegiance to a tradition of resistance; or the surging crowds as mass funerals, united not only in mourning for the fallen but equally in hope for the future.

The ECC, it seems to me, is an important movement. It rejects the unquestioning reliance by the ruling minority on continued and intensified use of state violence; it suggests that there are other paths to the future than down the cul-de-sac of townships occupation; it prefers a security based upon the shared aims and efforts of *all* South Africans to one based on the firepower of a beleaguered and militarized minority.

Capital flow seen when apartheid is abolished

204R (204R) E. 1081 12/4/86
GRAHAMSTOWN — Millions of rands would pour into South Africa for black upliftment if apartheid were abolished, according to a leading South African businessman, Mr Raymond Ackerman.

Delivering the graduation address at Rhodes University today, he said: "My contacts in overseas governments and business — and the way that they have responded to the present reforms — makes me very confident of what they would do if we really had apartheid abolished along with its concomitant evils."

Mr Ackerman said the Government has at last realised that the main long-term hope of combating radical Marxist ideas now gaining ground, was to create the basis for a property-owning democracy.

This had been demonstrated by the abolition of passes, restoration of citizenship, granting of leasehold and freehold rights and abolition of restrictions to black business — all destined to bring more and more blacks into the cash economy.

"The aim is to give them a tangible stake in their communities and a chance to devote their energies to self-improvement and upliftment."

And he said the business community had to redouble its efforts in this regard.

"The business commu-

nity has got to do far more in the fair employment practice arena, in providing houses and education for staff and in voicing and fighting for the principles enumerated above.

"The making of profits, important as it is, is certainly not the sole aim of business, which has an enormous role to play — and is playing a role — but certainly not sufficiently cohesively.

"The business community can influence overseas investors to back this country and create employment, because without employment we are going to have more and more poverty and more and more violence and in this way, we certainly will not encourage our youth to stay in South Africa.

"Overseas businessmen and governments from my own experience and my own contacts, are prepared to back this country if the Government would abandon apartheid.

"A mini Marshall Aid could be achieved where millions of rands could pour in for black upliftment, housing, education etc, which would follow the abolishment of certain of the apartheid laws.

"This is not a pipe dream."

As a pre-requisite to getting talks going with black leaders, he said, the Government had to abolish apartheid totally.

"The Government has to urgently and immediately abolish every aspect of apartheid.

"When they announce shortly in Parliament the promised eradication of the pass laws, this must be done clearly and precisely so that people can walk where they want and work where they want in South Africa.

"The Group Areas Act must be dismantled immediately so people can live where they want and go to school where they want.

"The detainees must be released and detention without trial must be eradicated from our system and the rule of law reintroduced.

"Then, and only then, can the Government meet with all real leaders to sort out a future political constitution which will meet the needs of a fair society flourishing in a multi-party and non-racial South Africa with protection for minority groups which make up this country of ours."

Mr Ackerman said he was dedicating his speech to the youth of South Africa because "the 'braindrain' at the present time is serious." So many young people were disillusioned and leaving to settle overseas and others were caught in the squeeze of reactionary behaviour which was affecting their education both at the school and university level," he said.

PFP bites back at Govt accusation

SMK

12/4/86

Political Staff

304A

PARLIAMENT — The Progressive Federal Party reacted sharply yesterday to Government accusations that it was undermining confidence in the role of Parliament in South Africa.

Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP Bryanston) said he could state "categorically" that the PFP believed Parliament was relevant and had a significant role to play in reform.

Speaking in the final stages of the House of Assembly's second-reading Budget debate, he accused members of the Cabinet of treating Parliament with contempt by their absence from the proceedings.

Pointing to empty seats of a number of Cabinet members, Mr van Rensburg asked: "Where are members of the National Party Cabinet who should be here to listen?"

He accused the absent Ministers of failing in their duty to the people of South Africa.

GHE Times
12/14/86 304M

'Abandon messy proposals'

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday called on the government to abandon its "whole messy set" of proposals for apartheid in local government.

The PFP's spokesman on local government and housing, Mr Pierre Cronje, said that at a time when it was clear that "the whole structure of apartheid is about to tumble", the division in each city and town into its ethnic components would be "sheer madness".

"The 'Own Affairs' components of town councils linked directly to the central government and hard services provided by non-elected Regional Service Councils will become an expensive administrative nightmare," he said.

The PFP, many town councils, organized business and "progressive organizations" had for a long time been "pleading with the government not to ram apartheid local authorities down our throats", Mr Cronje said.

In President P W Botha's home town of George, the mayor and the town clerk had realized the divisive nature of the government's proposals.

The Mayor, Mr Casper Heunis, and the Town Clerk, Mr Carel du Plessis, "openly pleaded" for a single town council with full representation of all races for George.

Police should only shoot in self-defence — Suzman

'Reckless' use of firepower condemned by the PTP

12/4/86 SPM

204A

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

While the police were perfectly entitled to defend themselves if attacked with lethal weapons, there was much evidence to suggest that there had often been a reckless use of firepower, Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Mrs Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Law and Order, was reacting to a statement in Parliament this week that the police would not hesitate to shoot if attacked with firearms or petrol bombs.

"Everyone understands that if the police are attacked with potentially lethal weapons like petrol bombs, they are entitled to defend themselves," Mrs Suzman said.

She added, however, that there was no need to open fire on people armed only with stones and there was more than enough evidence to suggest that many innocent people had suffered after the indiscriminate use of teargas.

"Innocent people who were not part of the violence have been killed and hurt."

According to Mrs Suzman the police in South Africa would do well to follow the example set by police forces in other countries.

"In a year of violence during the miners' strike in Britain, just two people died — and they were not killed by the police."

Mrs Suzman said she believed the use of firearms should be a last resort and not the first.

She added that no action was apparently taken against individual policemen who exceeded their powers.

IT IS, as always, the virulence that rivets.

The white-haired, impish man with the Charlie Chaplin walk, the harsh voice and electric gestures of the professional demagogue, has been in the extra-parliamentary wilds for 17 years.

Jaap Marais has seen his party lose elections and deposits like candyfloss caught in a Cape south-easter.

But in that time he has never given up — or forgiven.

After the toil of those years in exile, the party has at last arrived on the green benches — just as Parliament itself wanes at the primary crucible of change. Always the losers.

This week the Herstigte Nasionale Party held a well advertised get-together in the main Johannesburg City Hall.

It should have been a celebration of the party's Parliamentary debut, a paean to the growing new mood of rightism in white politics.

Improbable

It became, instead, a festival of the improbable, and even the pathetic.

For Jaap Marais and his party — despite the menace of their words and ruthlessness of their implications — are men in the middle.

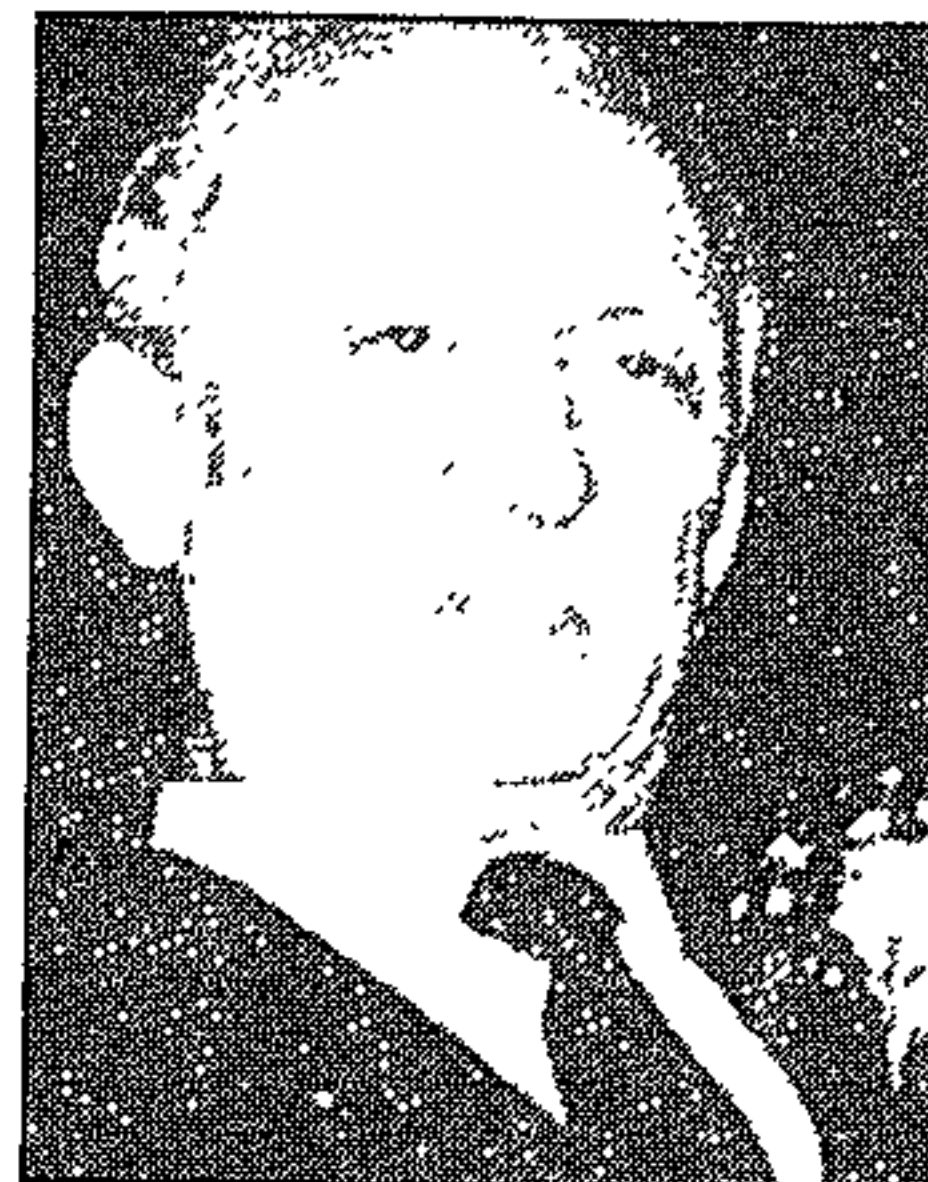
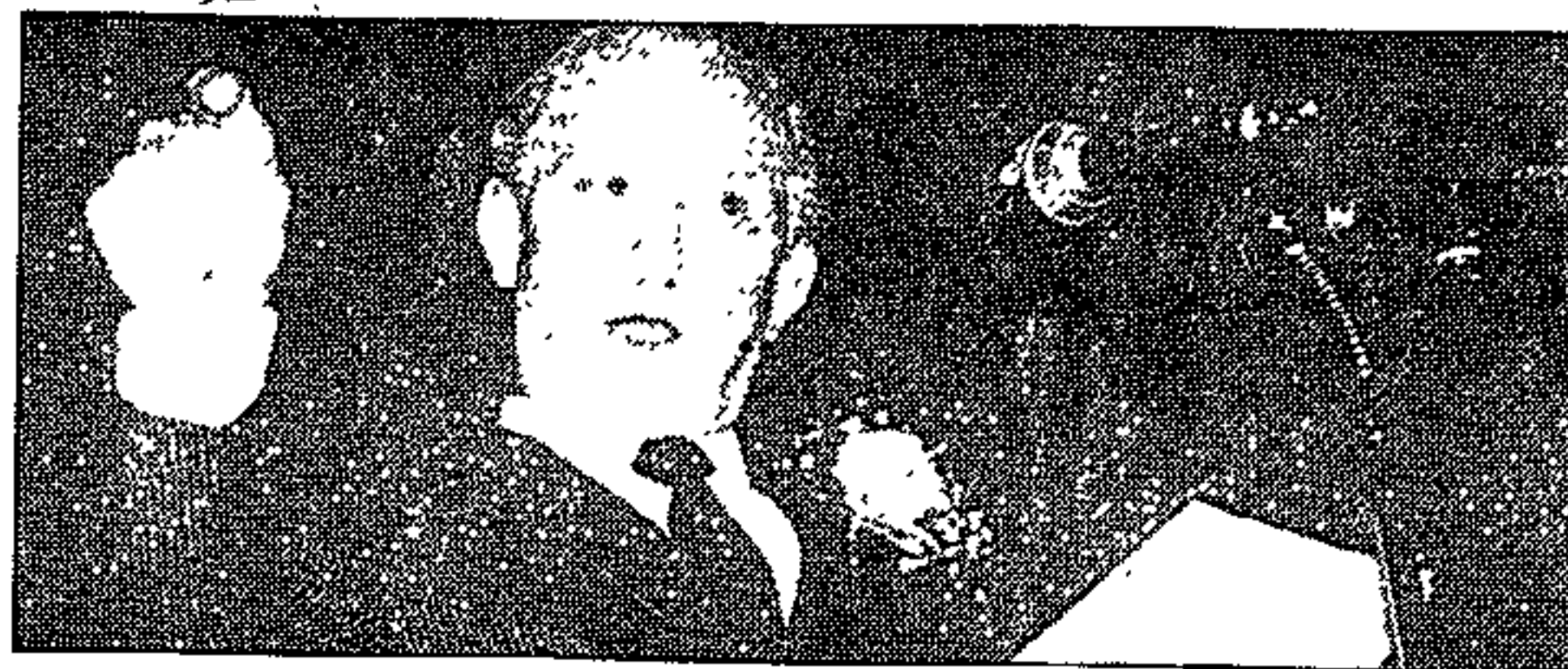
They stand caught between the pin-striped "respectability" of the Conservative Party and the khaki-clad militancy of the Afrikanerweerstandbeweging.

No more than 500 people turned out to listen to this once lone voice of white ultra-rightism. Perhaps a third of them were spectators.

A row of Wits students — wrists banded and hair tangled — exchanged ribald comments about the HNP's choice of introductory music; the theme from "2001, A Space Odyssey".

One of the audience sitting in front of them rises during the introductory prayer. As he bows his head his cardigan rides casually up to expose the holstered pistol nestling against the small of his back.

There are no further interjections from the students during the Marais speech — not even when other HNP supporters sitting behind them constantly taunt "Shoot Tutu", "Shoot Crocker", "Shoot Machel",



JAAP MARAIS, cultivator of conspiracies, in full oratorical flight

Jaap and cohorts finally end up . . . right in the middle!

"Shoot, shoot, shoot".

That was the menace.

The content of the speech remained desperately familiar: invocation of all the numerous devils that people the foetid universe of the far right — the communists, the capitalists, the liberals, the West, the East, the blacks, the Jews, the Government, the media.

Into such chaos the dema-

gogue is able to bring comfort: the vast conspiracy of these forces can be met only by self-reliance and force, all of it couched in a flaming racism that in other audiences might have visited the force of the law, yet here draws only bored looks from three pubescent policemen lounging in the foyer.

The iron fist (Marais advocates the summary shooting of

blacks caught outside curfew hours) draws its usual full-throated roar from its audience.

That was the ruthlessness.

It is no point denying the force of the anger or the violent potential of the threats. In other, and more dangerous, quarters the threats become impending reality. Vigilantism, counter-terrorism, suborning of elements in the security forces, are South Africa's own and real looming devils.

But there, in Johannesburg's City Hall, Jaap Marais' audience somehow belies the menace of the words.

Here are the horny-handed Afrikaner lumpenproletariat; eternally aggrieved, uninformed, deserted, diminishing. They remain trapped between fear and impotence.

They do not boast the sombre respectability of the Conservative Party leadership, the CP's farmers, lawyers and petty traders, the same who once were backbone to the National Party.

And neither, despite the best will in the world, can they muster the menace of Eugene Terre'Blanche's AWB, the khaki-clad outriders of further national discord.

Jaap Marais — probably one of the most rigorously honest politicians in the country — is aware, but appears caught by the trap.

He cannot forgive the Conservative Party leadership for its gutlessness in 1969 when he walked out of the National Party. Neither will he forgive the witch-hunts that Andries Treurnicht's men undertook thereafter through the Broederbond and other institutions.

But neither can he forget his background in constitutional politics. Eugene Terre'Blanche — the implicit violence of his movement's appeal — repels him and he will not indulge them.

The once ridiculed bogeyman of the far right and his party are now in the middle of the right — victims like so many others of the country's rampant polarisation.

And so Jaap's elderly men sit in Johannesburg's City Hall on the night of their celebration and shake ponderous heads in agreement with the flowing invective hurled by their leader at the devils. They taunt Wits students.

ON THE OUTSIDE

SPECIAL REPORT

HE presents himself with all the diffidence of a new boy in the class. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert in eight years had some memorable slanging matches with President Botha across the parliamentary floor.

But this week he mounted a United Democratic Front stage — his first appearance in his "extra-parliamentary" role — and faced quite another audience.

"I am an apprentice," he conceded.

To which UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe quickly replied that the UDF would give him the tools to help the hammer hit the nail.

Such joinery, of course, remains to be seen.

About 700 people crammed into Johannesburg's Selborne Hall — within shouting distance of where Jaap Marais spoke the night before.

And, despite the dedicated efforts of the police to get them out, gave a rousing reception to this prestigious new acquisition to the extra-parliamentary fold.

It was much the same Van (his suit perhaps a little more rumpled than in Parliament), the same academic style of delivery which for eight years launched no-confidence debates.

Even the content was similar — Slabbert in fact emphasised the point.

But the circumstances were vastly different.

Gone was the quiet serenity of the traditional PFP party meeting.

In its place the frenetic young UDF marshals in their canary yellow T-shirts; the huge "Release Mandela" banner that was unfolded from the gallery and temporarily submerged part of the audience at the back of the hall; the wall of foreign TV cameras lapping the speakers' table.

The meeting was twice interrupted by police attempts to persuade the audience to leave because of a bomb scare.

Slabbert sat patiently while an angry crowd roared "Out, Out!" at a police captain who looked rather like a sheepish Elliot Gould.

Teargas

In the foyer of the hall, reports went, police sprayed teargas, prompting Morobe to observe to the 50 per cent white audience that some of them might yet have the pleasure of tasting teargas, now common diet in the townships.

All in all, quite unlike Claremont.

At the end of the meeting Slabbert, flanked by Oom Beyers Naude, blind Zac Yakoob and Morobe, stood and sang the hauntingly beautiful alternative anthem of "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika".

The crowd of black and white students, activists, concerned white Johannesburgers (Barclays' Chris Ball was among them) sang or watched or discussed.

Slabbert has indeed stepped from the sanctuary of Parliament.

He insisted at the rally he would



FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT... enigmatic extra-parliamentarian

Away from Claremont, the same Van in a new role on a different stage

not denigrate his former colleagues left behind, most of whom he admired.

At question time he also said he would vote for Jan van Eck in his old constituency. Thus far, residual parliamentary commitments.

But where Slabbert hopes to stand in the sweeping vistas of extra-parliamentary politics is less easy to discern.

He spoke this week on a UDF platform, not as the proponent of any "party, movement or organisation", but promising to engage in dialogue

with anybody who wanted to exchange ideas.

Slabbert's speech was strong, effective and sincere — as always. But essentially Slabbert spoke for Slabbert.

The ethereal qualities of the world he is entering are apparent.

It is not that the UDF's enthusiasm is in doubt. The energy and boundless optimism of this week's meeting was if anything greater than the spirit which launched the UDF in Mitchell's Plain three years ago.

National Party members become

confused, liberals disillusioned and the white far-right militantly reactionary. The UDF, it seems, merely becomes more optimistic.

But — essential point — the UDF remains a loosely-knit affiliation of workers, community, petty bourgeoisie and political groups — as Morobe openly admits when pressed for details on its economic programme.

It is defined not by what it is but by what it is *against* — most immediately apartheid.

Danger

Can Slabbert's rigorous intellect long sustain debate with such amorphous? Put another way, could the UDF survive less amorphous?

The danger also lies in believing this week's impeccably organised and persuasively delivered rally under the auspices of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee reflects the gamut of UDF sentiment.

In darker corners of the country political rivalry has reduced some UDF-ism to outright gang conflict with other ideological groups.

That is not to disparage the whole movement, merely a caution showing the rhetoric of "democratisation", no less than its devalued NP equivalent of "reform", can suffer some bloody slips twixt cup and lip.

It is a lesson worthy of note by every good apprentice.



BEYERS NAUDE... calms audience while soothing a policeman

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert left Parliament two months ago to test the stormy waters of extra-parliamentary politics. Shortly before, the HNP under Jaap Marais won its first by-election, and after 17 years became parliamentary. This week, in the Johannesburg City hall, the two — both, in a way, spectators in the passing political show — explained themselves to vastly different audiences ...

SUNDAY TIMES, April 13 1986 13

LOOKING IN

BY BRIAN POTTINGER

13/4/86

3044

MR CHAIRMAN, we have a wonderful lesson to learn — the lesson of Africa.

The lesson of Africa, sir, is simple.

It is: unless one creates a democratic society while one can, one brings the outcome one most abhors.

Look at the pattern. Minority regimes do their best to avoid democracy. They set up all sorts of sham systems instead.

Naturally, some black forces reject these and wage revolution. Eventually minority rule comes to its obvious end. It cracks up, and a disorganised populace goes to the polls.

There is no network of civic leaders. There is worse than none, because those who participated in the old systems are discarded in the new.

There is no sense of continuity, with political players having won respect for their trustworthiness, ability to get the trains running on time, etc.

There is no social fabric, with clubs and societies and interest groups exerting influence, making trade-offs, and pursuing the loyalties and rivalries which are the stuff of an ordered society.

Instead, sir, the people are invited

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to cast their votes for a single Big Man in the capital. Hardly surprisingly, they choose the one who is identified as the bringer of liberation, the antithesis of what has gone before.

He then steps into a position of dominance, with nothing like an orderly system around him. If he does

ing to the aid of the party

3044

HIS BECKETT

of Frontline magazine
this draft speech FREE to
delegate at the National
s August Federal Congress
to discover how to get
Africa out of its mess

not succumb to the corruption of
power then it is by grace and good
luck, but no thanks to the charade of
democracy which the former re-
gime has bequeathed him.
When we see the travails of
Africa we should not say: "See what
happens when the blacks take over."
We should rather say: "See what

happens when a ruling minority kills
democracy."
What then happens if we create
democracy?
This means one single political
system, in which everyone is a whole-
ly equal citizen. Without that, we
don't have democracy. Politics con-
sists of fighting about the playing-
field instead of playing the game.
We do not need to gnash our teeth
and wail that our people do have
centuries of democratic heritage.
Democratic heritage counts for
nothing. If the political structure
compels democracy, then democra-
cy is what you get.
Look at the USA. The citizen of
Cleveland, Ohio, votes as a citizen of
Cleveland. He votes as a citizen of
Ohio. He votes as a citizen of the
USA.

This process is what makes the
USA work. If Cleveland offends
Ohio, Ohio can bring sanctions
against Cleveland.
If Ohio offends the USA, the USA
can bring sanctions against Ohio. If
the President of the USA sets out to
tread on the powers of the states or
the cities, he is laughed off the stage,
because the social fabric is too
strong to be broken.
Cleveland does not lightly offend
Ohio, because the citizens of Cleve-
land do not want their peace dis-
rupted. Ohio does not lightly bully
Cleveland, for the same reason. The
democratic process ensures that
reason and compromise prevail be-
fore violent conflict is reached.
Mr Chairman, democracy works
so well that we do not realise it
works. We think that the democra-

cies are "lucky"; that their citizens
are noble or pure. No, sir. The suc-
cess of democracy is the democratic
structure.
We have more stresses and
strains than the USA. So we need
more democracy. We need a fuller
web of democratic authorities. We
need fuller powers for local areas
and regions to do what they want to
do. We need a comprehensive pyra-
mid of local, regional, and national
power.
For all our years we Nationalists
have believed that our survival de-
pends on restricting black peoples'
political rights.
What I am calling for is the total
reversal of this approach. I am say-
ing that if we want the stability, the
prosperity, the security that democ-
racy brings, we abolish our claim to

rights as a separate group.
Sir, we know where South Africa
is standing. When one can come
across tough, hard, life-long Nation-
alists weeping with hopelessness,
one realises how ripe we are for a
democratic break.
People want something wholly
new. We want something that gives
hope. Reforms do not give us hope.
They do not remove the cloud of
"black takeover".
Promises of Kragdadigheid do not
give us hope. Even if we did not
detect a hollow ring, we do not re-
joice in a garrison state. Fancy con-
stitutional formulae do not give us
hope. We know they are temporary
conjuring tricks.
Democracy gives us hope. We
have only seen "black rule", and
have envisaged reverse oppression,

with the loss of everything we hold
dear — way of life, rights, security,
freedom, possessions, the lot.
Sir, we fear the forces which want
to make us chattels to do the bidding
of the black majority. Create de-
mocracy, and let those forces enjoy
their democratic rights to the full.
Let them go freely to the man in
the street and say to him: "Vote for
us, and we will drive out your
employer, and will get rid of the
doctors at your hospital; we will
drive millions of white people to
violent resistance."
Let them do this in a context
where there are power-wielding
political groupings throughout
society — local and regional group-
ings, rivals and allies and partner-
ships of convenience, ethnic and
non-ethnic and racial and non-racial
forces according to their own free
choice — handling the practical is-
sues of community life at every
level.
Much is still to be discussed, sir.
But let us now urgently, accept the
principle: democracy works for all
of us.
Let us now clearly and unequivocally
commit the National Party to
introduce a full, undiluted democra-
cy to South Africa.

Government in dramatic bid to end crisis

BLA CKS IN SOON?



Botha and Buthelezi: Will they sit in the same Cabinet?



The draft constitutional proposals of 1983 that led to the present tricameral system did make provision for the appointment of a non-parliamentary Cabinet member — but it was removed when opposition parties objected.

Government's major problem with this new move will obviously be to get candidates for the posts. The plan is apparently to get an urban leader and a leader connected with a non-independent homeland.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu is being hotly tipped as the first obvious choice, but there is concern within the party at the tense relations between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Botha — and scepticism whether the chief would accept without waffle-ranging reform commitments.

"To nip the threatening revolution in the bud," The Nationalist said, "it is necessary that white, brown and black democrats form an alliance against white, brown and black radicals who are threatening civilised order in South and Southern Africa."

The newspaper added that the present situation in South Africa could not continue, and "cooperative co-existence" was the only answer. The people had to know where the Government was taking South Africa.

"This is one of the most important reasons why the NP has decided to call a federal congress in Durban in August," The Nationalist stated.

It is generally believed in parliamentary circles that the congress will lead to a white referendum, possibly in late November this year.

Inclusion

There is strong speculation that Mr Botha may have considered announcing the inclusion of blacks into the Cabinet during his Rubicon speech in Durban last year.

But premature leaks and strong opposition from Mr Heunis against playing too many chips at once caused him to back out — thus precipitating the disastrous

Support

President Reagan's strong support of President Botha this week is widely seen as a prelude to the dramatic moves to appoint blacks to the Cabinet, hints of which may yet be made by President Botha during debate on his vote this week.

Immediately at issue is a proposed change to the constitution to allow Mr Botha to appoint Cabinet members who are not parliamentarians.

Some observers believe that Mr Reagan's surprisingly positive remarks in Washington this week indicate that the US Administration is expecting the new reform moves to be announced soon.

The appointment will be only a first step in further constitutional change.

Mr Chris Heunis's department is well advanced in drawing up a series of new constitutional proposals which could be put to the party congresses later this year.

Academics and experts in the National Party have made inputs to the committee and there are now strong indications that thinking is shifting towards some form of cantonal system — hence the importance of the Kwa-Natal indaba.

A hint of the new moves ahead came from the latest edition of the NP mouthpiece, The Nationalist.

By MAX DU PREEZ Political Correspondent

BLACKS could be serving in the South African Cabinet within a year as a first step towards creating a new political order.

The dramatic move is presently under consideration by the South African Cabinet and will most likely be put to the crucial National Party federal congress in August.

And senior sources within the National Party concede that the ill-fated National Statutory Council — announced by the President in January and universally condemned by blacks — is heading for the shelf.

The KwaNatal indaba, the sources also claim, is likely to be given the green light by the Government as the first step towards a proper decentralisation of power.

These remarkable developments come amid a deepening national crisis, growing impatience by "angry young men" in the NP caucuses and mounting Western pressure.

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Obviously, we should be headed down a different road, and if we took purposeful action we could be headed down a road towards a society based on liberal values, such as the Rule of Law, freedom of association, and multi-party democracy.

Fortunately we have not reached the stage in South Africa where we have to rebuild these values from scratch, because they have all survived, though in a very attenuated form.

Liberal values have survived

A critical Press, critical opposition parties, the English-language universities, courageous people on other campuses, and, I like to think, organisations like the South African Institute of Race Relations, have helped to ensure that liberal values have survived — so much so that a government which once regarded liberalism as a swear word is now at least paying lip-service to some of them.

So the landscape is not entirely bleak.

If we want to move down the third road we need to replace the present process of patchy reform with a much more purposeful strategy of

These are new aspects of apartheid that now have to be eliminated.

The starting-point of any strategy of political reconstruction must be to avoid imposing any new forms of apartheid.

Next on any list of components of a strategy for political reconstruction is education. Despite the substantial increases in government spending in the last 15 years on black education and a much more conciliatory approach by the black education authorities, the black education system remains gripped by crisis.

A necessary, though not sufficient, condition for putting matters right is to scrap educational apartheid. Introducing a single Ministry could be an important symbolic step in this direction.

Then there is the systematic removal of all other statutory apartheid. This must include its cornerstone legislation, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Land Acts.

A system of freedom of association will have to replace the present system of statutory imposition of racial identity and the attachment of differential rights depending on such imposed identities.

The removal of statutory apart-

to cope with black political dissent by putting in the boot.

The statute book has been blotted with one repressive law after another and vast sums have been spent on uniforms and guns and now helicopters.

We have spend huge sums on security, but people of all races are now feeling less secure about the future of this country than ever before.

Who could deny that for each rand we spend on security we get less and less of this commodity?

Broad strategy is needed

Any strategy of creating more space for black dissent needs to be broad enough to handle the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the banning orders on black political organisations. This nettle simply has to be grasped.

The deregulation of black politics so that all leaders and parties can operate freely and sell their wares in the political market-place is a necessary condition for a successful outcome of the process of negotiation to which the Government says it is committed.

IT IS a reflection of the profound uncertainty that so many people feel about the future of this country that scenario construction has almost become a growth industry.

One can contemplate three kinds of future: the first involves the collapse of the present Government and a violent takeover by revolutionaries. In my opinion this is the least likely, and the least desirable.

A revolutionary regime would tolerate neither multi-party democracy nor the rule of law — it probably would not tolerate trade unionism either — and the economic destruction that revolution would bring would make most blacks (and others) worse off materially than they are under white minority rule.

A necessary condition would be a switch of loyalty of the police and army to the left — but there is little chance of this.

Let us nevertheless be aware that a growing number of people in religious, academic, and newspaper circles regard revolutionary violence as respectable.

To my way of thinking this is every bit as alarming as the actual violence occurring around us. If you want an example of what I mean, compare the outrage universally expressed by many government critics against deaths in detention with their relatively muted protests against necklace executions.

The equilibrium of violence

The second scenario is a kind of perpetual stalemate in which violent revolt occurs in cycles or even on a more or less permanent basis, but never on a scale large enough to threaten the basic stability of the state.

This is a kind of violent equilibrium. It is accompanied by permanent emergency powers, in fact if not in name, increasing racial polarisation, growing international isolation, and an insatiable government appetite for tax revenues in efforts to maintain security and buy off revolt through socio-economic expenditure in black townships.

We are fairly far down this road already; some people believe that it is too late to turn back.

One of the factors that may prevent our turning back is state violence. "Riot control" methods frequently seem not only to alienate militant groups but also to antagonise moderate and even conservative township residents, who are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea.

State violence is doing terrible damage to prospects for political compromise and racial reconciliation in this country. It sometimes seems as if extreme rightwing elements have heavily infiltrated the security forces and become a law unto themselves.

I think we are headed down the road towards this second scenario.

Three routes to our future

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By
JOHN KANE-BERMAN
director of the South African
Institute of Race Relations

political reconstruction, based on these values.

It has been argued that Mr P W Botha has introduced more reforms than any head of government since Union.

Any objective analysis would show this to be true — except that the reforms that have taken place have been greatly overshadowed by the entrenchment of apartheid in the 1983 constitution and the imposition of the crazy structure of "own affairs".

An important

heid must extend to the political sphere, so my next imperative is a commitment by the Government to the creation of a political system that has legitimacy.

Until the crossing is made there is little chance of getting real negotiation with a broad enough spectrum of black political leaders off the ground.

The last imperative is the devising of a sensible strategy for accommodating black political dissent. Such a strategy has to be based on liberal principles.

It can hardly be denied that the strategy adopted over the past 25 years has been massively counter-

This year's suspect Budget

There is only one thing that can be said with any certainty about this year's Budget. Any similarity between what eventually happens and what is forecast will be purely fortuitous.

The Budget can be analysed from various points of view.

The first is to ask, what is in it for the public? Some middle and upper-income taxpayers, mostly white, would feel that this was a satisfactory budget because tax rates have been reduced.

However, that does not tell the whole story as far as the taxation of individuals is concerned.

In the previous tax year it is estimated that the Government collected R8,52 billion from individual taxpayers. This year, even after the abolition of the surcharge and the five percent rebate, the Government is budgeted to collect R10,253 billion.

Unless there is a dramatic increase in the number of individual taxpayers, which is unlikely, fiscal drag will ensure that each person will be paying more tax this year.

Forecast

The second viewpoint is to look at the Government forecast of financial and economic conditions for the following year. This Budget, however, has lost credibility as a serious indication of the Government's economic intentions.

Each year figures are given for expenditure which all of us know will never be met. In 1984/5, budgeted expenditure was meant to increase by 11,4 percent. It turned out to be 22,5 percent. For 1985/6 we were told that expenditure was going to increase by 11,4 percent. It actually increased by 21,6 percent.

There is only one thing that we can say with certainty about this Budget: any similarity between what eventually happens and what is forecast to happen is purely fortuitous.

Indeed, this year's Budget is more suspect than most foreign exchange losses of R2½ billion have not been included, the voluntary overall cut of two percent will be impossible for labour-intensive departments to achieve unless they lay off staff.

If businessmen cannot rely on the Budget for a guideline, what can they rely on? They hate uncertainty.

When there is uncertainty, investment is curtailed and fewer

... and the economic decline in SA over the past decade

This is an edited version of the speech made by Mr Brian Goodall (right), the Progressive Federal Party MP for Edenvale, during the Budget debate.



jobs are created. In a period of increasing instability and uncertainty, the Budget now adds to that instability rather than reducing it.

The third viewpoint from which one can analyse the Budget is the likely impact that it will have on the South African economy.

The recent economic background is dismal and has been so for the past few years.

If one looks at the statistical economic review which accompanies the Budget, one notes comparative figures for 1975 to 1985. They show how little economic progress we have made. Indeed, in many areas we have regressed despite the benefits of a gold boom.

Between 1975 and 1985 our gross domestic product grew by 1,8 percent annually in real terms. This is way below our rate of population increase.

Standard

Consequently, whereas in 1975 our GDP per person was R2 064, by 1985 it had actually declined to R1 946.

In 1975, as a nation, South Africa bought more furniture and household appliances than we did in 1985, despite the fact that our population was larger by about a quarter.

And that surely, must say something about what was happening to the standard of living of most South Africans.

These statistics show a stagnant economy failing to cope with the needs of a rapidly increasing population.

What was the Government's reaction? It taxed more.

In 1975 direct taxes were equal to 8,6 percent of personal disposable

income. By 1985 the percentage had risen to 13,3. But even an ever increasing tax burden was not enough to meet this Government's need to spend. It resorted to debt.

In 1975/6 the interest on the public debt accounted for 4,9 percent of government expenditure. Ten years later it accounted for 14,2 percent.

We now spend the same on servicing debt as we spend on welfare services, pensions and public health combined.

But, as we are seeing, you cannot fuel our economy through debt.

Unemployment

Nor is the situation likely to change in the long term. Before you can create economic wealth, you need to invest.

In 1985 real gross domestic fixed investment in South Africa was less than in 1975.

In 1985 investment in agriculture was 57 percent less than in 1975, manufacturing 14 percent less, and in community, social and personal services 33 percent less.

Without investment fewer jobs are created and unemployment increases. This is exactly what is happening in South Africa. Between December 1984 and December 1985, the number of whites, Indians and coloured people registered as unemployed rose by 90,9 percent. Among Indian women, the number of registered unemployed rose by 235,6 percent.

The number of registered unemployed blacks — which we know is only a small portion of the total — increased by 63,6 percent.

It is sobering to note that the number of people employed in the

manufacturing sector at the beginning of 1986 was at the same level as it was in 1975.

If one looks at the construction industry, the situation is even worse. Today the construction industry employs 95 000 people fewer than it did in 1975.

The Government now rushes around trying to create jobs. Does it not realise the havoc that its economic policies have caused?

They have led to the de-industrialisation of South Africa. Today the manufacturing sector contributes slightly less to the GDP than it did in 1975.

Instead of trying to adjust the structure of South Africa to the changing world environment in which we find ourselves, the Government relied essentially on interest rate policy to make the necessary adjustments.

Collapsed

What happened is that the rates of interest became penal rates for many and death rates for some. Businesses collapsed, jobs were lost, investment plans were postponed or scrapped. The burden, moreover, was borne by the private sector, not the public sector.

In 1975, the public sector accounted for 22,9 percent of South Africa's GDP. In 1985 it accounted for 29,2 percent.

The fastest growth was in the area of State capitalism. Public corporations' contribution to the GDP has more than doubled, from 5,9 percent in 1975 to 12,2 percent in 1985.

While the level of employment in

the manufacturing sector did not grow in 10 years, the level of employment by the central government over the same period had increased by 40 percent.

Much has been said about salaries in the public sector. Some were certainly doing OK.

A breakdown of individual tax by employment groups shows that the percentage collected from those employed by the government services sector has increased from 16,8 percent in 1982 to 19,2 in 1984.

In contrast, the contribution of the commerce sector has declined over the same period from 16,8 percent to 13,3.

Despite all the talk about privatisation over the past year and a half, we still await with interest to see something actually privatised.

The public sector was, and still is, crowding out the private sector.

A recent study on Third World economics contrasts developments in South Korea and Ghana. In 1962 both had the same GDP per capita. Both had the same percentage of the labour force in agriculture. Both were heavily reliant on the export of primary products. Twenty years later the per capita GDP of South Korea was five times that of Ghana.

Investment

It is not insignificant that in Ghana credit to the public sector was equal to 49 percent of the GDP. In South Korea it was two percent.

In 1985 the public sector in South Africa accounted for 55 percent of gross domestic fixed investment.

Today, because of this Government we are nothing more than an exporter of primary products. We are more reliant on gold to pay for our imports than we were 20 years ago. We live in hope that some disaster will befall the world.

If that disaster does not come, we are in trouble.

The industrialised world seems to have learnt how to combine moderate economic growth with low inflation. People are either working faster and more efficiently, or they are learning to do more with the same. We are doing exactly the opposite, the same with more.

More houses of parliament, more governments in South Africa, more MPs, more Cabinet Ministers, more government departments, more government employees.

That is why the role of the public sector in our economy is growing bigger and bigger.

It is the very policy of duplication and separation which is one of the prime factors in destroying our ability to grow the economy.

The irony is that apartheid was meant to bring political peace to South Africa. Today, the streets of many South African towns burn because of it.

It was apartheid which was meant to protect the white man's wealth. And yet, each year whites get poorer and poorer in real terms.

Inflation

In 1985 remuneration for employees rose by 9,8 percent. A few percent of that went in tax, 16,2 percent went in inflation. In real terms the average man was poorer.

The irony is that the very system that was meant to protect the wealth of whites is making them poorer, because it is one of the most inefficient ways of managing a modern economy. It stifles economic growth, as we have learnt in South Africa.

Thus Budget does not even attempt to address the long-term economic problem facing South Africa. What we have here is some tinkering on the old economic machine. A machine that is rapidly wearing out.

Perhaps we should know by now that we should not have expected anything better.

But it is sad that — with South Africa's mineral and natural resources — we are producing less today per person than we were 10 years ago.

I ask the Government, is this the best you can do? If it is, then it is best for South Africa that you be gone.

P W expected to scrap pass laws and influx control

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha is expected to take the country significantly further down the road of reform when he replies to the debate on the budget vote of the State President in Parliament next week.

Although Mr Botha may choose to speak only on the last day of the debate, on Monday April 21, government sources have indicated that he will use the opportunity to make the long-expected announcement on the scrapping of the pass system and the substitution of a programme of "orderly urbanisation".

Undertaking already given

In a national advertising campaign, the President has already undertaken to axe the influx control system by July 1.

"In the near future, existing influx control measures will be abolished in favour of a system of urbanisation that applies to all South Africans. Our policy is one of encouraging development, not controlling movement," Mr Botha said.

Nationalist MPs are saying privately that the country will not be disappointed with the new system.

But the entire adult black population is anxious to see if influx control and pass laws are genuinely to be scrapped.

Any system which seeks to restrict the free movement of people will almost certainly be greeted with anger and frustration.

Sources have indicated that the new system will not do this. But there are indications that the Government will continue to regulate strictly the erection of squatter camps so that, unless people have approved accommodation, they will not be allowed to flock to the cities with nowhere to live.

Mother, children injured in crash

A woman and her three children were seriously injured after she apparently lost control of her car during an asthma attack and crashed into a tree in Brakpan on Saturday night.

Mrs C de Beer of Springs and her children Nicky (14), Danle (6) and Ronel (4) had been visiting relatives.

A fire department spokesman said jaws of life were used to release the family.

They were taken to the Far East Rand Hospital. — East Rand Bureau.

Also imminent is the introduction in Parliament of legislation providing for the replacement of blacks' reference books with a uniform identity document which everyone, regardless of race, will have to carry.

This will involve fingerprinting the entire population.

Still to come this session is legislation to return South African citizenship to millions of blacks who lost their citizenship when the homelands became independent, and to establish new multiracial executive structures in place of the provincial administrations.

Women in business better off

SINCE the last Budget a family would be better off in many cases if the husband stayed at home and the wife went out to work, says tax consultant Costa Divaris.

The fact that 20% of a wife's gross earnings are now tax free means that it pays for her to earn a larger salary than her husband or to own and run the family business.

Divaris said at a tax seminar in Cape Town that if a wife went into business she should do so as an individual and not form a close corporation.

If she formed a close corporation she would lose her tax advantage and her profits would be taxed at the rate of 50%.

Divaris' Michael Stein said that if a wife ran an unsuccessful business, closed it down and then took a job for the remainder of the year the assessed loss she had incurred through the business became her husband's assessed loss because he was the taxpayer, and 20% of the wife's gross income from her job would still be tax-free. — Sapa.

Scrap apartheid now

2041 BUS DAY
Ackerman

Own Correspondent

PICK 'n PAY chairman Raymond Ackerman has appealed to government to abolish immediately every aspect of apartheid and the Group Areas Act.

He was speaking at the weekend at the second of Rhodes University's annual graduation ceremonies. He dedicated his address to the youth of SA.

He was awarded a Doctor of Laws (honoris causa) degree by the university.

Ackerman also called for the release of all detainees, eradication of detention without trial and for the rule of law to be re-introduced.

Then and only then, can government meet with all real leaders to sort out a future political constitution which will meet the needs of a fair society ... with protection for minority groups," he added.

Ackerman also appealed to black leaders to meet white leaders to save the future of SA and its youth.

Medics attempt to create Marxist regime — claim

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

A VERY small group of medical practitioners in South Africa were starting to play a role in revolutionary attempts to create a Marxist regime, the Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said today.

In a copy of a speech released in Cape Town, Dr van Niekerk warned that doctors involved would be "dealt with by the Government".

His warning follows the arrest in Durban of a doctor in connection with bomb blasts in the city.

Dr van Niekerk said a "new radical wing with a front structure quite similar to the Congress Alliance of the 1950s and early 1960s was being created.

"Although ostensibly fighting apartheid, it actually aims to condition the country for a revolutionary take-over by a Marxist regime.

"Unwitting tools"

"Some are unwitting tools in this effort ... but let us make no mistake about it, the Communist Party and its puppet, the ANC, is clearly behind some of the organisations."

A disturbing element was developing among a small group of medical practitioners.

"These individuals are actively fostering and participating in revolutionary activities.

"The doctor who is committed to his patients and community does have the opportunity within the democratic process to play a constructive role in bringing about socio-economic change.

"We must remember, however, that no citizen — and that includes medical practitioners — are above the law of the country."

Breytenbach lays down challenge to Afrikanerdom

BUS DAY 14/4/86 3041A

BREYTEN BREYTENBACH went to Pretoria on Saturday night to throw down a gauntlet of hope.

The writer had come to SA to collect the R15 000 *Rapport* prize for literature for his anthology, "Yk".

He said after release from prison three years ago that he would never return and that he would never again write in Afrikaans.

A portion of the prize money, he said, would be made available to helping political prisoners.

Comparing himself to a lost son come home to his dead father's farm, the man who is one of white SA's foremost exiles told a State Theatre audience crammed with Afrikaner

Business Day Reporter

theologians, intellectuals, academics and media personalities that their churches were morally bankrupt and government had lost its right to exist.

"They push God about as though he was a Casspir," he said of the Afrikaans churches.

SA has often heard — and ignored — the accusations, fears and warnings which Breytenbach detailed in a calm and passionate speech.

Breytenbach, speaking in Afrikaans, declared he was an Afrikaner.

"Call it Azania if you must. It makes no difference."



● BREYTEN BREYTENBACH and his wife, Yolande

He added: "I reject with all conviction the fatalistic destiny theory which would make us (Afrikaners) first murderers, then suicides."

Afrikanerdom could and would create a new reality and would be able to answer the challenges; kill apartheid rather than its victims.

Breytenbach mingled with guests at a reception after his speech.

He was button-holed by prominent but angry members of the Afrikaans churches, journalists, and others.

Others on the *Rapport* prize shortlist were Elisabeth Eybers, Ernst van Heerden, Corlia Fourie and T T Cloete.

Part of Breyten's prize will aid prisoners

PRETORIA. — Afrikaans poet and former political prisoner Breyten Breytenbach said here on Saturday night that he would donate part of his R15 000 literary prize money to aid political prisoners.

He was receiving the first Rapport Prize for Literature.

The audience of about 500 mainly Afrikaans authors, publishers and literary figures erupted into applause and eventually gave him a standing ovation.

The poet seemed overcome.

Bouquet

His Vietnamese-born wife, Yolande, was also invited on to the stage and presented with a bouquet of flowers.

Mr Breytenbach, 46, seemed unchanged since he was released from Pollsmoor Prison in December 1982, with his hair, moustache and beard greying.

Mr Breytenbach thanked the newspaper for promoting literature, Afrikaans literature in particular, and said he considered it a special honour to have been chosen as the first winner.

Immediately after accepting the prize money, he said he would use part of it to help political prisoners, but gave no details of how the money would be used.

He also joked about being able to speak, of all places, in Pretoria, the city where he was on trial in 1976 and sentenced to seven years'



Breyten
Breytenbach

imprisonment on charges of terrorism.

After the presentation, he was interviewed by the BBC and told Britons that he found despair and confusion among many Afrikaners today.

He said there had been a breaking loose of the guidelines that used to exist with nothing to replace them.

This was evident among the Afrikaners with whom he mixed.

In answer to a question, he said he was not compromising his stand against apartheid by accepting a prize in Pretoria. As a native-born South African, if he had any contribution to make it was that he could still get some ideas across to those in South Africa like him.

He said he believed that, historically speaking, this was one of the last times that something could still be said.

Speaking of his jail term, Mr Breytenbach said he did not regret the reasons that made him do what he did.

He said one of the things he had learnt was the inevitability of change that had to come in South Africa. If the authorities needed to put people as ineffectual as he was in jail for such long periods of time, it must mean that the changes looming were very profound.

Attack

The poet launched a savage attack on British investors in South Africa. He said: "If only we could get the British leeches, the bloodsuckers, to let go of the fat profits and start living up to their pretence of moral rectitude."

He added: "If one day it is decided that apartheid is a crime against humanity, I would cite successive British governments as accomplices to the crime."

They were not the only ones in Europe, and he wouldn't leave out America. They all continued to bolster the South African Government while pretending to be upset, to be "so hurt and concerned" about human rights in South Africa.

Mr Breytenbach said he himself could not support violence. But he could not see how changes were going to come in South Africa without some violence. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

"Now they have the illusion of education."

PE toll road running at loss — Malcomess

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The tolls on the N2 highway, near Port Elizabeth, are costing more than they earn, says Mr John Malcomess, Opposition spokesman on transport.

From June 1984 to February 1986, the concessionaires who operated the tolls were paid R716 000, he said in the debate on the Transport vote.

EXCESSIVE

"First, that seems excessive. Second, the remaining income of R640 000 would not cover the in-

terest on the cost of erecting the toll-collecting facilities."

In the year ended March 1985, this interest was R874 000, representing a loss of R358 000.

For the second successive year, the National Road Fund had spent less than it had collected through levies on petrol.

"And yet we keep increasing the levy on petrol. The income last year was R258 million and we spent only R162 million, while everyone complains that there is no money to maintain the national roads, let alone build new ones."

Linking up on Indaba

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The National People's Party and Solidarity are to form a joint committee to discuss issues arising from the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba.

The NPP is the majority party in the House of Delegates and Solidarity is the Official Opposition.

Leaders of the two parties held a meeting in Cape Town last night to discuss the establishment of the committee.

NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi said the move signified the adoption of a common approach between the parties.

New third parties: Govt accused of

Breytenbach calls for freedom, justice in SA

Staff Reporter

BREYTEN Breytenbach, the self-exiled Afrikaner poet, has reiterated his commitment to sharing his R15 000 Rapport literature prize with an organisation caring for the families of political prisoners.

Although he did not name the organisation, it is believed to be the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

The poet, who received the award in Pretoria at the weekend, confirmed his pledge on a public platform at the University of the Western Cape last night.

He also called for socialism, fraternity, freedom, justice and tolerance in a new South Africa.

After speaking in Afrikaans with a soft French accent against the blackboard chalked with pro-African National Congress, South African Communist Party and United Democratic Front slogans, Breytenbach received a standing ovation at the end of his speech-cum-poetry-reading and discussion session from an enthusiastic audience who included Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and author Dr Richard Rive.

Looking relaxed and sporting a grey beard, Breytenbach said South Africa was in a process of replacing the old regime.

"We are living in exciting times. We are watching the old regime falling apart. One can feel the freedom taking effect," he said.

He said minimum requirements for freedom in the new order were freedom, justice and tolerance.

"We must have socialism and fraternity as well. But these two requirements are my own," he said.

Asked if he was prepared to sacrifice his life to liberate South Africa, he replied: "If a child is prepared to throw a stone at a Casspir, what justification do I have in not using everything inside me to fight the system?"

"I am not in favour of violence. But apartheid is violent and can be ended only through violence."



Breyten Breytenbach, the Paris-based Afrikaner poet, addressing students and academics at the University of the Western Cape last night.

Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

15/11/86 SATURDAY (304A)

Rights Bill 'impossible'

A BILL of Rights presupposed economic and political change and its absence highlighted the circumstances which made it impossible, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert told a packed audience at a panel discussion at the University of Cape Town last night.

He was speaking at a law conference with Professor Denis Davis, of the UCT law faculty, and Professor Lourens du Plessis, from Potchefstroom, on "Will an entrenched Bill of Rights guarantee social justice in South Africa?"

Slabbert, former leader of the

Own Correspondent

Progressive Federal Party, said both substantive and procedural human rights were "violated and disregarded" and that the "constitution makes it impossible for rights to be adhered to".

"To plead under these circumstances (for a Bill of Rights) is unrealistic unless there is massive change or it will be of very little consequence to the people."

"To use as a band-aid to plonk on a social situation could aggravate matters," he said.

1948 BUS DAY 2041

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"To use as a band-aid to plonk on a social situation could aggravate matters," he said.

HNP asks Govt to bring back state of emergency

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg) yesterday called on the Government to re-introduce a state of emergency.

He said he wished to warn the Government that whites would "protect themselves" if they gained the impression their safety was no longer guaranteed.

Speaking in the Budget debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Stofberg urged the Government to use "all the means at its disposal", including the Defence Force and the police, to bring an end to unrest and violence.

COUNTER-ACTION

Since the lifting of the emergency, white people in some areas had begun a "counter-action" and it would be a mistake to under-estimate their reaction to the violence.

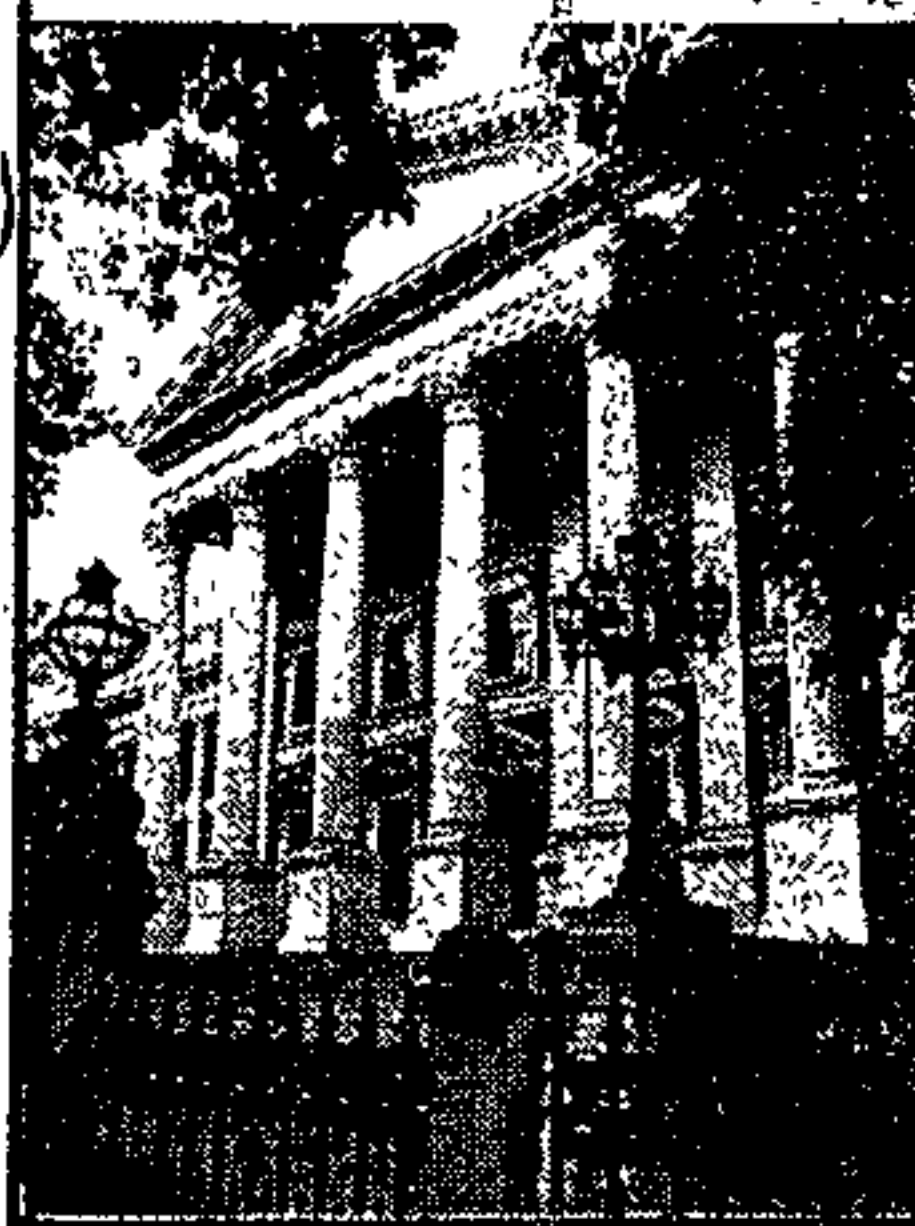
The Government had failed to see that the United States was "part and parcel" of a total onslaught against the country, Mr Stofberg said.

If the President failed to take the lead in restoring order, he would go down in history as the man who had not only divided Afrikanerdom, but who had failed to maintain order in a time of crisis.

Reacting to Mr Stofberg's address, Mr Andre Fourie (NP Turffontein) said when President Botha warned about the "total onslaught", he had been mocked by the HNP and the Conservative Party.

The right-wing parties should accept the solution lay in negotiation rather than in counter-violence, Mr Fourie said.

PARLIAMENT '86



Separate facilities row flares

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Conservative Party has accused the Government of breaking its promise to provide separate dining facilities for members of the different Houses.

A row about the dining-room apartheid issue flared in the House of Assembly during yesterday's debate on Parliament's budget vote.

Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said it appeared as if the three-chamber system of Parliament was dying and a "Third World system" rising "from its ruins."

Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said a "macabre comedy" was being experienced. The PFP, which had always been in the forefront of demands for open parliamentary facilities, was now silent.

It had run the "once-mighty National Party into the dust."

The NP — "like a flock of sheep" — had been led to the "cliff of integration."

The Government had allowed itself to be "trampled by a few coloured demonstrators."

Chief Whip of Parliament Mr Alex van Breda (NP Tygervallei), said it was "a tragic day" when there were recriminations about parliamentary facilities "at this stage".

Questions and answers

PARLIAMENT — It was estimated that 48 percent of television sets in the country were unlicensed at the end of 1985 at a loss of about R7.3 million to the SABC. Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said yesterday in written reply to a question from Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton).

A R281 147 flat has been bought in Cape Town for official accommodation for the Chairman of the Commission for Administration, said the Minister of Communications and Public Works, Dr Lapa Munnik in reply to a question by Mr Alf Widman (PFP Hillbrow).

A further R17 900 had been spent on modernisation of the flat at Twin Towers in Three Anchor Bay.

Three Defence Force members may have been made ill by the poison BHC, used against the locust plague.

A ban was placed on the making of BHC in 1981, but the Government used a strategic supply kept in stock since 1974.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, confirmed yesterday that about 4 000 tons of BHC had been used in recent weeks.

Replying to questions by Mr Roger Hulley (PFP), Mr Wentzel said labourers applying the poison were issued with masks and dust goggles.

He said stocks of BHC were now virtually exhausted. Other products had become available and were being phased in.

General Magnus Malan, the Defence Minister, said no special protective equipment was issued to SADF personnel helping in the fight against locusts, but they did have protective overalls.

General Malan said: "Three members showed symptoms of stomach cramps, coughing and headache, similar to 'flu, which may possibly have been caused by the poison".

When it comes to the National Intelligence Service, President P W Botha can keep a secret.

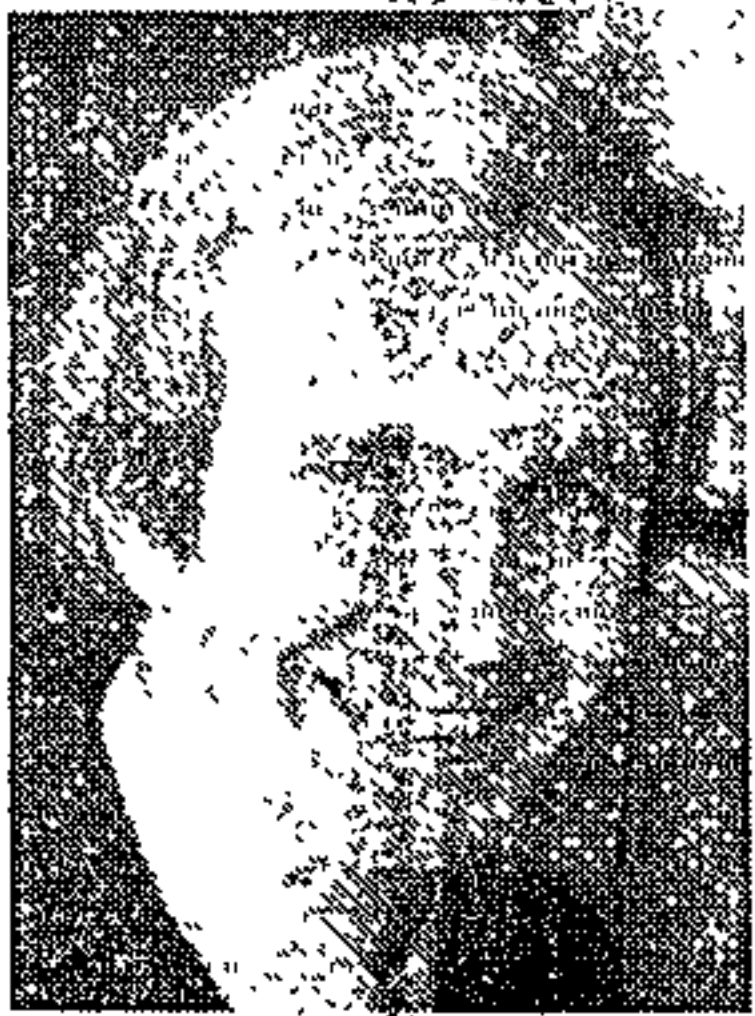
The PFP's Mr Mike Tarr asked the President yesterday about the authorised staff establishment of the NIS and how many people it employed.

But Mr Botha said the question concerned a security matter as defined in the Protection of Information Act.

"I am not prepared to discuss something which relates to the functions of the National Intelligence Service in public," Mr Botha said in a written reply.

A vessel was being built for the SADF at a cost of R76 million, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok said in reply to a question by Mr John Malcomess (PFP Port Elizabeth Central).

The original estimate in 1982 had been R51 million but had now escalated to R76 million. — Sapa



Minister Barend du Plessis
... no cultural differences

Minister admits 'no difference'

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday that he saw no cultural difference between himself and the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr du Plessis is classified white; Mr Hendrickse, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, is classified coloured.

Mr du Plessis made the concession during the Budget debate in the House of Delegates in response to a question from Opposition MP Mr Pat Poovalin-

gam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills).

Mr Salaam Abram-Mayet (NPP, nominated) had earlier taken the Minister to task for suggesting that the rationale for racially separate education was the desirability of mother-tongue instruction.

Why then, Mr Abram-Mayet had asked, were there not separate state schools for Greeks, Portuguese and Hebrew-speaking white children?

Most coloured people, he said, shared the same mother-tongue and church as did most Afrikaners.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse
... only colour difference

SPARK
16/4/80 3047

There is a passage in a recent article by that most refined of South African writers, JM Coetzee, which reveals one of the great crimes that the Nationalist Government has committed against the people of this nation.

"It is one of the bitterest consequences of the decades-long suppression of black dissent," Coetzee writes, "that ordinary whites now not only have no one with whom to imagine negotiating their future, but have not the vaguest idea of what blacks might be prepared to settle for."

Coetzee is writing in *The New York Times* magazine about a series of conversations he had with Afrikaner verligtes who are living, as he puts it, "in a country seething with black anger" with everything around them in ferment.

He is struck by their "shifting fears", realising that change is coming, knowing that their generation must make huge adjustments, but not knowing what to expect. One moment they imagine a future social order much like the present one but without the racial laws; the next they are overcome by darker fears of life as an unwelcome minority in the land of their birth.

What an appalling prospect, having to come to terms with the unknown, not even knowing what to fear. If it is disorienting the verligtes, imagine what it is doing to the more conservative spirits among our ruling group.

This is a wicked disservice to the people of South Africa. They face a challenge as daunting as any in history. Ahead lies the prospect of a race war which, as Breyten Breytenbach has put it, will "sweep like a firewind through the subcontinent" destroying all before it, not least the Afrikaner Volk.

To avoid that awful prospect requires a leap of faith by which the estranged people of this land must commit themselves to trust one another.

Yet we are kept in enforced ignorance of the people we must

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

trust. Worse still, the vacuum of ignorance is filled with the poison of propaganda to increase mistrust. As a deliberate act of State policy, it is made more difficult for our people to contemplate the leap of faith necessary to avoid self-destruction.

Years ago an Afrikaans newspaper editor warned that the time would come when his people would have to recognise that the African National Congress was the National Party of the black man. That time is now.

There can be no doubt that the ANC is the organisation that has captured the hearts and minds of the great mass of the black population.

Every reporter who has been in the townships over the past 20 months covering the unrest, talking to the people and sensing the mood of the huge funeral rallies with their flags and banners and revolutionary songs, knows that.

This is true not only of the big urban townships but of little dorps all over the country, and increasingly of some "homelands". It is a firewind of its own spreading across the veld, raging faster with every teargas canister and shotgun cartridge discharged by the police in their crude attempts to extinguish fire with fire.

What it means is that there can be no solution to the racial conflict

The heavy price of ignorance

in this country that is not subscribed to by the ANC. Many thoughtful whites, including some Nationalist newspaper editors and MPs now realise this, which is why there is such a steady pilgrimage to Lusaka.

Yet the Government maintains its ban on the ANC, preventing white South Africans from knowing about the organisation, preventing them from getting the measure of the people they must come to terms with, preventing them, as Coetzee wrote, of getting some idea of what blacks might be prepared to settle for.

Instead the Government has demonised the ANC, filling the information vacuum with a sustained propaganda smear, that includes allowing a few selected quotes which reinforce the demon image to be published — a form of wilful distortion to which our newspapers, to their shame, have lent themselves.

I have recently returned from a week of detailed conversations with the ANC that included the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and six other members of the national executive.

It was my fourth meeting with them in two years, and each time I have been filled with wrath at being able to report on the conversations for foreign readers while the law requires me to keep you, the South

Africans who so desperately need to know, ignorant of them.

I can only say that the impression gained from the conversations could hardly be more different from the image projected by Mr Louis le Grange and his predecessors over the past quarter century.

These are neither bloodthirsty monsters nor rigid ideologues. I have found them to be intellectually impressive, personally likeable and surprisingly pragmatic.

Above all, I have found them to have a passionate commitment to non-racialism. It is not their intention to turn the tables of racial oppression, but they are determined not to preserve racial privileges. They want the defining of race groups as such eradicated in the equivalent of a denazification process.

Though I do not agree with all their positions, I find those positions logical and well thought out. I also find that they are not as rigidly held as I expected, and that among the leading figures I have met there is a considerable range of views that seem to be accommodated with a good deal of tolerance.

Yes, there are communists among them, but then I am old enough to remember that there were Nazis in the National Party of the forties.

Nationalist parties fighting for the emancipation of their people will always seek powerful allies abroad, and sometimes, inevitably, they are going to absorb some of the ideology.

One has only to re-read *Die Kruithoring* of the forties to see that. But in the end it is their nationalist interests that predominate.

I am not afraid of taking a leap of faith with these people. But that is because I have been able to assess them for myself. Because of this pernicious, self-immolating ban, you are not.

WOULD Buthelezi allow Mandela to take over? Would Mandela sit back and let the Zulu leader take control?



Graham Leach — BBC Southern Africa correspondent, based in Johannesburg.

BBC man's view of SA

By NEILL DARKE

THE unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would probably not settle the question of who is the strong man in South Africa's black nationalist struggle.

This is one of a number of controversial views expressed by Graham Leach, a BBC Southern Africa radio correspondent, in a new, topical book which describes the violent explosions of black anger which have rocked the Republic since 1984.

Leach attempts to shed light on the complex, often long-standing grievances which have caused continuing conflict — from Crossroads and the Eastern Cape to the Rand and Pretoria.

Regarding Mandela, he states that there is no doubt that he has become the symbol of the struggle against apartheid and, if freed, would certainly have the most support among blacks.

"But numbers don't necessarily count. Would the Zulus ever allow Mandela (a Xhosa) to become the unrivalled leader of the blacks in a free Azania? Would the Xhosas allow anyone else but Mandela to assume the leadership?"

Would Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi allow Mandela to take over? Would Mandela sit back and let the Zulu leader take control? Would either of them tolerate the continuance of a different school of thought, such as Azapo, a black consciousness movement, or the National Front, which believes in black exclusivity?

"The notion of a united black struggle in South Africa is appealing, but misleading."

LEACH examines the right-wing backlash among whites and comments that for the first time an Afrikaner leader — President PW Botha — has sent part of Afrikanerdom on its way. He has "waved farewell to them at the laager gates, while through the back door he has admitted a substantial proportion of the English population."

"PW Botha has achieved what Smuts and Louis Botha failed to bring about, something of a common identity between Afrikaner and English."

Regarding the dismantling of apartheid, he believes the whole monolithic system would be a nightmare to untangle.

"The house of cards is not going to come tumbling down overnight, but rather piece by piece over a long period and with some of the more crucial supports remaining..."

Looking to the future, Leach, who has been based here since 1983, forecasts that a population explosion will change the face of the country.

A Department of Health and Welfare report has forecast that the population will multiply almost five times during the next 60 years.

Whites are outnumbered almost 5-2 by blacks at present. By the year 2040 this ratio will have risen to around 17-1.

He writes that the present unrest in black townships may prove minimal when compared to what could happen in the homelands and rural areas if this time-bomb of economic deprivation and population explosion is not defused.

FOR the moment, the inevitable question remains: Will peaceful change, or a revolutionary bloodbath, confront South Africa in the years to come? He believes that history is on the side of the latter, particularly when it is recalled how the often bloody tide of black nationalism swept through Africa since the 1960s.

"But South Africa is different in many respects to those other countries. It has a white race which has nowhere else to go, a strategic importance which the West will not easily let slip into Marxist hands, and a defence force (possibly supported by a last-ditch nuclear bomb capability) which can withstand any offensive threat which, under present political circumstances, might arise."

"So one has to look for more hopeful signs and here, as the author Alan Paton has put it, it is necessary to be optimistic because to be pessimistic about South Africa does not bear thinking about."

Leach is an acute, fair observer and he impressed me as being a writer with no political axe to grind.

● South Africa — *No Easy Path To Peace*, by Graham Leach (Century Hutchinson).

Parliament needs code of conduct on share offers.

STAR 2041 23 17/4/86

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, should investigate the acceptance of preferential shares by Ministers of State, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Finance and Audit Budget vote, he said he did not object to Ministers competing with the public for shares in a legitimate way.

He questioned, however, the reason that the Metropolitan Life Assurance company had offered preferential shares to certain ministers.

"Would the Ministers have been offered the shares if they had not been in high office in the country?" Mr Schwarz asked.

The company's prospectus stated that preferential shares were offered to opinion formers to make them more aware of the company's activities. The Minister of Finance should investigate the matter and a code of conduct should be drawn up to regulate the acceptance of shares.

He said it had been to the credit of Mr Du Plessis that he had not accepted any of the preferential shares.

Government 'public enemy for enslaving SA whites' ^{17/4/86} ^(3041A) HNP

PARLIAMENT — The Government should be seen as "public enemy number one" because it was trying to enslave the whites, Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP, Sasolburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Finance vote of the Budget, he said whites were impoverished at the expense of other race groups.

Whites had become poorer in the past few years while blacks, coloureds and Indians had become wealthier.

Replying to an earlier statement by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, that English-speaking South Africans had subsidised the education of Afrikaners before 1948, Mr Stofberg said the English had robbed Afrikaners of their farms after the Boer War.

"I refuse to be grateful to the English for even one cent and reject Mr Du Plessis's statement with contempt."

Mr George Ballot (NP, Overvaal) said that if the HNP ever came to power, "after six months there would be no more South Africa."

"Just give me seven days and I will be out of the country. I am not one who runs away but no respectable person could live under a government run by that party." — Sapa.

PW to make crucial speech today

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's credibility and the future viability of the country are on the line as President P W Botha rises to speak during the budget vote of the State President which starts in Parliament today.

This is the view of Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton.

Her views coincide with those privately held by several Nationalist MPs who are anxious that the Government's reform programme gather momentum.

Mr Botha is expected to announce during the course of the debate the demise of influx control and details of the Government's new orderly urbanisation strategy

which is to replace it.

He is also expected to make an announcement on the new provincial executive structures which are to replace the provincial council systems later this year.

And it is understood that he will again deal with his offer to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence from August 1 — provided that some agreement can be made with Angola on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the region.

There are indications that Mr Botha will be speaking this afternoon, the first of five days that Parliament has allocated to debating the State President's vote.

He may, however, speak late in the day, take the adjournment, and speak again

early tomorrow afternoon.

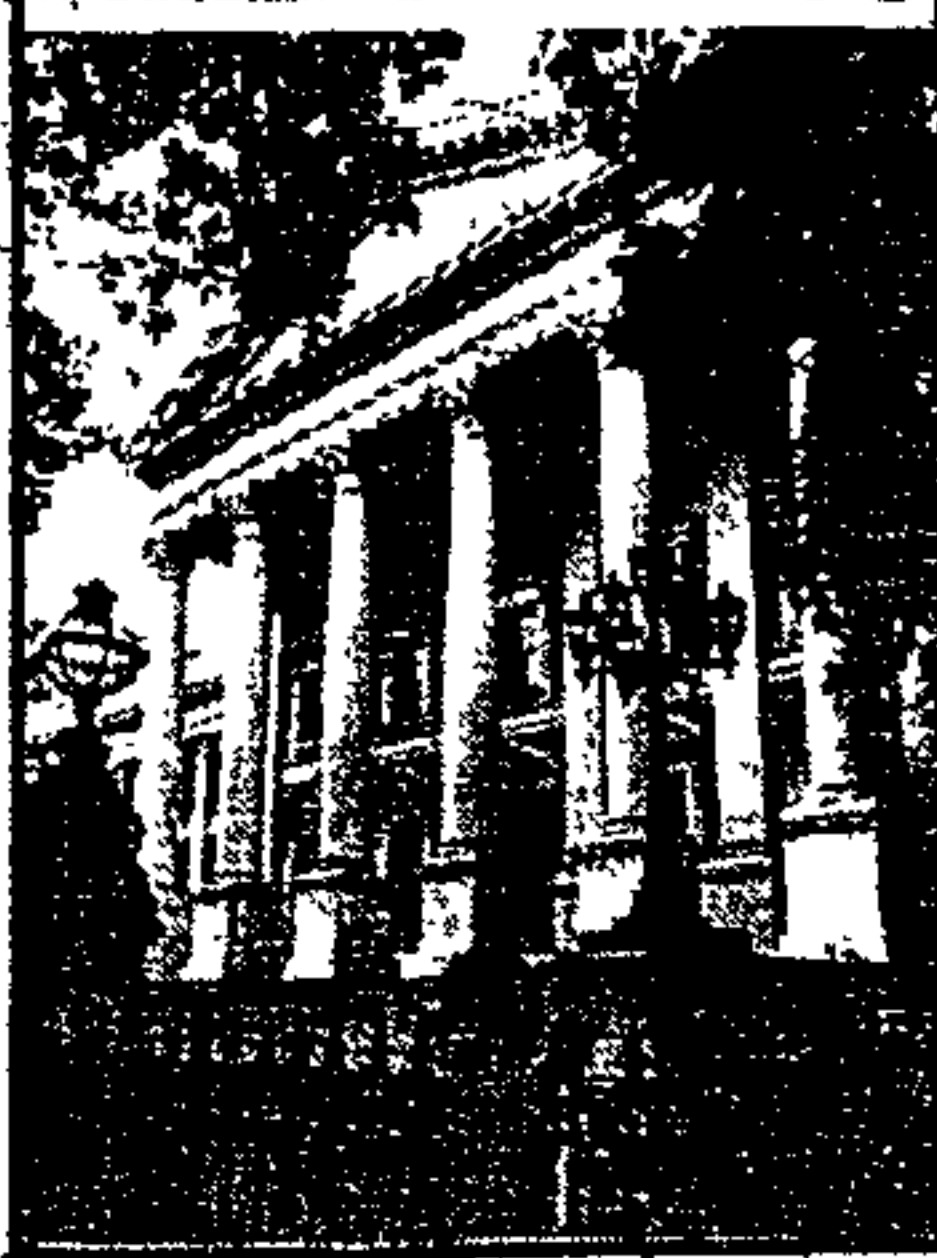
The debate ends in the House of Assembly on Monday. It is to be held in the House of Delegates on Wednesday and the House of Representatives on Friday.

By tradition the debate (formerly the debate of the budget vote of the Prime Minister) is allowed to range freely over the entire political spectrum.

The President has personally promised — in a national advertising campaign — that existing influx control measures will be abolished in favour of a system of encouraging urbanisation that applies to all South Africans.

"Our policy is one of encouraging development. Not controlling movement," he said in the advertisement.

PARLIAMENT '86



Libya's terrorist role against SA has been revealed — PW

PARLIAMENT — The recent arrest of Pan African Congress (PAC) terrorists in South Africa, who had been trained in Libya, again focused attention on the role played by Libya and international terrorism pointed at South Africa, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on his vote, the President said South African missions and other South African bodies represented abroad, and foreign companies with interests in South Africa had, during the past year, increasingly become targets for terrorist acts by foreign terrorist groups that could be linked with Libya.

Mr Botha said recent news



President Botha . . . pointing at Libya.

events had been dominated by the increasing tensions between the USA and Libya in connection with the latter's involvement in recent terror incidents in which innocent civilians had been killed.

"Libya is being accused of being the master brain behind an international network of terror which acts mainly against Western interests.

"Threats and acts of terrorism form the basis of Libya's foreign policy and it is no wonder that Gaddafi has been called the mad dog of the Middle East."

Gaddafi's close co-operation with the PLO was clear from his accommodation of the particularly extreme PLO faction led by Abo Nidal and which was being held responsible for the recent shooting incidents in Italy and Austria.

Libyan passports had been supplied, among others, to terrorists of this faction.

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threats by some private schools to close their doors, particularly as the Government was insisting on a 70 percent white domination at private schools.

Unrest recommendations being attended to — Viljoen

Political Staff
PARLIAMENT — Certain matters raised by Professor Tjaart van der Walt in his report on the Vaal triangle unrest of 1984 had already been attended to, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said here yesterday.

Dr Viljoen said although Professor van der Walt came to the conclusion that education was not the real cause of the unrest, he nevertheless made certain recommendations regarding educational matters.

He said: "Some of these recommendations are already

being implemented or receiving attention."

Dr Viljoen said measures being implemented included:

- A strategy for the collection of rent and service fees.
- A plan of action to enlighten residents on the purpose and functions of local authorities.

● A White Paper on urbanisation was underway.

● Everything possible was being done to assist residents to obtain their homes under the 99-year leasehold system.

● The introduction of regional service councils was receiving priority.

BUS DAY

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, April 18 1986

304A

Botha rebukes foreigners for meddling in SA

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha appealed to the rest of the world yesterday not to interfere officially or covertly in SA affairs.

He said in debate on his budget vote he could not allow SA to become a laboratory and its people the guinea pigs of foreign academics seeking to test their own theories.

"I make an appeal to the rest of the world: considering that we ourselves are occupied with these formidable domestic affairs to which you have no answers, do refrain from interfering, whether it be by way of official organs, or by espionage, cover-organisations, mediators or subtle brainwashing."

Foreigners, however, did not have to bear the consequences of their own abortive experiments.

He addressed a word of warning to South Africans who held talks with the ANC in the belief that information so obtained was not freely available in SA, or because government over-emphasised the influence of the Communist Party on the ANC. — Sapa.

Talks Bill soon — PW

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha announced yesterday that he intended to publish a Bill on his proposed National Council for constitutional negotiation.

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote in the House of Assembly, Botha said he believed the council could contribute significantly to creating the climate for negotiation of a new constitutional dispensation allowing participation by all South Africans.

He intended publishing the Bill as soon as possible to give all those concerned the chance to make their views known to him through comment and proposals.

"It is my wish that negotiations on the National Council be furthered in this way and that it will lead to the passing of the Bill before the end of the present session in its extended term."

The council was not an end in itself, but a means to an end, Botha said.

"I am thus of the opinion that the council indeed offers South Africans the opportunity to freely state their views and pre-conditions." — Sapa.

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'SA hit squad'

THE group reported to have tried to board an Athens flight to Harare were 12 Muslim South Africans who had formed a Libyan-trained "hit squad", State President P W Botha said yesterday.

The 12 had left SA a while ago and had undergone basic training in Frontline states. They had then received specialist training in Libya and were organised into a "hit squad", he said in his speech to the House of Assembly.

They had been ordered to return to Harare for further instructions and equipment.

Botha said: "The people concerned are 12 SA citizens — nine from the Western Cape, one from Guguletu (near Cape Town), one from East London and one from Johannesburg.

"Nine passports were lawfully issued in Cape Town. The others had travel documents from Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

"A small group has emerged within the Muslim community who, under the influence of Libya and Iran and with funding from those quarters, have committed themselves, with the ANC and PAC, to terror and violence," he said. — Sapa.

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PARLIAMENT

PLO-style threat to SA

GOVERNMENT intelligence showed that local insurgency groups would apply "the Gaddafi/PLO style of terrorism" inside South Africa and



● BOTHA

abroad, and could operate in conjunction with international terrorist groups, State President P W Botha said yesterday. "I have already issued instructions in this regard and our security and intelligence services are taking the necessary counter-measures," Botha said during debate on

his budget vote.

He said co-operation between the African National Congress (ANC) and international guerrilla organisations was characterised by "their mutual display of solidarity, co-ordination of propaganda against the West and joint action in internal and other forums."

SA intelligence showed that local insurgents "will apply the Gaddafi/PLO style of terrorism inside the RSA as well as abroad, and will sometimes operate in conjunction with or under the auspices of international terrorist groups."

Botha said ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) delegates often conferred with Palestine Liber-

ation Organisation (PLO) leaders in neighbouring and other states.

ANC President Oliver Tambo had visited Lebanon as far back as October 1980 at the invitation of the PLO. During this visit, liaison and closer co-operation between the two organisations was discussed, said Botha.

"It is also known that close co-operation exists between the ANC and PLO representatives in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia."

The PAC contacted the PLO mission in Zimbabwe "virtually every week" and the PLO acted as a transmission station in the PAC communication network. — Sapa.

Eglin warns on violence and repression

VIOLENCE, which is almost endemic in SA society, and repressive laws are among the ingredients of the current cauldron of violence.

Action has to be taken to stop the violence and repression before it is too late, Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin said in Parlia-

ment yesterday.

He said government has a responsibility to deal with anarchy and revolution, as well as a duty to create a society which people are prepared to defend.

There are three main areas which need attention, Eglin said.

Firstly, an end to repressive and apartheid laws. Secondly, social reconstruction at a greater pace, and in consultation with all those who would be affected. Thirdly, and most importantly, these processes have to be carried out through genuine negotiation. — Sapa.

August is PW's month for reform

By JEAN LE MA
in parliament

THERE will be a special session of parliament in August to finalise reform legislation for this year, President P W Botha told Parliament yesterday.

Apart from this announcement, the State President's introductory speech to the debate on his vote in parliament yesterday was another letdown to those who predicted far-reaching statements of reform.

Instead of saying how he intended getting the country out of the current crisis, he concentrated on exploiting Western indignation about Libya.

The gist of his attack on terrorism was that South African insurgency groups "will apply Khadaffi/PLO terrorism inside the RSA as well as abroad ... ANC and PAC delegates often confer with PLO leaders in neighbouring states ... It is well known that close co-operation exists between the ANC and PLO representatives in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

"Wider international aims are being pursued in conjunction with South African and other terrorist organisations and Libya, the PLO and USSR play a leading role."

The special session of parliament scheduled for August could be necessary to include blacks in the cabinet, as mooted in the press this week.

Although the President did not say so specifically, the special session will enable the government to introduce legislation of which the principle still has to be approved by the National Party's federal congress early in August.

The president could still, of course, go further with his constitutional programme later in the debate in parliament this week and next.

Up to now, all he has done is to outline matters which have to be translated into legislation this session, including citizenship, the expansion of powers of self-governing states, the involvement of black communities in decision-making, freehold rights for blacks, a uniform identity system and the restructuring of the provincial system and an urbanisation policy.

A White Paper on the President's Council report on an urbanisation strategy would be tabled next week, he said.

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council an exercise in futility, Eglin warns

The people were tired

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ed of words'

By BRUCE CAMERON, Parliamentary Staff

THE national statutory council, rejuvenated yesterday by President P W Botha, would be an exercise in futility if genuine leaders did not take part in its deliberations and decisions, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, warned today.

In a strongly worded speech in Parliament, Mr Eglin warned that people were tired of "words, words and more words".

"We want to see positive action and fundamental reform of our socio-economic system."

Speaking during the debate on the President's vote, Mr Eglin said getting negotiations going on a truly representative basis would not be easy.

There was mistrust and even moderate black leaders were shocked by the implications of the President's repudiation of Mr P W Botha earlier this year.

If negotiations were to get off the ground the Government should not get locked into the concept that constitutional development could take place only within the framework of racially based constitutional structures founded on statutory race classification and compulsory group membership.

Monstrosity

"This must imply the willingness of the Government to consider abandoning the costly and divisive constitutional monstrosity known as 'own affairs'."

"The Government's commitment to the apartheid concept is damaging the whole process of constitutional development."

The tricameral system, which debased the parliamentary system, was based on race and should be scrapped.

He appealed to Mr Botha to explore a non-racial alternative.

The very things which the Government said it wanted to protect, such as cultural diversity, freedom of religion and protection of minorities, could be achieved more effectively through structures based on freedom of choice rather than compulsory race separation, he said.

Man knifed in café

Crime Reporter

POLICE are hunting a killer who stabbed a 31-year-old man to death in an argument at a café in Athlone.

Police said Mr Alex Philander of Anania Close, Kewtown,

Report on violence a 'severe indictment'

Parliamentary Staff

THE Van der Walt report on the Vaal Triangle unrest was perhaps the most severe and blunt indictment of the Government in 38 years that the National Party had been in power, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, said today.

It was an indictment of the Government for having allowed the country to slide into conditions which made revolt against the authorities and the system they stood for inevitable, he said.

He was speaking during the debate on the budget vote of the State President.

LINK

Mr Eglin said the report pointed to the direct link between education, socio-economic conditions and politics — and revolution.

"When one reads in the report of the legitimate grievances of the blacks, the appalling living conditions, the lack of effective political expression, the breakdown in communication with the authorities — one can see the inevitability of conflict and human tragedy that goes with it," he said.

"But the real tragedy is that the bloodshed, the violence and the loss of life need not have occurred."

"Down the years this government has been warned by blacks, the Opposition in this House and inquiries."

"The Government has either done nothing or far too little. The situation has got worse."

"South Africa cannot afford a government that carries on like this."

See Page 12



All Blacks at practice at the Rand Afrikaans University
Murray Pierce, John Ashworth

Tight security surrounds All Black tourists

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The All Blacks will have to get used to having shadows — 24 hours a day.

Policemen stuck like glue to the unofficial New Zealand rugby side soon after the players' arrival at Jan Smuts Airport.

TICKED OFF

Security at the Johannesburg Sun has been tightened. Only hotel residents were allowed past guards at the lifts.

And tour manager Ian Kirkpatrick was ticked off when he tried to tell a journalist which room he was in.

The former All Black loose forward had just taken out his key to show the room number when a hotel security man rushed forward, grabbed the key and said: "Sorry — you are not allowed to do that."

Kiwi cricket team to tour SA, says Aussie paper



applause greet the crucifixion

They clapped as they gave Breyten Breytenbach his prize for literature. They clapped as he called them mere clerks of apartheid. They smiled as he said Pretoria should be razed to the ground. Was all this a ritual of Afrikaner catharsis? BEATRICE HOLLYER reports

JUST another Saturday night in the State Theatre, Pretoria: bouncy matrons upholstered in bolts of baby-pink satin; highly camp gentlemen in spangled roll-neck evening shirts.

Of course, we all knew who'd won, despite the nonsense about your guess being as good as mine; why else would Rapport have brought him all the way from Paris? Still, Rapport's manager, who opened the envelope, looked startled by the audience's reaction. Cheers, whistles, hoots; even a standing ovation.

Dressed in a mushroom-hued shantung Nehru jacket and blazing red socks, the poet smiled as his tiny and beautiful wife was handed a large bouquet. Lots more applause.

"You will understand it when I say that I intend to donate part of the prize money to a fund for political detainees." Loud applause.

Just what is going on here? This is the State Theatre, still boycotted by some as a highly visible symbol of white Afrikaner domination. This effusive 500 has in its ranks many pillars of the Afrikaans establishment.

The elegant poet is a convicted terrorist who served seven-and-a-half years in jail for his attempts to subvert the state. And what about his wife? She's Vietnamese! She was repeatedly refused a visa to come here to visit her husband in jail. So what's all this clapping and bowing and scraping, here in the very cathedral of Our Way of Life?

Breytenbach speaks:

"South Africa is talk country ... liberals discover their acute worry about the wellbeing of blacks who will supposedly be the first to suffer from sanctions, conveniently forgetting that



Breyten on the stump ... 'the context is unreal. Obscene even'

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

in this they reflect cynical government claptrap ...

"Seen from a distance, the Afrikaners constitute the world community's secreted insanity ... I doubt whether you realise the extent to which we have become despicable to the international human awareness ... an ample number of what pass for normal, decent Afrikaners — they who write little tell-tale analyses for the Security Police ...

"The context here tonight is unreal. Obscene, even. While we enjoy the festivities in our gowns and tuxedos, children out there — the conscience, the will to freedom of our country — are facing the Boer with nothing more than stones."

He told them state terrorism was committed in their name. He told them the Afrikaner churches were morally bankrupt and moved their God about as if he were a Casspir. He told them they, too, were responsible for the fact that the words "Afrikaner" and "Boer" had become synonymous with spiritual backwardness, armed goon squads and brutal violence. He told them the state was illegal; that its only characteristic was brute force. He called them clerks, called upon to make apartheid more digestible.

Why do they clap him? Do they agree? Are they just being two-faced, loving his lyrical Afrikaans and staring straight past his uncomfortable politics? Are they in such urgent need of a classy representative of Afrikaans culture that they recognise he's the best they've got, even if he is a subversive.

The favoured son smiles amid mountains of canapes afterwards.

"Of course it's strange," he says. "I don't think they see me as any less of a

terrorist or traitor now. I came because it was an opportunity to say things that need to be said. I don't think I changed anybody's mind.

"I don't think anything will ever change in the people of Pretoria. This is an obscene town. It will always be a horrible place, as long as it's called Pretoria. Come the real changes, I hope they bulldoze it to the ground."

Afterwards, Andre Brink is prepared to enlighten me about the contradictions in the Afrikaner's character.

"The very people who crucified him 10 years ago applauded him at the same time for being a very fine poet. I think it flatters their innate masochism to be hurt, because what he said tonight most of us already know. It's a periodic catharsis ... a kind of collective guilt. It's not necessarily hypocrisy; more an ability Afrikaners have of living compartmentalised lives. It's a sort of mental apartheid."

The mood of *laissez-faire* sophistication spreads to the Sunday papers which report the occasion as the most natural thing in the world, and gracefully ignore the rougher parts of the winner's speech.

"Hoekom Breyten Terug Is", exults Rapport, allowing "Digter Kom Haal Self Prys!" to dominate "All Blacks Is Op Pad!"

A conspiracy of normality wraps up the most bizarre event ever witnessed in the State Theatre.

"Ag, nothing strikes me as weird any more," an Afrikaans journalist tells me.

To hell with the contradictions of the Afrikaner people. That was the straightest piece of talk I heard all night. And easily the most frightening.

BY GARRY TRUDEAU

AN ABC NEWS CLOSEUP

The
Color
Red



"Dear God!"

Six major issues settled at indaba

ARGUS
18/4/86
30/1

Schoeman rejects criticisms of the SAA

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

THE Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, today rejected harsh criticisms of South African Airways service and its failure to reduce fares.

A Progressive Federal Party transport spokesman yesterday appealed to Mr Schoeman to intervene personally to improve the services.

Apart from criticising SAA for not reducing fares, Mr John Malcomess described the business class as a rip-off and condemned the airline for the lack of available seats.

Mr Schoeman said today SAA had budgeted for a loss of R80-million for this year — and this was mainly a result of not passing increased fuel costs to passengers.

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Participants in the Natal/Kwazulu indaba have reached unanimity on six major issues, according to an announcement by the meeting's administrative office.

Yesterday was the third day of the indaba and there was unanimous agreement by delegates on the following "basic points of departure":

- The indaba accepts that the Kwazulu/Natal region is a single unit and that its second-tier government should reflect this reality in its political structure.

Interdependence

- It is aware of the economic and strategic interdependence between the Kwazulu/Natal region and the rest of South Africa and aware of the patriotism of its people to its fatherland, South Africa, and has no desire to be sovereignly independent of South Africa.

- All people of the region should have a right to full political participation and effective representation.

- The indaba accepts the democratic principles of freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law and access to the law. Legislation based on racial discrimination must be abolished.

Protection of rights

- Society in Natal/Kwazulu must be founded upon a free economic system and the provision must also be made for the protection of the rights of individuals and groups.

- Legislative and administrative power should be devolved as much as possible.

Papers were also presented by the Kwazulu government, the Natal Provincial Council, the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party and the Natal ad hoc consultative committee on Kwanatal.

The indaba is in session today at the Durban City Hall.

Botha S (206A) CT 18/4/86 hopes for new deal

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — President P W Botha wants a new constitution for South Africa.

And in a bid to get the ball rolling and to breathe new life into the government's faltering reform programme, he announced to Parliament yesterday that:

- He intended to publish a bill on his National Council aimed at drawing "all parties concerned" into participation in the body, which he stressed was intended to negotiate "an extensive, new, constitutional dispensation for all South Africans".

- Parliament was to be recalled for a second session on August 18 — a few days after the crucial National Party federal congress in Durban where details for a new constitution, expected to draw blacks into the cabinet, will probably be hammered out.

- A number of "reform"-related bills would have to be passed by the end of the extended session, including those affecting citizenship, the extension of power for homelands, black involvement in decision-making, freehold property rights for blacks, uniform identity documents for all, restructuring the provincial council system and an urbanization policy.

Mr Botha also stated that his government remained committed to a constitutional future based on group identity — a stance which is likely to discourage participation of many groups in his revamped National Council.

Pace of 'reform' attacked

The pace of Mr Botha's "reform" initiatives was attacked by all opposition parties in the House.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said Mr Botha's speech was a "bitter disappointment" because he had taken the situation no further than his opening speech to Parliament on January 31.

A state of legislative paralysis appeared to have gripped the government when it came to "delivering the goods" at a time when violence was becoming endemic in South Africa.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treunicht, said the "reforms" being initiated by the Mr Botha would inevitably lead to black majority rule in South Africa.

Introducing the debate on his budget vote yesterday, Mr Botha suggested that his proposed National Council for constitutional negotiation was essentially a stepping stone to a new constitution.

He stressed that it should be seen as an "interim body" to give all races "participation in decision-making until negotiation leads to an agreement on an extensive, new constitutional dispensation".

Communicate their views

The Council was intended to allow all participating parties "ample opportunity" to communicate their views to him by means of comments and proposals, and to consider intended legislation.

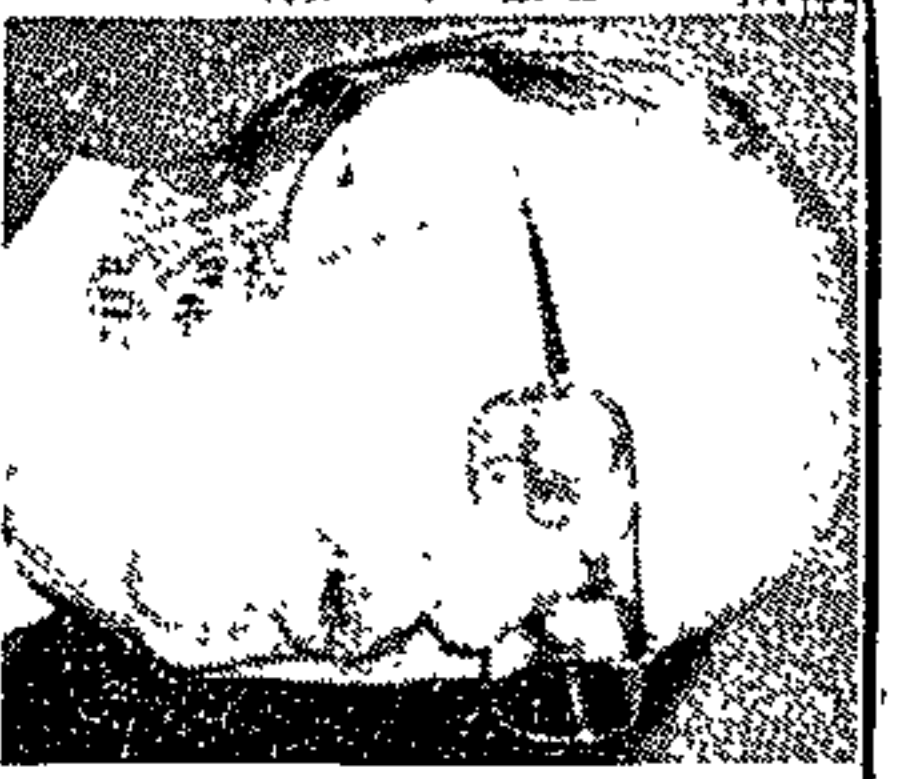
The National Council, he said, could contribute to creating a climate in which the leaders of all communities "can work together with great success on the establishment of a new, constitutional dispensation which would make provision for all South Africans".

Mr Botha's speech was seen in political circles as a bid to inject new momentum into the government's ill-fated attempts to draw what it considers moderates into the negotiating process.

Mr Botha firmly ruled out negotiations with the African National Congress and apparently with many of his government's major extra-parliamentary foes.

"Negotiations will not be conducted with the South African Communist Party, international and nationalist terrorist groups or other fanatics," he said.

● ANC 'only wants power', page 4



PRESIDENT Botha.

BOTHA'S 8 BILLS

A special session to pass laws

BILLS

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16/4/86

SOUTHERN

PARLIAMENT will be reconvened for a second session in August to deal with the Government's reform programme, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced yesterday.

House of Assembly

Eight reform-related Bills would have to be passed during this session of Parliament, he said.

Speaking on his Budget vote, he said Parliament would be adjourned around June 20 and be recalled on August 18.

He referred to his opening speech in January in which he had mooted "certain legislative steps that would serve as confirmation of the Government's commitment to political and socio-economic

reform". These affected citizenship, the extension of powers for self-governing states, black involvement in decision-making, freehold property rights for blacks, uniform ID documents for all, restructuring of the provincial council system and an urbanisation policy.

"In this connection I want to refer to the important report on an urbanisation strategy for South Africa recently delivered by the President's Council," President Botha said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had made specific suggestions based on the report and the Cabinet had made certain decisions pertaining thereto.

"A White Paper will be tabled next week," Mr Botha said.

There were a number of Bills, related to reform, in various stages of progress through Parliament and which had to be finalised.

Determined

The Bills were: the Local Government Bodies Electoral Bill, the Provincial Government Bill, the Self-Governing Territories Bill, the Township Development Bill, the Black Local Authorities Amendment Bill, the Abolition of Influx Control Measures and Related Measures Bill and the Laws on Constitutional Development Amendment Bill.

Mr Botha said the Government was determined to stick to its undertakings.

A White Paper on urbanisation, based on recommendations of the President's Council, would be published next week.

this.

TARA FORSTER

Filling a war chest

Tara Forster, newly appointed national fund-raising director of the Progressive Trust for a New SA (PTSA), assumes her position at a time when many South Africans, like former Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, are questioning the PFP's role in parliament and the efficacy of white politics.

However, Forster (42), a former Truworths area manager and property broker, says Slabbert's resignation and the subsequent renaming of what was the Van Zyl Slabbert Trust has had little effect on fund-raising nor has it resulted in the withdrawal of pledges.

"People give to the party, its principles, policies and goals. At the moment, they're incredibly politically aware and very questioning. They realise we're in crisis, want to make an investment in their future and are reassured by Colin Eglin's strong leadership and our professional management."

No doubt the services of Australian professional fund-raisers, Compton International (CI), whom the PFP employed last year as consultants, have come in useful. R7m has already been donated since the fund was launched last August.

Forster's initial target is R10m. Her Transvaal target is R3m. Next month she launches a fund-raising drive in the eastern Cape, where she's aiming for about R800 000.

"Funds will be used for developing politi-

cal organisation and setting up professional management to run the PFP in a businesslike fashion," she says. "Funds will also be used for establishing a war chest to fight elections nationally, for the National Outreach programme and to broaden the PFP's base. We intend becoming the largest non-racial political party in SA."

CI MD Don Lennox came to SA to help the PFP establish a fund-raising strategy and committee structure. This includes a major gifts committee concentrating on corporate donors, a leadership gifts committee which will approach large individual donors and a committee which will approach the community at large.

Previously, fund-raising was conducted at regional levels. Now Forster will co-ordinate the programme nationally, concentrating on a personal approach rather than the traditional mail-shots.



Forster ... disappointed by the attitudes of big business

As well as administering the programme, she'll communicate with donors, run a regular news letter, co-ordinate committees and spend endless hours travelling around SA begging and cajoling for cash. She's able to do this, she says, because her three children are in boarding school and her husband, who runs a Diep River steak-house, keeps erratic hours.

Her job will undoubtedly involve fielding some tough questions. But as vice-chairman of the Simonstown constituency (where she lives) and a member of the PFP Cape regional executive council, she feels well equipped to cope.

She's adamant the PFP has a strong role to play in parliament as well as outside it. "Parliament is the place laws are made and the place they'll be repealed or abolished," she says. "The PFP's role in parliament is to

question and highlight the inadequacies of National Party government. But our extra-parliamentary role, as embodied in the National Outreach programme, is equally important.

"In an increasingly violent society, we intend making the party a bridge for negotiation and mediation between all South Africans. For example, the Unrest Monitoring Commission does enormously valuable work."

Many consider the PFP an elitist affluent party, funded by big business. Forster denies this. "We have support across the board as well as in the black and coloured communities, where we already have about 4 000 members," she says. "Actually, with a few exceptions, we've been bitterly disappointed by the attitudes of big business."

A member of the well-known Natal Campbell sugar-growing family, Forster's early childhood was spent on her father's Zululand sugar farm. He was also a major shareholder in Natal Estates — later taken over by Hulett's. She went to high school in Scotland, spent a year in a Swiss finishing school and had a season as a London debutante, before returning to SA to marry and move with her husband to her father's Swaziland sugar estates. Subsequently, she spent time crewing on a charter schooner in the Caribbean and ran her own small Garden Route retail operation.

"Having learnt to curtsy doesn't help me today," she says forthrightly. "I know I come from a privileged background but I have a strong commitment to the PFP and the role I can play in the creation of a new SA. I regard this post as a tremendous challenge." ■

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The speech by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to the House yesterday had been a "great disappointment" and had taken the situation no further than his opening speech to Parliament on January 31, said the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin.

Speaking after Mr Botha's address, Mr Eglin said millions of South Africans were "bitterly disappointed" at the lack of action by the government, especially on constitutional reform.

The State President should not think that everyone who had spoken to the African National Congress was naive, although some might be so.

He said the government had not been able to effectively counter some of the ANC's actions. The ANC had widespread support and it was therefore necessary "to explore tactics of countering the organization and to persuade people there is a better way of living in South Africa than to revert to violence".

In his speech Mr Botha had "generously" admitted he had been wrong in implementing the former coloured la-

Botha speech 'disappointing'



Dr Andries Treurnicht

bour preference policy in the Western Cape and had it abolished because of realities.

"But he can be fundamental in one of the greatest conciliatory moves in South Africa if he throws open District Six to all races again," Mr Eglin said.

This Cape Town urban area's proclamation as a white area had been a "monumental blunder" and Mr Botha could show his statesmanship by reopening it.

The reforms being initiated by the State President would lead inevitably to black majority rule, the leader of the



Mr Colin Eglin

Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Majority rule was the direction in which the State President was being driven by threats and encouragement.

No black would participate in the National Statutory Council if it was an exercise in tokenism, or if there was not representation on the basis of proportionality, Dr Treurnicht said.

If that is the case, I say you can't exclude black majority rule, Dr Treurnicht said. "You can't exclude a black State President. This will be inevitable for South Africa."

If the government said it was not prepared to go that far — that despite

the fact that blacks were a majority in South Africa it would not accept a black State President — "then I say you are responsible for the black frustration and the violence in this country".

The New Republic Party welcomed the military action taken by the United States against Libya, Mr Vause Raw (NRP Durban Point) said during the debate.

Mr Raw said it was a pity that the State President did not put it clearly that South Africa sided with the US.

The US was exercising the same right as South Africa when the country's security forces crossed into Angola to strike at Swapo terrorists.

Referring to local protests against the bombing of Libya, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) said he had not heard any local condemnation of the bombing of a nightclub frequented by US servicemen in Berlin or of the fatal blast on a TWA airliner. "That alone tells us a lot about the people who were protesting," he said.

IN THE HOUSE

A time for tinkering

PIK BOTHA, in a talk to the Cape Town Press Club this week, used the words "*status quo*" and added, "that's Latin for 'the mess we're in'".

His definition applies pretty aptly to the standstill the government has painted itself into by trying to maintain the *status quo*, although that was not perhaps what the Foreign Minister had in mind at the time.

The only issue at the moment is power: the government has power, the ANC wants power, and — accepting Herman Giliomee's theory of violent equilibrium — both have taken up stances which make it impossible for them to do anything about resolving the *impasse*.

This realisation is probably responsible for the easily-discernible attitude of Nationalists in parliament that there is very little chance of far-reaching reform this session.

There will be some tinkering with the Pass Laws, influx control and the expansion of freehold for blacks, blacks who lost South African citizenship through "independence" could regain it, and the Separate Amenities Act could go. Nationalist insiders admit that the statutory council which would include blacks is a dead duck, but hastily add that "anything could happen".

But the most worrying aspect is that all Nationalists appear to be quite irrevocably wedded to the concept of racial separation.

A minor, but significant demonstration of this was when Cape administrator Gene Louw knocked the idea of racially-integrated town councils on the head this week, saying the Regional Services Councils Act had made segregated councils a *fait accompli*.

And segregation is entrenched in the "Own Affairs, General Affairs" concept which otherwise could be easily accommodated in a straight geographic federation.

The concept is often dressed up in talk about the protection of minority rights.

It is axiomatic that what Nationalists mean by this is protection of white rights, and taken to its logical conclusion this means the protection entrenched by the Population Registration Act.

Some Nationalist parliamentarians have even said they "could live with the repeal of the Group Areas Act", although saying so publicly could be as dangerous as talking about a black president.

But they're inflexible on the concept that there must be some sustainable definition of themselves as white to entitle them to a place in the power-sharing which they all agree must come.

They also realise that they must have allies, and these allies are, according to Nationalists, to be found among "moderates" of other races.

The April issue of the NP mouthpiece, *The Nationalist*, puts it like this: "Radicals in South Africa are by far a minority in all race groups. The vast majority of blacks, coloured people and Indians are reasonable, moderate people who want to work with reasonable, moderate whites in the interests of peace, progress and stability."

That being the conviction, the government is prepared to sit back and wait for others to make the move towards reconciliation.

To my mind, and in the view of others, the demand that the ANC should renounce violence before the government is prepared to talk to it is a delaying device.

Many Nationalists now hope that external pressures will be brought to bear on the ANC equal to the pressure on South Africa for meaningful political reform.

The real test would come if the ANC were to renounce violence. Since that is unlikely to happen, the Foreign Minister's definition of the *status quo* could be permanent.

JEAN LE MAY

PRGAS 18/4/86

Report on violence a 'severe indictment'

204A

Parliamentary Staff

THE Van der Walt report on the Vaal Triangle unrest was perhaps the most severe and blunt indictment of the Government in 38 years that the National Party had been in power, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, said today.

It was an indictment of the Government for having allowed the country to slide into conditions which made revolt against the authorities and the system they stood for inevitable, he said.

He was speaking during the debate on the budget vote of the State President.

LINK

Mr Eglin said the report pointed to the direct link between education, socio-economic conditions and politics — and revolution.

"When one reads in the report of the legitimate grievances of the blacks, the appalling living conditions, the lack of effective political expression, the breakdown in communication with the authorities — one can see the inevitability of conflict and human tragedy that goes with it," he said.

"But the real tragedy is that the bloodshed, the violence and the loss of life need not have occurred.

"Down the years this government has been warned by blacks, the Opposition in this House and inquiries.

"The Government has either done nothing or far too little. The situation has got worse.

"South Africa cannot afford a government that carries on like this."

● See Page 12.

Influx control Bill set for debate

Government gets going on reforms

BUS DAY

18/1/86

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GOVERNMENT'S legislative reform programme is to move into gear next week.

Draft legislation on the abolition of influx control and related measures is expected to be tabled in Parliament this session.



● BOTHA

It will be accompanied by a White Paper outlining government response to President's Council recommendations for an orderly urbanisation policy.

The Bill was one of a number listed by State President P W Botha in Parliament yesterday.

Botha said Parliament would have a second sitting this year, starting on August 18, to deal with outstanding legislation not handled in the current session ending on June 20.

Opposition parties were sceptical yesterday that Parliament would be able to handle all proposed legislation in time to meet government promises that the pass laws and influx control would be abolished by July 1.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

Other draft legislation named by Botha in the House of Assembly included:

- ☐ The Local Government Bodies Electoral Bill;
- ☐ The Provincial Government Bill;
- ☐ The Black Local Authorities Amendment Bill;
- ☐ The Self-Governing Territories Bill;
- ☐ The Township Development Bill;
- ☐ The Black Communities Amendment Bill;
- ☐ The Laws on Constitutional Development Amendment Bill.

Botha said he intended publishing a Bill this session on the national statutory council.

This is a body he proposed in January to act as an interim forum to offer all population groups a means of participating in decision-making until negotiation had led to an agreement on a constitutional dispensation for all South Africans.

Of all these Bills, only the Black Local Authorities Amendment Bill has

● To Page 2



Government gets going

18/1/86 BUS DAY

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seen the light of day.

Tabled in Parliament earlier this week, its major clauses have already been slammed by a wide cross-section of society as being a recipe for trouble and more likely to impede the process of reform that foster it.

Botha's programme declaration yesterday was seen as a non-event by Opposition political parties.

They said the reforms took matters no further than the original statement he made at the beginning of the year.

Sharp criticism was levelled at the absence of any meaningful progress in producing draft legislation to get the reform process moving.

PFPP Opposition leader Colin Eglin

said Botha had taken reform promises no farther than those made in January.

He hoped there was not going to be a repeat of what he called the 1983 farce when the tricameral Constitution Bill was published and Parliament prevented the Bill from being properly considered and debated.

Vause Raw (NRP, Durban Point) said tangible legislation should be introduced to show SA was moving ahead and that the promise of reform was more than just words.

SA was still waiting for the Bills necessary to get the legislative programme going, he said.

● From Page 1



Govt may hold referendum to give blacks political say

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government could be planning a referendum for later this year to bring blacks into the central political process, it is being intensely speculated by politicians today.

This follows President P W Botha's announcement yesterday that Parliament will sit again later this year to complete its legislative programme.

President Botha has also said he would go to the country before introducing any substantial constitutional changes.

Parliament is to adjourn on about June 20 and gather again on August 18, a few days after the National Party will have held its extraordinary federal congress in Durban.

It is widely believed the congress was called to consider new reform initiatives. Politicians are drawing parallels between these events and those of 1983, when Parliament was called to sit extraordinarily from August 8 to September 9 and

the Government called a referendum for early in November. The National Party held a federal congress the year before.

NP federal congresses are rare and have until now been called only to discuss major policy changes.

Nationalist sources said today, however, the juxtaposition of this year's federal congress and the extended sitting of Parliament did not mean what was decided at the congress would be immediately rushed through Parliament. The major purpose of the extended sitting was to push through legislation on matters already announced.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Federal Party will almost certainly postpone its federal congress scheduled for August 22 and 23.

Although no decision was taken yesterday, PFP sources said today it was highly unlikely the congress would proceed while Parliament was still sitting.

The 'New Nats' — are they fact or fiction?

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An issue frequently discussed in the various lobbies and corridors of power in recent weeks has been the phenomenon of the "New Nats".

The phrase was coined by a respected Afrikaans political journalist, Mr Dries van Heerden, who is known for his liberal approach (within Nationalist parameters) not only to the party but also to such hitherto unmentionable issues as dialogue with the ANC.

In an article in *Frontline* some weeks ago Mr van Heerden revealed the existence of a group of 30 or so Nationalist MPs who, he said, had "New Nationalist tendencies".

The National Party, he said, was today a coalition of "at least three parties":

- The conservative wing which still believes that the homelands must form the basis of the political solution.
- The broad middle group, previously known as the "verligtes", which is prepared to see the homelands re-incorporated in South Africa, blacks in the Cabinet and a political system based on a federal confederation.
- The "New Nats" who differ with official Nationalist policy.

The "New Nats" believe in the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, one education system for all, the abolition of influx control, and in placing greater emphasis on regional solutions such as the kwa-Zulu/Natal indaba.

The "New Nats", said Mr van Heerden, are inclined away from minority protection and, instead, favour the rights of individuals.

The differences in the National Party are no longer between "verkramptes" and "verligtes", he said, but between those who believe in ethnic grouping prescribed by law and those who believe in freedom of association.

REPORTS IN CIRCULATION

Mr van Heerden's article is generally regarded to be the formal birth of the concept of the "New Nats", although reports of a group of about 35 Nationalists, so far to the left that they secretly share the ideological ground of the Progressive Federal Party, have been in circulation for some time.

In fact, when the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, announced his resignation from Parliament early in February, it was said that a Nationalist MP pleaded with him to stay to lead the 35 in an enlarged liberal opposition.

Since Mr van Heerden's article appeared there have been reports that the "New Nats" had given President P W Botha a limited period in which to deliver certain minimum reforms, failing which (a) they would break away to form a new party, or (b) merge with the PFP, New Republic Party and certain extra-Parliamentary groups to form a powerful new centre party.

Interviews with several of the "New Nats" named by Mr van Heerden established that there is no such group in the National Party going under that name.

There are different opinions about Mr van Heerden's list, with no agreement as to which names should be on a hypothetical list of people who are known to hold the sort of views attributed to the "New Nats".

One or two names on the list caused surprise because they belong to people who are known to be on the right of the party. About half a dozen names which did not feature have been mentioned as omissions.

It would appear that, broadly speaking, the National Party pulls in two different directions, with a small number of individuals so far out to the left, in party terms, that the great bulk of the party regards them almost as eccentrics.

These are the men, four of them identifiable, who hold most of the views said to be those of the "New Nats".

The bulk of the others named firmly believe in statutory group identification as the basis for any political system, while few supporters can be found in this party for one education system for all if that implies integrated schools.

Although there might not be a group of "New Nats" waiting to storm out of the party if things do not go their way, there can be no doubt that there are many Nationalist MPs who, being more free-thinking than their colleagues, are more than a little concerned that the NP might not be on the right track.

INDISCREET REMARK

A junior Minister was indiscreet enough recently to tell a small group of journalists that he believed the Government had lost control over certain areas of the country and that it had left the situation too long to be able to do anything about it.

At least two other Ministers, somewhat more senior, are known to have expressed reservations about President Botha's ability to take the country any further meaningful distance along the road of reform.

Several MPs associated with the "New Nat" label express the same concerns — but no one says so for certain.

The overall feeling is that there is no faction within the NP which has a separate, more liberal agenda.

On the contrary, it is felt, the whole party has more or less an open agenda because no one knows what will ultimately be produced in open-ended constitutional negotiations with the country's other power groups.

Most Nationalist MPs readily admit their concern, if not fear, for the future.

With such a mood increasingly prevalent, the National Party, as a whole, becomes a willing instrument for new ideas and, if exciting and promising enough, with a plausible vision of the future — new leadership.

Secret report nails causes of SA unrest

By BRUCE CAMERON and DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

A HARD-hitting report kept secret for more than a year has blamed the 1984 Vaal Triangle unrest on an incomprehensible lack of sensitivity to the aspirations and problems of blacks.

The unrest, which started on September 3 1984, triggered the massive unrest which has engulfed the country since.

The report drawn up by Professor Tjaard van der Walt, rector of Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

IN the report which he handed to the Government on December 21 1984, Professor van der Walt warned that the country faced actual revolutionary danger because of frustration as a result of stagnation.

Teachers had warned high-ranking education authorities about the "explosive situation" building up five months before September 3 1984, but had "come up against a wall of prejudice and incomprehension".

He found that behind the school unrest were socio-economic conditions and these in turn stemmed

from the local government situation — and they eventually extended into nationwide implications.

Prof van der Walt repeatedly appealed to the Government in the report to take "pro-active steps" and not to be "reactive".

Reaction to unrest and violence would be seen as a sign of weakness, he said.

Prof van der Walt recommended a number of reform moves, including the scrapping of influx control. The Government has since then started implementing most of these.

POLICE strategy came under fire in the report, particularly the use of Casspirs and "bush uniforms" which were seen as a declaration of war.

Complaints against the police should be investigated fully, and the results publicised to improve the image of the force, Prof van der Walt recommended.

LOCAL conditions and local government were probably the area where the real problem of unrest was to be found, he said.

In the absence of conditions of urban neglect and decay, there would probably still have been protest actions, but certainly not on such a scale, not with such intensity and not over so protracted a period of time.

On rational grounds the so-called rent increases could not be regarded as the primary cause of the riots, as was believed so widely at the time.

The Progressive Federal Party says the report is a shocking indictment of Government policy and its ability to redress grievances.

The Government has responded to the report by saying that many of the matters raised by Prof van der Walt have already been attended to or are in the process of being dealt with.

Points from the report

SOUTH Africa's future lay in revolution or reform — there was no third choice.

And Prof van der Walt labelled the tri-cameral system of Parliament as a spark to unrest.

The top stratum of blacks and the youth felt strongly that the new dispensation amounted to rejection.

THE basic grievance of pupils was the feeling that their education system was inferior to that of whites.

Not only did this disparity make the pupils feel that an injustice was being done to them, but it also offended their dignity.

"That is why comparisons with education elsewhere in Africa are futile. The blacks are concerned with how they compare with whites."

"The need, the hunger, for education and the total inadequacy of the available facilities are evident everywhere."

TEACHERS had warned high-ranking education authorities about the "explosive situation" building up, five months before September 3 1984, but had "come up against a wall of prejudice and incomprehension. The Commission heard this report from many sources."

"More than one educationist stated that they had told

the appropriate authorities five months before the eruption that they were experiencing problems with the parents and that they, the educationists, wanted to discuss the situation."

But when the teachers finally succeeded in meeting high-ranking officials, they were "arrogantly" dismissed as "trying to be Dr Motlanas".

"I wish to state categorically and emphatically that this feeling of being up against a stone wall of incomprehension was mentioned to me not only by black educationists, but also by their white colleagues," Professor Van der Walt said.

THE role of the media in reporting events leading up to unrest and of unrest generally was criticised by Prof van der Walt.

But he also commented that the "rather weak diversionary tactic" of branding the media, particularly certain sections of the press, as the culprit when things went wrong was not unfamiliar in South Africa.

DEALING with the role of the Churches, he said he had not the slightest doubt that there were clear signs of undercurrents from what was termed black theology, linking up particularly with the

theology of liberation and possibly even the theology of revolution.

However he suspected that the politically militant religious group although very active was smaller than one might believe.

BLACKS in unrest areas saw the use of Casspirs and "bush uniforms" as a declaration of war.

Although he praised the exemplary manner in which the police carried out their duties he was critical of many of the tactics employed.

The police were criticised by blacks for failing to take early action, particularly against unlawful elements but then causing irritation later by their presence.

Repeated roadblocks and humiliating searches and claims of abuse were causes of complaint.

THE van der Walt investigation's findings on the causes of the 1984 Vaal Triangle unrest were a shocking indictment of Government policy, the Progressive Federal Party said last night.

Mr Peter Soal, PFP spokesman on black affairs in the Transvaal, said it was also an absolute disgrace that the Government had not published the report for so long after receiving it.

CMS 7/10/85 18/4/86

ANC only wants power Botha

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The African National Congress was not interested in negotiations or in a settlement, but wanted to take over power at any cost, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He said to all persons, interested parties and Western governments who had held talks with them that the ANC was only using such rapprochement to promote its own legitimacy in South Africa and abroad.

The government was, by virtue of carefully evaluated intelligence and not for propaganda reasons, perhaps in a better position than the ANC itself to determine what influence the SACP had in the organisation.

Oliver Tambo

It was known that the SACP was strongly represented in all the ANC delegations that had held talks with the various parties from South Africa.

The ANC did not want rapprochement with groups such as businessmen or the PFP to prevent it from obtaining its goal of a take-over of power.

"It is not interested in negotiations and in a settlement. It regards itself as the 'only alternative government' for South Africa. Its purpose is to take over power in South Africa at any cost."

The president of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo has said as recently as February this year that Western governments, the PFP, the business sector in South Africa and even the government wanted to reform the apartheid system so the end result would be a system which secured their business but was minus racial discrimination.

"We must protect our struggle against forces which sound correct but whose object is entirely to destroy the cause, the objective, of our revolutionary struggle," Mr Tambo had said.

Mr Botha said it was no wonder that a person such as Mr Gavin Relly, the chairman of Anglo American, whose insight he respected, was somewhat disillusioned after talks between the businessmen and the ANC.

Mr Relly's considered opinion that the ANC need not be an essential factor in an internationally acceptable settlement was particularly significant.

— Sapa

Broeders do want talks

● From PAGE 1

South African Communist Party.

One way round the obstacle would be for the AB to send a Broeder in the guise of, say, an academic, who could then report back informally to his Broeders.

According to Gerrit Oliver in his book "Praat met die ANC", four Afrikaner academics, among them De Lange, planned to see the ANC last year but were dissuaded from doing so by Botha.

But that was last year. The exigencies of the situation may have persuaded them to go ahead now.

Despite its obscurantist image, the AB is a modernising, adaptive force. Its role is to monitor the political situation closely in order to appraise how best to ensure the survival of Afrikanerdom. Clearly the ANC is a major component in the present crisis. Equally clearly its views are pertinent to the Broeders' appraisals.

SA is on new path — Pik

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By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — There were very high hope and very good reason to believe that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) could play a meaningful role to promote dialogue and bring the violence in South Africa to an end, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said on television last night.

He was being interviewed on the programme Network.

Mr Botha said the Government had received a report from the EPG and had responded. It was now awaiting further clarification and reaction from the EPG.

"I personally believe that this group can play a useful role. It is delicate for us to say anything in public because then we break an agreement with them not to publicise our discussions.

"But there is very high hope and very good reason to believe that this group can play a useful role and promote dialogue and help end the violence," Mr Botha said.

"If this will happen I cannot say. But nothing has happened which has cancelled the useful role of this group."

Mr Botha said the EPG consisted of people who had held leading positions in their time and they would not want to ruin their reputations over what they were trying to do.

They had a realistic and objective approach and they put South Africa in the African context, unlike the Europeans and "do-gooders" in America, he said.

STINGING ATTACK ON PRESIDENT

Mr Botha also delivered a stinging attack on President Kenneth Kaunda during the programme, accusing him of being influenced by the ANC and a "bunch of communists" into not giving South Africa credit for its recent reforms.

He said if the South African delegation in Swaziland for the coronation of King Mswati III had approached Mr Kaunda for discussions he (Mr Kaunda) would have refused, then he would have leaked the approach to the Press.

Instead, President Kaunda had announced there had been no attempt to speak to him, Mr Botha said.

"But he cannot bluff us. This country is on a new path and a better South Africa is coming for all.

"We have a great interest in good relations. We will continue to help ... but we are not interested in being shouted at morning and night by an African leader who knows better," said Mr Botha.

He said South Africa had met the requirements that any reasonable African leader could expect.

"I am sorry to say the ANC headquarters sits in Lusaka and stuffs Dr Kaunda full of rubbish.

"In the four or five times that I saw him over the last two years I told him what we were planning and he was satisfied.

Mr Botha also revealed he and President Botha had asked President Reagan's daughter, Maureen, who was also present at the ceremonies in Swaziland, to convey what she had seen and heard to her father.

"We told her to say how those hated white racists were received in black Africa.

"We have invited her to visit South Africa for two weeks," he said.

sunrise new

I hope it hasn't come too late, says Suzman

● From Page 1

And Mr Botha still has to answer the question of the political representation of blacks at the central decision-making level.

Mrs Helen Suzman: "The repeal of the pass laws does away with one of the major sources of racial friction. But it has come so late that I fear it will not divert the efforts of radical elements."

"I can only hope that the White Paper will not introduce any substitute for restriction of the mobility of blacks."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop-elect of Cape Town: "The moratorium and release of pass offenders can only be welcomed — but I hope there is not a sting in the tail."

"One has to be very careful that they are not going to find another way of harassing blacks through 'orderly urbanisation' or other means."

Mr Jan Steyn, of the Urban Foundation: "A significant step towards the abolition of influx control."

"We would welcome, as a package of enactments, the restoration of citizenship, the complete abolition of control over the movement of black people, and the issuing of a common identity document for all South Africans which would be solely for the purpose of identification, as in the case of other race groups."

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party: "It will undoubtedly help to ease the tensions and the conflict situation in the country and could help to create the climate necessary if there are to be meaningful negotiations in the constitutional field."

"It is an important step towards normalising the lives of millions of black South Africans."

Mr Muntu Myeze, Azapo publicity secretary: "These gestures of so-called reform by the Botha regime come at a time when great misery has caused loss of life, the destruction of families and a host of untold sufferings to our people."

"Nothing short of a fully democratic and just society can satisfy the black people."

Mrs Mary Burton, president of the Black Sash: "We will be interested to see what the White Paper has to say. We believe that the stopping of arrests will benefit the people who are already in the urban areas."

"What the Black Sash wants to see is the establishment of the right of all South Africans to move freely anywhere in the country."

Political liberation is the chief goal — Naude

April 1988

Political liberation was the primary goal of the people of South Africa and all other needs had become secondary, said general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) Dr Beyers Naude yesterday.

Reporting on progress made at an SACC conference in Johannesburg at the weekend on the crisis in South Africa, Dr Naude said it was addressed by members of several secular organisations involved in the struggle for liberation.

They included representatives of trade unions, youth organisations, civic associations, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

The conference, held behind closed doors, was struck by the seriousness of the crisis on every level, he said.

"The perspective brought home to us was one of a very serious and ongoing crisis in our country."

DEEP SCHISM

"We were struck by the high level of political expectations of the people. Their central focus is political liberation and nothing less."

Dr Naude said even educational and economic needs had taken a secondary place in the hearts and minds of the people.

It was clear there was a deep schism between black and white thinking. This was illustrated when one speaker told the conference that in the mind of the black community, the African National Congress had already been unbanned.

Under these circumstances, it was the duty of the Church to portray the hopes and expectations of the black community, to address the fears of the whites and to reconcile the two, Dr Naude said.

The conference would formulate its findings and make recommendations to member churches.

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Staff

AN issue frequently discussed in the various lobbies and corridors of power in recent weeks has been the advent of the "New Nats".

The phrase was coined by Afrikaans political journalist Dries van Heerden in an article in *Frontline* in which he revealed the existence of a group of 30 or so Nationalist MPs who, he said, had "New Nationalist tendencies".

The National Party, he said, was today a coalition of "at least three parties": the conservative wing, which still believed that the homelands must form the basis of the political solution; the broad middle group, previously known as the "verligtes", which is prepared to see the homelands re-incorporated in South Africa; blacks in the Cabinet and a political system based on a federal confederation; and the New Nats which differs in almost every respect from official Nationalist policy.

The New Nats believe in the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act, in one education system for all, the abolition of influx control, and in placing greater emphasis on regional solutions such as the kwazulu/Natal Indaba.

Rights

They are inclined away from minority protection and favour, instead, the rights of individuals.

The differences in the National Party are no longer between ver-rampies and verligtes, but between those who believe in ethnic grouping prescribed by law and those who believe in freedom of association.

Mr van Heerden's article is generally regarded to be the formal birth of the concept of the New Nats, although reports that a group

ON STAGE

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These are the 'New' Nats

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of about 35 Nationalists were so far to the left that they secretly shared the ideological ground of the Progressive Federal Party have been in circulation for some time.

In fact, when the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, announced his resignation from Parliament in February it was said that a Nationalist MP pleaded with him to stay, to lead the 35 in an enlarged liberal opposition.

New party

There have been reports that the New Nats had given President Botha a limited period to deliver certain minimum reforms, failing which (a) they would break away to form a new party, or (b) merge with the PFP, New Republic Party and certain extra-Parliamentary groups to form a powerful new centre party.

Interviews with several of the New Nats named by Mr van Heerden established that there is no such group in the National Party that goes under that name.

There are different opinions about his list, with no agreement as to which names should be on a hypothetical list of people who are known to generally hold the sort of views attributed to the New Nats.

One or two names on the list caused surprise because they be-

long to people who are known to be on the right of the party. About half a dozen names which did not feature were mentioned as omissions.

It would appear that broadly speaking the National Party pulls in two different directions, with a very small number of individuals so far out to the left, in party terms, that the great bulk of the party regards them almost as eccentrics.

These are the men — four of them are identifiable — who hold most of the views said to be those of the New Nats.

The bulk of the others named as New Nats firmly believe in statutory group identification as the basis for any political system, while very few supporters can be found in this party for one education system for all if that implies integrated schools.

Concerned

President Botha recognises there are different tendencies in the party, but puts them down to healthy differences between strong-willed people. He would be surprised to hear how some of his followers, even some Ministers, do not so readily spring to his defence.

Although there might not be a group of New Nats waiting to storm out of the party if things do

not go their way, there can be no doubt that there are many Nationalist MPs who, being more free-thinking than their colleagues, are more than a little concerned that the NP might not be on the right track.

One junior Nationalist Minister recently told a small group of journalists that he believed the Government had lost control over certain areas of the country and that it had left the situation too long to be able to do anything about it.

At least two other Ministers, somewhat more senior, are known to have expressed reservations that President Botha might not be able to take the country any further meaningful distance along the road of reform.

Several MPs, associated with the New Nat label, express the same concerns, but no-one says so for certain.

"We have to wait and see what the President is going to do, where he is going to take us," said one MP who expresses anxiety that the Government is not moving fast enough.

Agenda

The overall feeling is that there is no faction within the NP which has a separate, more liberal agenda. It is felt the whole party has a more-or-less open agenda, because no-one knows what will ultimately be produced in open-ended constitutional negotiations with the country's other power groups.

The bulk of the NP caucus is feeling the heat from outside Parliament and in such circumstances fixed ideas and iron-cast principles are apt to change. Most Nationalist MPs readily admit their concern, if not fear, for the future.

With such a mood increasingly prevalent the National Party, as a whole, becomes a willing instrument for new ideas and, if exciting and promising enough, with a plausible vision of the future new leadership.

Until then, as one New Nat puts it: "It would be crazy to rock the boat in a stormy ocean".

Infamy, or Badge of Honour?

People are funny. A few years ago, Breyten Breytenbach was in Pretoria Central Prison for political crimes against his own folk. Last weekend he was back in Pretoria, — an honoured guest at a gathering of the flower of Afrikaanerdom, berating them for everything they had once stood for. They cheered him to the echo. What had changed? People, thank heavens. It's comforting to know they can.

But times change, too. Once the folk heroes were those who defied the foreigners in their midst. The new hero is a man who defied his own kind and lashes them still.

History's sobering lesson is that yesterday's infamy quite often becomes tomorrow's Badge of Honour. The British used to say that there was a field-marshal's baton in every soldier's knapsack. Africa knows another principle. There's a president's sash in every terrorist glory-bag. Kenyatta, Banda, Mugabe, Vorster, rebels all, in their day. Determined to destroy the power of the oppressors.

Now where have I heard those words before? Are they only inflammatory from the wrong lips? The questions arise because of this week's hooah over Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Last week Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, was doing his level best to prevent newspapers from quoting Mrs Mandela. This week he was falling over backwards to encourage them to do so. He used his powers in law to authorise publication of selected comments made in weekend speeches and interviews.

What made the difference? Simple. This week he thought he could make political capital out of it. Last week, obviously, he thought he couldn't.

Some people aren't funny. Some things don't change.

□ □ □

It's probably a little unfair to blame the Minister alone when many of his supporters share his feelings.

Take *The Star's* decision to quote Mrs Mandela.

Last week it would have been almost impossible — I know! — to find a conservative white who approved of our publishing the first Mandela interviews, even though we were confident that it was legally permissible and highly desirable in the interests of keeping readers informed.

The problem was that she came across harsh, committed — but

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS BY REX GIBSON

not terrifying. She wasn't the complete boggywoman. She listed convincing grievances, and she was plausible enough to exploit them. In short, she didn't match up to the carefully cultivated image presented by the Government of a wild-eyed revolutionary.

But this week? Ah, how she cooperated. She was ferocious enough to satisfy every propagandist in Union Buildings.

And then it was almost impossible to find a conservative white who didn't think it a marvellous idea to allow her words to be published. For all the wrong reasons.

Yes, what she said needed to be made known. But she has said a lot of other things too down the months: things that have been better, warmer, more hopeful. The rest of the world knows that. South Africans don't. We're going to have to share this country with people like her, and we hardly know them at all.

Appalling as was her apparent support for violence (the sooner

she retracts the better for everyone), her speeches have to be read as any other politician's speech is read — in context, and with regard for hypebole, point-scoring, adrenalin, foolishness, malice, sore feet and so on.

Mr le Grange will agree, I know. He has spent many years trying to explain that he didn't really describe the coup in the Seychelles as being the work of a few men who "ran around in the bush and shot out a few windows".

His own police had to explain that they didn't mean "eliminate" the way it sounded when they put out a police order on how to deal with petrol-bombers.

Some people might have interpreted a recent le Grange quote as implying a wish to have township stone-throwers mown down with absolute ferocity. At least the Minister has had every opportunity to set the record straight.

So it should have crossed his mind that it might have been

fairer, more accurate, simply to say to local journalists (those, unlike us, who thought they needed his permission): "Go ahead then, interview her yourselves, find out what she really thinks. Report it so that all may know and understand."

□ □ □
That, of course, didn't happen. What did happen is that *The Star*, in line with its conclusion that the banning order was invalid, published conventional interviews about two weeks ago — before the controversial statements; then a précis of the notorious necklace-and-matches comments; then Mrs Mandela's response to the criticism those aroused.

All simple and straightforward newspaper practice. All without kind permission of the Minister. Out of it emerged — not a rounded picture (after 11 years of banning, how could it be?) but something approaching fairness.

Other papers took different approaches. *The Citizen* did its usual thing: first it elicited official response trying to show that *The Star* had broken the law; then it kept its silence on what Mrs Mandela had said; then it allowed the Minister to tell it which portion of Mrs Mandela's comments it could quote; then it re-

frained from quoting her on anything else, in any other paper. Beeld, another Nationalist newspaper, did much the same.

Die Vaderland, to its credit, applied an independent mind to the problem and used the controversial "authorised" quotation but also published an interview with Mrs Mandela showing a different side to her character. I hope a warm word from *Die Vaderland* a disservice.

□ □ □
Readers can make up their own minds which kind of journalistic service they prefer. South Africans by and large have an enviable trait: respect for rugged independence, sometimes called bloody-mindedness, a regard for bluff honesty. Nobody messes around.

So why do we put up with official manipulation of information designed to make us docile by keeping us ignorant, primed with propaganda? Why do we let them push us around? I have no answers. Do you?

□ □ □
Heard about what they're calling the visiting rugby players, since they cannot be called All Blacks? No Name Peas. Anonymous, but all from the same pod.

ment: ate ital SA?

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progressive ideological fold when they endorsed a call for all the city's beaches to be opened to all races. This has left councillors sympathetic to the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party in an isolated minority.

The council's decision to call for the opening of the city's trading areas to all races was also a blow to the right.

At national level, the NP has set in motion a process which has acquired its own momentum.

In recent years it has:

- Scrapped the Mixed Marriages and Section 16 of the Immorality Act (but retained the Group Areas Act).
- Done away with the Political Interference Act

which prevented mixed-race political parties (but kept separate voters' rolls).

- Scrapped the pass laws and announced a uniform identity document (while still, apparently, wishing to retain digital race classification and demanding finger-prints!).

- Agreed to replace influx control with an "orderly urbanisation" policy.

- Allowed the systematic integration of amenities — most recently cinemas, hotels and bars.

- Committed the country to one constitution and one citizenship.

- Pledged itself to sharing political power — with the proposed National State.

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Post Focus

White Parli can it motiv necessary v changes in s

By KIN BENTLEY

ARE fair-minded, peace-loving white South Africans sufficiently motivated to save their country from destruction?

And can this motivation be translated into action in the House of Assembly — where the political power lies?

The endemic unrest is evidence that time is running out for reconciliation to be effected in South Africa before racial polarisation overtakes us completely. The Government appears hidebound.

Some political observers believe that if peaceful constitutional change is to become a practical possibility, a sufficient number of far-sighted MPs would have to capture political power (possibly through some form of parliamentary realignment) — and from that power-base negotiate a future with popular black leaders.

There are clear signs — most recently Winnie Mandela's apparent endorsement of black violence against whites — that masses of blacks are totally alienated from the Government and its apartheid structures and that any sort of "settlement" with them could only be on the basis of white capitulation. At the same time, it is equally clear that the white right would rather opt for violent confrontation in order to retain the status quo.

However, probably springing from the spectre of a Lebanon situation, a groundswell of realistic white opinion appears to be emerging, which could somehow bridge the chasm between these two poles.

In recent months, in Port Elizabeth particularly, whites have, through the black consumer boycott, been forced to look at the demands of the black majority.

This week a group of businessmen in PE drew up a charter which they will, no doubt, present to the Government in the hope

that their call will be heard.

These people clearly represent a view held by enlightened whites who are prepared — even yearn — to live in a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Another man grasping for the middle ground which apartheid has destroyed, is the PFP's finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, who last week called for a re-alignment of centrist political forces.

Also, there have been reports of a growing group of "angry young men" within the ruling National Party who are fed up with the current lack of direction of the Government. When Dr Van Zyl Slabbert resigned from Parliament there was talk of some 40 disillusioned NP MPs secretly supportive of

him.

In his speech during the Budget debate in the House of Assembly last week, Mr Schwarz outlined a five-point, five-year plan for South Africa in which he called for:

- A centrist alliance.
- A committee to review all apartheid legislation with a view to its repeal.
- Negotiation with all leaders without pre-conditions
- Formulae to remove discrimination as it applies to social services.
- A massive employment programme of the magnitude of that launched in the 1930s in the United States by President Roosevelt.

Mr Schwarz's centrist

alliance referred to political forces across racial boundaries. But implicit in such an alliance, if it is to be successful and pre-empt violent white reaction, is that it include the majority of the white voters.

The PE businessmen's charter made public this week represents a strong call for democratic rights to be granted to all.

It calls for:

- The immediate abolition of all discriminatory laws, specially the Population Registration, Group Areas and Influx Control Acts.
- The right of employees to associate in a free, non-racial union movement.
- The re-introduction of the rule of law, with the

administration of justice being safeguarded by the courts.

● A single education system acceptable to all South Africans.

At ground level, there are clear signs that many whites are slowly waking up to the need to move away from apartheid.

In three municipal by-elections held in Port Elizabeth recently, the PFP twice defeated NP candidates, while an NP sympathiser, Mr Frans Marais, last week defeated CP candidate, Mr Christie van Heerden.

And, significantly, Port Elizabeth's NP city councillors this year, for the first time, moved cautiously — yet openly — into the

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Parliament and Politics

Botha talks out on solution to violence in SA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Mr P W Botha, the State President, said yesterday that violence and terrorism could not be controlled by force alone.

He believed socio-economic and other measures also had to be taken into consideration, he said in his reply to points raised during the debate on his Budget Vote.

Mr Botha said the House was united in its belief that the government had to act "in a tough way and be effective" against violence and terrorism. The leaders of the PFP, CP and Mr Vause Raw (NRP) had agreed on this and he would hold them to their word.

"But, I believe you can't control violence only with violence and force — you also need socio-economic and other measures to stop the onslaught against South Africa."

Welfare arm

For this reason, as chairman of the State Security Council, he had adopted a two-pronged approach by appointing a security arm and a welfare arm of government, with a minister co-ordinating their activities.

He received evaluated information daily — and, sometimes, more than once a day — on the security situation in the country and on activities overseas aimed at the country.

Mr Botha said that, before yesterday's proceedings in the Assembly, he had met with "a very prominent black leader", who had asked him to protect responsible blacks and to make more use of the security forces to ensure the safety of ordinary people.

The black leader, whom he did not name, said the government should go down to the "grass-roots" of the black people because they were afraid of communism.

Repudiate their action

Mr Botha said the leader of the Official Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, was not going to get away from the fact that two of his party members had recently attended the funeral of a leader of the South African Communist Party.

"If Mr Eglin is a strong leader he should get up and say that he repudiates their action," Mr Botha said.

Since Mr Eglin had returned from talks with the ANC in Lusaka, his insistence on scrapping the present dispensation had intensified, said Mr Botha.

Turning to apartheid, he said that if it was a cover for colonial paternalism, it had been wrong since the beginning.

He said that, after Dr D F Malan, the National Party had "gone too far" with certain measures.

"The concept of apartheid was often driven too far and led to lunacies," he said.

"This outdated system cannot be accepted in South Africa," said Mr Botha. "I said that and I stand by it."

From Page 12

utory Council being seen by President Botha as a "first step" towards institutionalised power-sharing.

Symptomatic of the inadequacy of this moderate reform package was the emergence of countrywide black revolts over the past nearly two years. These have been met by the Government in the only way it knows how: massive security force action to keep the lid on the boiling pot.

Why, at a time when the Government is reforming, it is asked, is there this negative black response? Is it purely the work of revolutionaries?

The reason seems to go much deeper than that. In essence, President Botha's reforms have failed to address the fundamental problem: black political rights — a fact about which the PE businessmen who drew up their charter have been made painfully aware.

But another prominent demand of the boycott committees has been a call for the unbanning of the ANC, the release of its leaders and the holding of talks with the Government. Whether these are to be about handing over power to "the people" or about sharing power is a moot point. Among the far left-wing groups of black nationalists, power-sharing is no longer even an option.

Yet rhetoric is one thing. In reality all South Africans will at some stage have to sit down and talk about how this country can be shared.

And, like it or not, in most of the country (excluding, perhaps, in Natal/KwaZulu) masses of blacks see the ANC (and to

a lesser extent perhaps, the PAC) as their national "liberation movement" — the sort of populist black political party with which the white Government will inevitably have to talk about a shared future.

(It has been argued that by keeping the ANC banned the Government has increased its allure among blacks.)

While similar black nationalist movements emerged throughout colonial Africa after World War Two and eventually took or were granted power, in South Africa a shared future is the only alternative to one of protracted inter-racial violence. Because, unlike in the rest of Africa, South Africa's white people cannot exercise the "colonial option" — they can't get out, because they

have nowhere else to go.

But there is a frightening possibility that with the Government's present reform/repression approach, the cycle of violence between the State and township youths (and increasingly adults?) will degenerate to a point where a negotiated future becomes impossible.

Are more whites ripe for real reform? After the ongoing unrest of the past two years, increasing numbers appear to accept that the sooner political power is shared with Africans, the sooner peace and stability can be restored — and the more moderate will be the future system.

The extraordinary federal congress of the NP, to be held in Durban in August, will focus on the implications of the unrest.

Conscious that the right-wing is capitalising on the unrest and the lack of clear Government direction, the NP might finally decide to tackle the real implications of power-sharing — even if this precipitates losses from its right-wing.

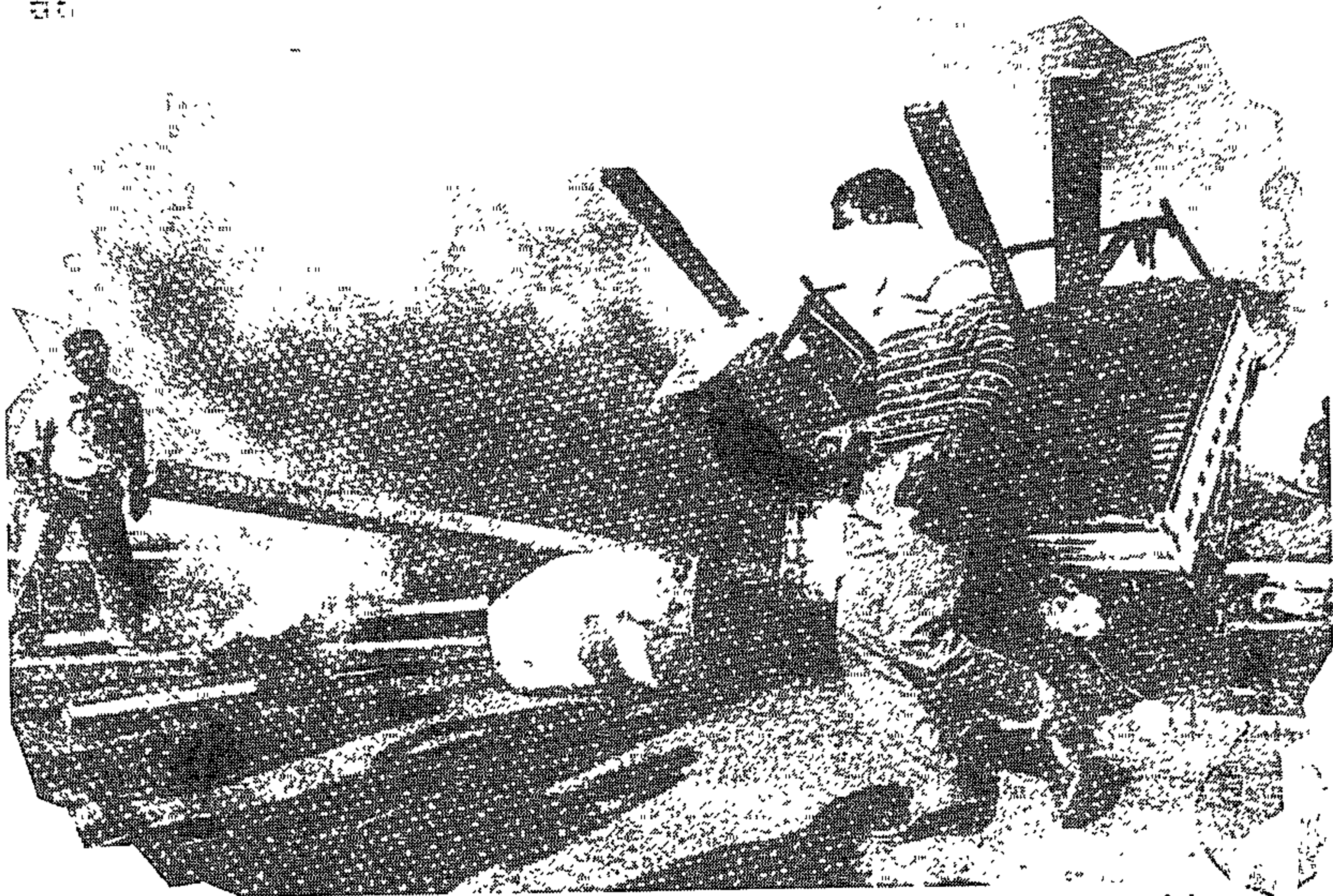
A vital question is: how many Nationalists MPs are more at home in the Conservative Party?

If they constitute a sufficiently small number, the leadership of the NP could act boldly to shed itself of them, enabling the party to move firmly into a more reformist position alongside the PFP.

Should that occur, South Africa might finally broach the crucial issue whites chose to evade during the 1909 Union Convention: negotiation with black leaders on a shared future.

HARRY SCHWARZ ... re-align

WINNIE MANDELA ... violence



The past two years has seen sustained unrest throughout South Africa. Here a truck burns as a road is barricaded in one of the country's black townships.

Post Focus

E Post 19/4/88 (304A) 19/4/88

No short cuts to peace in S Africa

WINNING the support of black leaders for a constitutional indaba is going to take a great deal more than another announcement of the Government's good intentions. The Government is obviously extremely anxious to produce a system that will give some form of political rights to blacks to satisfy South Africa's antagonists abroad — and, of course, put an end to the unrest within the country.

But internal peace and re-admission to the world community can only be the ultimate prize. Constitutional talks now have no hope of success, for unless all vestiges of social discrimination are scrapped, there is little chance of even moderate black leaders agreeing to join the Government around the negotiating table.

President P W Botha this week made a renewed effort to get the National Statutory Council going. He should understand, however, there are no short cuts. Certainly he has begun his reform programme. But progress is so tortuous that it is largely ineffective.

By the time action matches words, the impact has been lost. Instead, there needs to be an unequivocal, public commitment by the Government to a systematic, total dismantling of the apartheid machine. And then, working to a clearly defined, concise timetable, it should set about scrapping from the statute books all discriminatory legislation.

The Government is playing with change, perhaps under the delusion that apartheid can be reformed. The opening of beaches, cinemas, hotels and restaurants are peripheral issues and can only be part of the acceptance of the fundamental principle that all discriminatory aspects of South Afri-

can society must be abandoned.

We believe that only when that task has been completed can the question of a national statutory council (national convention?) be addressed. That in itself will lead to numerous other challenges. For instance, how do you get all recognised leaders around the negotiating table when one of the key parties is banned and the acknowledged father of the black people is in prison?

At this stage these challenges may seem impossible to accomplish. But one has to see them in the context of a South Africa in which most of the sources of bitterness and hatred have been removed. In other words, the climate would be far more conducive to negotiation.

Many Nationalist leaders believe it would be foolhardy to give away everything before getting to the conference table as they would have nothing left with which to negotiate. But surely they would have the strongest negotiating advantage of all — political power.

The other drag on progress is the Government's ultra-sensitivity to Nationalist rightwing reaction. For goodness sake, the Nationalists have such an overwhelming parliamentary majority that it could afford to lose 50 seats and still remain in power!

A bold announcement — followed quickly by the deed — that the Group Areas Act and influx control (without strings) are to be scrapped and that there is to be one education department for all is the sort of action that would help convince opponents both here and abroad that the Government is sincere in seeking a fair and lasting solution to South Africa's problems.

Parliament and Politics

Govt go-ahead for KwaNatal

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
— A joint KwaNatal administration has been accepted in principle by the government and other similar bodies could be established elsewhere

This was announced yesterday by the State President Mr P W Botha, who said this decision had nothing to do with the current Indaba concerning a joint legislative body for Natal which was a completely different matter

However, the government was not opposed to

the conference and had sent three senior members of the National Party as observers

Mr Botha said he could not accept a request by the chairman of the Indaba, Professor Desmond Clarence, for a moratorium on all changes to the Natal provincial system until October 1 so that the Indaba could present specific proposals of their own about a possible joint legislature

The life of the provincial councils had already been extended once and would have to be extended again if he accepted the moratori-

um on Natal because all provinces had to be treated the same way.

"A further extension of the present term of the provincial councils will have no effect on the negotiations of the Indaba about a proposed legislature or the time scale of such deliberations," said Mr Botha

"Parliamentary legislation is in any case necessary to implement such proposals if they are acceptable and this would only be possible during the 1987 session."

The government had therefore decided it could no longer delay urgent reform measures at provincial level any longer

Dealing with the proposals for a joint administration which were handed to the government recently Mr Botha said the Cabinet supported the principle

Health

"The parties proposed a body which will be able to harness the existing resources of the two administrations," he said

Areas of co-operation could include health, roads, traffic control, physical planning and nature conservation. Similar areas in which a rationalised combined effort made good practical sense at the operational level could also be considered

Equal representation would be afforded to both Natal and KwaZulu in the joint executive authority and the chairmanship would alternate on an agreed basis

Disagreement

"Decisions will necessarily have to be by consensus," said Mr Botha.

"In the event of a disagreement, the matter in issue would be referred to the Administrator of Natal and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu jointly for determination"

The way ahead would be to submit special draft legislation to Parliament which, if approved, would enable such a joint executive authority to be created.

"Because of the infinite variation of detail and circumstances to be dealt with, it was recommended by the two parties that the necessary legislation should take the form of an empowering enactment," said Mr Botha.

Proclamation

This meant the joint body could be established by proclamation

"The KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority may not be the last of its sort," said Mr Botha.

Provision would be made in legislation concerning the self governing areas and provincial government for such bodies. This would be done because the needs which led to the co-operation in Natal could apply in other parts of the country



Mr Pat Rogers

Political Staff and Sapa



Mrs Helen Suzman



Mr Frank le Roux



Mr Daan van der Merwe

Suzman hails pass-law move

MRS HELEN Suzman, the veteran MP who has fought the controversial influx control measures for more than 30 years, said yesterday she was "obviously elated" that the pass laws would be abolished as announced by President P W Botha yesterday

"I can only hope that the white paper due next week on planned urbanization will in no way suggest any form of substitution for restrictions on mobility which have been a major cause of racial friction over so many years," she said in an interview yesterday.

"I hope, too, this means that all other offences, linked to influx control and pass laws, like curfew regulations, are also on their way out

Eglin

"Tackling genuine grievances about discriminatory and oppressive laws is clearly a better means and more permanent manner of dealing with unrest in the black townships," Mrs Suzman said.

● The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said during the debate in Parliament yesterday if the

proposed National Council was going to contribute to the success of negotiation, the people who took part in its deliberations would have to be the genuine leaders of the communities they were supposed to represent

Mr P W Botha had to "make it clear his government is not locked into the concept that constitutional development can only take place within the framework of racially based structures founded on statutory race classification and compulsory group membership"

This also implied willingness to abandon "the costly and divisive constitutional monstrosity known as own affairs"

At local-government level the introduction of Regional Services Councils based on separate racial authorities was meeting massive resistance from blacks and increasing resistance from coloureds and Indi-

ans, who wanted full participation on a non-racial basis

● The delay in calling a general election was legal and constitutional but not honourable or democratic, Mr Roger Hulley (PFP Constantia) said yesterday during the Budget vote of the State President.

He called on Mr Botha to call an election this year

In the 76 years since Union in 1910 there had been an average of four years and two months between each of the 18 elections

The provision in the previous constitution was that every Parliament should continue for five years "and no longer"

According to that constitution the State President would have had to call a general election before July 31 this year. But in terms of the 1983 Constitution the State President was permitted to allow Parliament to

continue until September 4, 1989

"It is absolutely unprecedented for South Africa, even in wartime, not to hold a general election within the constitutional five year period"

● Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said Mr Botha had been reported as saying that he found the past system to be repugnant.

"Mr Botha is the only member who has sat in this House since 1948 and implemented the laws of separation. For him to say he found this system repugnant was the same as saying his whole political career was repugnant."

● The CP supported the bombing of Libya by United States jets, Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said yesterday during the debate

He hoped, however, that the US also understood South African military action in Angola

● Mr Pat Rogers (NRP King Williams' Town) said his party backed a confederation of Southern African states whose national anthem could be N'kosi Sikelele l'Afrika, which was revered throughout Africa

Disobey unjust law, says Tutu in plan for change

By Estelle Trengrove
Religion Reporter

Anglican Archbishop-designate Bishop Desmond Tutu this week outlined a plan of non-violent action for Christians, including civil disobedience and greater white involvement in protests and demonstrations.

"We must take action for justice, peace and reconciliation. We must be prepared to disobey unjust laws. An unjust law is no law," Bishop Tutu said, speaking at the opening of a conference on "The Church in Crisis", organised by the South African Council of Churches. Laws were meant to provide a just dispensation.

Bishop Tutu said that if one tried unsuccessfully to have unjust laws reformed, it was incumbent on a Christian to say: "Sorry, we cannot obey

laws that are unjust. We would rather obey God than Man."

How long were Christian lawyers, judges and magistrates going to participate in a dispensation of unjust laws? he asked.

"Why do judges and lawyers assist in the maintenance of that which is blatantly unjust?" he asked.

"Let us involve more whites in peaceful demonstrations and protests," he said, and added with a laugh: "Then the soldiers won't shoot so quickly."

Bishop Tutu called for a greater understanding between black and white South Africans.

"We really don't know one another across the race barriers apartheid has erected," he said.

Blacks did not know the understandable fears of whites, who were wor-

ried that their position was under siege.

Blacks did not understand their anguish as their sons had to serve in the Security Forces, but whites did not understand the blacks' hatred for the security forces.

Few whites had Casspirs rumbling down the streets of their residential areas or knew the sting of teargas.

"And so they can play tennis under floodlights at the height of the state of emergency. Whites don't know the hurt of blacks. In spite of all that has been done to enlighten them, we live in two different worlds," the bishop said.

He told of a film he had once seen, called "The Distant Ones", about two people who escaped from prison, shackled together — one white and the other black. At one stage, they fell into a ditch. Whenever one managed to al-

most reach the top, he would be pulled down by the manacle again.

"The only way they could get out was together. The only way we will survive in this country is manacled together by our humanity. The only way we can be human is manacled together, black and white," Bishop Tutu said.

He said blacks needed to teach whites about the black plight. "Get them to come and live for one or two days in Soweto and, at 5 o'clock in the morning, in winter, see our grandmothers queuing for their pensions," he said.

The Church had a duty to prepare congregations, especially white congregations, for the unavoidable.

Bishop Tutu said he told a white congregation recently that it should be obvious to them that a small minority could not rule over a vast majority

forever.

"We need to persuade them that their best interests are served by sharing," he said.

The Church should be ready to be honest brokers when the time for negotiation comes.

The Church must continue to make demands, for example, demanding that troops be withdrawn from townships, that political prisoners be released and that the authorities talk to the authentic leaders of the people.

"We must continue calling on the authorities to keep their police away from funerals," he said. It seemed as if the police sought confrontation, because they knew how to deal with that type of situation.

"We don't want apartheid reforms — you don't reform a Frankenstein. You destroy it."

Cart Times 21/4/86

30kA

Rapport objects to Breytenbach's views

Staff Reporter

THE board of directors of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, yesterday announced that it had "serious objections" to the opinions expressed by Afrikaans poet Breyten Breytenbach when he received its Rapport Prize for Literature in Pretoria last week.

Breytenbach told an invited, and mostly Afrikaans, audience that he had come to South Africa to receive his prize because he was "irrevocably tied to Africa" and that he "identified with the liberation struggle of South Africans". He also said that:

- "The Afrikaner constituted the world community's secreted insanity".

- "The Afrikaner's contribution to the richness of our world's spiritual heritage is specific — erecting and enthroning racism as an ideal state and then, as a sacrament to this idolatry, enshrining apartheid".

- "Our rottenness is unique and our self-destruction will certainly also be unrepeatable".

- The Afrikaans churches were "morally bankrupt".

Breytenbach's speech was greeted with shock and outrage in Afrikaans church circles.

Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the Northern Transvaal synod of

the Ned Geref Kerk, said Breytenbach approached facts in a "playful but immoral manner".

"He attacks the churches and the thinking establishment in a way that makes it clear that he does not know what is happening in our country."

The Rev Tappies Möller, moderator of the Western Cape synod and editor of Die Kerkbode, said that at least the Afrikaans churches had not encouraged violence but "spread the message of conciliation".

In a front-page announcement in Rapport yesterday, the chairman of its Board of Directors, Dr Willem van Heerden, said that although the board did not wish to comment on the decision to award the prize to Breytenbach, it had "serious objections" to "aspects surrounding the event".

"The board expresses its disapproval of Mr Breytenbach's attacks on the Afrikaans churches, his uncontrolled use of language in public at the prize-giving, which was a painful embarrassment for many guests, and of his political gesture of using part of his prize money in such a way that it conflicts directly with Rapport's policy," the announcement said.

Breytenbach said at the prize-giving he would donate part of his R15 000 prize to unspecified organizations working to help political prisoners.

Economy: PW on defensive

BUSDAY 22/4/83

304/A



● BOTHA

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

POLITICS could not be blamed solely for SA's economic woes, President P W Botha claimed yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his budget vote in the House of Assembly, Botha said it was naive in the extreme to make such a charge, when the facts showed many other factors had contributed to these problems.

He maintained that were it not for various steps taken by government, economic conditions would probably have been much more serious.

Botha listed a number of factors which, he declared, had a negative impact on the economy:

□ The country — still dependent for most of its oil needs on imports — has had to live through the shocks of two oil crises in the space of a decade. Development capital which could have been used for other purposes had to be used to finance the oil account.

He said SA paid about R22bn more for its oil imports between 1973-1984 than would have been the case had the oil price followed a more normal course.

□ The country's purchasing power had been checked by sharp declines in the gold price.

□ The oil crisis had affected SA's impor-

tant trading partners. This had an effect on the country's exports, which declined in volume terms by 11,5% from 1979 to 1983.

□ The agricultural sector had, until recently, been bowed down by one of the worst droughts since 1933. The sector's contribution fell more than 33% from 1981-1983.

This had caused government to supply aid to the farming community on a large scale. Direct financial help had now totalled more than R1bn.

These developments had combined to have a direct effect on the current account of the balance of payments.

Botha said this combination of circumstances had had a negative effect on the investment climate in SA and on the inflow of foreign capital.

The president indicated he was considering holding a conference later in the year on lines similar to the Carlton and Good Hope conferences. Such an event could be used fruitfully to solicit debate on a proper economic strategy in the short, middle and long term, he said.

Business meeting 'vital' Schwarz

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The new Government/business conference planned for later this year could be vital for the restoration of confidence in South Africa, the Progressive Federal Party said today.

It ought to be a multiracial gathering of businessmen, trade unionists, consumers, academics and politicians to talk frankly and hammer out a financial blueprint for the future, said Mr. Harry Schwarz, PFP spokesman on Finance.

President Botha said during the Budget vote of the State President in the House of Assembly yesterday that such a conference could possibly be held later this year to discuss economic strategy over the short, medium and long term.

Mr Schwarz repeated his oft-made call for such a conference during the debate last week, calling for a meeting across racial and status lines to draft a financial plan for the future.

MULTIRACIAL

Mr Schwarz said today that he was more than pleased that the President had reacted so positively.

"I think there has not been a time when there has been a greater need for talking and dialogue at every level.

"The conference must not be for whites only. It must be multiracial and it must talk frankly about the economic problems facing the country.

"We must know what the Government plans," said Mr. Schwarz.

He predicted such a conference could do much to restore confidence in South Africa.

It was also a good opportunity for labour and capital to get together, and for the public and private sectors to exchange views.

Undoubtedly, the people present would also talk about politics, said Mr Schwarz.

"I would have preferred to have the conference earlier this year because South Africa needs a revival of confidence, and this might just help to do it," he said.

SMAR 22/4/86 Ultra-democracy a 'viable alternative'

By Denis Beckett,
editor of Frontline

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (*The Star*, April 11) suggests that my proposal for intensive democracy puts the cart before the horse. First get rid of apartheid, he says, then work out what takes its place.

To me, this is the reason we are in the trouble we are.

White people hear daily calls to "scrap apartheid", but hear little in the way of what happens thereafter.

Many believe that what happens thereafter is the replacement of minority tyranny by majority tyranny; the replacement of "white" South Africa by "black" South Africa, with all the well-known deterring images this conjures up.

An ultra-democratic structure, with a full web of interacting local, regional and national authorities, provides something to replace apartheid. It guarantees the elimination of tyranny; it assures effective rights for minorities; and it removes the prospect of "the blacks" lining up in monolithic opposition to "the whites".

It is not simply one man, one vote, with the connotation of majority dominance.

It gives maximum effectiveness to every vote — including the votes of Jaap Marais, Andries Treurnicht and the legions of black people who are more conservative than the radical left, and even liberals such as Dr Slabbert and I, might like them to be.

Dr Slabbert scorns the idea that the Government might introduce democracy, saying that its record has pointed in the opposite direction.

However, its record has been formed in a context where one man, one vote was taken to represent black victory and white defeat.

Now, firstly, it is in terrible trouble and ripe for a dramatic break. Secondly, there is a route available which reconciles black liberation with white security — a route with

the potential, once properly placed on the map, of gripping the imaginations of South Africans across the board.

He says that even if the Government wanted to, its own systems make it incapable of accommodating black voters.

This is difficult to understand. Parliament is sovereign. It changed the Constitution once. There is no technical barrier against it changing it again, to establish a single democratic society.

Dr Slabbert's main concern is that democracy cannot come into being until after "free association" is allowed.

FREE ASSOCIATION

Here it is important to establish which is horse and which is cart. Obviously, there is no democracy without free association. But I can't see how South Africa can acquire free association without democracy.

Free association without democracy would mean:

- The currently exiled bodies can mobilise legally without competing at the polls. They spread the ethic of ungovernability, denounce those who take part in constitutional forums as traitors, and entrench the belief that real

liberation means their own ascent to power.

- Alternative forms of order — street committees, etc — flourish. Calling themselves "democratic", they impose the will of the activists on the rest. The rule of the most muscular triumphs in the townships.

- True support remains impossible to gauge. Most people do not belong to political parties. In a democracy they vote for what they see as giving them something they want. Without democracy support is measured by the numbers of activists who attend meetings.

- Normal social institutions cannot grow. Organisations are divided into those which co-operate with the official structures and those which do not.

- Whites, and blacks who fear ANC domination, take increasing fright, giving rise to the prospect of military mutiny or right-wing coup along with increased "vigilante" and "culling" adventures, emigration, capital flight, and economic collapse.

When what remains of the country eventually goes to an election, the result is a foregone conclusion. It takes peculiar

courage for an ordinary black person to stand against the dominant tendency, or even to want to.

The environment ensures that "black interests" are closely tied to the dominant party, which is then installed amid post-revolutionary fervour, and the chances of any real democracy emerging are slim indeed.

Clearly, the Government is not about to permit "free association" with this prospect in store, no matter how earnest the calls on it to do so.

Contrast this with freedom in intensive democracy:

- The ANC & Co return as normal political players to seek voting support in a constitutional structure. (If they reject it, they forfeit the claim to be seeking democracy, and lose influence as democratic institutions emerge.)

- The ruinous split between "collaborationist" and authentic black parties is no more.

- "White politics" and "black politics" cease to exist as separate entities. People can mobilise in whatever forms they choose, but they are all part of a single political system.

- Self-proclaimed "democratic committees" are displaced by secret ballots within a constitutional structure.

- Much political energy is put into local and regional affairs, which is where most of the matters which affect people's day-to-day lives are decided. Democratic formation emerge in localised areas, with their various affiliations and strategies dislodging adherence to mass party lines.

- National elections take place in an ordered context. People are free to vote for whom they wish — effectively free and not merely nominally free.

I do not see the establishment of democracy as something to be thought about "afterwards", but as the key to any real prospect of getting rid of apartheid.

the small society

by Brickman



SA not told what to do — Botha

THE South African government did not let itself be prescribed to, State President P W Botha said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his vote in the Committee Stage of the Budget, he said leader of the Conservative Party Andries Treurnicht and members of his party had an obsession.

They believed that the US would act prescriptively and that the South African government would humbly say yes to everything that they said or proposed.

"If that was so, how does the honourable member explain the continuing and incessant activity which is being taken against South

Africa in the American Congress and elsewhere in the world?

"He cannot be unaware of all the boycott actions which are being planned against South Africa worldwide, some of which have already been put into action against this country.

"I and colleagues of mine have said repeatedly in Parliament and outside that reform already brought about, and that which is yet to be brought about, has been undertaken because we ... believe in fairness and justice."

The government did not entirely agree with the US government's view of how a democratic system in South Africa would look, he said.

"I suggest that the Honourable Member for Waterberg consider South Africa's position in the world, the extent of the campaign being waged against us, and the goodwill of other governments towards us before he makes damaging remarks in this House which might harm our interests further.

"He and his party will not buy our farmers' products if we cannot export.

"Nor will they buy our minerals or our manufactured goods if a general boycott against us succeeds.

"And they will be powerless if this country's imports of a variety of goods is halted." — Sapa.

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Despite President P W Botha's claim that apartheid is outmoded, Government officials have spent the past three years working towards one of the most racially exclusive systems the country has ever seen.

CLOSED DOORS

The system which involves a substantial sub-division of the old administration goes under the name of Own Affairs.

Most of the work is being done behind closed doors, with some of the difficulties peeping through every now and then.

It boils down to dividing the spoils and controls of several important functions — the main ones being education, health, social services and housing.

Altogether there are 13 main categories, with 33 sub-sections, designated for Own Affairs control in the constitution.

The constitution defines Own Affairs as "matters which specially, or differentially, affect a population group in relation to the maintenance of its identity and the upholding and furtherance of its way of life, culture,

Own Affairs — a question of race

traditions and customs".

But achieving the racial breakdown is not proving that easy.

After almost two years there is not even agreement on how the taxpayers' money should be divided between the various administrations.

HEALTH SERVICES

In terms of section 84 of the new constitution, money for Own Affairs budgets should be allocated according to a formula — but there appears to be no

formula in sight. At the moment the amounts are allocated in annual negotiations.

Agreement is also being sought on the important issues of the division of health services, the control of education.

The health profession has been infuriated by the Government's initial intention to divide everything, including hospitals, between the groups.

It appears that to some extent the Government realises the senselessness of this and could back off.

But official comment on the intentions of the Government is difficult, if not impossible, to come by.

Even Government departments are already hitting their heads against the administrative problems.

For instance, in its latest report the Department of Public Works says in reference to the National Housing Fund: "As the computerised bookkeeping system for the funds cannot be fragmented, the accounting function will still be undertaken

... on an agency basis until a new debtors system which can interface with the financial management system is developed and until appropriate legislation has been promulgated."

CERTIFICATION

In education, the House of Delegates and House of Representatives are fighting for a more unified education system with identical certification and examinations.

Legislation on education has remained stuck in the joint standing committee, while behind-the-scenes negotiations take place between the administrations of the three houses.



PW planning third business conference

8DAK
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22/4/86

PARLIAMENT — President P W Botha has announced that another major conference with businessmen on the lines of the Carlton and Good Hope talks of recent years was being planned by the Government.

He indicated that a theme of the conference, likely to be held later this year, would be economic policy strategy — short term, medium and long-term.

POLICY

Speaking in yesterday's House of Assembly debate on his budget vote, President Botha said the Government believed in discussing economic policy matters "as widely as possible" with the private sector and other groups.

This had been proven by the Carlton and Good Hope discussions.

Mr Botha said consideration had already been given to the possibility of holding discussions later this year with businessmen and other interested groups.

Responding to pleas from Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) and Dr Org Marais (NP Waterkloof), Mr Botha said he was in favour of another conference with businessmen and others — possibly towards the end of this

year.

Mr Botha also said he hoped members of the private sector would make full use of the opportunities provided for them to participate in the process of determining priorities.

He appealed to large financial institutions to put more emphasis on the creation of new job opportunities in their investment decisions.

They should do this rather than "concentrating too much

on takeovers of existing undertakings and the development of central business areas."

The same argument applied to such matters as excessive investments in luxury housing for the higher income groups.

Mr Botha said the Government would try from its side, by way of de-regulation, to create circumstances that would make investment in housing and other projects for lower income groups more attractive.

'Parliament not a true gauge of white voters'

304A

PARLIAMENT — The number of parliamentarians on the Government and Opposition benches were not a true reflection of the feelings of the white voters of South Africa, Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said yesterday.

Speaking on the Information vote in the Committee Stage of the Budget, he said the CP, like the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, was in favour of communication.

"But we also want the people of South Africa to be able to communicate with this Parliament," he said.

"That is why we want a general election, so the white electorate can say whether it's satisfied with this Government, and the path of power-sharing it's chosen."

Referring to the State President's advertising campaign, Mr Hoon said Mr Nel should give the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, a letter too.

"And put him on TV," he said. "Every time he appears, scores of people come over to the CP" — Sapa.

CAL Tails 22/4/86 (304A)

'Prepare for post-apartheid era'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— Instead of promoting the National Party programme of so-called reform, the new Bureau for Information could profitably spend its time preparing the population of South Africa for the post-apartheid era, Mr Peter Soal (PFP Johannesburg North) said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the bureau's budget allocation of nearly R29 million, he said:

"For ages people have been led to believe major changes have been on the way when the real intention of the governing party has been to maintain the status quo of white privilege and domination.

"A major credibility gap exists therefore, and if the bureau is to achieve anything at all it must at all times be seen to be telling the truth."

South Africa was a country of rich diversity and "everything should be done to ensure we are not going to tear at each others throats.



Mr Louis Nel

"After 38 years of NP rule the great majority of people, both black and white, have adopted positions and attitudes which are simply unacceptable in a vibrant multi-racial society... and these simply have to change."

● The Bureau for Information is to launch an extensive information campaign later this week on the State President's announcement of a moratorium on influx control prosecutions.

Announcing this during the debate on his



Mr Peter Soal

budget vote yesterday, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said the campaign would include press advertisements similar to those published after Mr P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament in January.

The campaign would also focus on the planned new identity documents.

Mr Nel said his department had published a brochure last Friday setting out part of Mr Botha's speech of the previous day in which he

referred to links between the African National Congress and international terrorist groups.

This brochure, entitled "Partners in Terror", was similar to the leaflet published after Mr Botha's speech on January 31, entitled "A New Beginning".

Mr Nel said it was not true that the "New Beginning" brochure and the opening of Parliament advertisements were National Party propaganda.

He was asked by Mr Peter Soal (PFP Johannesburg North) why one of the "New Beginning" brochures obtained by him bore a National Party stamp.

Mr Nel said the pamphlets had not been distributed by the NP and he would investigate the matter. However, it was possible the leaflet in Mr Soal's possession had been obtained by an NP official and then sent on after being stamped. — Sapa

P W aids 'terrorists' Stofberg

P W BOTHA would be responsible for the escalation of violence in South Africa because he had abolished influx control, Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg) said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Budget vote, Stofberg said Botha's move would make it easier for "terrorists and Communists" to infiltrate SA and com-



● STOFBERG

mit "further atrocities".
In earlier years, Stofberg said, Botha had campaigned for separate facilities for blacks and whites.

Now his credibility among Afrikaners had fallen to zero, Stofberg said.

His technique of referring apartheid laws to the President's Council and then — "in the blink of an eye" — repealing them, amounted to dishonesty.

Apartheid remained the only policy that guaranteed white self-determination, Stofberg added. — Sapa.

Govt planning a Good Hope-type business indaba

GOVERNMENT was considering holding a conference of businessmen and other interested parties later this year to discuss future economic strategy, State President P W Botha said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

In his reply to the debate on his Budget he said the Carlton and Good Hope conferences showed that he believed in consulting the private sector and other groups in the community on economic policy.



● BOTHA

With a view to this, consideration has already been given to the possibility of organising a conference later this year of businessmen and other interested parties.

South Africans 'need to know'

SOUTH AFRICANS should be able to read more speeches like those made by Winnie Mandela, Brian Page (NRP Umlanga) said yesterday.

Speaking on the information vote in the House of Assembly, he said the public had to read "both the good and the bad".

Page said visitors brought to SA by the Information Bureau should be exposed to a complete spectrum of opinion. "Sometimes I feel they are not able to see as many people as they ought."

President Botha should communicate with all South Africans, Page said.

He suggested Botha try the "fireside chat" approach initiated by Franklin Roosevelt. — Sapa.

"At such an event, fruitful debate could be held on the proper economic strategy in the short, middle and long term," Botha said.

He was replying to a speech by Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) who called for the holding of a Good Hope-type conference and asked what progress had been made by the State President's National Priorities Committee on the economy.

Botha said the committee had investigated the limitation of the State's responsibilities through privatisation and deregulation.

It had also set preliminary long-term expenditure guidelines for state departments and would finalise these plans in preparation for planning of the 1987/88 Budget.

It was planned that the committee would, by April each year, consider long-term expenditure guidelines for approval by the Cabinet.

The scarcity of development capital made it necessary for the committee to also consider capital programmes for semi-government organisations to ensure they were fully used.

Botha said the committee's work was reflected in the government programmes announced from time to time, such as the 10-year plan for education set out last week.

MPs were free to make suggestions on expenditure priorities in Parliament or at meetings of the parliamentary committees on which they served.

On the economy, Botha said government's objective in the Budget had been to use room for growth provided by the balance of payments to bring about relief for the unemployed.

Special work creation programmes initiated in 1983 and continued last year had again been extended this year.

The vote was approved after a division in which the CP and the HNP voted against the NRP, the PFP and the NP.

— Sapa.

Complex must cater for blacks — Widman

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Some provision should be made for the future accommodation of black people in the new parliamentary complex, Mr Alf Widman (PFP Hillbrow) said yesterday.

"Surely some provision should be made for accommodation for blacks. We all know this has got to come."

NAGGING

He called on the Minister of Public Works, Dr LAPA Munnik, to say what he and other members of the Cabinet anticipated for the future.

Dr Munnik accused Mr Widman of "nagging" about the complex because he found virtually nothing to criticise.

The Government could not be accused of wasting money and the work done on the complex was something to be proud of.

He could not say what was to be done with facilities in the new parliamentary complex.

Optimism on SA peace moves

CAM 7/1/86 23/4/86 304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Hopes for a dialogue between the South African Government and the African National Congress received a boost here yesterday.

The Commonwealth is eagerly awaiting President P W Botha's response to a peace package drawn up by its special mission on South Africa.

Optimism that Pretoria's response could be positive enough to keep the peace initiative alive — and avert tougher economic sanctions — came from three key figures yesterday ahead of a meeting of the so-called Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in London next week.

Breaking a studied silence by Commonwealth heads of government on the EPG, Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke, on a visit to London, said he expected a positive response from Pretoria.

Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal confirmed in an interview yesterday that the group had met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in prison last month.

'Important step'

"This was a very important, a unique, step and one that immeasurably strengthens the case for going forward towards negotiation on the basis of Mandela's release," he said.

"The man in prison is the man who can save South Africa."

But he said he had not yet had as strong a signal as he would have liked from Pretoria on the EPG initiative.

Without a positive response "there is not much more the Commonwealth can do", he said.

Sir Sonny played down the reported

comments of Mrs Winnie Mandela urging blacks to seek liberation "with our boxes of matches and our necklaces".

"I believe Mrs Mandela was selectively quoted," he said.

The Commonwealth's specific proposals, drawn up by the EPG after a two-week visit to South Africa last month, are believed to include the release of Mr Mandela and the lifting of the 26-year ban on the ANC prior to dialogue with Pretoria.

Thatcher 'hopeful'

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said yesterday after a meeting with Mr Hawke on Monday night that she was "hopeful" that the EPG would successfully fulfil its mandate.

But Mrs Thatcher's comments stopped short of Mr Hawke's expectations expressed at a press conference following his meeting with Mrs Thatcher on Monday night.

Mr Hawke said he expected that the South African Government would give a favourable response to the EPG proposals aimed at initiating a dialogue between black and white leaders and the suspension of violence on both sides.

He added, however, that the precise nature of Pretoria's response would be the acid test of whether the Commonwealth should proceed with its peace initiative or press for further economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that the EPG initiative was receiving active encouragement and support from the Reagan administration.

254 Ford (44) CAPL Times 23/4/85

Council honours Buthelezi

DURBAN. — Pinetown's Borough Council yesterday voted to confer the honorary freedom of the borough on the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The motion was proposed by the deputy mayor, Mr Brian Matthee, and seconded by the mayor, Mr Michael Wheelwright.

Mr Matthee said the Chief Minister

deserved the honour because of his commitment to dialogue and his efforts to achieve a society founded on justice and a free economic system.

A councillor, Mr William Naude, said: "Violence is commonplace in our society and with the huge Zulu population in and around our borough, this gesture of goodwill can only benefit our borough." — Sapa

Govt unveils plan for 'controlled reform'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government's strategy of "controlled reform" took a step forward yesterday as a wide-ranging blend of reformist and repressive measures were unveiled in Parliament.

The dichotomy was summed up by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, who told Parliament that when a country was in transition it was necessary to uphold law and order with measures that were "often indefensible".

The first arm of the government's two-pronged approach was disclosed yesterday morning in the form of a proposed new law giving the police sweeping powers effectively to declare a state of emergency in any part of the country.

Yesterday afternoon the government tabled its long-awaited White Paper on Urbanization — a major reformist document ending an era of direct forms of influx control.

In addition, the government announced its plans for its "uniform" identity document for all races. However, the Identity Bill tabled yesterday stipulates that identity cards will contain a racial code and requires recipients to submit to fingerprinting.

Amnesty for 20 000

And last night it was announced that 20 000 prisoners would have their sentences reduced by six months on Republic Day — but the amnesty specifically excludes people imprisoned for unrest-related offences.

In commenting on the police and influx-control measures, both President P W Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, emphasized the government's resolve in keeping a tight lid on forces opposed to the nature and pace of

change settled on by the government. Referring to the Public Safety Amendment Bill — labelled "Draconian" by the Official Opposition — Mr Botha said the government had "no choice" but to extend the powers of the police.

Since the lifting of the state of emergency black-on-black violence had increased "alarmingly" and it had become necessary to protect moderate blacks from radicals.

In announcing that the government planned to repeal or amend 34 acts or proclamations restricting the mobility of the blacks, Mr Heunis noted that change often led to instability.

'Rebellion or revolution'

"In certain cases this dissatisfaction, anxiety and protest can even escalate to rebellion and revolution," he said at a press conference.

The government, however, was aware of the fact that change had to be "managed" and that was why the government emphasized that change "must take place in an evolutionary and not a revolutionary way".

Quoting from Lenin, Mr Heunis observed: "A government is most vulnerable during a time in which it is making significant changes, even if those changes will be beneficial to all of the people in the long run."

Mr Heunis said influx control could no longer serve any constitutional objective and freedom of movement to and within the urban areas "will apply to all citizens of the Republic in a non-discriminatory basis".

In addition, no further forced removals "to facilitate political ideology" would take place, although moving people for planning reasons would continue "under certain circumstances".

● More reports on the White Paper, page 4

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ARGUS

24/4/86

Botha

PARLIAMENT

'Necklace' murders aimed at moderate groups, says Botha

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Parliamentary Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha has told Parliament that "necklace" murders and the brutal maiming of people were methods of intimidating moderate black people.

He said yesterday that the victims were people who did not support the violent aims of the African National Congress and the instigators of unrest.

Speaking in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha said the "necklace" was no longer regarded as sufficiently effective.

"The latest trend is to first chop off the arms of the victim at the elbows and then, screaming helplessly, he is made a pathetic example of what happens to those who oppose the will of the so-called liberators," Mr Botha said.

"Dreadful fear"

"In this manner, a dreadful fear as a method of intimidation is instilled in those who prefer to be moderates."

The ANC and its "cohorts" used terror and violence to gain control of the black population groups.

This corresponded to the "blueprint methods" of other revolutionary groups. Other forms of intimidation included indiscriminate killing by means of landmines, limpet mines, car bombs and other explosive devices placed in public places and buried in roads.

Alarming

Mr Botha said that since the lifting of the state of emergency, black-on-black violence had increased "alarmingly".

The Government had no choice but to extend the powers of the police. A Bill to this effect was tabled yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

As already announced, he said, the police force would be increased by 7 500 posts.

This would increase the police/population ratio to 2,03 for every 1 000 people.

Talks with Wise Men delicate — Botha

PARLIAMENT — Discussions between the South African government and the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group had "reached a delicate stage" and it would not be in the interests of South Africa to make any comment, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his Budget vote, he said the seven members of the group had been appointed in October "mainly to promote political dialogue in South Africa and the suspension of violence".

Mr Botha said he was prepared to approach the group's initiative constructively, expressing the hope they would be equally constructive, confine themselves to promoting peaceful political dialogue, be unbiased and discourage violence.

VILIFIED

During their visit the group's members had been received by the President and several Cabinet Ministers.

They had made their own arrangements to meet a number of people connected with politics, churches, trade unions and the private sector.

However, Mr Botha said former West German chancellor and chairman of the Socialist International organisation, Mr Willy Brandt, had vilified South Africa and had been informed by Leftist radicals in the country.

Referring to statements by Mr Brandt in Gaborone, Botswana, at the end of a two-day conference of Socialist International, he said Mr Brandt had made his remarks "before speaking to any responsible South African Government leader".

Mr Botha said: "It is time for moderates to get a clear picture of what Leftist radicals are doing to this country. They are trying to sell it out".

PW urges ANC 'nats' to ditch Reds and start talks

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — President P W Botha has urged the "nationalists" within the ANC to break away from the "communist" faction and return to South Africa to take part in peaceful negotiation.

Replying to debate on his vote in the committee stage of the Budget in the House of Delegates yesterday, Mr Botha said:

"If they (the nationalists) come forward to take part in constitutional development and renounce violence ... they can come back tomorrow."

Mr Botha said in the House of Assembly last week that it was clear there were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware they were being manipulated by "hardened communists".

Going a step further yesterday, he said it was "the duty of nationalist members of the ANC to sever themselves from the Marxists".

PERCENTAGE

He was responding to a speech by Mr Mamoo Rajab (Solidarity, Springfield), who suggested that the Government begin talking to those in the ANC who rejected Marxism.

Mr Botha said it had emerged from the ANC's last executive council elections that 63 percent of the organisation's members were communists.

The South African Communist Party wanted to destroy South Africa and seize power.

"These nationalists, if they exist, must turn their backs on



P W Botha ... prepared to talk to ANC non-communist faction.

their communist colleagues."

He pointed out that the same appeal had been made to Swapo members a few years ago.

Some Swapo nationalists had come forward and were now taking part in negotiations over the future of SWA/Namibia.

Responding to an appeal by

the Rev Edward Manikkam (Sol, Rylands) for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha said the ball was entirely in Mandela's court.

RELEASE

It was up to Mandela to say he would renounce violence upon his release.

Mr Botha asked Members of the House whether, if Mandela were released, they would support his re-arrest if he continued with violence.

"Yes," chorused Members of the House.

It was therefore a "nonsensical argument", Mr Botha said, to advocate Mandela's release without first requiring an undertaking from Mandela to abandon violence.

PFP hits at 'racist' housing Bill

PARLIAMENT — It was unbelievable that a housing commission that had served the whole of South Africa should be broken down to suit a racialist approach, Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Pietermaritzburg North) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading debate on the Housing Amendment Bill, he said the PFP opposed the measure as another racially discriminatory Bill.

Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Jeppe) said while the Government said "own" living areas were non-negotiable, there were hundreds of blacks living in blocks of flats in his constituency.

EFFICIENCY

The CP would support the Bill, he said.

Mr Sakkie Blanche (NP Boksburg) said the Bill was one of the finest pieces of legislation to come before Parliament.

He said it was further proof of the efficiency of the tricameral system. — Sapa.

MPs call on Govt to ban the AWB

PARLIAMENT — Two House of Representatives members yesterday called for the banning of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

During the Finance vote of the Budget Mr John Christians (LP Ravensmead) said it seemed the only reason the AWB had not been banned was because its members had white skins.

Mr Charlie Koeberg (LP Vis

Rivier) said the AWB was arranging a private army. The African National Congress had been banned for doing so and there was no reason why the AWB should not be banned.

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis reacted by saying he rejected all forms of racism and that there were many "closet racists" in every population group. — Sapa

Draft Bill comes under attack

Botha leaps to defence of police during unrest

304A
BUS DAY
24/4/86

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday came out strongly yesterday in defence of police actions in unrest areas over the past 18 months.

He supported proposals to increase substantially police powers to summarily declare unrest areas and take other emergency measures set out in the Public Safety Amendment Bill, tabled in Parliament this week.

The draft Bill has been severely criticised by Opposition spokesmen as conferring draconian powers on police — and as being unnecessary in view of the significant powers they already wield.

PFP law and order spokesman Helen Suzman said yesterday the object of the Bill appeared to be the giving of wide powers to the Minister of Law and Order, without his having to declare a state of emergency.

This view was echoed by legal sources in Johannesburg yesterday.

The emergency was lifted on March 4 but in February 107 people died in unrest-related incidents.

Speaking on his Budget vote in the House of Delegates, Botha said that since September 1984 black-on-black township violence resulted in the murder of 508 people — 205 since January, and 439 blacks died during the same period in so-called faction fighting.

Botha said that since September 1984, 1 417 black-owned businesses, 4 435 private homes (including 814 black policemen's homes) 28 churches, 54 community centres, several hundred schools and a number of clinics — all serving the black community — were either totally destroyed or badly damaged by arson.

The Bill, tabled by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, proposed that he be granted powers to declare any area to be an unrest area for a three-month period if he believed public dis-

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS
and DIANNA GAMES

turbance, disorder, rioting or public violence was occurring. Provision was made to extend the period.

John Dugard, head of the Department of Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said it was a clear attempt to by-pass the state of emergency, while retaining substantially the same powers.

He said it seemed to be an attempt to prevent the loss of investment confidence in SA.

Human rights lawyer Norman Manheim said the new law would most likely be given the widest possible interpretation by the authorities, which could lead to further abuse of power by police.

United Democratic Front spokesman Murphy Morobe said it was a warning to all who saw the scrapping of the pass laws as reform.

Millions get back their SA citizenship

Less of the stick and more of the carrot

FIRST NAIL IN APARTHEID COFFIN

SOAK
SOWETAN
24/4/86

BLACKS who live in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, will have to wait longer before they are covered by the new policy — the Government says it is still negotiating with the governments of these states on dual citizenship for them.

Tswana-speaking, Venda-speaking and Xhosa-speaking people who live outside these independent states, will be given the new identity document even before the negotiations with the homelands are complete.

Choice

Residents of the TBVC states will be treated in terms of migration agreements that already exist between them and the South African Government.

"If, at the choice of the TBVC governments, South African citizenship should be granted to the citizens of the TBVC states, the existing agreements with the TBVC states on migration of their citizens across the common borders, will be influenced," the White Paper states.

Policy

This means that from yesterday, millions of blacks who lost their South African citizenship when the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei became "independent", will now be South Africans again.

The government is also negotiating with the "self-governing territories" to ensure that there is a uniform policy on urbanisation.



PRESIDENT Botha... reform programme.

THE first nail in the coffin of the pass laws was knocked into place yesterday afternoon when the Government defined its policy on urbanisation in a White Paper to Parliament.

And in terms of an announcement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, last Friday, all prosecutions under the pass laws stopped and all people in jail for pass offences were to be freed.

The White Paper sets out the Government's intention to do away with influx control and to replace it with an "urbanisation strategy".

Strategy

"The urbanisation strategy aims at the positive handling, management and stimulation of the natural urbanisation process in order to ensure that they come to pass in a constructive and planned manner to the benefit of everyone," the White Paper states.

It goes on to define planned urbanisation as "the freedom of movement of all citizens... the process of urbanisation must be ordered, planned and directed by predominantly indirect forms of control, such as incentive and restrictive



By JOE THLOLOE

measures, as well as by direct measures comprising legislation and ordinances".

The White Paper is in response to a President's Council report on urbanisation that urged the abolition of the pass laws and influx control.

The Government intends to use less of the stick and more of the carrot to control the movement of people. It is also shifting the responsibility for the stick to local authorities.

Migrants

The newly-formed Bureau for Information is to implement "a permanent and comprehensive information programme" for prospective migrants on the availability of work and accommodation in urban areas. Local author-

ities are to establish similar services for new arrivals.

The laws on squatting are to be revised and "made racially neutral" to prevent and control "illegal squatting on public or private land" so will the laws on the control of slums.

Housing

Certain standards of housing are to be maintained, but in this regard the White Paper states "National and local measures in respect of urban development and residential conditions should be strictly but realistically and kindly applied by all provincial, regional and local authorities, in order to ensure sound urban living conditions."

Shortage

"New employment opportunities must be created in metropolitan areas where there is sufficient space for expansion" but "the present practice of creating a shortage of land within the metropolitan core areas should continue and industrial land should be made available at identified points of deconcentration through the utilisation of existing financial incentives".

Control

The new policy, therefore, is that the control of people's movements from one place to another in this country is no longer done on racial lines, but blacks, who have been subject to this control, will now be encouraged or discouraged from moving through the use of "racially neutral" incentives.

Same identity documents for all

By JOE THLOLOE

THE Government is to introduce legislation for uniform identity documents for all and this law will do away with reference books and will amend the Population Registration Act of 1950.

In spite of "a single central population register for all population groups" separate residential areas will still be

blacks who tried to get into the urban areas.

The black labour regulations which made it compulsory for a man from the "self-governing territories" to sign a contract before coming to urban areas. The contracts will now be monitored by the Department of Manpower

Black Labour Act to "assist" people arrested for pass offences, will become "obsolete".

The notorious section 29 of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, under which people were prosecuted for being "idle and undesirable", is to be repealed.

The movement of

now be controlled by the Department of Foreign Affairs under migration legislation.

Other laws to be amended, include the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the Development Trust and Land Act, the Black Administration Act, the Slums Act and health regulations of local

Aid centres estab-

Nazi salutes as AWB supporters shout Nel down

304A
25/4/86
STAR 23/04/86

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

About 1 000 right-wing Afrikaners wrecked Information Minister Mr Louis Nel's meeting in Brits last night — and the National Party's calls for police intervention apparently went largely unheeded.

Mr Nel, who was unable to make his speech, was greeted with catcalls, waving Vierkleur flags and stinkbombs from a large contingent of mainly Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) supporters as he entered the town hall at 7.30 pm.

The meeting eventually broke up at about 8.45 pm after the right-wingers had taken over the stage and passed a motion of no confidence in the NP, State President P W Botha and the NP MP for Brits, Dr Jan Grobler.

HANDFUL

Only a handful of the 100 policemen placed on alert at the Brits police station stepped in — but took no action.

Several scuffles broke out during the evening and the NP has alleged that some of its supporters were assaulted.

Before he left the stage in disarray, Mr Nel described the fracas as "white radicalism at its ugliest".

Most of the trouble started just before Mr Nel took the podium, when the AWB's publicity man Mr Dries Alberts rose and questioned Dr Grobler's right to chair the meeting.

Using a loudhailer, Mr Al-

Commentary from Kallie

One face seen more often in boxing rings than at political gatherings is that of Kallie Knoetze — but he was much in evidence as a Nat supporter at last night's fracas between the National Party and the AWB in Brits.

His large presence was everywhere and his comments, although mostly unrepeatable, lightened an otherwise tense atmosphere.

His best crack came towards the end of the evening when, asked to comment on the fight he had just witnessed, he snorted derisively and said, "Hub, this is nothing compared with my wife when she's angry!"

When asked whether he foresaw a career in politics Kallie just grinned his impish grin and said: "Who knows?"

berts said the meeting would elect its own chairman.

Fists were raised in the Nazi salute often used by AWB supporters and prominent Conservative Party member, Mr Manie Maritz, was elected to the chair.

Several attempts by Mr Nel to address the meeting were drowned out by the AWB supporters, but those close to the stage heard him say that the actions of the crowd were "a blot on the name of the Afrikaner".

"You can scream and shriek and throw stinkbombs like uncivilised people, but you will never solve this country's problems like that".

Mr Nel looked alternately bemused and angry as most of the crowd sang "goodbye Louis" and chanted "we want Manie (Maritz)".

There was a counter-cry of "we want Louis" from young NP supporters who converged on the stage and a vociferous shouting match followed.

Two uniformed policemen then approached Mr Maritz, but he did not budge.

Mr Nel eventually decided to call it a day and left the hall with 400 supporters.

NO POINT

Mr Nel said there was no point in continuing as "those people are completely irrational. They have been brought in from all over the Transvaal".

Dr Grobler said that in spite of advance warning, the police had failed to provide the necessary backup.

He said he had spoken to the officer commanding the Brits police station — a Captain "Div" de Villiers, who said he had to wait for a certain colonel to arrive before acting.

He said: "The colonel only arrived at 7 pm and in the meantime, my people were assaulted."

A jubilant Mr Maritz called the meeting to order with the challenge to Dr Grobler to ask for a by-election to test his support in the constituency.

GOVT AND ANC IN TV FORUM

AR665
25/4/86
1304A

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — An historic first public exchange between representatives of the South African Government and the African National Congress has taken place on a television programme in the United States.

The 15-minute discussion on South African political issues involved the ANC's deputy-representative in the US, Mr Solly Semelane, and the South African Ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes.

But the Department of Foreign Affairs today denied that there had been a public debate.

Two interviews

A spokesman for the Department said the ambassador had been invited to be interviewed on the show. Only at the last minute was he told of the other participant.

However, the spokesman said, it was not a debate.

Mr Beukes was interviewed in Washington while Mr Semelane was interviewed by a different person in New York.

There was no interaction between the two sides and they did not have the same interviewer, the spokesman said.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha denied there was a change in the Government's view on talking to the ANC, saying the Government was still convinced it was wrong to hold discussions with people who murdered and destroyed.

The US State Department has been pursuing a much-criticised

policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria in the belief that it would best advance political progress in South Africa.

The State Department has often gone on record in support of dialogue between black and white and negotiations between the country's leaders.

Liberation

In the US TV debate, Mr Semelane said dumping the pass laws was a move calculated to dampen the revolutionary spirit of black South Africans and to destroy or isolate the African National Congress internationally.

Mr Semelane said scrapping the pass laws was also calculated to destroy the national liberation movement in South Africa: "But this is a miscalculation as far as we are concerned because our struggle has gone beyond that. It has outgrown the confines of the pass system at home."

He said: "...it is the struggle for the seizure of political power and economic power in our country."

Mr Beukes said it was sad to hear someone saying this because people had to focus on efforts to broaden democracy.

"And what I'm hearing, I'm afraid, is a question of revolutionary language — violence, radicalism. That is not the answer in South Africa."

Mr Beukes said repeal of the

PW 'taking first steps' for talks with the ANC

BUD DAY 25/4/86 (304A)

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha had begun "drawing the line" between the Marxists and the nationalists within the African National Congress (ANC).

This was said yesterday by Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point), who added that it was being done as a first step towards conceding the need for negotiation with the banned organisation.

Speaking on the home affairs budget vote, he said government's attitude to talks with the ANC had changed since the refusal of passports to a group of Stellenbosch students and churchmen last year. He said this attitude would change further.

The refusal of the passports had been an "act of political spite motivated by party political considerations".

Government's feeling that it had been upstaged by these people was no reason for a violation of their democratic rights, said Van der Merwe.

The students and young people were in the front line when SA faced internal or external threats.

The least government owed them was not to put obstacles in their way if they wanted to find out whether reconciliation was possible between the opposing forces.

Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha, replying, said government was still convinced it was totally wrong to hold discussions with people who "murdered", and it was not the function of students and clergymen to talk with the ANC. — Sapa.

Historic talks on prime time television

SA envoy has debate with ANC in US

Washington

An historic first public debate between representatives of the South African Government and the African National Congress took place on a prime time television programme in the United States yesterday.

The 15-minute discussion coincided with a debate in Parliament in which the Government's changing attitude to talks with the ANC — since it refused passports to Stellenbosch students and churchmen last year — was highlighted by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point).

But Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha denied any change in the Government's view on talking to the ANC. He said the Government was still convinced that it was totally wrong to hold discussions with people who murdered and destroyed.

The Star reported yesterday that the chances of negotiation between the Government and the ANC could be closer than previously thought.

The television debate was between the ANC's deputy-representative in the United States, Mr Solly Semelane, and the South African Ambassador to Washington, Mr Herbert Beukes.

The significance of Mr Beukes and Mr Semelane debating the pass laws on the same forum is not

likely to have been lost on the hawk-eyed US State Department. It has been pursuing a much-criticised policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria in the belief that it would best advance political progress in South Africa.

The State Department has often gone on record in support of dialogue between black and white.

In the television debate, Mr Semelane said dumping the pass laws was a move calculated to dampen the revolutionary spirit of black South Africans and to destroy or isolate the ANC internationally.

He said the scrapping of pass laws was also calculated to destroy the national liberation movement in South Africa.

"But this is a miscalculation ... because our struggle has gone beyond that. It has outgrown the confines of the pass system."

He then quoted Bishop Desmond Tutu, who said on the programme that the Government should have listened to church leaders six years ago.

"For our people now, the name of the game is political power," said Mr Semelane. "It's the struggle for the seizure of political power and economic power."

Mr Beukes said it was sad to hear someone saying this, because people had to focus on efforts to broaden democracy.

"What I'm hearing ... is a question of revolutionary language — violence, radicalism. That is not the answer in South Africa." — The Star's Foreign News Service and Political Staff.

Nel: Radical Right won't deter us

By David Braun, 25/11/86
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Right-wing disruptions of the kind that broke up a National Party meeting in the Transvaal last night would not deter the Government from its process of reform, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said today.

Mr Nel was prevented from addressing a public meeting in Brits when a large crowd of supporters of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) took over the proceedings and made it impossible for speeches to be heard.

In Vereeniging, a meeting addressed by the State President, Mr P W Botha, was also heckled by a few right-wingers.

'REFORM GOES ON'

Mr Nel said today the National Party would continue with its reforms "regardless of these people who do not want to see reason."

"We are not prepared to give a number of white right-wing radicals like the AWB a veto on our plans."

Asked what he had to say to the AWB's reported boast that the National Party would never again be allowed to hold a public meeting addressed by a Cabinet Minister in the Transvaal, Mr Nel said: "The National Party will not be intimidated by such a threat."

"The AWB has sent out to the world an ugly face of the Afrikaner and, in doing so, have done us and South Africa a disservice, because this is not the true character of the Afrikaner."

● See Page 3.



Mr Louis Nel tries to make himself heard above the crowd of unruly AWB supporters who disrupted a National Party meeting in Brits yesterday.



A local farmer, former wrestling champion Mr Manie Maritz, argues with a police officer.



Part of the noisy crowd which attended yesterday's meeting. Mr Nel faced a barrage of catcalls and stinkbombs.

Govt and ANC in TV forum

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pass laws was of "fundamental" and "profound" importance. "What we are telling South African citizens with our decision is we have thrown apartheid, as the structure has come to be known, out of the window."

The practical effect, he said, was the freedom of blacks to move about the country unfettered. The Government's decision had come about in a continuing review of policy, culminating in this most visible way of addressing an issue which had been "at the core of discontent and anger and frustration" among blacks.

Mr Beukes said he hoped it would reduce the violence but unrest had long since had little to do with legitimate political grievances.

Political rights for all says Botha

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VEREENIGING — South Africa had arrived at the day of emancipation of black and brown and the rejection of the colonial concept of domination, the State President, Mr P. W Botha, said last night.

He told over 1 000 people who packed the Vereeniging city hall that political rights would have to be given to all those who did not have them so that leaders could be identified

countries, the government would stand by them, just as it would with those who wanted self-government.

"But we also know that as a result of our development there are

"We must find for ourselves such a place in South Africa that people will not detest our language, but would prefer to speak it.

"We who say we are the leaders, we are just.

The supremacy of the white man over black and the pass laws were introduced by the colonial system and the English and Afrikaners of South Africa of today should not be accused.

"The National Party did not introduce pass laws; we inherited them and now we are scrapping them because they are meaningless," Mr Botha said.

Much money had been spent in the past to try to make the system work but it had failed utterly.

"We are no longer going to tell one part of the population they have to carry a pass and tell the other they do not have to.

"Today we have arrived at the emancipation of the black and the brown man and the rejection of the colonial domination of the past.

"We want to follow the road of reasonableness," President Botha said.

This meant that where people wanted independence, such as the TBVC

cities and our economy is partially built on them.

"Either South Africa is to become impoverished or we will have to train and uplift them so that they may help to carry the economy the better."

There were also blacks working on farms and in industry throughout the country.

"We will only have peace when we fully accept the value of those people to our economy.

"We will have to give political rights to all who do not have them so that leaders can be identified to join us in negotiation, because we cannot negotiate with masses.

"I am not scared to sit around a table with blacks. I have done it often and I have not turned black, nor have they turned white.

"We must practise our leadership so as to ensure a place in South Africa for our own people and a place for minority groups," President Botha said.

we are Christians — our duty is to set an example in co-operation and in building peace and development in this country.

South Africa was a difficult country in which to protect the peace, but it was an even more difficult one for which to provide a future.

"My government is committed to political and social economic reform — but not because of foreign pressure.

"South Africa does not survive a single day during which I do not have to make a stand against unwanted foreign intervention.

"But their criticism is not directed at the people who undermine me, at the opposition. It is directed at me, at F. W. (de Klerk) and Gerrit (Viljoen) because we are considered the enemies."

This was because they knew that should reform succeed, in the political arena, economically and socially, South Africa would be less vulnerable.

●In an advertising campaign launched this week in South African newspapers, including the Daily Dispatch, Mr Botha said he had fulfilled his promise to scrap the pass laws by July 1.

He also warned "skulking criminals" who killed and maimed innocent people that he would not contemplate any path towards change other than peaceful evolution. — Sapa-DDR.

See page 3

Haphazard holding actions

Think back to August 15 last year when President Botha made that randbusting Rubicon speech. If he had then talked about the "stupidities of apartheid", the "mistakes we (the Government) had made", and that influx control was going to be scrapped and prisoners sentenced because of it were going to be released, then the climate would have changed dramatically.

Now, barely six months later, he says these things during the discussion of his Vote in Parliament, and the general reaction varies from a cautious "that's fine, but not enough" to outright scepticism and warnings about "stings in the tail".

Why is this so? Two reasons suggest themselves. The Government has lost credibility and it has lost the initiative for fundamental reform. Both problems are intimately related to one another.

This is not conjecture or

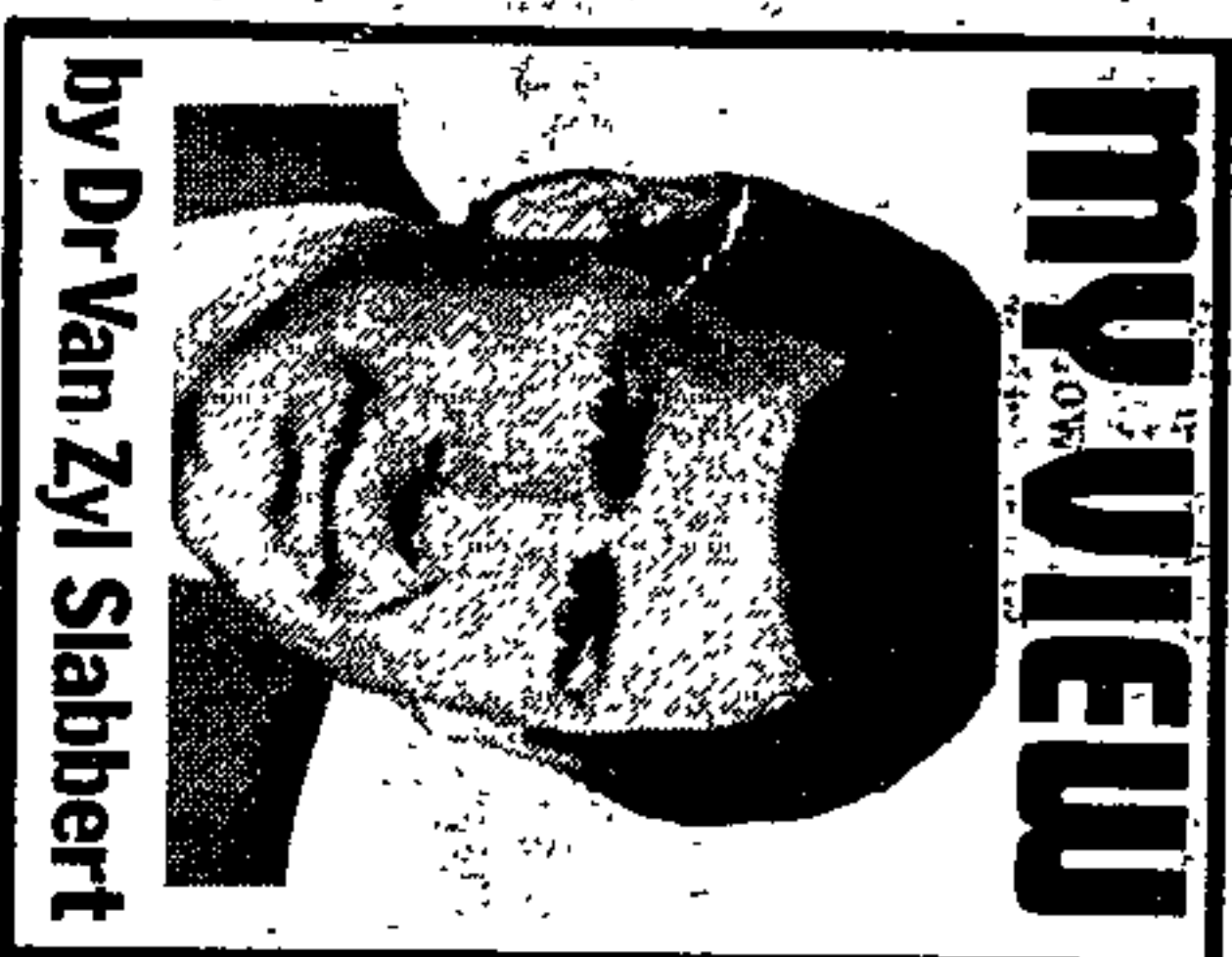
deliberate misrepresentation. It is a statement of fact. If the Government had credibility and it had the initiative, the response would have been totally different.

The State President's statements would have been accepted as an integral part of an overall programme to dismantle apartheid and would have elicited widespread support for what was yet to follow.

Now every time the Government grudgingly, and often ungraciously, concedes on an aspect of apartheid, the obvious question is: "Yes, but what about X or Y?" or "If you do this, why do you still carry on with that?"

People are not sure why the Government is getting rid of influx control after so many years. Is it because it is bad?

Is it because of its inevitable collapse? But then is it done because the Government had no choice and not because it is part of



a general programme of reform? Is it to appease "world opinion" or the West? But what purpose will that serve if the people at home do not support you? And so the questions multiply, rather than disappear whenever the Government announces another abandonment of its policy.

More and more people are beginning to discover a very simple truth. Once the Government gave up on the grand vision of apartheid it lost its way. It simply has no plan with which to replace it.

What we see are desperate, eclectic and haphazard holding actions to bolster white domination. It is like a group of people on a sinking raft in the middle of the ocean, jettisoning non-essentials every few metres just to stay afloat.

In this jettisoning of non-essential apartheid elements nothing is sacrosanct. Not the rhetoric of negotiation or reform, nor the values and principles of democracy and Christianity.

Words and phrases such as "reform", "negotiation", "one man, one vote", "broadening of democracy" and "justice" are freely used to beguile, woo and seduce the unsuspecting.

But it does not take long to realise that within the framework

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Thus:

● Self-determination does not really refer to cultural and religious autonomy for a group, but the maintenance of white socio-economic privilege and political control.

● Negotiation does not really mean searching for an agreed-upon compromise between two or more strongly held competing positions, but rather: "Everyone be reasonable, agree with me so that we can carry on".

● Reform does not really mean finding out what others who suffer from the lack of it find objectionable about Government policy, but finding new ways of fitting them into old Government policies.

● Group character does not really mean the voluntary and spontaneous manifestations of collective characteristics, but "I will determine your group and its character".

Exposed

This kind of double-speak is daily being exposed. It is here where the Government's credibility is being questioned and it is losing the initiative for genuine reform.

As the Government's uncertainty about the future increases, the certainty of the majority of those who oppose it has grown. They want full and equal citizenship; they want effective political power; they want to be free from racial exploitation and compulsory group membership.

As long as the Government avoids coming to terms with these demands, it will continue to lose credibility and initiative. On the other hand, if it really begins to

Little enthusiasm for PW's conference plan

THERE is a depressing sense of *déjà vu* about President P W Botha's suggestion that another conference of businessmen along the lines of the Carlton and Good Hope conferences be held later this year.

More importantly, it strongly suggests existing mechanisms for obtaining private-sector views are not working.

Despite some public expressions of welcome for the opportunity to exchange views, privately businessmen are not impressed.

As one senior businessman recalled: "There was a rush to buy air tickets for Carlton and Good Hope. Now we are asking why is there a need for another conference? Mechanisms exist through which the views of businessmen are well-known. Is this just another PR exercise?"

The Good Hope conference was apparently characterised by a frank and full exchange of views. Senior businessmen such as Harry Oppenheimer and Fred du Plessis expressed their views to the full Cabinet and senior state employees with no holds barred.

A businessman who was there said: "If the President doesn't know businessmen's views by now, he never will. Anyway, at these huge meetings and luncheons no serious debate can get going. Too many spout a lot of tripe, or trot out their well-known hobby horses."

In theory, one of the prime vehicles for private-sector input into economic policy is the President's Economic Advisory Council.

The council was restructured last year to include many top businessmen and exclude representative bodies such as FCI, AHI and Assocom. Professional economists were also excluded.

Its members now include Barlow's Warren Clewlow, De Beers' Julian Ogilvie-Thompson, Toyota's Colin Adcock, Sasol's Joe Stegman, Altech's Bill Venter, Gold Field's Robin Plumbridge, SAB's Meyer Khan, Volkskas' Pieter Morkel and Sanlam's Fred du Plessis.

Council chairman Kerneels Human told *Business Day* that "the State President attends many of our meetings and he is fully informed about differing



● BOTHA

President P W Botha's recent suggestion that another major conference be held with businessmen has led some to believe that existing avenues of communication between government and business are not working. JOHN TILSTON reports ...

viewpoints in the council."

The eminent council members are presumably on the probable conference guest list — such is their stature, they could hardly be excluded. Yet according to Human, Botha is already aware of their views.

Although official circles deny it, there is doubt about how well the EAC is working. Said one senior businessman, who does not serve on the council but is close to several who do: "Although it has some very good people serving on it, and I believe some good work is being done in the sub-committees of which the general public is not aware, the main council cannot be considered an economic advisory body."

One of its critics suggested it was floundering because of its unstructured nature. Members were selected to represent specific industries but there was no formal structure for gathering consensus within the industry.

He said the council needed bodies such as Assocom, FCI and AHI, which are skilled in reaching consensus among businessmen.

A more sensitive issue is that of the chairman. A leading businessman said the EAC needed a strong chairman to function effectively. "Previous chairmen like Simon Brand and the late Piet Rieckert were very effective. But, good businessman though he is, Human cannot really be objective. He is too beholden to Fred du Plessis."

Human is chairman of Federale Volksbeleggings, firmly within the Sanlam empire.

CP angered by Breyten prize

PARLIAMENT — The Conservative Party could not respect the Government as long as it approved the "glorification" of people like Breyten Breytenbach, Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Home Affairs Budget vote, he said editor of *Rapport* Dr Willem de Klerk knew the views of the poet before awarding him the newspaper's literature prize.

"But then this National Party newspaper glorified him."

Breytenbach had, in his acceptance speech, expressed "concentrated contempt and hate for the Afrikaner". — Sapa.

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SA won't survive without answer to race problem — PW

By Gary Van Staden,
Political Reporter

VEREENIGING — Unless a peaceful solution was found for South Africa's race problems, the country could not survive, State President P W Botha said last night.

Addressing about 2000 people packed into the Vereeniging City Hall, Mr Botha said such a solution would have to be based on liberty and justice for all.

He was heckled almost constantly throughout his speech of just over an hour by a small group of conservatives at the rear of the hall, especially when Government reform measures were discussed.

Just before Mr Botha addressed the meeting a few scuffles broke out between the group of conservatives and P W supporters.

The State President made an accusation of dishonesty against those who opposed reform on the grounds that it "gave everything to blacks".

He asked: "What do the blacks in South Africa have that you

would exchange for what you have?"

After an interjection from the hecklers Mr Botha added:

"Would any of you exchange your pension, your house, your salary or your job for that of a black man?"

Turning to Government's reform policies, Mr Botha said these were not the result of overseas pressure or in response to internal demands from "communist terrorists."

He said: "Not a single day goes by without unwanted interference from some overseas country but we dig in our heels and do what is best for South Africa."

"We are not changing because murderers and arsonists parading around under a communist flag are making certain demands from time to time."

"We are changing because we believe it is right and just."

"If we succeed with our reform plans on a political level, on an economic level and on a social level, then South Africa is going to be less vulnerable."

"We cannot only be concerned about our future, we have to consider the futures of those generations who will follow us."

According to Mr Botha there was no harm, however, in looking back sometimes and reflecting on the proud history of South Africa.

He said the country had been through difficult times politically and economically and "we are not out of the bushes yet," but he believed there was light at the end of the tunnel.

Mr Botha added the major cause of South Africa's present economic plight was the oil crisis of the early seventies and the current drought.

He said: "Between 1973 and 1984 South Africa spent some R24 000 million more for our oil supplies than we should normally have paid."

Also, the Government had spent some R1 000 million in drought aid since 1982 alone.

He said: "What else could we do? The country needed oil and we needed farmers to stay on the lands and produce our food. The money just had to be spent."

The price had been very high and South Africa was still paying for it today, he added.

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PERSONALITY

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Breyten Breytenbach believes in the future of Africa

● From Page 1

couldn't take place, it had to be postponed and they were in, as one old lady put it, with their feet. That means they were without the Casspirs because apparently people had been digging trenches to obstruct the vehicles, so they were patrolling on foot. I was thinking that on the white side, you could actually see this, but the white side wasn't affected at all and I thought: in some ways, we're living in a country of which parts are invisible.

So many of the major issues have been invisible over the years. Now they are slightly, slowly surfacing and I think it creates a sense of unease and uncomfortable awareness that there is something happening in the country that we don't quite know about.

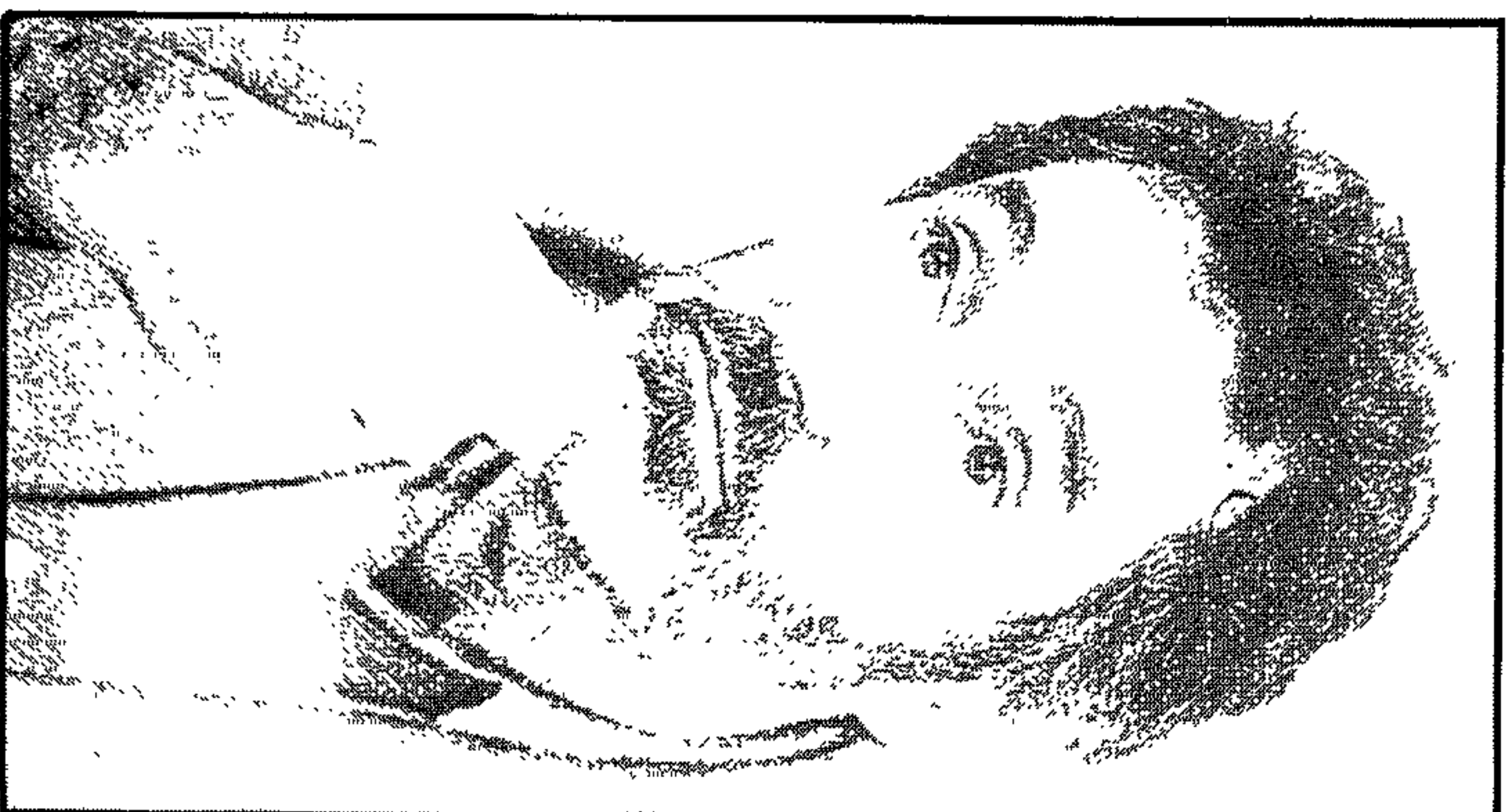
I've often thought about this. You could bring people from abroad and take them into this country and they would spend three weeks here and go away saying: what the hell are you talking about? I didn't see any unrest. I didn't see any shooting, any fighting, anything like that. This must be all communist propaganda.

If the reality of this country has been obliterated, has been made invisible, the media is partly to blame. I was thinking about that the other day. All the front page news about the Queen's birthday. I am, of course, talking here about the media one would have access to as a white South African.

The media here largely reflects the concerns, the mores, the foibles, the dreams, the illusions of the white population, but when you think of it, it certainly ought to be of far greater importance that two, three or four people were actually killed, or that somebody was burned to death, again, or that there's a political trial somewhere. These are hypothetical instances, but they have their reality in life. What about the reality of the vast majority, the blacks? How is that reflected?

It isn't only something which occurs in South Africa. It's true that when boredom sets in, anywhere, when one is gorged with information of horrors and just having had enough, you consequently become dulled to it.

When you see township violence on your television screen, overseas, half a day after day, and nothing



impact than simply talking with people of the same linguistic or cultural backgrounds who are doing different jobs.

I think it should not be underestimated what can be done by an individual, if it is done correctly and honestly and clearly and with a kind of ethnic awareness. It doesn't matter if it is not within itself an aggressive action of protest, or whatever the case may be.

I move from a very simple premise, in fact three premises. There's no possible way in which what's presently happening in the country can continue. I mean, by that, a minority ruling a majority. It has nothing to do with historical determinism, or anything like that.

I think it is intrinsically such an uneven and unnatural situation and condition that attempts will continue to be made by the majority to put things right. You have a choice. Things can be put right or you can live in a state of increasing unrest, disillusionment and decay until the country eventually goes to a Lebanonisation, even to something similar to the Cambodian situation.

My second premise is that a coming to power of the majority is, in the long run, inevitable. The whites in this country, I'm talking about the bulk of them now, are here to stay; obviously there's going to be a hive off, we've already seen that, but the majority will stay.

The whites here, as far I'm concerned, are Africans, there's no doubt about that. They may be particularly hard to digest, hard to fit in with the rest of the continent, however you want to put it, but they are Africans. The whole of Africa accepts this.

We met and had to... of... mission...

Whites will have as much reason to revolt against a minority

happens, the situation doesn't crack, there's no apparent solution, no catharsis, no catalyst, as it were, you do eventually become dulled to it.

I remember during the Vietnam years when this happened for me. The media tended to glitz it over, as it were. The format of information has become so blurred, particularly in television and more particularly in America. There, I was struck with a sense of shock on how you slide over from advertisements into news broadcasts without being aware of the change. Ultimately it seems all the same reality.

Being exposed to the knowledge of violence without having the means to do anything about it, ultimately has a deadening effect on the person watching it, a demobilising effect.

In the long run, it is this that's so dangerous. I compare it to a prison situation, where you are exposed to what I would call the knowledge of evil; not necessarily what is being done to you, because you shy away from knowing what's happening to you, but you see what is being done to others: the beatings, the violence which is there, the deprivation of food, the humiliation. People letting themselves go, the bestiality of it, in fact. You are forced to be in a situation over which you have no vestige of control, you can not do anything about it, you are forced to be in a situation where you are impotent. So you have to repress something inside yourself, the normal human impulse is to say: F--- that! Stop it! You can't do that to people! It's not human!

This brings me back to the point, which is the South African situation: I'm afraid what we've seen happening in this country, already, is that in the white community there's a kind of deep psychological crisis, a catatonic state in which people are shying away from the knowledge of what is really happening, a continuing effort to find euphemisms, a



make-believe world, a hoping that things will still come right, or pretending that it must be the communists trying to do this, it must be the outside world, it must be because of East/West conflict or it must be something else.

It is, again, a shying away from real knowledge because people have been deprived of the means of dealing with a crisis of political conscience. I think there is no group in this country who is as profoundly depoliticised as the white population. We think we were involved in politics, but we weren't. We think that we had a choice, in the years of apartheid, whether we would become involved or not, but we never had that choice, the decisions were being made for us.

Some of us hated those decisions. We knew we hated them and so we found outlets, we found cultural outlets, social outlets. We became more and more refined in other ways. I think this knowing and at the same time not wanting to know has left very very deep scars.

When this happens to human beings, ultimately they are conditioned for self-destruction. You are being conditioned for self-destruction so you become a fatalist. You lose the normal, everyday, simple, human means of logically examining and dealing with this type of situation.

Because you can not do so, you are obliged not to do so and it is this that leaves those very deep

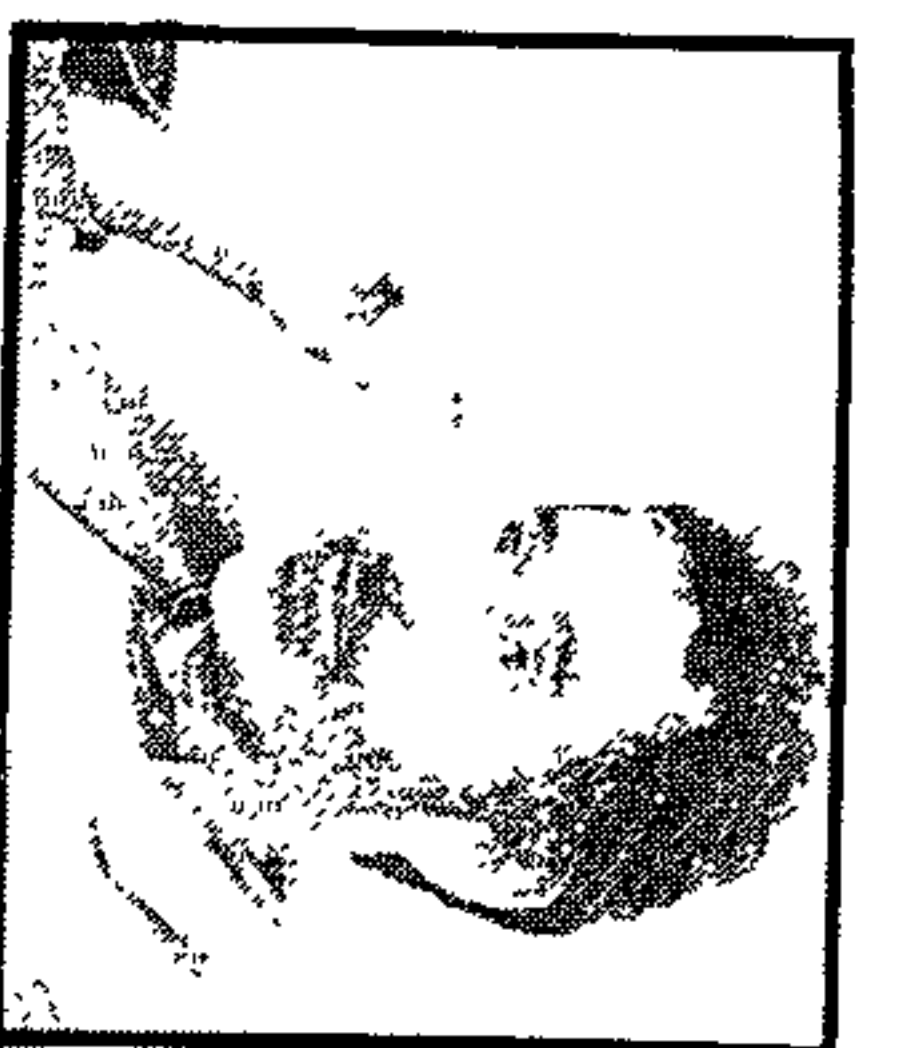


psychological scars, I mentioned.

I think there is a kind of schizophrenia presently rampant in the white community, which is one of the reasons that I decided to come to South Africa now. I think there is now the possibility of saying something at the moment which can still, perhaps, count. I think there is, not necessarily a willingness to listen, but a great sense of unease among many whites. Among many of the Afrikaners, particularly, there is a sense of aimlessness.

Apartheid, they now know is crumbling forever. That whole bedrock that whole carapace that has been thought out for us is disappearing and one now has to start thinking for one's self.

There has been a careful cultivation of apoliticism, taking politics away from the whites, that's really what has happened in this country, and they no longer know where to turn. So, within the state of general malaise, I think the time is ripe to bring across a certain number of uncomfortable reflections: nothing new, nothing at all that hasn't been said before, but saying it at this moment, saying it to them in Afrikaans, in their own



language, having them sit still to hear what must be said, is the proper thing. They are not yet prepared to take it in English, or hear it spoken to them by Tulu, but the words must be spoken.

So, if there's something I can do from within and for their own good, I feel that coming at this moment and talking to them and even accepting the risks of doing it within the precincts of their own temple, the State Theatre, it will have been worth it.

My coming has provoked debate and criticism, but it may be of some little help in achieving what I am trying to achieve here, what needs to be achieved, what has to happen. Certainly I couldn't do so just by speaking to the so-called coloured people or the blacks.

I think all of us have to find out what we can do about our society within our limitations. For instance, and this is something I keep on saying to people abroad, to people of various professions: doctors, lawyers, trade unionists, journalists and others. I say: make contact with those people doing the same work as you in South Africa and see how you can exchange information. After all, one shares far more with people doing the same work. This has validity across all barriers: be they so-called racial barriers or ethnic barriers or, for that matter, national frontiers. The inter-changing of ideas can have much greater

with President Diouf, who is now the chairman of the OAU, the President of Senegal. I can assure you that in African quarters those who are most resolutely against apartheid, against this regime, never for one moment question the permanence of the South African whites on the continent of Africa. In other words, a solution has to be found that is going to include or accommodate, to some extent, the whites also.

My third premise is that apartheid, to give it its generic name, which hides so many other things, has affected the whites as badly as it has affected the blacks.

Very often for blacks it has meant death; having to go to prison for not having a pass in order not being allowed to live in certain areas; having an inferior education, and it has meant malnutrition and even starvation.

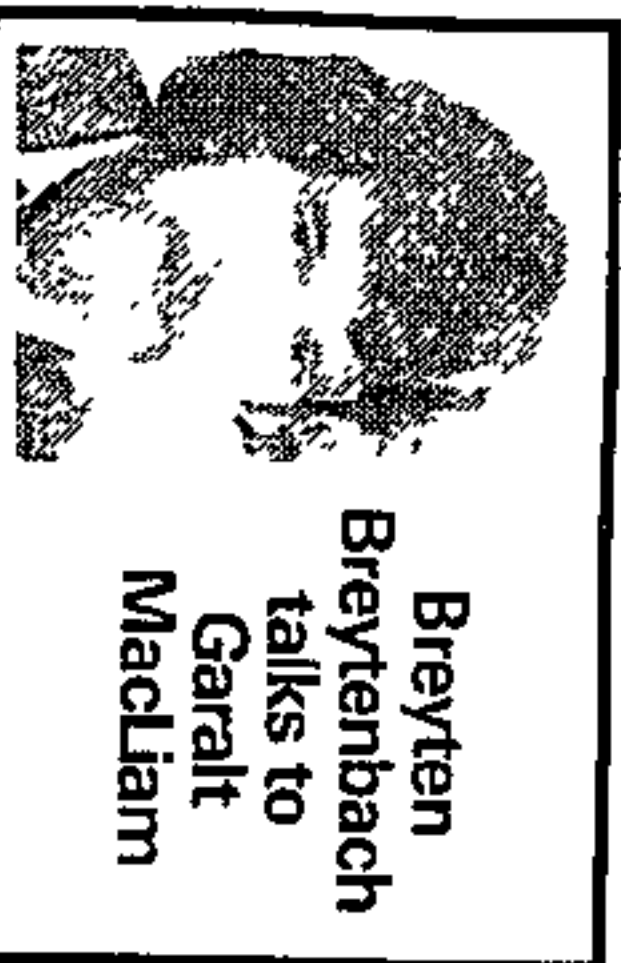
For the whites it has meant the death of the soul: the maiming of the moral awareness of the human being. I think once we whites realise that, we will have as much cause to revolt against apartheid as the blacks have.

It is not a case of saying *mea culpa, mea culpa*, we're just a lot of murderous bastards who have kept you guys out for too long, now let us bow our heads in shame and pray that the black man will be cleverer than we have been. That, of course, is bull---!

We must find ways, as white Africans, knowing that we are going to be here permanently, of standing up and rejecting those who rule us.

How can this be done? I have no doubt that there are means by which whites, in an organised way, within their professions, within their cultural groupings, within political groupings, can become effectively involved in the transformation process, but to do this they will have to realise that the necessary change is not going to be brought about by the government.

'An Albino Terrorist' speaks out



Breyten Breytenbach talks to Garalt MacLiam

"In many respects I'm not an Afrikaner, at least. I do not think of myself as an Afrikaner and very many Afrikaners would probably agree with me on this point. I can not subscribe to or find a common ground for the generally accepted totality of what an Afrikaner is supposed to be. I cannot subscribe to either the religious or political generalities of Afrikanerdom.

I live in Paris. I'm a French citizen. I had to apply for a visa to return to South Africa. But I think of myself as a world citizen because I've been obliged to become one. That's the way it is without being a matter of choice.

To return to South Africa and to find myself seen as an Afrikaner only, was very strange, but it has a benefit: because of my history and the kind of people I'm in contact with, there are some Afrikaners who will realise that I am in a position to be a form of bridge."

Something which one senses very strongly when you come back to this country is that there's a tremendous feeling of inner tenseness, of inner nervousness among people.

If those who run this country try to pretend that we are not living in a police State or a totalitarian State, they only have to listen to people in the streets or at parties or wherever they meet them. You can feel a shying away from hard political issues because there is the sense that Big Brother is watching, you know, or there is the fear that he may eventually be watching and

you don't know what the hell he is going to do if he calls you in.

We whites have developed, the blacks, too, to a lesser extent, a kind of relaxed exterior. We move easily, but I think we look for the loopholes all the time; you know, the braai, the rugby and all the rest of it, in order to work off the tenseness, as it were, or to pretend that it doesn't exist, but in returning to South Africa, I am aware, all the time, that underneath, there's a terrific nervousness.

As a contradiction to that, what I feel is also happening now, and I find an encouragement in it, is the building pressure in the country for the process of liberation, there's no doubt about that, and it's coming from grass roots level.

Talking about the process of liberation, I think it's important to underline that South Africa is contributing not simply the bad things to the world, it's not just the skunk of the world. South Africa, which I tend to think of as a whole, however dichotomous it may be, and then to see its differences in the various communities, cultures or linguistic groups, is contributing and adding to the notion of liberated concepts and consequently is contributing, by the very fact of what is happening here, to the advancement of the individual's right to liberty in all parts of the world.

I also think the cultural component of what's happening during this process of transformation is an extremely important one. What began as black consciousness could now be aptly described as South African consciousness and it includes the potential South African cultural identity. This is another liberation.

Not being aware of the day to



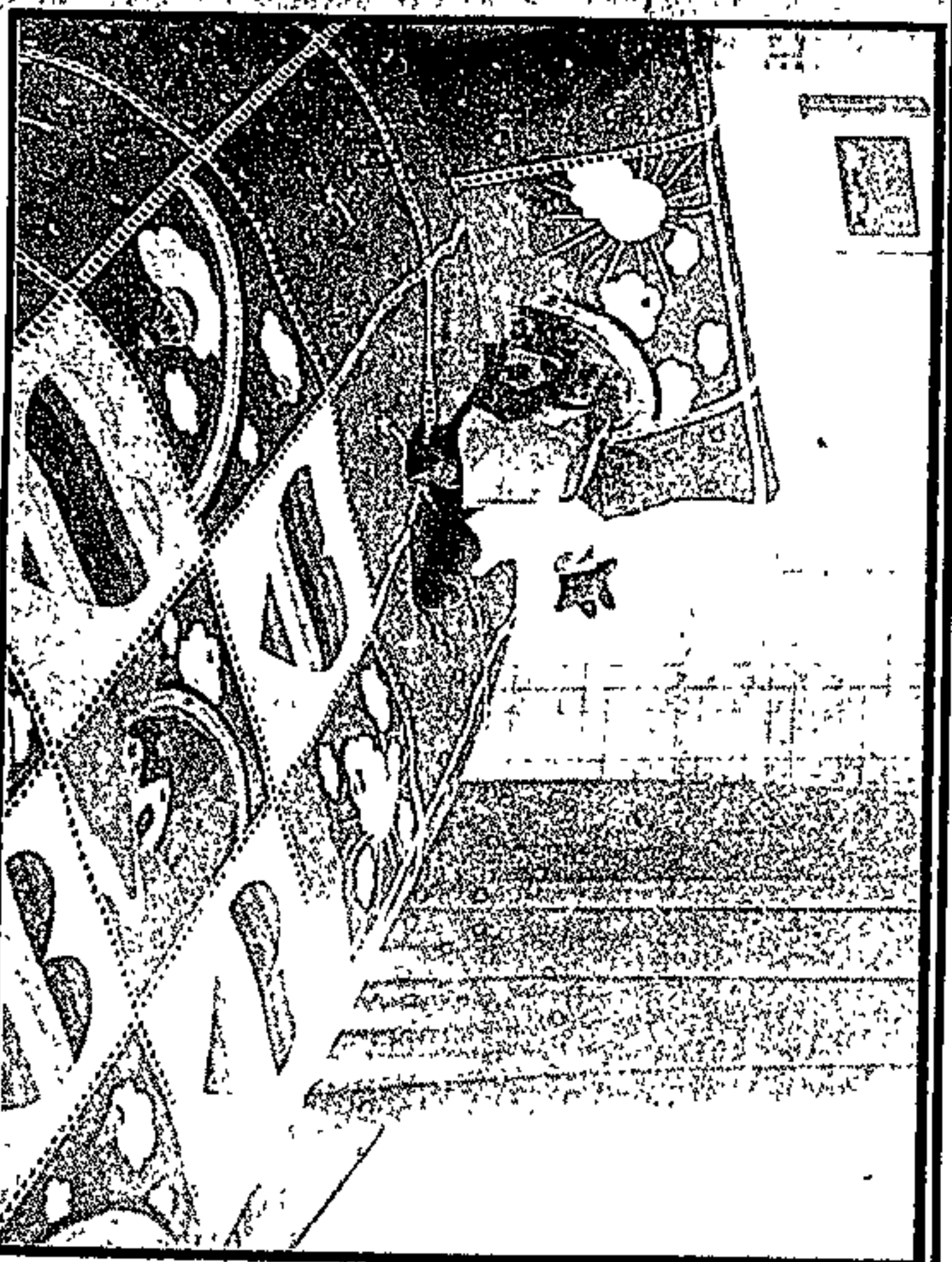
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Breyten Breytenbach's love for the country of his birth is an undeniable factor in his life.

day life and strictures in the townships is a confusing factor for whites. I tried to work it out for myself the other day in Grahamstown where you can sit in one part of the town, the white town, and you can actually see down the valley and up the next

hill to where the black town is. Last Saturday morning I heard that the police and the army were all over the black township again. They had prohibited all public meetings. There was going to be a funeral and it

● To Page 15



This colourful duvet cover has been appropriately named Rainbow's End. Part of the Horrockses range, it comes with pillowcases and ready to hang curtains. For other interesting ideas on how to brighten your bedroom or bathroom turn to Page 10.

More AWB action likely

By Hannes de Wet

More National Party meetings will in future be disrupted by rightwing groups "if the NP continues on its present path", said Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging.

Commenting on the disruption by a crowd of AWB supporters this week of a meeting to have been addressed by Deputy Minister Louis Nel, Mr Terre'Blanche said: "The assertion we deliberately planned to break up the meeting at Brits and the rightwingers came from all over Transvaal is nonsense.

"This was a spontaneous reaction against the NP's policies. If the NP continues on its present path, this could be expected to happen again in the future."

Dr Jan Grobler, NP MP for Brits, said the AWB was planning to disrupt as many National Party meetings as possible.

"I heard the rightwingers saying last night this would be their style in the future. They said that they would be travelling from town to town, breaking up NP meetings."

Mr Terre'Blanche denied his movement had such a deliberate strategy.

He said: "Dr Grobler shouldn't come crying to us if the majority of people in his constituency are no longer NP supporters."

He said there was no need for the AWB to canvass rightwingers from other towns to disrupt NP meetings.

He said: "I have been speaking in towns all over the Transvaal and the halls have been filled to capacity."

"Last night I addressed 1 500 people in Witbank. This evening I am speaking at Meyerton and another capacity crowd is expected. Last week I addressed about 8 000 people."

FOR the first time since 1923 a black man can now walk the streets of Cape Town as free as someone from any other community.

Blacks must be part of new deal if it is to succeed — Olivier

A "TERRIFIC leap" in Nationalist thinking. This is how a top expert on black affairs sees the scrapping of the influx control and pass laws.

He is Professor Nic Olivier, former Professor of African law and government at the University of Stellenbosch, and now a nominated PFP MP.

But he sounds a warning: Any major Government policy development such as the new urbanisation one will only succeed if blacks are involved in the country's political structure — and if it is done with their co-operation.

Thus, the Government needs to give urgent effect to indications by President PW Botha that it intends creating a new constitution providing for participation by all South Africans.

TO Prof Olivier a particularly interesting aspect of this week's announcement was the Government's acceptance that, because a law discriminated on the basis of race, it was objectionable and unacceptable and had to be repealed.

Therefore, in this instance at least, the Nationalists are no longer trying to rationalise on the grounds that a measure, although discriminatory, is still essential for some other reason.

With a view to future reform measures, the following definition of discrimination given in the schedule of this week's White Paper is particularly interesting:

"Discrimination is the unequal treatment of individuals or groups on the basis of classification in terms of certain characteristics such as race, religion, culture or sex and it implies favour towards a person or group which bears no relation to individual ability, merit or the actual behaviour of the person or group concerned."

Prof Olivier says the scrapping of the large number of laws restricting the movement of blacks was only the outward manifestation of the influx control system.

"What one must not forget is the degree of harassment to which every black could be subjected, wherever he was or wherever he worked. No black man could walk

By TOS WENTZEL
Weekend Argus Political
Correspondent

the streets of any town or work anywhere without running the risk of being accosted by an official or a policeman to produce proof that he had the legal right to be there.

"Apart from the arrests, there was the total insecurity created in the lives of blacks.

"For the first time since 1923 a black man can now walk the streets of Cape Town as free as someone from any other community.

"For the first time an employer can employ a black without running the risk of being interfered with by an official who had the right to check if the black worker was in legal employment.

"For the first time a black can come into 'prescribed' areas and not run the risk of being accosted to prove that he had not been there for 72 hours or, if he had been, to prove that he had the right to stay longer.

"For the first time blacks who have been 'exempted' from the provisions of the law does not have to carry a document with them to prove that they are so exempted.

"The implications for the family life of blacks are also enormous because of the scrapping of the restrictions."

ANOTHER effect of the old system is that it caused bad relations between blacks and the police and officials.

On the urbanisation aspects of this week's announcement, Prof Olivier says new legislation will have to be awaited. But it is obvious that such legislation will be non-discriminatory.

On the Group Areas Act he points out that this is being investigated by the President's Council.

President Botha made the interesting statement that the law is not a holy cow

and that what he was interested in was separate residential areas.

This statement does not exclude the possibility of grey areas.

Much as he finds the Population Registration Act objectionable, says Prof Olivier, it has only limited implications as far as the urbanisation process as such is concerned.

AS to the implications of the urbanisation process, he says it is incumbent on the Government, as a matter of urgency, to provide land for the process of black urbanisation which it has now accepted as inevitable.

"The land available for the proper settlement and housing of blacks is totally inadequate. There should also not be the fragmentation of housing departments in terms of the 'own affairs' concept."

"The housing crisis should be solved through a unified, sustained effort by the authorities along with the private sector.

"The squatter blot in the Peninsula could have been avoided had it not been the policy since the sixties not to provide more family housing and not to upgrade the black townships."

He agrees with Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis that there will not now be a huge inflow of blacks to the urban areas. But there is a need to develop employment opportunities and housing in the non-metropolitan areas.

The new policy in effect legalises the position of a large number of blacks who — illegally under the old system — is already present in the urban areas.

According to figures given by Mr Heunis in answer to questions by Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens, there are between 40 000 and 90 000 'illegals' in the Peninsula. But Mr Andrew thinks the figure is far higher.

Whatever the case, Professor Olivier is emphatic about the need to develop employment opportunities and housing in the non-metropolitan areas.

SA reform - debate triumph

From NEIL LURSEN
 Weekend Argus 30/11
 Foreign Service 26/11/86

WASHINGTON. — The South African Ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, scored points for the South African Government's reform effort during a debate on national television here with a representative of the African National Congress.

Had he declined to appear on the same programme on Thursday night with the ANC official, Mr Solly Semelane, Mr Beukes would have left the field wide open for the banned organisation at a time when American perceptions are clearly of vital importance to the South African Government.

Mediator

By agreeing to take part, the ambassador was able to project an image of a government anxious to forge a peaceful settlement of its race problems — a course the Reagan Administration and critics in the US Congress are calling for as a matter of extreme urgency.

The debate took place during the MacNeil Lehrer Newshour, a nightly current affairs programme on the respected Public Broadcasting System.

Public television tends to attract viewers who are more serious-minded than those who watch the more popular commercial networks.

The mediator was Charlayne Hunter-Gault, a black journalist who spent time in South Africa last year covering the forces behind the unrest.

She was in a New York studio with Mr Semelane, while Mr Beukes was linked to the programme from a studio in Washington. Though the two men were not able to meet physically they could listen to and respond to each other's points of view.

Viewers were told that the repeal of the pass laws was one of the most significant reform moves in South Africa since World War 2, and Ms Hunter-Gault pressed this view repeatedly with Mr Semelane — and appearing at times to be perplexed by his refusal to agree.

The ambassador emphasised that all South Africans could take part in the debate about the country's future as long as they rejected violence.

Therefore the ground-breaking 15-minute debate between Mr Beukes and Mr Semelane is bound to be welcomed by the Reagan Administration even though the two men agreed on nothing.

District 6 father in fast at US university

W/L-MRGWS 26/4/86

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A South African fasting for disinvestment at a university in Indiana has urged the South African priesthood to openly support African liberation.

Father Basil van Rensburg, of Holy Cross Catholic Church in District Six, is taking water only at Notre Dame University.

The clergyman has been fasting since April 9. He has lost about 12kg and he is starting to feel weak.

He called on South Africa's priests to "make more noise now and support the African liberation movement" and said: "This is the moment of truth for all South Africans."

Father van Rensburg's fast is aimed at turning a vote by Notre Dame University's board of trustees on May 9 and 10, against links with companies doing business with South Africa.



He is trying also to influence Southern African bishops who are to meet at a special conference next month to decide on divestment. The meeting will be chaired by Archbishop Dennis Hurley of Durban.

"My prayer is that they decide on disinvestment," the fasting Father said.

He said he knew his campaign for disinvestment could be viewed as an act of treason.

"It does concern me, but the conviction of my crusade is to bring people more quickly to the negotiating table for talks with the real leaders."

The fast has attracted attention and media coverage at Indiana's university town of South Bend where he is on a year's sabbatical at Notre Dame.

His campaign has also drawn student and faculty support. On Friday he took part in an anti-apartheid rally on the steps of the administration offices.

Chat show

Next Wednesday he will take part in a major Chicago radio chat show and is apparently considering invitations to other mainstream media cities.

Father van Rensburg has written to all members of Notre Dame's board of trustees urging them to divest South African-tied holdings.

And he plans to write to all the bishops attending next month's divestment conference in South Africa. The letters will contain details of his campus fast and how it was received.

He has apparently also lobbied the chairman of the board of trustees, describing in detail to him the apartheid system and its effects.

Despite his deteriorating condition, Father van Rensburg said he was able to attend all his classes, and was generally in excellent health.

"I find I'm able to concentrate more clearly because my energies are not being used to digest McDonald's hamburgers but are rather going to my brain," he said. Missing meals and pre-dinner cocktails enabled him to study three or more hours longer each day, he claims.

Cape Times 26/4/86 304A

Nel helpless in face of right-wing barrage

BRITS. — The National Party meeting held in the town hall here on Thursday night started and ended in chaos without the main speaker, Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel, succeeding in making himself heard above the torrent of noise from right-wing groups.

Because of the barrage of noise from supporters of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volkswag, Mr Nel was forced helplessly to watch the noisy crowd from the stage. He never made his speech.

After a frustrating hour, he and his party of NP organizers and officials left the stage which was then occupied by the jubilant right-wing groups.

At a hastily convened press conference on stage during the noisy meeting, Mr Nel told media representatives: "This is the ugly face of the Afrikaner — white radicalism at its worst. No one has any chance of making himself heard.

'Uncivilized behaviour'

"This rude crowd of people is definitely not only from the Brits district — they were canvassed from all over the Transvaal.

"They act in a completely uncivilized way. This meeting will not continue under these circumstances."

He left soon afterwards.

Earlier this week, reports indicated that the conservative groups were or-

ganizing to disrupt the meeting.

The groups, who on Thursday night referred to themselves as "people who walk the straight road", took up the challenge of the Brits MP, Dr Jan Grobler, that parliamentarians should come and see for themselves the support which the NP enjoyed in his constituency.

The meeting was noisy from the start.

When the divisional chairman of the NP, Mr Mauritz Kloppers, tried to address the crowd, a man in the audience immediately got up and shouted: "On a point of order, Mr Chairman, you have not been elected in a constitutionally correct manner.

Former wrestling champion

"We, the majority, insist that Mr Manie Maritz, whom we had previously elected as chairman, takes the chair."

The man then produced a loud-hailer and for a solid hour insisted that Mr Manie Maritz, a former wrestling champion, take the chair.

For an hour the crowd, consisting mostly of supporters of the conservative groups, jeered, shouted, chanted and sang satirical Afrikaans songs such as "Tant Koek se hoenderhaan".

Two vierkleur flags and one with a swastika-like AWB symbol were waved by members of the audience.

After exhaustive attempts at public speaking, Mr Nel gave up and strode off the stage followed by party organizers and officials. — Sapa

By MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE controversial Public Safety Amendment Bill tabled this week is set for a tough passage through Parliament — and even stronger criticism from outside.

Both the Labour and National People's parties intend opposing the wide-ranging powers granted to the Minister of Law and Order to declare a "mini-emergency" in any area.

The PFP has already come out against the Bill while academic jurists, lawyers and extra-parliamentary political groups have slammed the proposed new powers.

Violence

The Government move for new powers for the police comes amid continuing allegations of security force irregularities in the townships and evidence that the partial state of emergency declared last year by the Government failed to substantially quell the waves of civil violence.

That the new Bill is in fact just a replacement of the state of emergency which was lifted after international pressure is made clear in the memorandum published with it:

"The declaration of a state

Safety Bill faces a storm

of emergency is a drastic measure and has far-reaching consequences for the Republic... The situation could have been dealt with effectively by the security forces if the necessary additional powers could have been granted to them without declaring a state of emergency."

The Bill states that whenever the Minister believes public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence is occurring or threatens to occur in any area and that extra measures are needed to handle the situation, he may declare the area by proclamation to be an unrest area.

Such a declaration is valid for three months, but can be

extended with the approval of the State President.

The Minister may then make any regulations for that area as appear necessary or expedient for providing for the combating or preventing of public disturbance.

Opponents of the Bill have pointed out it virtually gives a blank cheque to the Minister:

The only effective proviso is that if somebody is detained under the regulations for longer than 30 days, he must be named in Parliament.

Draconian

PFP Law and Order spokesman Mrs Helen Sazman said: "I have little reason to believe that these regulations will be less draconian than those implemented during the state of emergency and will include indemnity for the police, restraints on the media and stringent conditions under which detainees can be held."

The Bill also states that no interdict shall be issued setting aside such proclamation, and no court shall be competent to inquire or give judgment on the validity of any such proclamation or regulation.

THE WEEK THE GOVERNMENT DUMPED THE PASS LAWS: BUT THE QUESTIONS REMAINED

SUNDAY TIMES, April 27 1986 29

THE White Paper on Urbanisation represents one of the most important documents ever tabled in Parliament. It marks a significant crack in the formidable walls of South Africa's citadel of injustice: apartheid.

Overdue as some may argue, it brings to an end a system of control aptly described by blacks way back in 1920 as "perpetuated martial law in peacetime". Hopefully it will also signify an end to the politics of control as such and the acceleration of the politics of negotiation.

The authorities in general, and Minister Chris Heunis in particular, should be commended for taking this step.

Given the key role that control and related measures have played in the execution of the policy of separate development, its abolition gives much needed credibility and momentum to the process of reform.

To ridicule this step as cosmetic would be an act of extreme cynicism, if not deliberate dishonesty.

For a government reputed to address each and every problem by means of statutory measures, it certainly is not cosmetic to abolish influx control and more than 30 related Acts and regulations.

It is important to note that the White Paper presents an open-ended and flexible policy statement on urbanisation.

In future South Africa will not have an all-embracing Act on urbanisation. What South Africa gets is broad policy principles which could be adopted in accordance with new needs and insights.

Instead of rigidly controlling the process of urbanisation by means of administrative intervention and statutory prescriptions, it is envisaged to manage the process, by indirectly influencing individual choices to urbanise.

Close scrutiny of the White Paper discloses that hidden legislative measures have not been substituted for the maze of influx control laws, regulations and proclamations.

Some of the principles and priorities stated in the White Paper need to be emphasised:

- Equality before the law.
- Reflection of discrimination on the basis



By WILLIE ESTERHUYSE
Consultant to the Urban Foundation

Now that we've got rid of the POLITICS of control it's time to get started on the POLITICS of debate

Freedom of movement to and between cities.

The individual's right to occupy or own a property in accordance with his/her financial means.

The responsibility also of the private sector in the provision of affordable housing and activities directed at development.

- Equal political rights in an undivided South Africa.
- The need to address backlogs effectively.
- The need to accelerate the process of providing services and land.

Urbanisation... is accepted as an inevitable phase in the process of development... and should be utilised in a positive manner to enhance the quality of life of all communities.

These principles and priorities indicate a sincere attempt to dismantle unjust structures, setting South Africa on the course of development.

The same can be said of the 1973 Black Land Act and the Population Regulation Act.

It should also be accepted that the impact of the White Paper and its urgent execution will, in the final analysis, be determined by the contents and implications of the expected announcement on citizenship for blacks.

The statement of policy in the White Paper is so closely linked to the issue of citizenship that it is indeed a pity that the latter issue could not be addressed simultaneously.

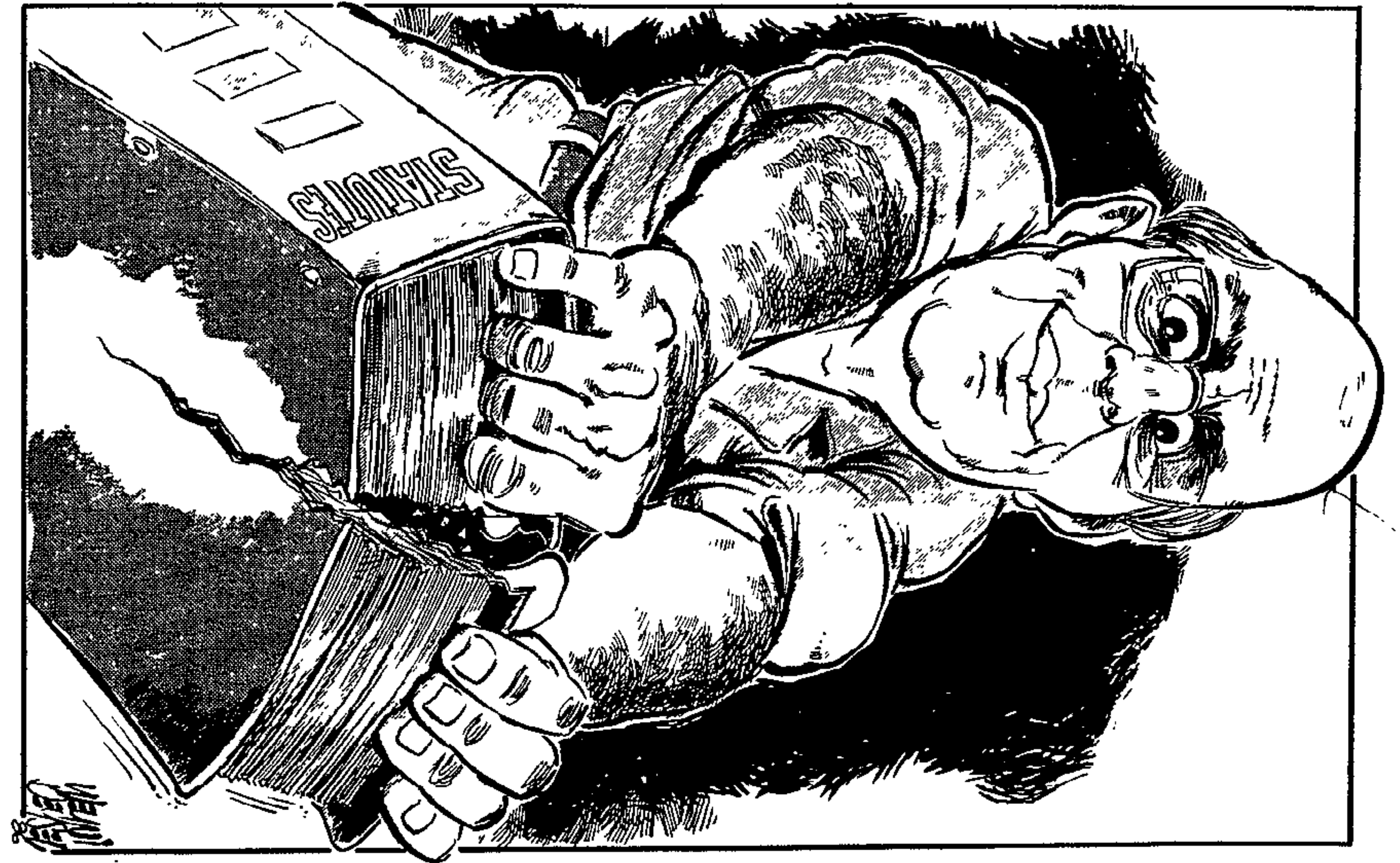
I do not doubt the integrity of Government's purpose in this respect, but the anomalies which arise in respect of the six million blacks in the TBVC countries not having freedom of mobility are so profound that immediate rectification is required.

In respect the White Paper's significance should not be underestimated. It is a landmark in the history of South Africa, a document which should not be underestimated.

Government creates to bring this about and the extent to which private sector leadership and involvement is secured.

Much of the positive impact of the White Paper promises to have on black-white relations will also be neutralised if the references to separate living areas and group areas for the various population groups is meant to imply that this facet of apartheid will not be re-considered but constitutes a non-negotiable aspect of South Africa's way of life.

If executed in accordance with its letter and spirit, the White Paper will be an important bridge across the deep divide towards a new South Africa.



IT WAS, perhaps, the most vehement display of organised white rightwing might to date ... an event which boldly underscored the growing rift in the ranks of the Afrikaner. Last Thursday night the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging mustered their forces and went raiding.

In an unbridled display of ideological passion, members of the AWB locked horns with their immediate arch-rivals, the Nationalists.

On the surface, the fiery encounter had all the elements of a home-grown soap opera. It even boasted a couple of second-rate celebrities.

Beefy former heavyweight boxer Kallie Knoetze was there, firmly enunciated in the National Party corner. At one stage he stood toe to toe with panicky ex-wrestler Manie Maritz, an AWB organiser and strong-arm man.

In less than two hours an estimated 600 AWB adherents had succeeded in hijacking what was to have been an orderly National Party meeting in Brits, a sleepy Western Transvaal farming centre.

Deputy Minister Mr. Louis Nel was to have been the keynote speaker — but his notes remained tucked into his pocket and his speech was never heard.

AWB hijack silences Minister at Nat rally

ALLAN SOULE looks at the rightwing raid on Brits

The AWB's vicious show of force was, in the words of an exasperated Mr Nel — who was driven from the stage by a barrage of rightwing protest before being allowed to deliver his address — a bitter portrait of the "Afrikaner's ugly face".

But it was more. The meeting encounter became the first public, and at times violent, clash between the two organisations.

The AWB launched their first assault 60 minutes before the meeting was scheduled to begin. Armed with stick bombs, a bullhorn and flags and banners, they occupied the hall and laid claim to almost every seat.

Meanwhile, local police and reinforce-

ments brought in from surrounding towns watched from a distance. They refused to intervene.

National Party supporters were forced to occupy the limited space in the front of the stage.

With their take-over complete, AWB members strutted about the place waving their flags and seeking confrontation with Nationalists. They were in a belligerent mood and soon the crowd had become almost uncontrollable.

When Louis Nel made his appearance, panic-demonium broke out. All attempts by the organisers to order the meeting were stonewalled by a flood of AWB protest.

They declared the meeting "undemocratic" and insisted that their representative, Mr Manie Maritz, the son of a Boer general who had been one of the leaders of the 1914 rebellion, be installed as chairman.

The Nationalists bitterly resented. AWB supporters grew impatient and physically tried to install their "elected" chairman. Their assault on the stage was repelled by the desperate Nationalists.

Louis Nel shouted into the now-silent public address system: "We are civilised people, let's try and behave as such."

But his detractors wanted none of it. "We want Manie," they chanted.

Police intervened only once. They entered the hall, removed the bullhorns — and then vanished. A police spokesman said on Friday that it was police policy to act without bias in such a situation.

After almost two hours, the official organisers of the meeting decided to call it off. Mr Nel called a hasty Press conference.

Looking angry and defeated, he said: "What happened here tonight was a demonstration of white radicalism at its ugliest."

At about 8pm, with the hall well clear of Nationalists, Mr Maritz hopped on to the stage and said: "Right, friends, you're all invited to a bring-and-brain at Tant Mollie's shop. Let's go to it!"

3041A

Conscription for other races foreseen by Govt

By David Breier
A Government White Paper published last week clearly envisages extending conscription to coloured and Indian people in the long term. At present conscription applies only to whites while other races can volunteer.

The issue is becoming a political hot potato and could provide a major platform for the United Democratic Front and other resistance groups. Government spokesmen denied that conscription for coloured and Indian people was in the offing. They said more Indians and coloured people were applying for voluntary service than the SA Defence Force could handle.

But the White Paper, representing Government policy, envisages taking coloured and Indian people through the same stages of military service as whites who first had a voluntary system, then the ballot and then compulsory national service.

Government policy with regard to extending conscription to coloured and Indian people is clear from the relevant section of the White Paper. This section in full, states: "At present the Defence Act does not make provision for national service for coloureds and Indians. These population

groups have, however, been rendering service as volunteers since 1973. From 1980 onwards the system has been extended to a service period of two years. "In respect of national service for Indians and coloureds, the following is important: The SADF does not have the necessary infrastructure to accommodate the numbers who become liable for national service. More Indians and coloureds than the SADF can handle are currently applying to do voluntary service. "National service for whites

has developed over the years. From 1946 to 1961 the SADF made use of volunteers. The number of volunteers was later inadequate to maintain the required manpower level giving rise to the introduction of the ballot system in 1962. "The uprisings in the early Sixties as well as the establishment of the Republic, which resulted in the RSA having to rely on its own resources, led to the implementation of national service in 1969. "In the same way that military service for whites was developed and adapted over the

past years on the basis of the threat, concomitant manpower requirements and supply of manpower, it is envisaged to take the coloureds and Indians through this process as well. "At present the system of voluntary service will have to suffice. Thereafter it could possibly be extended to a selective national service system, before compulsory national service can be considered. "Because the population groups are involved in the new political dispensation, and a close relationship exists between military service and pol-

itics, the process will, as a matter of course, have to take place with the co-operation and approval of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates." Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape regional secretary of the UDF, said the White Paper confirmed what the UDF had always said, particularly during its campaign against the tricameral Parliament elections in 1984. "It was apparent then already, from the utterances of various Cabinet Ministers, that giving coloureds and Indians a stake in the system would compel them to defend that system. "In spite of the ravings and denials of the Hendrickses and the Rajbansis both then and now, the writing is on the wall. It should be quite obvious that the SADF is too stretched to contain the present uprising. "The additional powers coming to them via the Public Safety Amendment Bill still won't resolve their crisis." Mr Manuel said State President Mr P W Botha would implement conscription over the heads of Mr Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the coloured and Indian Cabinet Ministers. He said the UDF would once again rally support against conscription and he cited the present white resistance to conscription as an indicator. Mr Rajbansi, chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council, said people were over-reacting to the White Paper. Indian conscription could not happen now because the existing demand by volunteers could not be accommodated, and because nothing would be done without the approval of the House of Delegates. Mr Hendrickse has said he would only agree to conscription if all South Africans were represented at the highest level.

'NP will not be intimidated by thuggery'

Political Staff

THE National Party will not be intimidated by political thuggery, says the Transvaal leader of the party, Mr F W de Klerk.

He was reacting today to last week's disruption of NP meetings in Brits and Nylstroom — both in the Transvaal — by right-wing hecklers.

Mr de Klerk, also chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, said in a statement that it was his party's duty to put to the country the reality of the situation, as it saw it, in an undaunted and unbiased way.

Incidents of political thuggery would not deter the National Party from fulfilling this duty, Mr de Klerk said.

HECKLED, SHOUTED

Mr de Klerk criticised the reported statement of the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, that the National Party "deserved" the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) action which broke up the NP meeting in Brits on Thursday.

AWB supporters heckled and shouted so loudly for two hours that the Deputy-Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, left without making his speech.

A similar attempt by right-wingers to break up an NP meeting at Nylstroom was thwarted by police.

Mr de Klerk said that when people tried to prevent a party from legally stating its policy then one could come to no other conclusion but that those people had no credible message of their own.



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Talks with Frontline heads

A SPOKESMAN for President P W Botha refused to comment yesterday on the content of the informal talks between Botha and Frontline-state leaders at the weekend Swazi coronation of 18-year-old King Mswati.

Head of liaison for the State President's Office Jack Viviers said Botha had had an opportunity to talk with a number of people, including Mozambican President Samora Machel.

Botha and Machel were seated alongside each other for five hours on the guest podium on Saturday during the celebration

of the new king's appointment, which was attended by about 60 000 Swazis who packed the Somhlolo stadium to capacity.

This impromptu gathering of Botha, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Machel, Botswana President Quett Masire and Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende obviously provided an opportunity for an exchange of views, strengthening speculation that there will be further negotiations between Botha and black nationalists.

Botha flew back to SA on Saturday and did not attend the State banquet, at which Mswati himself failed to arrive.

Both Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Lesotho King Moshoeshoe addressed Saturday's celebrations. Moshoeshoe said: "We are all committed to liberating mankind from all forms of oppression, especially where those practices are institutionalised and legalised."

Mswati committed himself to work to advance his people's unity, happiness and prosperity.

THELMA TUCH

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Hecklers at NP meeting

Staff Reporter

YET another National Party meeting has been disrupted by right-wing hecklers.

On Saturday the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, speaking in Nylistroom, had to reason with a group to prevent his meeting being broken up.

Mr Danie Botha, National Party organizer in the Waterberg constituency, told Sapa yesterday that Mr Coetsee reasoned for about 30 minutes with a group that hoisted the "Vierkleur", the flag of the old

Afrikaner republics.

Most then agreed that he could speak.

Mr Botha believes a group of people are determined to break up meetings of his party.

"I am satisfied they are members of the militant right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). They were joined by a few Conservative Party members at the meeting," Mr Botha said.

Most of the "troublemakers" came from areas such as Johannesburg and Rustenburg. Mr Botha said they had been

among a group that broke up a meeting in Brits on Thursday which the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, was to have addressed.

A few days later a meeting addressed by President P W Botha was heckled by right-wingers in Vereeniging.

Mr Danie Botha said that at Saturday's meeting one of the "troublemakers" warned him the National Party should expect "big trouble" at a meeting in Ellisras in May.

Mr Jan de Klerk, one of the

organizers of Saturday's demonstration, said his group wanted to be called Boers, not Afrikaners, because "that is what our fathers and grandfathers called themselves when they fought the English".

He said his group was against the President's reform policies.

"We want him to return the Transvaal Province to us, the Boers, because our fathers fought for it," he said.

He denied he was a member of any group such as the AWB.



Mr Kobie Coetsee

PW warns on forcing SA to reform

BONN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, said in a West German newspaper interview at the weekend he would not stand for "foreign know-it-alls" who press for instant racial reform in his country.

Mr Botha was quoted by the daily *Die Welt* as saying: "I refuse to tolerate interference in our internal affairs by foreign know-it-alls. There are people in Europe and America who expect things can be changed overnight".

Die Welt, a respected conservative daily, quoted Mr Botha as saying South Africa was committed to reforming apartheid.

NEGOTIATE

He said: "South Africa doesn't need to be forced toward reform. The Government itself is committed to it, but those who expect only precipitous change must realize something very clearly: This is no guarantee for stability."

Die Welt said Mr Botha rejected accusations that he is not ready to negotiate with South Africa's black leaders.

South Africa "does not just consist of a single white minority and a single black majority," Mr Botha was quoted as saying.

He said: "The blacks are composed of different ethnic groups that form different minorities and we all share one country".

—Sapa-Associated Press.

Botha in informal talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A spokesman for State President P W Botha declined to comment yesterday on the content of the informal talks between Mr Botha and leaders of the frontline states at the weekend coronation of King Mswati III of Swaziland.

The head of liaison for the State President's Office, Mr Jack Viviers, said Mr Botha had had an opportunity to discuss matters with "a number of people", including President Samora Machel.

This impromptu gathering provided an opportunity for an exchange of views, strengthening speculation of future negotiations between Mr Botha and black nationalists.

Mr Botha flew back to South Africa on Saturday and did not attend the state banquet at which King Mswati himself failed to arrive.

Both Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe addressed Saturday's celebrations with King Moshoeshoe pointing a finger at South Africa as he said: "We are all of us committed to liberating mankind from all forms of oppression especially where those practices are institutionalized and legalized."

The president of Jeugkrag, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

New youth group aims for a just SA

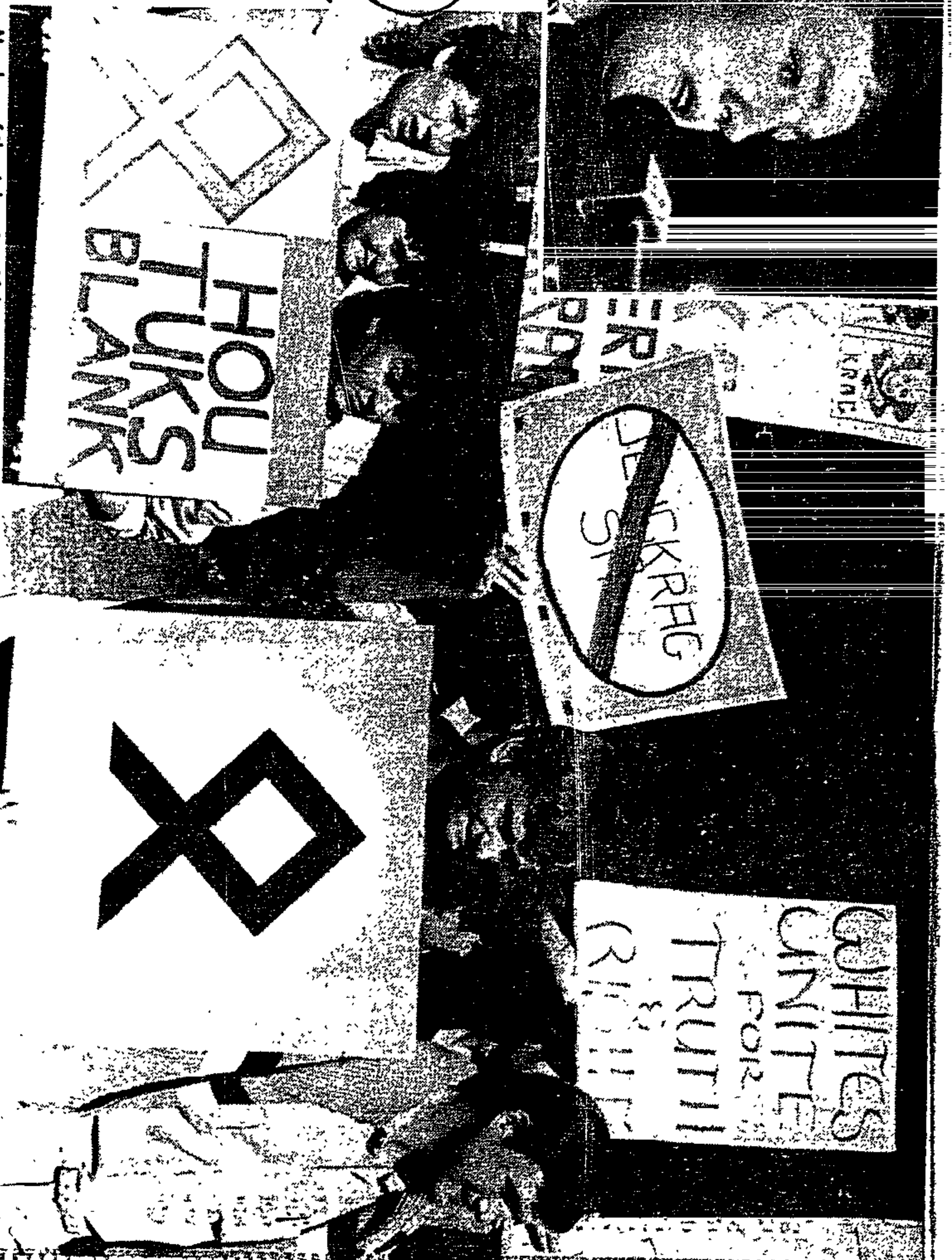
By Susan Pleming

A moderate youth organisation with a largely Afrikaner membership list was launched at the University of Pretoria at the weekend.

Called Jeugkrag (Youth Power), the new organisation aims to contribute towards the creation of a "just, democratic" South Africa by forging better understanding between race groups in this country.

The launch was met with strong opposition by about 50 members of the right-wing student group, the Afrikaner-Studentefront (ASF).

Before the meeting ASF members demonstrated, holding placards bearing slogans such as "Bly blank. Dis jou plig."



Members of the right-wing Afrikaner-Studentefront, demonstrate against the formation of Jeugkrag.

Dis jou reg", "Hou Tucs blank" and "Whites unite for truth and right".

Minutes before the launch, ASF members dispersed and held discussions under some trees near the hall.

Jeugkrag is headed by the president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk (26). The new organisation will not be affiliated to any political party.

Although most of the mem-

bers would probably be Afrikaans-speaking, Mr van Schalkwyk said Jeugkrag was open to anyone between the ages of 18 and 35. It would not be an "exclusively Afrikaans" organisation, he stressed.

About 200 people attended the launch and there was heated debate over whether Jeugkrag should hold talks with the African National Congress. After 30 minutes discussion it was decided that

Jeugkrag would speak only to groups who believed in peaceful change.

Other issues discussed included the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act. A motion was passed to examine this legislation.

Mr van Schalkwyk said Jeugkrag planned to develop a strong relationship with the Inkatha Youth Brigade. The two youth organisations plan to

● Pictures by John Hogg.

hold a joint political congress next month.

After this congress the Inkatha Youth Brigade and Jeugkrag will send a joint political memorandum to the State President. Mr van Schalkwyk described this memorandum as a "historic venture".

"The time for talking is over," said Mr Van Schalkwyk. "We need to travel a lot further down the road of reform."

ANC stepping up drive to recruit whites — Le Grange

PARLIAMENT — The African National Congress has stepped up its recruitment campaign among whites — and especially among "draft dodgers" Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his vote in the budget, Mr Le Grange said South Africa was experiencing a revolutionary onslaught on a multi-dimensional front.

PW repeats offer to ANC wing against communism

PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday repeated his statement that ANC members who did not believe in communism should "come back to South Africa and take part in constitutional action".

However, he could not be expected to deal with the African National Congress while they were controlled by the Communist Party and openly advocated violence, he said in his reply to the debate on his Budget vote.

Mr Botha said he found it "worrying" that 63 percent of the ANC's national executive elected last year were members of the Communist Party.

"I have said it is high time that those who do not believe in communism should step out and come back to South Africa and take part in constitutional action."

"But you can't expect from me, while the ANC is under the control of the Communist Party and still openly advocates violence, to deal with them."

Referring to the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha said he had "dealt with his position very carefully in the past".

"He is keeping himself in jail. The moment he renounces violence, he will be set free." — Sapa.

The South African Communist Party, the ANC and the Pan African Congress aimed at advancing a revolution by exploiting situations. Their goal was to increase the military struggle.

Mr Le Grange said the organisations were recruiting over a "wide section" of the community. Most of the recruits were students who had left the country, criminals and revolutionaries.

"The ANC has increased its recruitment campaign among whites, where draft dodgers are the prime targets," he said.

Training of ANC recruits internally had increased since the signing of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique.

A small number of ANC members were training others "in isolated places" in South Africa.

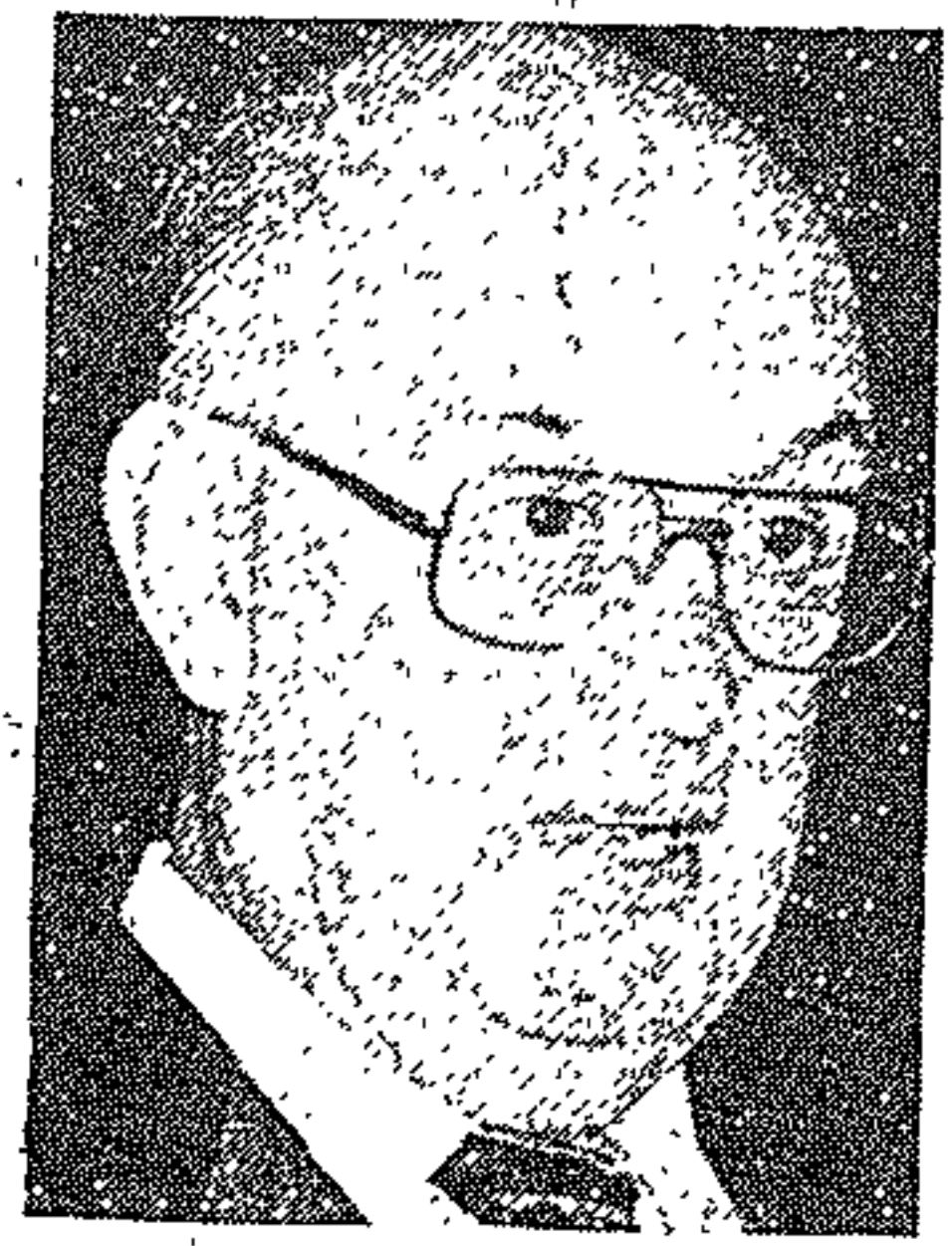
Describing police successes against the ANC and the PAC, Mr Le Grange said police had captured two PAC members on the East Rand on April 7 and five in Bophuthatswana two days later.

One of the men arrested was the second in command of the Azanian People's Army who had been sought in connection with a murder in the Eastern Cape.

In an incident near Maritzburg on Sunday, police shot dead one man and seriously wounded another when they fled after being apprehended.

Police had found six limpet mines, mechanical detonators, fuses, ammunition and other equipment in their car.

Mr Le Grange praised the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, for "coming out strongly in support of law and order". — Sapa.



President Botha ... invite "when necessary".

PW's statutory council may be introduced soon

PARLIAMENT — State President Mr P W Botha has told Parliament he hopes to introduce an enabling Act to bring about the National Statutory Council "shortly."

Mr Botha said he envisaged the country's "most prominent leaders" — including members of the Government and the ministers councils — serving on it.

Mr Botha was replying to the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives.

The council would enable people to "speak with each other, to deal with the question of minorities and to make provision for the future of the country." — Political Staff.

'PFP is building bridges in our divided society'

PARLIAMENT — The PFP was trying to promote contact between the different groups in the country's divided society, Mr Mike Tarr (PFP Maritzburg South), said yesterday.

Speaking in committee on the own affairs Budget vote, Mr Tarr said there should be a building of bridges, not walls.

He said: "As part of this process it is important we go out and listen to what blacks are saying and doing. It is for this reason we attend, among other functions, funeral services and black political rallies."

"Our presence at these functions does not necessarily signify support for one side or another, but we regard it as our duty to the electorate to see and hear what is going on."

"It is the duty of every MP to find out what is going on outside Parliament". — Sapa.

President raises hopes for peace plan

CAT TIPS
29/4/86

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From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — President P W Botha's response to a Commonwealth "peace package" has raised the prospects of a breakthrough in the quest for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Western diplomatic sources confirmed yesterday that Pretoria's response to the detailed package drawn up by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) had been received and was being carefully studied by the Commonwealth leadership.

The seven-person EPG is due to meet here tomorrow and on Thursday to consider Mr Botha's response and decide on a third visit to South Africa next month.

The group is already drawing up a report on its visit last month to South Africa. This report will determine

whether the dialogue initiative will continue or be replaced by tougher economic sanctions against South Africa.

The lifting of the state of emergency and repeal of the pass laws — clearly timed to assist the EPG — are seen as having gone some of the way to keep the dialogue initiative alive.

The EPG is already seen to have made major strides in meeting African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela in prison and subsequently seeing both Mr Botha and exiled ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Botha's response to the EPG proposals was received at the weekend after his impromptu summit at the Swazi coronation on Saturday with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Botswana's President Quett Masire and Mozambique's President Samora Machel.

It is understood that Mr Botha and Dr Kaunda have reached a basic agreement that the EPG should be regarded as the official channel for mediation between the ANC and Pretoria.

Informed sources indicated that Pretoria's response was "carefully pitched" with a view to delaying tougher econo-

mic sanctions and conceding the need to negotiate with African nationalists who were neither communist nor advocated violence.

The sources believe Mr Botha is prepared to lift the 25-year ban on the ANC and release Mr Mandela in return for an ANC truce ahead of negotiations.

An ANC truce — one of the central objectives of the Commonwealth initiative — would release Mr Botha from his undertaking that he would not release Mr Mandela until the ANC leader renounced violence.

There was intense interest in political and diplomatic circles yesterday in Mr Botha's statements at the end of last week indicating that it was necessary for blacks to be given political rights so that the leaders who would take part in negotiations could be identified.

This has been widely interpreted as a clear signal that he is planning to lift the ban on the ANC if a truce can be negotiated.

Dr Kaunda and other frontline state leaders have been urging the ANC leadership to move in this direction in

recent weeks. The British and United States governments have been exerting similar pressure on the ANC, diplomatic sources say.

Mr Botha's public offer of amnesty to ANC members who "sever their relations with Marxists" is also seen as an indication of Mr Botha's intentions.

It is understood that he is trying to secure Western guarantees that tougher sanctions will not be imposed if Pretoria is forced to counter further ANC-inspired violence.

British Foreign Office sources indicated yesterday that the Commonwealth initiative was going "very well and much better than people expected".

"It is a very hopeful sign that both the ANC and the South African Government are still talking to the EPG in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides," a spokesman said.

Behind-the-scenes British promises to Pretoria underlining its commitment to "a suspension of violence on all sides" have played a major role in keeping Mr Botha aboard the Commonwealth initiative.

Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's representative on the EPG, Lord Barber, is said to have been deeply impressed by Mr Mandela.

Last week the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, raised optimism over the Commonwealth initiative when he said he expected a positive response from Pretoria.

The Commonwealth secretary-general, Sir Sonny Ramphal, and the EPG co-chairman, Mr Malcolm Fraser, have spoken in similar terms within the past few days.

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To page 2

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'Join our struggle, Boesak urges Jews

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak told a Jews for Justice meeting that he welcomed the Jewish community in the struggle for the liberation of "oppressed black people".

The United Democratic Front patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches was guest speaker last night at a meeting in Gardens to commemorate Passover, the Jewish festival of freedom.

About 300 people attended.

NEW DAWN

Dr Boesak urged the Jewish community to join black people and work together for a "new dawn" for all.

"Please join us in the struggle for liberation," he said.

He said all South Africans had the right to call their land "home", therefore he did not speak only for black people.

He said the words of Moses to Pharaoh, "let my people go", had become a rallying point for freedom-loving peoples all over the world.

TAKEN INITIATIVE

Rabbi Selwyn Franklin of the Green and Sea Point congregations said that since the same time last year the youth of South Africa had taken the initiative to improve their education.

All freedom-loving people could no longer condone the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and South African Jews had come to realise that the suffering of their people was indivisible from the suffering of all other people.

PW takes a softer line on the ANC

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An important thread running through this year's debate on the Budget vote of the State President in all three Houses of Parliament was an apparent public softening of the Government towards the African National Congress.

Apart from the suspension of the pass laws, this was probably the most significant development in the five-day debate.

President Botha appeared to be appealing directly to the moderates in the ANC to take up his offer to renounce violence and come and join him and the country's other leaders round a conference table.

In the Assembly he said it was clear to him there were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware they were being manipulated by "hardened communists".

In the House of Delegates a few days later he said no responsible government could unconditionally release people who were publicly committed to the violent overthrow of the Government.

It was not unreasonable to expect of people who desired to rejoin the South African community to renounce violence, he said.

Come back

Nationalists within the ANC ought to break away from the "communist" faction and return to South Africa to take part in negotiation, he said.

If they came forward to take part in constitutional development and renounce violence, they could come back tomorrow, he said.

In the House of Representatives yesterday Mr Botha said 63 percent of the elected members of the ANC were also members of the Communist Party.

"It is high time for those who do not believe in communism and who do not support the principles of communism to step out and come back to South Africa and take part in the constitutional action," Mr Botha said.

While the ANC under the control of the Communist Party openly advocated violence, no-one could expect him to deal with them, he said.

There is an important link between these sentiments and another subject touched upon by Mr Botha in the overall debate — his dealings with the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group.

Positive interest

Speaking in the House of Delegates last Wednesday, Mr Botha spoke appreciatively of the group and its mission to promote dialogue in South Africa.

In the House of Representatives yesterday he said he was prepared to listen to any people from other countries who had proved they had a positive interest in the country.

However, the country was not prepared to be prescribed to.

The group has been mandated by the Commonwealth to explore the possibilities of dialogue in South Africa primarily by getting the Government to end the state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and unban the ANC.

To this end it has held a series of very low-profile talks with Government officials, including President Botha.

On Wednesday Mr Botha said discussions with the group had reached a delicate stage and it was not in South Africa's interest to make any further comment.

Mr Botha's repeated appeals to the nationalist wing of the ANC to renounce violence and return to South Africa for negotiations should be seen in this light, as should his continued insistence that he will not deal with any people or an organisation which continues to subscribe to violence.

PARLIAMENT

Schwarz queries NP concepts

GOVERNMENT had not offered definitions of what it meant either by "power" or by "sharing", Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) said in the Committee Stage of the House of Assembly Appropriation Bill yesterday.

Schwarz said "sharing" was a "very vague concept" in the sense government used it.

By creating the concept of Own and General Affairs, not linked to any geographical basis, SA had been set on adrift towards two conflicting philosophies, neither of which would work.

One called for a division of the country on a territorial basis — the partition philosophy of the Conservative Party — while the other was the unitary state with majority rule concept advocated outside Parliament.

The concept of federalism was dying out.

"The tragedy in SA will be that at the very time we need federalism to safeguard the rights of minorities, this government's policy will have made that an impossibility."

Schwarz also said the House of Assembly Appropriation Bill debate was one that should not be taking place at all.

There was no reason why the House's Budget Ministry should exist, or why the R24 336 000 it was being asked to vote should be spent, or why the 532 people in the department should be employed. — Sapa.



• TERRE'BLANCHE

AWB 'as big a threat' as ANC

GOVERNMENT was told yesterday it had no moral right to hold Nelson Mandela without also locking up AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Labour Party MP Peter Hendrickse said in the House of Representatives that it should not retain the ANC ban without putting the same clamp on the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"If the ANC is a threat to this country, then I believe Terre'Blanche and the AWB are an even bigger threat," he said during the debate on the State President's Budget vote.

"You have to ban the AWB and lock up Eugene Terre'Blanche or you have no moral right, in my opinion, to keep Mandela in jail or not to unban the ANC."

Hendrickse said it was time government acted against proponents of racism who helped increase hostility.

It was becoming apparent to all concerned people that the AWB, "with its naked and blatant racism, swastika-like badge and uniforms reminiscent of the Nazis" was a threat to the country.

Hendrickse welcomed President P W Botha's statement differentiating between nationalists and communists in the ANC.

Hendrickse believed the overwhelming majority of ANC members and supporters were genuine

nationalists who wanted a better social order.

"It is important that we talk to these people. These are the people with whom we can determine the future of our country."

He said extremes, Left and Right, should be disregarded.

Hendrickse added that the sooner the tricameral Parliament was abolished, the better.

Important reforms were announced in the white chamber, but white ministers attended debates in the House of Representatives, he added, only when they had items on the order paper.

"I am sure that all of us by now realise the futility of separate chambers. When are we going to debate together?"

In the House of Delegates Mahmoud Rajab (Sol Springfield) said any sign of sympathy between police and AWB would make the task of keeping law and order more difficult.

Speaking in the debate on the Law and Order vote, he said he was pleased to note that the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, had banned AWB followers from joining the police reservists.

"I want to warn that any indication of tacit sympathy between the AWB and the police will only make the task of keeping law and order that much more difficult and violent." — Sapa.

Welfare system causing conflict

GOVERNMENT encourages conflict in society by presupposing welfare needs and race go hand-in-hand, Brian Goodall (PFP Edenvale) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Own Affairs Budget debate, he said he accepted that the different segments of the population had different needs, but could not accept that these needs should be, enshrined in the constitution on the basis of race.

"For example, take the case of a white social pensioner who has to live on R194 a month. Are her needs closer to those of a white senior business executive earning R60 000 a year or to those of a black worker earning R250 a month?" — Sapa.

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EPG to discuss 'honest broker' in SA reports

29/4/85 The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group will discuss reports tomorrow that it might be called on to mediate between South Africa's white and black nationalists.

But a spokesman for the Commonwealth Secretariat would not speculate on whether approaches had already been made to the EPG by Pretoria as hinted in South Africa.

"The EPG has decided to maintain its low-profile approach to the whole matter of negotiations and will not be making a statement either before or after tomorrow's meeting," the spokesman said.

But the Commonwealth Secretariat is hopeful that the South African reports indicate Pretoria has accepted some of the EPG's offers, notably to act as intermediaries until proper dialogue can be arranged.

"The EPG made a number of proposals to the South African Government, and these reports from inside the country might indicate that the Government is looking on some of these proposals with interest," the spokesman added.

Nevertheless, the EPG still has to decide whether to advise the seven-nation Commonwealth committee to apply economic sanctions.

These were to have been brought into effect if the South African Government refused to make a number of specific moves committing itself to the renunciation of apartheid. Of these, so far, only the State of Emergency has been lifted.

Another key decision is expected to be whether to return to South Africa next month for a second, extended, fact-finding visit.

EPG studying Pretoria's response

PW raises hopes for a peaceful settlement in SA

LONDON — President P W Botha's response to a Commonwealth "peace package" has raised the prospects of a breakthrough in the quest for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.



● BOTHA

Western diplomatic sources confirmed yesterday that Pretoria's response to the detailed package drawn up by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) had been received and was being carefully studied by the Commonwealth leadership.

The seven-person EPG is due to meet in London tomorrow and Thursday to consider Botha's response and decide on a third visit to SA next month.

The group is already drawing up a report on its visit to SA last month, which will determine whether the dialogue initiative will continue or be replaced by tougher economic sanctions. The lifting of the state of emergency

JOHN BATTERSBY

and the repeal of the pass laws are seen as having helped keep the dialogue initiative alive.

The EPG is already seen to have made major strides by meeting jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and then Botha and exiled ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Botha's response to the EPG proposals was received at the weekend, after his impromptu summit at the Swazi coronation on Saturday with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Botswana's President Quett Masire and Mozambique's President Samora Machel.

It is understood that Botha and Kaunda have reached basic agreement that the EPG should be regarded as the official channel for mediation between the ANC and Pretoria.

Informed sources indicated that Pretoria's response was carefully pitched with a view to delaying tougher economic sanctions and conceding the need to negotiate with African nationalists.

The sources believe Botha is prepared to lift the 25-year ban on the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and release Mandela from prison in return for an ANC truce ahead of negotiations.

An ANC truce — one of the central objectives of the Commonwealth initiative — would release Botha from his undertaking that he would not release Mandela until he renounced violence.

There was intense interest in political and diplomatic circles yesterday in Botha's statements at the end of last week indicating that it was necessary for blacks to be given political rights so that the leaders who would take part in negotiations could be identified.

Kaunda and other Frontline leaders have recently been urging the ANC to move towards negotiation with SA.

By PATRICK CULL
Political Staff

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — If the State President did not "ban the AWB and lock up Eugene Terre'blanche" then he had "no moral right to keep Mr Mandela in jail or for not unbanning the ANC" the MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrickse, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's Vote yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said that if the ANC was a threat to South Africa then "Terre'Blanche and the AWB are an even bigger threat".

He believed it was be-

CNT Times 29/4/86
304A
Row grows over AWB

coming more and more apparent to all concerned South Africans that the AWB with its "naked and blatant racism" its swastika-like badge, uniforms reminiscent of nazis and its para-military structure was a threat to the country.

Mr Hendrickse said he believed the time had come for the State President to take action

against "these proponents of racism who serve only to increase hostility between the citizens of this country".

Turning to the ANC, Mr Hendrickse said he welcomed the State President's statement in which he differentiated between nationalists and communists within the ANC.

"I believe that the overwhelming majority

Times hails pass-law repeal

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The repeal of the pass law and major reform of influx control is being hailed here as the most important reform since President P. W. Botha came to power.

It is widely accepted that the repeal of some 34 statutory measures restricting the mobility of blacks will put irresistible pressure on the Group Areas Act.

In a major editorial yesterday The Times described the repeal of the pass laws as "a significant change... and one more useful step along the right road". "For once, scepticism about Pretoria's intentions fogs rather than promotes understanding of what is a fundamental reform."

"Indeed, if the sceptics of the Left refuse to recognize it as such, the legions of the Afrikaner right know only too well that it cannot be dismissed as cosmetic."

"The abolition of the pass laws... must lead inexorably to the granting of further political rights to blacks whom Pretoria this week tacitly admitted



Dr Andries Treurnicht



Mr Van Rensburg

Botha: I'll take Afrikaner along

CME Times 29/4/86 (30417)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — President P W Botha yesterday declared that he would not bow to outside pressures for change and stressed that he would not embark on a reform programme unless he could take the majority of Afrikaners with him.

Replying to debate on his budget vote in the House, Mr Botha said without the co-operation of the majority of whites, reform would not succeed.

"And without the majority of Afrikaners this country cannot make a success of it," he said.

"When you threaten me, or try to hurry me on, you must remember that I must take the Afrikaner along, without giving him the feeling that he has been discarded."

Mr Botha said he could never turn his back on "my own people" who had come out of poverty and suffering.

The coloured people, he said, were the closest "of all South African people" to whites — "and we can build on that in the future".

Mr Botha said that many South African had other countries to flee to if they felt threatened

here, but the Afrikaner, like the coloured, had no other country to go to.

The Afrikaner, he stressed, had to feel safe.

Mr Botha said the National Party would "take care" of the Afrikaner. Weerstandsbeweging members who disrupted party meetings.

The AWB leader, Mr



Mr P W Botha

Eugene Terre'Blanche, was subject to the law if he broke it.

Mr Botha said he was prepared to listen to anyone from outside the country who had a "positive interest in South Africa" but he was not prepared to accept "prescription".

Those who were trying to force South Africa to change were being "dealt with".

"South Africa is not a jellyfish and is in many respects a swordfish," he declared.

Turning to the ANC, Mr Botha said that it was "high time" that those members of the banned organization who did not believe in communism should "come back to South Africa and take part in constitutional action".

Mr Botha emphasized that the ANC comprised both black nationalists and "communist Marxists".

However, it was "worrying" that 63 percent of the ANC's national executive elected last year were members of the Communist Party, he said.

"You can't expect me, while the ANC is under the control of the Communist Party and still openly advocates violence, to deal with them."

Mr Botha said ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was "keeping himself in jail".

"If the movement renounces violence, he will be set free."

"Leave him to the Nationalists, keep out of this battle — the Nationalists will take care of it," Mr Botha assured members of the House of Representatives.

White Catholic groups oppose disinvestment

29/4/86
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STAR

White Catholic groups have expressed unanimous disapproval of disinvestment as a solution to South Africa's problems and have called for increased investment.

This follows the walkout by Catholic parishioners from a Victory Park church on Sunday while they were being given the reasons why the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) was considering calling for increased economic pressure on South Africa.

The SACBC is to meet in Durban this week to decide the issue. Earlier this month, the SACBC sent papers on sanctions and disinvestment to parishes across the country, asking Catholics to express their feelings on the matter.

In a survey by *The Star* yesterday, many parish spokesmen said there had been such a delay in the papers reaching them that they had not had time to formulate adequate replies.

But the general feeling was that the country's problems would not be solved by disinvestment. Comment could not be obtained from parishes in Soweto.

More than 5 000 people of the Yeoville Catholic community recently signed a petition protesting against the imposition of economic measures against South Africa.

Papers submitted to the Catholic church in La Rochelle were received too late for a general meeting to be held. Although individuals had

commented, it was not possible to ascertain the general viewpoint.

In Rosebank, Catholics had responded by condemning apartheid without reservation. The issue prompted a constructive discussion of a solution for the country's problems, it was reported.

According to a spokesman for the Alexandra Catholic community, many members were in favour of economic sanctions being imposed. But, because a vast number of people were uneducated, there had been "no comment forthcoming from that sector although there was no negative response to the imposition of economic measures. But there was no joyful response either".

In the southern suburbs, some parish members had expressed the view that increased investment, as opposed to disinvestment, would lessen violence in the country by creating more jobs.

In Mayfair, members of the Catholic community responded by voting in favour of investment and against disinvestment. In the Riverlea community, the majority — but "not a big majority" — were against disinvestment.

The Maryvale community urged the SACBC not to support the imposition of any economic measures against apartheid but to continue its efforts to bring about an end to violence and the removal of apartheid and its injustices — possibly by influencing the Government to accelerate the process of change.

The community also stated that the "pain, suffering and increased violence arising out of imposed economic measures far outweigh the benefits.

During the Victory Park mass on Sunday, members of the congregation showed signs of irritation. First singly, then in twos and threes, congregants got up and walked out. Then an enraged member of the congregation tried to shout the priest down.

THERE was a significant thread running through State President PW Botha's debate on the budget vote in all three Houses of Parliament this year — an apparent appeal to the moderates in the ANC to take up his offer to renounce violence and come and join him and the country's other leaders round a conference table.

Significant softening of hardline to the ANC

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

AN important thread which ran through this year's debate on the budget vote of the State President in all three Houses of Parliament was an apparent public softening of the Government towards the African National Congress.

Apart from the suspension of the pass laws, this was probably the most significant development in the five-day debate.

President Botha appeared to be appealing directly to the moderates in the ANC to take up his offer to renounce violence and come and join him and the country's other leaders round a conference table.

In the Assembly he started this line of argument by saying that it was clear to him that there were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware they were being manipulated by "hardened communists".

IN the House of Delegates a few days later he developed the theme by saying no responsible and reasonable government could unconditionally release people who were publicly committed to the violent overthrow of the government.

It was not unreasonable to expect of people who desired to rejoin the South African community, be it from jail or from abroad, to renounce violence, he said.



President Botha

"Nationalists" within the ANC ought to break away from the "communist" faction and return to South Africa to take part in peaceful negotiation, he said.

If they (the Nationalists) came forward to take part in constitutional development and renounce violence... they could come back tomorrow, he said.

In the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr Botha said there were nationalists and communists in the ANC.

Sixty-three per cent of the elected members of the ANC were also members of the Communist Party, he said.

"It is high time for those who do not believe in communism and who do not support the bad principles of commu-

nism to step out and come back to South Africa and take part in the constitutional action," Mr Botha said.

But, he added, while the ANC under the control of the Communist Party openly advocated violence... no-one could expect him to deal with the organisation.

THERE is an important linkage between these sentiments and another subject touched upon by Mr Botha in the overall debate — his dealings with the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group (EPG).

Speaking in the House of delegates last Wednesday, Mr Botha spoke appreciatively of the EPG and its mission to

promote dialogue in South Africa.

In the House of Representatives yesterday he said he was prepared to listen to any people from other countries who had proved they had a positive interest in the country.

However, the country was not prepared to be prescribed to. Solutions must come from South Africans, he said.

The EPG has been mandated by the Commonwealth to explore the possibilities of dialogue in South Africa, primarily by getting the Government to end the state of emergency (done), releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and unbanning the ANC.

To this end it has held a series of very low-profile talks with Government officials, including President Botha.

ON Wednesday, Mr Botha said discussions with the EPG had reached a delicate stage and that it was not in South Africa's interest to make any further comment.

Mr Botha's repeated appeals to the nationalist wing of the ANC to renounce violence and return to South Africa for negotiations should be seen in this light — as should his continued insistence that he will not deal with any people or an organisation which continues to subscribe to violence.

Lack of trust has now become angry rejection

Let me join in commending the Government for abolishing the pass laws, now so delicately acknowledged to have been an "unhappy system". One must give thanks when those who inflict mass unhappiness decide to suspend their activities.

But with 17 million victims over the years, I forbear to cheer. As Mr Chris Hennis says, there can be no reparation. Nor, I suspect, can there be redemption. Not political, anyway, which is why most of the applause is coming from whites. The victims themselves seem sunk in a mood of cynicism and suspicion.

It is astonishing. There can be no doubt that the pass laws have inflicted more human misery than any other aspect of apartheid. There can be no doubt that the abolition of something so deeply ingrained in the system must have a deep psychological effect on the Government and its supporters. It is unquestionably important. Yet the black response has been minimal.

This is a startling illustration of the Government's total loss of credibility in the black community.

There have been too many specious claims in the past, too many attempts to deceive the outside world into believing that something fundamental had changed while the reality for blacks remained as oppressive as ever.

How often have we not heard the "dompas" pronounced dead before, even Wilberforce invoked as a symbol of the new era of emancipation heralded by the Koornhof Bills?

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

There has been too much gradualism. Even a year ago a single leap of faith might have captured the imagination. Instead the imagination has been dulled by an over-sell of shuffling tenuity. An avalanche of words for every millimetre's movement of the great glacier itself, until meaning has been swept away and reality has to be measured with a micrometer screw.

There are too many alternative laws. It is announced that there will be no more forced removals, but "squatters" still get uprooted, another 72 are due for the chop in Port Elizabeth's Langa township tomorrow. Now the pass laws are to be abolished, but there is still to be "orderly urbanisation", with a tightened Slums Act, Squatting Act and health and zoning regulations.

No South African will ever suffer the indignity of arrest for a pass

offence again — but if you are black and you don't have "approved" accommodation in the city, you will be arrested anyway.

Suspicion, cynicism. But the overriding factor is a lack of trust. It would have been difficult enough in the best of circumstances for the victims of apartheid to accept that its creators really meant to dismantle it.

After nearly two years of bloody repression in the townships, with troops and police patrolling and shooting and arresting like an army of occupation, that scepticism has enlarged into angry rejection.

It may sound a terrible thing to say, but I doubt whether there is anything this Government could do right now which would win the expressed approval of the majority of the black population.

They want, in any event, more than the Government is prepared to offer. More and more, one hears it said in the townships now that apartheid cannot be improved, it can only be abolished. To offer improvements, better housing, integrated CBDs, open hotels and an end to the pass laws, is rather like Lord Milner offering the Afrikaners a reformed kindergarten — and is getting the same predictable response.

It has to go, all of it, and that means white minority rule as well, which is apartheid's ultimate *raison d'être*. It is something blacks know is not dreamt of in President Botha's philosophy. So their minds are tending to concentrate on the central issue to the exclusion of the minutiae

of change which are the stuff of white politics.

Yet while I can understand this reaction, or lack of it, I still find the symbolism of what has been done riveting. For the State President to describe a body of laws which he helped frame and support over 38 years as "this unhappy system" may be less than a plea of *mea culpa*, but it is a rare confession nonetheless in a Government not given to self-recrimination.

It is a confession, moreover, that takes on a greater richness when one considers the role which protests against the pass laws have played in our history.

When one recalls that it was a demonstration against this unhappy system which led to the Sharpeville shooting in March 1960, when 69 people died.

When one recalls that it was for organising a national protest campaign against this unhappy system that the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were banned, driving them underground and setting them on a course towards violent insurrection.

When one recalls that it was for burning what the SABC now describes as his "hated pass" in a public expression of the indignity it represented that Chief Albert Lutuli, the ANC leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner, was silenced and banished until his death, to the remote Natal district of Groutville.

All acts, one might say, which are milestones on our march to the *status quo* — which Mr Pik Botha described in another moment of delicacy the other day as being "the mess we're in".

"I can't change the past," says Mr Hennis in explaining why there can be no reparation for pass victims. "I don't believe the slaves were compensated when slavery was abolished."

Maybe not. But at least the slaves were freed — which is one kind of reparation that could be made to those black politicians and their parties who were outlawed for what is now implicitly acknowledged to have been a legitimate protest against a vexatious system.

AKGAS 30/4/86 (304A) 200

Govt aware of problems, PW tells blacks on TV2

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night launched the next phase of the Government's campaign to inform blacks of the decision to scrap influx control and the pass law system when he spoke on TV2.

The first phase was the *That Is The Reality* newspaper advertisements soon after the President's first announcement.

There will now be a further campaign planned by the Bureau of Information, including the distribution of pamphlets setting out the Government's aims.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said today various ways of informing blacks of the Government's plans and of improving the atmosphere for peaceful solutions were being considered.

Addressing "fellow South Africans", President Botha said in his speech last night the Government was aware of the problems of blacks and their aspirations.

There were economic, housing and education problems as

well as anguish caused by radical intimidation and frustration as a result of outdated bureaucratic practices.

The Government was particularly aware of the problems caused by the pass system and influx control.

Mr Botha said this was why he had dedicated the Government to the process of political, social and economic reform and development.

He pointed out that he had, on January 31, promised the scrapping of the pass and influx systems and the issuing of a uniform identity document.

Release ordered

He had now given orders that there should be no further arrests and that all those jailed or detained as a result of the pass system should be released.

This did not mean that everyone should now move to the cities. The Government was planning to develop the urban areas as there was not enough work available.

Mr Botha said the Government needed to discuss solutions with all black leaders in a peaceful atmosphere.

'Anarchy' as warders take action

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Industrial action by more than 18 000 prison officers is set to disrupt jails throughout Britain.

And claims have been made of "total anarchy" and riot at Gloucester Prison after the governor suspended officers taking part in protest action over manning levels.

RIOT GEAR

More than 20 prisoners staging a rooftop protest over the officers' lockout hurled bricks and tiles at senior staff and demanded officers be allowed to return to their posts.

Police with riot gear stood outside the seven-metre walls as pieces of tile crashed into the street and on to parked cars.

Now members of the Prison Officers' Association are being instructed to take industrial action to support the officers in Gloucester.

BUS DAY 30/4/76 304A 304A

JOHN BATTERSBY

EPG set for crucial meeting

LONDON — Members of the Commonwealth's peace mission were arriving here last night for a crucial meeting on the future of its South African dialogue initiative.

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) — as the mission is known — will meet today and tomorrow to consider P W Botha's response to a peace package presented at the end of a two-week visit last month.

Diplomatic observers believe that the nuts and bolts of a peace package — including the release of Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and a truce in the ANC's armed struggle — have already been worked out.

Botha is understood to be trying to secure Western guarantees that the ANC would

honour the truce and — if it did not — Pretoria would not forfeit its right to strike at ANC bases.

The group will decide whether to pay a third visit to South Africa and continue its mediation between Pretoria and the ANC leadership in Lusaka or recommend tougher Commonwealth sanctions against SA.

It is understood that the future of the mission is delicately poised after Botha's response, which is clearly pitched to keep the initiative on course.

The group is already drafting its report which will be published in June and is ex-

pected to contain a forthright condemnation of apartheid and an unequivocal demand for Pretoria to sit down with leaders of the ANC — including jailed leader Nelson Mandela.

The report will be delivered to a seven-nation Commonwealth committee made up of Britain's Margaret Thatcher, Australia's Bob Hawke, India's Rajiv Gandhi, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Canada's Brian Mulroney and the Bahamas' Lynden Pindling.

Today's meeting will be attended by Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal and the seven members of the EPG.

PARLIAMENT

Own Affairs system 'the solution for SA'

GOVERNMENT would maintain the system of Own Affairs as a fundamental departure point because in it lay the only real solution to SA's problems, Minister of the Budget F W de Klerk said yesterday.



● DE KLERK

Replying to committee stage debate on his Own Affairs budget allocation, he said the National Party government worked on the acceptance of two basic realities.

These were, firstly, the existence of groups, with their aspirations, fears, desires and needs; and, secondly, that there was a wealth of common interest and inter-dependence between these groups.

Solutions to SA's problems had to be found through acknowledgement of these realities.

Own Affairs structures were a fundamental aspect of the NP's approach ... "however it is worked out" ... and they had to be part of the solution for SA.

There was a need to maintain a balance between the maintenance of group rights and the inter-relationships be-

tween the groups.

De Klerk said the Own Affairs system had been criticised because it did not include blacks.

However, this was not true because blacks had enjoyed greater rights in their national states than Indians and coloureds had before the tricameral system was introduced.

Blacks outside the homelands had been afforded rights in second-tier government and plans were being made to include them at top level.

Asked by Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeville) how blacks were going to be given rights without being included in Parliament, De Klerk said that was a matter for negotiation.

He said members should refrain from attempting to belittle the Own Affairs system, which had been approved by Parliament and was functioning efficiently.

Referring to talk of a general election, he said government was in the process of meaningful reform for which it had been given a clear mandate.

The life of Parliament was determined by the constitution and by the prerogative of the State President. — Sapa.

Reforms: PW gives blacks assurance in TV 'hard-sell'

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, took time on black television stations again last night in the latest phase of the Government's hard-sell campaign to promote its reforms.

The Government needed to discuss solutions with all black leaders in a peaceful atmosphere, he said.

Legislation would be presented to Parliament soon to enable all leaders committed to peaceful solutions to join him around the negotiating table.

Mr Botha's television appearance comes after a national newspaper advertising campaign. The next phase of the campaign is to be the distribution of leaflets.

Mr Botha started his address on TV2 and TV3 by saying that he wanted to assure black fellow South Africans that the Government knew of their problems and their aspirations.

"We are aware of the economic problems which beset you. We are aware of your housing problems and of the problems which you are experiencing with the education of your children," he said.

"We know the anguish caused in your society by racial intimidation and of the frustration you experience as a result of some outdated bureaucratic practices."

"We are particularly aware of the problems which were caused by the pass system and by influx control. That is why I have dedicated my Government to the process of political, social and economic reform and development."

Mr Botha said the scrapping of influx control did not mean everyone should move to the cities. The Government would launch a development plan to make rural areas more viable. There was not enough work in urban areas for all.

Rajbansi makes political history

Political Staff
POLITICAL and parliamentary history was made yesterday when Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, became the first black man to address the white House of Assembly.

Both he and the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, have the right as full cabinet

ministers to sit and speak in any of the three chambers of Parliament.

However, while White Ministers regularly address the other two chambers, neither Mr Rajbansi nor Mr Hendrickse have spoken in the Assembly since the tri-cameral system was introduced.

Seasoned political observers have interpreted

To page 2.

Mr Rajbansi's entry to the debate on measures to remove racial clauses from immigration and residence rights in South Africa as the first step toward fully integrated debates in Parliament.

As the one-time all-white symbol of political power opened its doors to people of colour, Mr Rajbansi and others described it as an "historic" moment.

Members of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party remained in the chamber and interjected while Mr Rajbansi was speaking.

At one stage, Mr Louis Stoffberg, lone member of the HNP, interjected: "Tell us about the Punjab."

While Mr Rajbansi was praising the removal of discriminatory immigration laws, Mr Jan Hoon, chief whip of the CP, pointedly asked in Afrikaans if Mr Rajbansi believed the Group Areas Act was not discriminatory.

He was not phased by the hubbub his appearance caused and when he entered the debate there were several "hear hears" from Nationalist benches. Observers felt yesterday that it would not be much longer before members of the three chambers will be debating matters of general concern together.

However, apart from current constitutional barriers, there are logistical problems as well.

There is no chamber big enough at present to accommodate all the MPs from all three chambers. However, a new debating chamber which is rapidly nearing completion.

Boraine challenges MPs to resign

By Mike Cadman

Those people working within the tri-cameral parliamentary system were challenged to resign from Parliament "before it was too late" by former Progressive Federal Party member Dr Alex Boraine last night.

Dr Boraine was addressing a crowd of more than 1 000 people attending a peace rally in the Johannesburg City Hall organised by the End Conscription Campaign. And at the same meeting, United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu called on all South African women opposed to the violence and injustices of apartheid, to march in Pretoria to demonstrate to the Government and the world that "we have had enough".

Before the meeting military police arrested a conscientious objector, Mr Philip Wilkinson, who was due to address the rally.

Dr Boraine said the tricameral parliamentary system should be destroyed and people functioning within it should realise that it was discredited and begin moving out.

STANDING ON DANGEROUS GROUND

He said: "I challenge those in the so-called coloured and Indian chambers to recognise that they are standing on dangerous ground and to get out before it is too late."

Dr Boraine said South Africa had passed the time where a small group of people could get together and form a new just government within the existing tricameral system.

The tricameral parliamentary system was one of the several major "roadblocks" that South Africans would have to clear before they could move along the road to freedom and peace.

Dr Boraine said "the entire system of apartheid", the Population Registration Act and the bantustan system would all have to be destroyed. All political prisoners should be released and banned organisations unbanned.

Mrs Sisulu said women had to join together to protest against the police and the army killing people in the townships.

She said: "We need women to march in Pretoria as in 1956 (when women marched to protest against the introduction of passes for black women) to make known to the Government and the world that we have had enough of this violence and it must stop."

"Let all mothers join hands in peace. Let all those who want their sons out of the army and police join us, let mothers from all over our country come together against apartheid."

She said white people were at the crossroads and must make a decision to actively support those forces opposed to apartheid. It would not be enough just to talk of opposing apartheid.

De Klerk spells out NP's system of group government

Own affairs to remain

DISPATCH

CAPE TOWN — The own affairs form of government was costly, but so were the political systems proposed by all the other political parties, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said yesterday.

Replying to the debate in the committee stage of his Budget allocation, he said the only cheap system was the one being used in Zimbabwe which most members would not support.

"Either you recognise the existence of groups or you do not. By having separate voters' rolls does not mean you are discriminating on the grounds of race."

He said to ignore the concept of groups in formulating a constitution would lead to majority rule and the domination by one group of others.

All political parties were in favour of group recognition and even the PFP's federation plan included a form of own affairs.

The government would maintain the system of own affairs as a fundamental departure point because in it lay the only real solution to South Africa's problems.

He said the National Party government worked on the acceptance of two basic realities.

These were, firstly, the existence of groups, which included their aspirations, fears, desires and needs and; secondly, that there was a wealth of common interest and inter-dependence between these groups.

Solutions to South Africa's problems had to be found through acknowledgement of these realities.

There was a need to maintain a balance between the maintenance of group rights and the inter-relationships between the groups.

Mr De Klerk said the own affairs system had been criticised because it did not include the black population. This was not true because blacks had enjoyed greater rights in their national states than the Indians and coloureds had before the tricameral system was introduced.

Blacks outside the homelands had been afforded rights in second tier government and plans were being made to include them at the top level of government.

Asked by Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) how blacks were going to be given rights without including them in Parliament, Mr De Klerk said that was a matter for negotiation.

He said members should refrain from attempting to belittle the own affairs system which had been approved by Parliament



MR DE KLERK

and was functioning efficiently.

Referring to talk of a general election he said the government was in the process of meaningful reform for which it had been given a clear mandate. The life of Parliament was determined by the constitution and by the prerogative of the State President. — Sapa

Botha's call meaningless, says ANC

The Star Bureau

LONDON — President Botha's call for non-communist members of the ANC to return to South Africa and negotiate cannot be taken seriously, an ANC spokesman said here yesterday.

"The ANC has certain demands and those are the demands that matter," he said.

"The demands are set out in the Freedom Charter. We are calling for the dismantling of the apartheid system.

"This ploy of Botha's implying he is prepared to entertain negotiations with some members and not other members is meaningless. The position of the ANC is that it is time Botha and his government resigned.

"In our view it is nonsense to talk about negotiations when Nelson Mandela and a whole lot of other persons are in prison and the laws of the country are such that they do not permit any democratic functioning by the people," said the spokesman.

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina, responding to criticisms of the organisation by President Botha, has denied that it is communistic.

"The ANC is not a 'communist' movement as he claims but a wide movement that has always accommodated people from a wide spectrum," he said.

Mr Sebina repeated previous ANC denials that the organisation had training camps in other countries, as claimed by Minister of Law and Order Mr le Grange, and said the ANC was training members inside South Africa.