S.A. GOVT. AND POLITICS 1987

MARCH

SUNDAY TIM

the right!

Hijacked by

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

MANY schools around the country have been hijacked in the past three years in a silent rightwing political coup which has turned South Africa's playing fields into battlegrounds.

But it is in Pretoria — scene of the Menlo Park uproar — where the rightwing has been particularly active in taking control of school management boards.

And it is now clear that the barring of a black schoolboy athlete from Menlo Park a few weeks ago was part of a carefully constructed rightwing campaign.

Target

There have been similar incidents since, and more will follow, say rightwingers.

A prime target is the annual Jacaranda Carnival parade in Pretoria, a racially mixed event which will in future be boycotted by a number of schools under rightwing control.

The country's schools have become the battleground where the ultra-conservative Afrikaner Volkswag, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party on the one hand, and Afrikaner "moderates" on the other, are locked in a bitter struggle for political supremacy.

Transvaal teachers — a large number of whom are believed to harbour verkrampte sentiments — are under strict orders from the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging to stay out of the political fray.

Based on rightwing claims, as many as 20 schools in the northern and eastern suburbs of Pretoria alone may be under rightwing control.

But there is a growing resistance movement, in the wake of Menlo Park, which shocked moderates into action.

This week rightwing leaders openly acknowledged and discussed the classroom take-over plot — and Nationalist moderates admitted they had been caught off guard.

Rightwingers claim they are merely fighting the Broederbond at its own game, using its own tactics. But Broederbond sources say that the secret organisation has changed its strategy in recent years and, ironically, it is because they have *not* been concentrating on the schools that the rightwing has been able to successfully hijack governing boards.

Neither has the National Party participated in politicising school boards, says Mr Kobus du Plessis, an active NP member who acted as secretary of the Menlo Park parents' protest meeting which voted to oust the school's rightwing board.

"While our opposition to the school board in Menlo Park saw many Nationalists involved, we clearly stated that it had nothing to do with NP policy and the party did not participate in any way."

The rightwing "master plan" to establish a firm political base at community level was started three years ago, says prominent Pretoria HNP councillor and Volkswag leader Mr Josef Chiole.

MENLO PARK IS NOT THE ONLY VICTIM OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

Volkswag chairman, Professor Carel Boshoff, this week confirmed the strategy.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the rightwing assault on school boards had become necessary when the CP saw little possibility of an early election opportunity to challenge the government.

According to Dr Hartzenberg, the strategy had been called for at national level, but was implemented at local level.

Mr Chiole, himself serving on a Pretoria school board, said this week that rightwingers had realised they would have to politicise school boards to prevent developments such as racially mixed school sport.

He claimed that most schools in the northern and western suburbs of Pretoria — mostly white working class areas — were under rightwing control.

"We also control a number in the eastern and western suburbs, but there the fight against the Broederbond is more intense," he said.

Veto

Though reluctant to name which schools were under their control, Mr Chiole cited the examples of the Elarduspark and Waterkloof high schools.

He said that at Elarduspark the rightwing had full control, whereas at Waterkloof they held half the seats on the school board. They can effectively veto any decisions.

Mr Chiole said rightwing advances had gone so far that, where three schools together had to elect a regional control board, in many areas of Pretoria the rightwing was assured of victory.

Rightwingers say they have to tread carefully because their support lies mostly in the white lower-middle class, while more affluent Afrikaners in the National Party and Broederbond control private and public sector job promotions.

"Teachers, for example, are frightened to display their political leanings openly. The Broederbond is firmly entrenched in education and, when it comes to promotion and filling vacancies for the posts of school principals, they make the decisions," said Mr Chiole.

Accused

In NP circles rightwing teachers have been openly accused of participating in political hijackings of school boards.

Mr Koos Steyn, of the 18 000-strong Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging, said the professional code for teachers strictly forbids this.

"Our union adopted a manual two years ago in which we also advised teachers how to handle political questions. We provide a service in communities where there are strong political divisions.

"We accept the Government's policy of deciding on such issues at a local level and believe it to be best.

"But decisions have to be taken in such a manner that there is no stress or division," Mr Steyn said.

"We are aware that there is a rightwing policy to gain control of schools and we receive complaints of boards being hijacked.

"But this is being done from both sides — not only from the right."

Sasolburg move hits rightwing pact hope

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

PROSPECTS for a rightwing election pact have taken a knock with the Conservative Party's decision to field a candidate in the Herstigte Nasionale Party's only parliamentary seat, Sasolburg.

The CP candidate in the HNP Free State stronghold is Mr Pieter Uys.

While the CP held back from nominating a Sasolburg candidate it was seen as a gesture that held the door open for an alliance.

In an election pact, Sasolburg would almost certainly be left to the HNP and its sitting MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, to fight.

However, some agreement between the two rightwing parties was still not completely written off this weekend. Neither party wanted to drive the final nail into the coffin of a pact.

Strategy

The two parties have reached deadlock on a point of strategy: the CP wants immediate unification of the parties; the HNP wants an alliance in which each retains its autonomy.

Both have recently softened their stances. The CP has offered to form a pact on the basis of an HNP commitment to unify before the end of the year.

The HNP says it is prepared to talk about unification after two parliamentary sittings.

A possible election alliance between the two could have an important effect on the outcome of the election.

In many seats the National Party could slip in on a split rightwing vote, where the NP might otherwise have been vulnerable to a unified assault.

The HNP has already named 75 candidates in the country's 166 constituencies.

The CP plans to contest 66 of the Transvaal's 76 seats.

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'GHOST TOWN' THREAT TO WHITES-ONLY CBD

By IVOR CREWS

RIGHTWINGERS in a conservative platteland town council have blocked the opening of their central business district (CBD) to all races — despite the majority of the businessmen being in favour of the move.

And now shocked white businessmen fear that Middelburg could become a "ghost town" because the adjoining black township, Mhluzi — which is responsible for much of their income — has applied to become a free trading area.

'Clever'

The businessmen believe this could attract white business and money away from the CBD.

Most town councillors were in favour of opening the CBD to all races.

But, it is claimed, some "clever" political manoeuvring by CP and HNP members ensured that a vote on the issue was taken when a member of the council — in favour of the opening of the business district — was playing golf.

Middelburg's town council comprises 10 members — five members of the National Party, who were behind the move to open the CBD, and four rightwing councillors.

The tenth member is mayor Mr Johan Strydom, who exercises his vote only in the event of a tie. He is standing for Parliament on an HNP ticket in the May general election.

When the vote was taken, the result was a 4-4 tie — and the mayor then cast his vote against opening the CBD.



JAN ROUSSEAU
Sakekamer chairman

PIKKIE COETZEE
Standing for CP

CHRIS ESTERHUIZEN
Tricked by rightwingers

JOHN BRISLIN
Commerce president

On the day the vote was taken, the crucial item was not on the agenda.

Councillor Chris Esterhuizen, believing that there was no important business to be handled that day, excused himself from the meeting.

Angry

Then, seeing the way clear to victory, the rightwingers forced a vote on the CBD.

This week, an angry Mr Esterhuizen said: "I was not aware they were going to decide the issue.

"If I had been present at the meeting, the vote would have gone the other way."

He said he was very disappointed at the outcome, but conceded it was "a clever political move", and he would have to accept the majority vote.

Meanwhile, members of the Middelburg Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaanse Sakekamer have vowed to fight the racial issue tooth-and-nail.

"The opening of Mhluzi to all races could lead to Middleburg becoming a ghost town," said Mr John Brislin, president of the Chamber of Commerce.

"It will have a dramatic effect on business if local traders decide to move their premises to cater for the black market and will consequently have a detrimental effect on the CBD."

Mr Brislin said businessmen were "very upset as they support free enterprise", and would continue to fight the issue.

Mr Jan Rousseau, chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, said: "The vast majority of our members support the CBD being opened to all races.

"We feel the council should be more enlightened as it would benefit all the businessmen and members of the community."

He said the Sakekamer would keep pushing the council to reconsider their decision as they had been "avoiding the issue".

"We would like to see them make a stand," he urged.

Mr Rousseau said Middelburg did not only consist of rightwingers.

"We have opened the local cinemas to all races and a vast number of residents support the Government's policy of reform."

Candidate

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Pikkie Coetzee — asked to comment on the refusal of the town council to open the CBD — said tersely:

"The decision has been made. Further than that I am not prepared to comment."

Mr Coetzee is a CP candidate in the coming election.

New Independent contests Afrikaner heartland ● Joins forces with Worrall and Malan

MATIES REVOLT ROCKS PW

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Esther Lategan . . . "Government lacks vision"

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

THE rebellion in the National Party spread to the very heart of Afrikanerdom yesterday when leading academics and businessmen in Stellenbosch joined forces to back an Independent candidate in the university town.

The candidate is Dr Esther Lategan, a local businesswoman and former academic.

She will be closely allied with the two other Independents — Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg and Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg — who are drawing significant support.

Dr Lategan's candidature is seen as a particularly severe personal blow to President Botha, who is known to take much pride in his position as chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch

Now many top academics are openly expressing their impatience with his political leadership by supporting Dr Lategan in the May 6 election.

Observers also noted yesterday that the emergence of yet another Independent candidate demonstrated that the shift towards true reformist politics was developing into a national movement.

Dr Lategan's candidature is likely to strengthen the prospects of Dr Worrall, who is fighting the Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis, in the neighbouring seat of Helderberg

The Nat establishment in the Cape is now confronted with a solid front of verligte opposition in two adjoining bellwether constituencies.

Dr Lategan is backed by an awesomely impressive list of blue chip names, most of them hitherto regarded as influential supporters of the NP

Supporters

Several were among the group of 27 academics who met President Botha 10 days ago in a last-ditch — and largely unsuccessful — bid to heal the rift between the Government and Afrikaans intellectuals.

A leading backer of Dr Lategan is Professor Sampie Terreblanche, deputy chairman of the SABC and former close advisor to Mr Heunis. Last week, he led the breakaway by intellectuals when he resigned from the NP.



It's off!



FLASHBACK: Sandy and Richard during their shortlived romance . . . "We will see what the future holds" Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

Miss SA finds love and duty don't mix

By JANINE LAZARUS

MISS South Africa, Sandy McCormack, has called off her engagement to a wealthy Johannesburg businessman.

She discovered that romance and being the country's most-sought-after beauty queen don't mix.

"For Miss South Africa to be engaged just isn't on. We felt the pressure," a distressed Sandy said yesterday

"At this stage my reign is more important to me, and our careers have to take precedence."

Her former fiancé, divorcee Richard Barkhuizen, 36-year-old chairman of Forte Holdings was [illegible]ject

Raiders leave missing mum riddle

By DENYSE ARMOUR

A RETIRED nursing sister is missing — presumed abducted — after robbers ransacked her home.

Cecilia Schwarz, 65, who is known to her friends as "Dols", was alone in her home in Montclair, Durban, on Friday after her three sons had left for work.

Her sons said last night they believed she was surprised by intruders while gardening in a walled-off area at the back of her house.

The front door was double-locked, the back door was open and Mrs Schwarz's shoes were found discarded on the back verandah.

Mrs Schwarz has been widowed for 16 years. She retired last year after 25 years' service as a clinic sister with the Durban city health department.

Her niece, Mrs Gill Darne, who arrived at the house soon after the police on Friday afternoon, said it was clear Mrs Schwarz had put up a struggle

Dragged

"You could see she'd been dragged through the back garden. The house was in a terrible mess. I think it must have happened at about 9.30am," she said.

A distraught Mrs Darne said the police had told the family "to expect the worst".

Mrs Schwarz's son, Mike, 25, who is currently doing an army camp, discovered the house had been ransacked and his mother was missing after he arrived home at midday on Friday.

His elder brother, Peter, 27, arrived home and the two went to report their mother's disappearance to the police. Peter was the last person to see his mother, at 8am when he left for work.

The youngest son, David, 20, first knew of his mother's disappearance when his brothers — instead of his mother — arrived to fetch him from work at the SA Transport Services' Bayhead, Durban, offices late on

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Race row turns carnival sour



All races enjoy the fun of the charity carnival . . . despite a schools boycott

A RACIST schools boycott spoilt a charity carnival yes- By CHARMAIN NAIDOO ected to an open-air beer arden where a collol would

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politics was developing into a national movement.

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Several were among the group of 27 academics who met President Botha 10 days ago in a last-ditch — and largely unsuccessful — bid to heal the rift between the Government and Afrikaans intellectuals.

A leading backer of Dr Lategan is Professor Sampie Terreblanche, deputy chairman of the SABC and former close advisor to Mr Heunis. Last week, he led the breakaway by intellectuals when he resigned from the NP.

Others who have come out in open support for Dr Lategan are:

Academic: Professors Erika Theron, Julius Jeppe, Hennie van Vuuren, James Fourie, Gerhard Erasmus, Bethal Muller, Koos du Toit, Andries van der Walt, Max Laubsher, JD de Wit and André Rabie; Dr Annemarie Esterhuyse and Mr Johan de Villiers.

Business and professional: Mr Wilhelm Landman, Mr Michiel le Roux, Dr Denise Cilliers, Dr Edwin Hertzog, Mr Frans Roelofse, Mr Piet Roux, Dr Annemarie Schoombee, Dr Braam de Klerk and Mrs M de Wit.

Resignation

A private survey among Stellenbosch students indicates that Dr Lategan will receive strong campus support.

Of the 493 students questioned, 62,5 percent said they would vote for an Independent candidate, while only 37,5 percent said they would support the NP.

The NP's candidate is the incumbent MP, Mr P G Marais.

Dr Lategan is the daughter of a former Nationalist MP for Paarl, Mr Wynand Malan (no relation of the Randburg MP), and wife of Stellenbosch theologian Professor Bernard Lategan.

This weekend, she was still nominally a member of the NP. But she said she would resign.

The mother of two school-going children and a university student, she said yesterday: "I realised that South African politics had reached a stalemate. Government policy has become tainted. There is no vision so I decided to take a stand."

Verligtes caged in National Party

KEN OWEN

DENIS WORRALL, neatly positioned on the Left wing of the National Party, is cooing gently at the *verligtes* who cannot quite scrape up the courage to jump. As usual, his tactics are intelligent and sensitive to the realities of Afrikaner politics.

He is careful to campaign against the "present leadership" of the National Party but to exclude the party rank and file from his criticisms. This enables him both to capitalise on the unpopularity of President Botha and to exploit the incomprehensible constitutional tinkering of Chris Heunis, his immediate opponent, without alienating Afrikaners in general.

The question raised for *verligte* Nationalists by this approach is a fundamental one: can the National Party serve, at one and the same time, as the vehicle for constitutional reform and as the instrument for the defence of Afrikaner interests?

On the face of it, the two roles are mutually contradictory. Reform, to be successful, requires innovation, daring, trust of outsiders and generosity; the defence of self-interest requires leaders to be suspicious, conservative, secretive and selfish.

The contrast invites interesting psychological speculations.

Wynand Malan has, like Worrall, decided that the NP has reached the limits of its capacity to reform. Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch has accused its leaders of lacking both the vision and the will to carry reforms forward.

Many other Nationalists see President Botha as having retreated into a bunker from which he hopes to defy the world, and they see Heunis as erecting his complicated structures with the sole intention of preserving Afrikaner privelege and power.

But some *verligtes* still dispute this bleak view of the party. Albert Nothnagel of Innesdal, a frank believer in direct negotiation with the African National Congress, continues to hope that change can be better achieved within the NP than outside it. So do at least a dozen other *oorbeligte* — the pun means, literally, over-illuminated — members of the Nationalist parliamentary caucus.

At this point the argument becomes very interesting.

The highest estimate I have heard of *verligte* numbers in the caucus is 50 MPs (out of 127), but I cannot believe the estimate. The more common guess is 35, and that includes men like Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen and other pillars of the Nationalist Establishment. A realistic assessment of *verligte* strength comes down to Nothnagel, Leon Wessels, Sam de Beer and a handful of other worthy souls.

Nor can these men be seen in isolation. The caucus is dominated, quite clearly, by Nationalist conservatives — not quite *verkramp*, perhaps, but very cautious — who are threatened from their Right by the CP and/or the HNP.

Among them are Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower, whose closest associates believe he will be defeated by the CP in Lydenburg. He once had a reputation as a mild reformer, but today he dare not cast a single glance in the direction of Wynand Malan for fear of sacrificing whatever hope remains to him in his home town.

Opposition politicians (especially in the fair but distant Cape) tend to scorn the Right-wing threat; in the rural Transvaal and the Free State, the Nationalists know better. The loss of Sasolburg in a by-election was a pretty convincing confirmation of the earlier message from Parys, Bothaville, Carletonville and other constituencies where the Nationalist candidates survived only on a split CP-HNP vote.

Other evidence tends to confirm that the weight of opinion within the caucus lies on the Right. Pik Botha would not as easily have been brought to heel a year ago if he had enjoyed wide support in the caucus for his view — now being expressed by Worrall — that a black man might become President. Nor would Nothnagel have recanted, nor Wynand Malan been so lonely, if there were more *verligtes* in the party.

Worrall, in other words, is being shrewdly disingenuous when he suggests that the problem lies with the "leadership" of the party. The problem actually lies with the party itself, which — as in the days of John Vorster — is split between two factions that simply do not belong together. The National Party remains an uneasy coalition of groups which are held together, increasingly artificially, by the assumptions of Afrikanerdom's past.

The result is profound intellectual confusion.

Having abandoned the Verwoerdian concept of separate polities based on race, the Nationalists are still struggling to find a new basis for their political organisation.

When Anton Rupert, the industrialist, calls for the inclusion into Afrikanerdom of "all who speak Afrikaans" he is groping for a new definition of Afrikaner interests (and emphasising that the pigmentocratic alliance of English and Afrikaans has not been an entirely satisfactory power base).

When Worrall scorns the safe prospect of a power base in Natal in order to appeal to Heunis's voters in a predominantly Afrikaans constituency, he, too, is enticing Nationalists to accept a new definition of themselves.

Both men are, in different ways, challenging the young modern Nationalists to break out of the cage in which they are trapped. That cage remains, as it always has been, under the control of people who believe that race is the Afrikaner's overriding value, and that to adapt is to die.

Suzman's opponent has 'nothing to hide'

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE first NP candidate to be put up against PFP MP Helen Suzman in about 30 years is involved in a legal dispute with *Finance Week* over his business career.

Giorgio Pagan, speaking for the first time about difficulties he had experienced in his wine import/export business, said an article which appeared in the magazine was being dealt with by his lawyers.

Pagan said his company, Pagan Enterprises, had suffered a "setback" in 1981. The business was placed in provisional liquidation in 1982.

However, he said he won a court case against the liquidator and spent a "couple of million" personally paying "every creditor in full".

Some creditors had, against his advice, accepted a compromise. The final instalment to those creditors is due in June this year, he said.

"Most successful businessmen in life have setbacks sometimes ... I personally lost a lot of money. That does not mean that I personally, or the company, went bankrupt or defrauded the public or creditors. It is a very serious allegation," Pagan said.

Speaking at his luxurious Hyde Park home, Pagan said he had nothing to hide.

He said he had sponsored several charitable organisations, including the SPCA, Operation Hunger, Portuguese refugees and the now defunct Defence Force Fund (DFF).

Pointing at a family photograph on his wall in which Foreign Minister Pik Botha and retired army chief General Constand Viljoen feature prominently, Pagan explains he donated R10 000 to the DFF "not for weaponry" but for the recreational benefit of the boys on the border.

Asked if he was a sanctions-buster, Pagan declined to comment.

Pagan, whose family lost everything during the Mozambican revolution, believes a Mozambican-type situation should be avoided in SA at all costs.

Although he had not thought of what he would do should he be elected to Parliament, apart from trying to ensure that Portuguese nationals who have lived all their lives in SA can vote, Pagan says he would work within the norms of NP policy.

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Stellenbosch puts lid on multi-race junior council

By RENEE MOODIE

A PLAN for a multiracial junior town council in Stellenbosch has been squashed by the town council and the organizers have claimed that the decision was made on racial grounds.

The junior council, which was to have included members from two coloured high schools in the town, was planned by the Stellenbosch Junior Rapportryers last year and was finally turned down at a town council meeting in committee early this year.

The chairman of the Stellenbosch Junior Rapportryers, Mr Leon Geustyn, said yesterday that there was "absolutely no way we will consider going ahead on a whites-only basis. In fact we had an informal meeting with the council before their meeting because we wanted to tell them that".

He said the attempt to establish a junior council in Stellenbosch was part of a national project to establish these councils in as many towns and cities as possible.

"The council was all for the idea last year until it became obvious that the two coloured schools in Stellenbosch would be involved.

"We originally discussed the project with the last mayor, Mr Piet Lombard, who gave it his backing. The concept was also approved by the council in June last year," he said.

As far as he knew, Mr Lombard had known the junior council would be multiracial.

"I would say there would have been no question of that for him, but I am not sure the council knew," he said.

His organization then handed a detailed constitution for the junior council to the town council in November.

At a meeting last month, the Stellenbosch council conditionally withdrew its approval of the scheme and accepted a motion by councillor Mr E S "Spike" Daniels, the deputy mayor, to review the decision.

The plan was turned down when the council met in committee.

"No reason was given," Mr Geustyn said.

He said there could be no reason but a racial one for the decision.

"If it was felt the plan was impractical, there was no reason for it to be discussed in committee."

Mr M J Cyster, headmaster of Luckhoff Secondary School, one of the "coloured" schools involved, said yesterday that the school had initially been hesitant about the council but had decided to go ahead.

"We feel the decision does not recognize our status. It is difficult to say how I feel about this. I would not say I feel angry — there have been too many angers and too many hurts. But we are definitely not amused," he said.

Mr J W Segers, acting principal of Cloetesville High School, said he was disappointed by the decision.

The Mayor of Stellenbosch, Dr E P S Taljaard, said he could not comment as "it was a decision taken in committee".

New Nat in Stellenbosch!

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE independent "New Nat" candidate in Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan, whose nomination was finalized at the weekend, said yesterday she was confident she could win the seat.

"I never tackle anything unless I believe I can win," Dr Lategan, who was a member of the National Party until recently, said in an interview.

If the 43-year-old mother of three can indeed pull off an upset victory in Stellenbosch in the May 6 election, it will be a spectacular boost for the drive for meaningful reform in South Africa.

The announcement of her candidature has come during the biggest academic rebellion against the government since the NP came to power in 1948. She has been publicly backed by 19 prominent Stellenbosch business, professional and academic people.

And two more prominent Nationalists — Professor Julius Jeppe, head of the department of development administration at Stellenbosch University, and Professor Hennie Schutte of the mathematics department — resigned from the NP at the weekend, while another academic, Professor Willie Rautenbach of the physics department, who is no longer a member of the NP, publicly supported two other New Nat candidates, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, former NP MP for Paarl — who is Dr Lategan's father.

Dr Lategan has been backed by Mr Michiel le Roux, managing director of Oudemeester, and Professor Sampie Terreblanche, deputy chairman of the SABC.

Dr Lategan, who completed her doctorate in social work under Professor Erika Theron and Professor Jan de Villiers at Stellenbosch University and who lectured for eight years at the university, is also receiving support from Professor Theron, who chaired the commission of inquiry into the future of the coloured people.

Professor Theron "supports my stand", she said.

Despite this powerful backing, Dr Lategan has a tough fight on her hands in the university-dominated constituency where the NP had a 4 003 majority over the PFP in 1981.

PFP to withdraw?

The PFP, which had announced earlier that it would contest Stellenbosch, is likely to withdraw from the constituency and this will benefit Dr Lategan's chances by not dividing the anti-apartheid vote.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night that he would have to consult the party's committee in Stellenbosch before making any decision.

"However, we had not proceeded with finalizing our candidate there because we were aware of the likelihood of further developments. We are now going to evaluate the situation," he said.

Dr Lategan said her candidature in Stellenbosch had been the result of a process similar to that which had occurred in other areas.

"We have lost faith in the determination and credibility of the NP to be an instrument of meaningful reform in South Africa."

They had not only lost faith in the current leadership of the NP because she did not think the situation would change if some of the leaders changed. They also differed with the ideological basis of the government's approach.

"My people welcomed the decision of Wynand Malan to resign from the party as a sign of hope. We also wanted to stand up and be counted."

Last week's packed and enthusiastic meeting which was addressed in Stellenbosch by Dr Denis Worrall had had no bearing on the decision to put up an independent candidate in Stellenbosch but it was "an encouraging sign for the decision".

She was convinced that in the broad society in South Africa there was a determination of

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co, in a race against time to save a diabetic boy.

CAPE TIMES 2/3/87 BOLAN

From page 1

people "to find each other".

"I believe in the people, and the potential of the people, of our country."

They would have to find each other on a local level and it could not be imposed from above.

"The only way for us to find solutions for South Africa is on a local level. It will not come from grand schemes and grand theories."

For instance, the controversy over the admission of two black pupils to the Rhenish Primary School in Stellenbosch would not have occurred if it had been left to the local people. Others had already been admitted to the school, but the decision was imposed by a few officials from Pretoria.

Dr Lategan said she was convinced that most people, from the Conservative Party to the left, wanted to find each other.

She said the sitting NP MP for Stellenbosch, Mr Piet Marais, was "a fine gentleman but he belongs to the wrong party". She would not like the campaign to be fought on a personal level.

Mr Marais said at the weekend that he welcomed Dr Lategan's entry to the political arena in Stellenbosch.

"The fight here will be conducted rationally, mercilessly and intellectually within the context of the realities of the whole of South Africa," he said.

Among the other prominent people who have endorsed Dr Lategan's candidature are: Professors Hennie van Vuuren, Gerhard Erasmus, Johan de Villiers, Koos du Toit, Andries van der Walt, J D de Wit, Max Loubser and Andre Rabie, Dr Annemarie Esterhuyse and Mr Johan de Villiers (all of Stellenbosch University), Mr Wilhelm Landman, Dr Denise Cilliers, Dr Edwin Hertzog, Mr Franse Roelofse, Mr Piet Roux, Dr Annemarie Schoombie, Dr Braam de Klerk and Mrs M de Wit.



Mrs Esther Lategan at her Stellenbosch home yesterday. Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

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Brakpan,
Middelburg
Roodepoort,
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ation; Port
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Federation

Menlo Park racism and a Nationalist dilemma

Politicians believe that it is up to the more verligte parents to overcome their lethargy and prevent school committees from applying sports apartheid, writes Tos Wentzel of The Star's political staff in Cape Town.



Minister Clase . . . technically keeping his distance.

White school committees who apply sports apartheid by refusing to allow black athletes to compete at their schools or to have their pupils competing in multiracial sports meetings are technically within their rights.

This has emerged from the rows following the decision of the board of Menlo High School in Pretoria to allow a black athlete to compete there and to prevent two black schoolboys from playing on the school's squash court.

There was another recent incident when the Dr E G Jansen High School in Boksburg turned down an invitation to take part in a multiracial inter-school road relay race.

In terms of the new constitutional system, school sport is an "own affair" which falls under separate white, coloured and Indian ministers of education and culture and black departments of education.

Although these departments' policy is to allow interracial sports meetings, the decision on who could compete has been "devolved" to the school committees concerned.

This official explanation was again given in the Menlo Park controversy.

Although some prominent Nationalist politicians, including ministers, have sharply criticised the Menlo Park board's decision as being racist, they concede on the other hand that schools cannot be forced to take part in multiracial sports.

This, they say, is because the Government is not in favour of forced sports separation or integration. The policy is to allow local option.

President Botha spoke in favour of this when he was recently asked what he would have done if he had been a parent of a Menlo Park pupil.

He said he would have discussed the matter with the school committee and indicated that he thought the hullabaloo was unnecessary.

As Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive Federal Party leader, has pointed out, the incident struck at the core of a National Party dilemma.

While Nationalist ministers could condemn the school's decision, the action of the school's committee fell squarely within the philosophy of the National Party.

Party ideology allowed mixed sport, but when a white school asked that blacks be admitted the answer was no.

At present the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, is staying out of the argument on a technical point — although the parents of Menlo Park decided by a large majority that the school committee must resign, they have not yet approached the Minister on the matter.

He said last week that he knew only what he had read in the newspapers. Officially he did not know about the affair.

He also again pointed out that, in terms of the Constitution, schools, with school sport, was an "own affair".

The Government's viewpoint was that in terms of the own affairs concept, authority m[illegible] "devolve" from the top down to [illegible]cal bodies. In this instance such a commmittee had the right to take decisions.

It was a question of whether the committee had performed its duties properly.

While some verligte Nationalist politicians have criticised the Menlo Park committee's decision, they are wary of tampering with the "own affairs" policy and its local option aspect.

It seems as if the authorities do not have the right to dismiss a properly-elected school committee even when it goes against the feelings of a majority of parents at a school.

The feeling among politicians is that it is up to the parents themselves to see to it that committees who will give effect to the viewpoints of the majority are elected.

Menlo Park was an example of right-wingers organising themselves into key positions on the committee, apparently as a result of the lethargy of the more verligte parents who have only now found out their mistake. It will be up to these parents to "correct" their mistake.

and R108 million for investment in rehabilitation.

correctly and organise proper accounts.

discuss the issue.

opportunity to tell the world:

Monument closed because of fear — Marais

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

When the sunbeam that shines through a hole in the domed roof of the Voortrekker Monument makes its annual farewell appearance in late summer this year it will illuminate an edifice empty but for workmen.

For the first time in its 38-year history the monument is to be closed — from today until June 30 — while workmen remove the asbestos-fibre wall coating which has become a health hazard.

MORE THAN COINCIDENCE

And Mr Jaap Maráis, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, suspects that "more than coincidence" is behind the closing of the monument at the time of an election "in which the Government will face its biggest right-wing threat ever".

Over the years, the monument has become a rallying point for right-wing Afrikanerdom.

"The Government is scared of Afrikaner nationalism," said Mr Marais. Recalling a display of right-wing strength there in May last year, he said: "Perhaps that is the reason it will be closed during the election. The repairs could have been postponed."

The Voortrekker Monument was completed a year after the National Party Government came to power in 1948. Construction, which started in 1937, was interrupted by World War II in 1939.

In 1983 the Cabinet enforced a virtual ban on political meetings at the monument, to the outrage of the right wing.

The Kappie Kommando protested and on being denied entry to the monument on the Day of the Vow in 1983 they staged a service on the steps outside.

Visitors on December 16 were greeted by the eerie sight of women dressed in black gowns and sunbonnets ("kappies") circa the Great Trek.

Last year the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volkswag and Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging gathered in its amphitheatre to preach apartheid.

In spite of a ban on party politics in the monument complex, the Government was roundly criticised at that meeting.

In September last year three coloured men were turned away from the restaurant by a woman with AWB ties — in contravention of a ruling that the restaurant be open to all races.

Night-time illumination of the vast granite structure which dominates the view on the southern approach to Pretoria dates from 1976, when it was first floodlit.

The sun shines through a hole in the dome from September to late March, and at noon on December 16 the beam strikes an inscription on the cenotaph, illuminating the words: "Ons vir Jou, Suid Afrika".

The last five words of the official national anthem are also spelled out in the red lights which flash out a morse code message to pilots at night.

last week retaliated by declar-
ing itself a free trading area fol-
school-leaving exams will fall under



Gary Player . . . let's have some action.

Worrall is my man, golfer Player tells UK

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Golfer Gary Player has told Britons that South Africans have to bury apartheid and not just talk about doing so.

"Let's have some action," he said in an interview with Graham Leach, the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent, broadcast on the "World This Weekend" radio programme yesterday.

"Let's be fair," Player said. "Give President Botha his due. He's gone a long way in reform. But what perturbs me is that he has stopped. He had a wonderful opportunity to tell the world: 'Look, these are the things that I have changed — and these are the things that I envisage changing.'

"But no, he shook his finger at the rest of the world and mentioned that we were not a nation of jellyfish, and had his different ways of putting it across.

"That upset me. It upset me very much indeed when Minister Hendrickse walked on the beach down in Port Elizabeth. Now for a start, can you imagine having a 'whites only' beach? I mean, they throw sewage in the sea and yet they don't want blacks or coloureds to swim in the sea. Can you understand the mentality of that?

"That's the kind of thing that upsets me. And I thought Mr Botha was so wrong the way he repimanded Mr Hendrickse. I lost a lot of respect for him in that way."

Player said one could defend South Africa so far but there came a time when one could not do so.

MENLO PARK AFFAIR

"Things like the Menlo Park affair — it stinks," he said. "That's when our State President should have put his finger down strongly."

On violence, he said: "We have violence in this country because we have a green apple with a rotten core in it and that rotten core is apartheid.

"Whatever you do it comes back to this cancerous word. You can never defend it. We have got to get rid of it and bury it and this is why Denis Worrall is my man."

r — Marais

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Worral has smashed through old loyalties

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Some late grapes are still being picked in the sunny green vineyards under the bright violet-blue Helderberg range.

Most of the fruit has already been picked and the juice is slowly turning to wine in the cellars. But something more heady than the 1987 vintage is fermenting in this pastoral landscape.

It is the intoxicating notion that Dr Denis Worrall, former ambassador to London, might just topple the National Party's crown prince, Mr Chris Heunis, from his hitherto secure throne.

Almost everyone here is entertaining the notion of voting for the polished diplomat. At the very start of his campaign, he has smashed through old thought patterns and loyalties.

He has caught the imagination of Helderberg and he has its ear. What he says over the next few weeks will determine if he wins hearts and minds tob.

Mr Hempies du Toit, former Western Province and Springbok prop, a wine farmer, steps out of the cellars of his Alto estate, his huge right arm purple up to the elbow with grape juice.

"Oh yes, a lot of farmers around are thinking about voting for Worrall, wondering what to do," he says.

"I'm confused. In principle I'm for Worrall if he is standing for a speeding up of reform. But I would like to hear more details about his programme.

"It was sad to see P W Botha on TV the other night, asking for a mandate for reform again. We already gave him a mandate at the referendum. What more does he want?"

At Rust-en-Vrede, where he makes his award-winning reds, is Mr Jannie Engelbrecht, fleet-footed Springbok rugby wing of the 60s. He has been a National Party supporter all his life.

"I'd like to see Worrall in politics. He's brilliant. But he should have been in Government. What can he and Wynand Malan do as independents?

Bit stagnant

"The Government is a bit stagnant at the moment, but you can understand that with all the uncertainties.

"As much as I admire Worrall it looks like the problems will have to be solved inside a party that has the support of the majority of the electorate."

Somerset West, the heart of the constituency, is seething with excitement.

Mr Graham Banks, an NP member since 1962 and former chairman of its Fairmount branch, has resigned to join the Worrall bandwagon.

He is anxious. Mr Heunis has received his letter and he has to share a platform with him at a school meeting.

"It goes against the grain for me to do this. I still feel myself a member. But it needs someone to say to the party loudly and clearly: 'Hang on, something's wrong!'

"I still believe the NP is the only answer to SA's complex problems but it has lost direction.

"It's also lost touch with the people. It's more than just the pace of reform.

"The Government is governing the Government. It's withdrawn into itself with its Ministers and sub-Ministers.

"I have a great deal of respect for Mr Heunis. He has done a lot for Somerset West. But we are not taking on Heunis. We are taking on the system.

"This is an intelligent community, not hide-bound."

Mr Viv Zaayman, former treasurer of the Fairmount branch and former oil company executive, has also resigned. While we are talking, Mr Jannie Momberg phones up to offer him the job of election agent for Dr Worrall.

"I get the impression the Government doesn't really appreciate the urgency of the problem.

"They are more concerned with party politics than they are in looking after the interests of South Africa.

"There is apparently no evidence of any blueprint to accommodate the political aspirations of blacks.

Indignant

"We're in an era of cliche politics."

Mr F, an auditor who doesn't want his name used, fills his little office on main street with his indignation.

"There are lots of small businessmen and farmers here and they can't exist any more because of tax.

"The Nat policy is: let's do it irrespective of the cost. We're paying for apartheid. I will vote for Worrall."

Another NP supporter who has cast his lot with Dr Worrall is Mr Michael Campbell-Harris, an estate agent with offices right across the road from Mr Heunis's election office.

"I have supported Heunis for the last three elections and I like him very much as a person.

"But certain things have disillusioned me lately, especially his rejection of the kwaNatal indaba.

"Worrall is a man of international repute. If he is not elected, any credibility this country could have overseas will be destroyed."

About 3 000 Helderberg voters live in Stellenbosch. Their vote will probably be decisive.

If Dr Worrall can win over someone like Mrs K, an education lecturer at the university, he could carry the day.

"If I could vote for the person, not the party, I would vote for Worrall," she says. "I like the way he handled questions in England. He is what a politician should be.

"He doesn't shake his fist, which doesn't impress anyone.

"It will be hard to vote for another party. I grew up in a loyal family. I can remember how my grandfather cried on the day we became a republic because he had fought for it.

"But I don't know how I will vote. I will definitely listen to Dr Worrall.

"I first want to see if he's on his own or with the Progs. If he is with them I will definitely not vote for him."

Campaign for postal votes off to a confused start

PFP to go ahead with plans while NP will hold back

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The battle for postal votes in the May 6 House of Assembly elections got off to a confused start here at the weekend, with doubts over whether voters could apply legally or not for postal votes now.

The Progressive Federal Party said it was going ahead with postal vote applications, but the National Party said it was going to wait until it received clearance from the office of the State President.

The regional representative for Home Affairs here, Mr D. C. J. van Schalkwyk, issued a statement on Saturday morning that postal vote applications signed now would be declared null and void, but later withdrew his statement after consultation with Home Affairs officials in Pretoria and said people could apply for postal votes now.

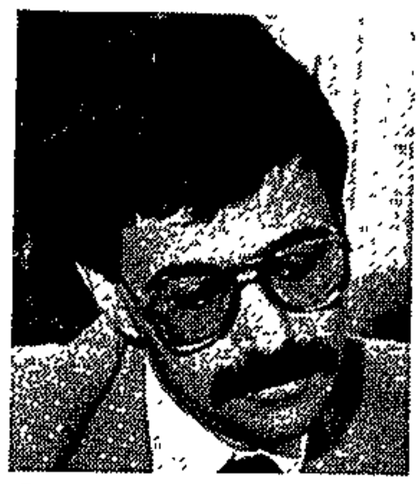
Postal votes are signed by voters who for various reasons are not able to attend polls in their various constituencies on election day. The prime "target market" for postal votes are usually the elderly and infirm, and parties often view postal votes as important indicators of support.

The hub of the confusion is whether or not the House of Assembly has been dissolved.

In a general election, parliament has to be legally dissolved by a notice in the Government Gazette before postal vote applications can be accepted.

However, two houses of parliament, the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives, are not facing elections on May 6, and parliament cannot be dissolved.

The State President prorogued the House of Assembly in an announcement in the Government Gazette on Friday, and announced it would sit again on May 18 — after the election.



MR DE PONTES . . . go-ahead.

A PFP organiser here, Mr Ian Bentley, said the PFP had been informed at a meeting with Home Affairs officials in Pretoria that political parties could process applications for postal votes, and the party would thus press ahead.

"We have been given the go-ahead by senior officials of the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, and that's good enough for us," he said.

The National Party MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, however, took a different view and said his party would not be collecting postal vote applications until given the go-ahead by the office of the State President.

"One can only apply for postal votes legally when parliament or the House of Assembly has been dissolved, and as far as I am aware, the House of Assembly still has to be dissolved."

He said the act governing the matter was not clear in the case of the May 6 election, which involved only one house of the tricameral parliament, and said the prerogative lay with the State President.

Mr De Pontes said his party did not want to embarrass any postal vote applicants by misleading them, particularly as the majority of postal vote applicants were elderly.

"Until we get firm confirmation we will not sign up applicants as they will be irregular. We will await confirmation from the State President's office, and then we will move."

Maties divided over revolt

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

THE campus at the University of Stellenbosch appears to be splitting between traditional National Party supporters and a growing number of students seriously considering the independent option.

"Support for the National Party in this election is not a foregone conclusion," said Mr Hennie Bester, Student Representative Council executive member, Christian student leader and one of the group of Maties who tried to meet the African National Congress in Lusaka in October 1985.

"Dr Denis Worrall speaks my politics and I commend his courage and that of Dr Esther Lategan, the newly announced Stellenbosch independent candidate. It's high time we got a move on with reform and if that's their ticket, I support them."

Eight of the 15-member Matie Students Council signed a statement at the weekend pledging their support to the National Party, "its reform initiative" and its moves to accommodate "all South Africans in central power-sharing" through constitutional change.

REFUSED TO SIGN

Mr Bester said: "That represents the roughly 40-60 percent political split in the council. The majority are still National Party supporters but the split is not a pro-NP and anti-NP division, rather a strong difference of feeling. And that's true of the student body too: There is a strong mood of disillusion with the NP."

Council executive member Mr Hein Brand was invited to sign the pro-NP statement and refused.

He said: "I definitely support Malan and Worrall. I don't know yet what Dr Lategan will present but I support the independent reformist ticket."

Mr Danie Kriel, vice-chairman of the moderate Popular Students' Alliance, said his organisation was "disappointed that the NP has lost its reform momentum".

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SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS:

A COMPLETE GUIDE TO ALL SOUTH AFRICA'S

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TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE three reform-minded independent candidates are meeting in Johannesburg today to discuss strategy and to decide on a manifesto or joint declaration.

Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg and Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, were this weekend joined by Dr Esther Lategan, a businesswoman and former academic who is standing in Stellenbosch.

She has resigned from the National Party.

There will be close liaison between the three on a platform calling for faster reform and expressing doubt about the ability of the National Party leadership to achieve it.

Indications are that the Progressive Federal Party will stand back for Dr Lategan. The Cape leader of the party, Mr Roger Hulley, said PFP supporters in Stellenbosch would be consulted.

Dr Lategan, whose candidature in Stellenbosch was announced at the weekend, said today she believed she had a responsibility to promote reform.

Support

She said: "I believe that the people of South Africa have the ability to find ways of living together in peace and prosperity. As far as the National Party is concerned this process has become snarled up."

She said she had no contact with the PFP and she emphasised that she was standing as an independent.

About 20 academics, businessmen and doctors in Stellenbosch supported Dr Lategan in a statement issued at the weekend. Among them were Professor Sampie Terreblanche, Professor Julius Jeppe and Professor James Fourie, who recently resigned from the National Party, and Dr Erika Theron.

They said they were convinced the Government had swung to the right and was committed to a policy and ideology which did not allow for reform.

Unhappiness

Dr Worrall said today he was delighted with Dr Lategan's announcement.

He said it proved his point that there was a political phenomenon which reached deep into the base of the National Party and which showed unhappiness with the leadership.

Mr Chris Heunis, MP for Helderberg and Cape leader of the National Party, said independents had no responsibility to those who voted for them and had only vague and undefined reform aims without practical reality.

● See Page 2

Helderberg is microcosm of SA

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

HELDERBERG, the largely plush Western Cape constituency which embraces Somerset West, the elite suburbs of Stellenbosch and Gordons Bay, has become a microcosm of the issues facing the electorate on May 6.

The seat is currently held by the National Party's constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, the man who sees the future constitutional dispensation as being based on the concept of racially demarcated groups.

Pitted against him is the former Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Dr Denis Worrall, who wants apartheid scrapped and therefore envisages a future for this country based on free association between the races.

Third man in the race is the Conservative Party's Mr Leon de Wet, who could well have a marked influence on the outcome of the election.

Mr Heunis's future is very much on the line.

And it is a future that contains the possibility of his succeeding Mr P W Botha as State President when Mr Botha decides to retire — possibly next year.

On the other hand, Dr Worrall has little to lose.

He says he wants to hand the Government a stronger mandate than it has asked for, a mandate which will illustrate that the majority of white South Africans are ready for real change and want apartheid scrapped.

If he fails, it will be testimony only to the fact that whites do not want to give that mandate.

Last week wasn't a good one for Mr Heunis — and this week is unlikely to be very much better.

The entry of the CP into the fray is hardly good news.

It is estimated the party could slice off 1 000 or more votes from the 2 942 majority Mr Heunis had in 1981.

More potentially damaging is the school issue in which the two children of a Malawian minister of religion, studying for his doctrate at Stellenbosch, have been refused permission to attend the white English-medium school in the town.

It is not Mr Heunis's department and the decision rests with the highly conservative Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, who states that only the children of black diplomats may attend white schools.

Mr Heunis, however, has been challenged to state where he stands.

If he says he is in favour of the children being admitted, he will alienate the right wing. If he says he is not, he will hand a large number of votes to Dr Worrall.

And silence — the ploy he has adopted up to now — will be interpreted negatively by both sides.

But it is an issue which he cannot duck.

Mr Heunis's problem is essentially that facing the NP — trying to be all things to all people.

How he deals with the school impasse could be the deciding factor on May 6.

New Nat to stand in Gem of the Karoo

BY PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

AN independent candidate, Mr Graeme Rudolph Farmer, is to be the New Nat candidate in the Gem of the Karoo by-election on February 28.

Mr Farmer announced his candidature today at a press conference in Upington.

He said that Dennis Worthington, who has represented the constituency in Parliament since 1977, had not been adopted by the New Nat as its candidate.

Mr Farmer said Worthington had been "ruthlessly removed" by the party's provincial executive.

Worthington was not available for comment today.

Mr Farmer said he was a farmer from Kenhardt and had been a member of the New Nat since its formation.

He said he was entering the by-election because he believed that the New Nat was the only party which could bring about a fundamental change in the country's political system.

"The New Nat has a policy which will lead to a peaceful solution to the problems of South Africa.

"We believe that all South Africans should be given the right to vote for the government of their choice.

"We believe that all South Africans should be represented in Parliament," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the "forced migration" of people from one area to another.

He said he was also opposed to the Group Areas Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be given the right to own property anywhere in the country," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Separate Amenities Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be allowed to use the same facilities," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Population Registration Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be registered as citizens of South Africa," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Immorality Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be allowed to marry whom they choose," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be allowed to marry whom they choose," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Bantu Education Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be given the same education," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Bantu Authorities Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be given the right to participate in the government of their country," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was opposed to the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act.

"We believe that all South Africans should be given the right to citizenship of their country," he said.

Mr Farmer said he was

NAT REBELS HOLD COUNCIL OF WAR

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Sowetan

THE three reform-minded independent candidates in the white general election met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss strategy and to finalise a manifesto or joint declaration.

Dr Dennis Worrall in Helderberg and Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, were last weekend joined by Dr Esther Lategan, a former academic and now a businesswoman who is standing in Stellenbosch.

There will be close liaison among the three on a platform calling for the speeding up of reform and expressing doubt about the ability of the present leadership of the National Party to do this.

Indications are that the Progressive Federal Party will stand back for Dr Lategan. Mr Roger Hulley, Cape leader of the party, said PFP supporters in Stellenbosch would be consulted in the next few days.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

Dr Lategan, whose candidature in Stellenbosch was announced at the weekend, said yesterday that she believed that she had a responsibility to assist in promoting the logical application of the reform process.

She has resigned from the National Party.

"I believe that the people of South Africa have the ability to find ways of living together in peace and prosperity.

"As far as the National Party is concerned the reform process has become snarled up."

She said part of the reason was the fact that the party had been in-power for 39 years.

She said she realised that she had bitten off a lot and that she had a mighty National Party organisation and a sitting MP with a verligte image pitted against her.

Support

On the other hand she had indications of broad support for her in a wide spectrum of the Stellenbosch community, including academics and businessmen.

Asked about the possibility of the Progressive Federal Party standing back in her favour she said she had had no contact with the PFP and she emphasised that she was standing on an independent ticket.

ID of 'Mr Z' secret, judge rules

JOHANNESBURG. — A Commission of Inquiry yesterday ruled against disclosing the identity of "Mr Z", who reputedly helped arrange finance of R100 000 for an advertisement calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The Commission, chaired by Mr Justice G G A Munnik, Judge President of the Cape Province, began hearing evidence here yesterday.

Mr Jimmy McKenzie, senior general manager of Barclays Bank, handed in records of transactions.

Mr Justice Munnik ruled that the identity of the Barclays client — Mr Z — be kept secret, adding the man's identity could be disclosed later if necessary.

He said the Commission did not want unduly to harass any client of the bank.

"I think it would be only right and fair that Mr McKenzie does not refer to the client by name," Mr Justice Munnik said.

He agreed to a submission that Mr McKenzie be helped to give evidence by Barclays' counsel, Mr S A Cille SC.

Mr Cille, who asked that Mr Z's name be withheld, said it was Barclays' policy not to release confidential information on its clients' finances.

Documents handed to the Commission reflected several deposits.

These included a deposit of R100 000, paid on January 7 into the Barclays account of the attorney for the United Democratic Front, Mr Krish Naidoo.

Deposit slips on Mr Naidoo's account were handed in for the period November 1, 1986 to February 20, 1987.

The bank official also read out the dates, but not the amounts, of deposits into Mr Z's account for the same period.

A debit of R100 000 was registered against Mr Z's account on January 6.

This was a "Premier" account, which Mr McKenzie explained had "more status" than a special "Status" account.

There were also the dates, but not the amounts, of cheques drawn against Mr Naidoo's and Mr Z's accounts.

The Commission, appointed by the State President, Mr P W Botha, is empowered to investigate circumstances surrounding the placing of the advertisement.

It will also seek the source of payment for the full-page call to "Let the ANC speak for itself".

The Commission will also investigate whether Mr Chris Ball, the group managing director of Barclays Bank, was "in any way" involved in the financial aspect of the placement.

Three letters from Mr. Ball to the relevant branch manager concerning the transaction were dated January 6, 7, and 21.

The controversial advertisement appeared in newspapers on January 8 — the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC.

It was issued by the UDF, and National Education Crisis Committee and the South African Council of Churches.

Fifteen other organizations lent their support.

It carried a photograph of the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and a blacked-out facsimile of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The inquiry continues today.

Businessmen ask Chris Joubert to stand as independent

Election scramble: New turn

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

CONTROVERSIAL Cape Town city councillor Mr Chris Joubert has been approached to stand as an independent candidate in Green Point.

A group of Green Point and Sea Point businessmen has approached him to stand in the constituency being contested by the Progressive Federal Party and the National Party.



Mr Chris Joubert

Meanwhile, a number of Nationalists met in Paarl last night and an action committee was formed to consider putting up an independent.

Confirming the approach had been made to him, Mr Joubert said today he was considering it and would decide on Friday.

The group felt if he stood in Green Point he could demonstrate a rejection of PFP policies and at the same time show the Nationalists there was dissatisfaction with the pace of reform.

It was felt it was necessary to voice the frustration about the ow pace of reform and about issues such as the Group Areas ct and negotiations with black leaders.

Industrial Council: Sweet Making

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P.T.O.

While it was accepted that the National Party would return to power again, it would have to recognise support given to independent candidates who were backed by supporters of the reform policy.

Mr Joubert said it was felt Green Point would be the best area for him to stand as this was where a large part of his work as a city councillor was done.

Although he stood in Sea Point for the provincial council as a Nationalist in 1981, he had great respect for Mr Colin Eglin, who is MP for Sea Point, and would not oppose him.

The sitting PFP member for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, is being challenged by a National Party candidate, Mrs Esme Chait, a city councillor.

Paarl meeting

In Paarl, there are determined moves to field an independent candidate standing for the same principles as the independents in Helderberg, Stellenbosch and Randburg.

At a meeting of about 160 Paarl professional people, businessmen and farmers last night, anger was expressed about the slowness of reform and the arrogance of the Government.

It was decided to form an action committee to consider putting up a candidate.

Mr Vincent Bruwer, a farmer, who is chairman of the committee, said it would meet again tomorrow.

Last night's meeting was addressed by Professor Julius Jeppe of Stellenbosch who resigned from the National Party last week.

Besides Mr Bruwer, the other members of the action committee are: Mr Ben Gertenbach, a businessman, Mr Danie Malan, the former athlete and now a farmer (he is the brother of the Stellenbosch independent Dr Esther Lategan);

Dr Paul de Villiers, a lecturer at the Paarl teachers' college, Dr Jannie Ferreira, a Ned Geref Church minister, Mr Graham Retief, a farmer, Mr John Phillips, a businessman, Mr Benji Dubovsky, an attorney, and Mrs Cathy Robertson, a lecturer at the teachers' college.

Chris Heunis 'faces' up to the issues ... 28 times!



The Chris Heunis centrespread in the Helderberg Nat publication.

Political Staff

AN eight-page propaganda publication supporting Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, in the Helderberg election campaign has been launched — with 28 pictures of Mr Heunis.

The entire centre-spread is taken up with pictures of Mr Heunis (except for one of Mrs Heunis) at functions, including a tug 'o war, a visit to a commando headquarters, a visit to Khayelitsha, with Rapportryers, train passengers, at Stellenbosch University and with athletes.

There are also two advertisements, with pictures of Mr Heunis, urging voters to support him.

In the tabloid Mr Heunis gives notice that he will challenge his independent opponent in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, on a series of "key issues".

The publication, *Helderberg NP*, quotes at length from speeches and statements by Mr Heunis.

One report says Mr Heunis has served notice that he will "carry the fight to Dr Worrall" on such key issues as:

- Dr Worrall's "visions" as opposed to the National Party's "proven achievements regarding reform, as well as the reform measures to which it has committed itself";
- Dr Worrall's "real views concerning the handling of the security interests of all South Africans";
- His "peculiar statement" that he did not oppose the Government nor favour the opposition; and
- "The real reasons for his decision to align himself, for all intents and purposes, with the PFP within a matter of days after clear indications that he wanted to represent the National Party in the forthcoming election."

The elaborate presentation indicates that Mr Heunis is making full use of the powerful NP propaganda machine in defending his Helderberg seat.

Independents to spell out their political stance

THE THREE reform-minded independent candidates have agreed to issue a joint statement in which they will set out their political stance.

They are also planning to hold joint election meetings in one another's constituencies.

The three, Dr Denis Worrall (Helderberg), Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg) and Dr Esther Lategan (Stellenbosch), met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss strategy and to decide on a joint declaration.

Dr Worrall, former South African Ambassador in London, said today that they were still finalising their statement. It would be made public in 10 or 12 days' time.

Indaba is becoming election football

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Natal/kwaZulu Indaba is as expected fast becoming an election football, but it is being distorted into the most amazing shapes.

The National Party (NP), aided by the Conservative Party (CP), is doing everything to discredit the proposals.

But there is widespread public support for the indaba and the NP fears it will lose votes if it dismisses it out of hand.

The NP rejection is based primarily on its narrowly defined view of group representation and its apartheid policies.

Initially the NP vacillated for weeks before deciding (and only then after pressure from business) to enter as observers.

Now it claims it is fully committed to negotiations. President Botha, stuck with his as yet unsuccessful National Council concept, is trying to give it new life by saying it could be an indaba.

The NP accuses the PFP of politicising the indaba, but has taken the initiative to drag the Indaba into the political arena.

The ink was hardly dry on the signatures to the proposals when Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, rejected them.

It appears one of the reasons for his rapid reply was to stop prominent Afrikaans business men adding their signatures.

The NP is paying scant attention to the consquences and seems to have forgotten that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is seen as a key individual in any successful negotiations for equitable change.

ABSURDITY

One absurdity of the Nationalist campaign is to criticise elements contained within their own tricameral system.

They say the proposals allow a minority Minister to be appointed by the majority. Exactly the same position exists within the tricameral system.

Using tactics reminiscent of Nazi propaganda Minister, Josef Goebbels (bending the truth and then repeating it incessantly), the NP has trotted out the claim that the PFP had hijacked the indaba.

This is patently untrue. The PFP was one of 35 delegations. After eight months of negotiation 82 percent of the delegates signed, nine percent abstained and nine rejected them.

Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk had said the proposals had been endorsed by Inkatha and kwaZulu. The NP said this was untrue.

The point Professor van Wyk was making was that the Inkatha and kwaZulu representatives had already signed.

The indaba proposals contain many of the key issues of the election. They propose a real sharing of power, group protection and the scrapping of group areas. They are the result of negotiations the NP has not been able to get underway.

The NP, the CP and the HNP have lined up to varying degrees, maintaining whites would lose everything.

The PFP, NRP and independents maintain the proposals give sufficient protection to minority interests and are one of the last chances white South Africans will get to show they are prepared to share power.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

Keep politics out of sport warning

CAPE TOWN — Politics should be kept out of sport and sport out of politics, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night in a warning to sports administrators to restrict their political arguments only to those issues which affected sport directly.

Speaking at the official opening of the SA National Swimming Championships in Cape Town, he said sport in South Africa had suffered from political intervention.

"If sports administrators and sportsmen now take to the broad political field, sport will again be the victim," he said.

Sports administrators who wanted to enter politics should not do so under the cloak of sport.

Mr de Klerk emphasised politics, where there was much to be done, was for politicians, and sports administrators had much to do in their own field.

Recently, a number of sports administrators had lost sight of this distinction of "each to his own terrain," and he wanted to warn against this.

Although sports administrators were entitled to become involved in political arguments directly affecting sport, they should guard against becoming involved, in their capacity as sports administrators, in other burning political issues.

An example of this in practice was that sports administrators had been fully entitled to express their opinions on the Menlopark affair where a black athlete had been barred from a prestige meeting.

"But if they want to become prescriptive on matters such as who must vote where, go to school and live, then politics enter sport and this can only do it harm," he said.

The Government had been busy for more than a decade removing stumbling blocks in the way of normal sport, removing statutory regulations or "adjusting" them to ensure equal sporting opportunities for all.

"By giving full autonomy to our sports administrators, the Government clearly expressed its trust in sporting leaders.

"Nobody prescribes to them how they must manage sports matters," the Minister said. — Sapa.

I dare Worrall, says Heunis

(304A) Star 2/13/87

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has given notice that he will challenge his independent election opponent in Helderberg constituency, Dr Denis Worrall, on a series of "key issues".

This challenge appears in "Helderberg NP", a propaganda publication containing 28 pictures in which Mr Heunis appears. It indicates he is preparing for a hard-hitting confrontation with his former party colleague on issues such as reform and security.

'PECULIAR STATEMENT'

Mr Heunis is reported as saying he will challenge Dr Worrall on issues that include his "visions" as opposed to the National Party's "proven achievements regarding reform" and his "real views" on the handling of the security interests of all South Africans".

Dr Worrall will also be challenged on his "peculiar statement" that he did not oppose the Government nor favoured the opposition, and his "real reasons for aligning himself, to all intents and purposes, with the PFP".

Working for an ever-better tomorrow

Gus Fichardt, "an ex-Bloemfontein boy", takes a look at Zimbabwe and how its politics compare with South Africa's. This is the first of two articles.

South Africa will soon have a black government. Ideally, it will come at the polling booth. If the gods have not also emigrated to Australia, and were to smile on us, candidates will be elected on merit and all sections will be present in Parliament. But, in the first flush of one man one vote, the leadership will be black.

Alternatively, change will be the Rhodesian model and follow economic collapse and the failure of kragdadigheid. The replacement government will be black.

A government is not a good government or a bad government because it is white or black. Amin is black and both Hitler and Stalin were white. Adenauer and Kenyatta both allowed free enterprise to create prosperity. Verwoerd and Nyerere both placed warped ideologies overwhelmingly ahead of the good of their nations. PW and Mussolini, in the declining years of the latter, are twins in posturing bombast.

How different would South Africa be under black leadership?

Robert Mugabe recently said that Zimbabwe is a model of what South Africa will be like after apartheid. I visited Rhodesia regularly from the days of Federation up to independence; and Zimbabwe at least twice a year since then.

By car it is the roadblock route: they start between Louis Trichardt and Messina. The South African army stopped us and asked whether we were taking any bombs. I am not sure whether they were glad or sorry when I said no.

The roadblock officials have clearly been taught a set speech about having to search the vehicle and apologising for the inconvenience. They quote it word-perfect. Only one or two add to the routine.

Near Harare an intense lieutenant said he let normal people pass but stopped all Boers lest they had bombs to blow up the city. He made me unpack everything in pouring rain.

Outside Bindura a policeman challenged me about giving Bindura as our destination the day before; yet here I was travelling south to Harare. I am still searching for an intelligent answer.

Beyond Inyanga we were well and truly stopped with bayoneted AK-47s through two windows. An aggressive sergeant paged through our passports until he suddenly softened up and asked about people in and near our home suburb. He had been a Johannesburg garden boy before "going to the bush" and has particularly fond memories of one family where he had worked. I swear there was a tear in his eye as we left.

Dynamic production

Bulawayo is the place of industry and Joshua Nkomo.

Factories still display that "can-do" spirit of sanctions days and have harnessed it into dynamic production for the local and overseas market. A typical South African factory owner with 20 employees would worry about sales in Germiston, or if he really thinks big, in Beaufort West. In Bulawayo they talk about selling in Nigeria or the Benelux. They travel endlessly to get the orders.

Black and white are integrated up to board level. For two reasons, all South Africans should experience this: it works; and it contains an explosive relief from tensions, guilt and suspicion.

There certainly are some inhibiting labour and employment laws affecting the discharge of workers and minimum wages. These would be better left to free market forces and the power of unions. Still, the spirit of an ever-better tomorrow overrides all else.

Industry is obviously concerned about continued access to the sea via South Africa. At the same time, Zimbabwe is not going to be cowed into submission by Pretoria. They are committed to opening up their routes through Mozambique and they will do it whatever the cost and from whomsoever the aid and support will come.

A wise South Africa would give Zimbabwean industry every support and assurance it needs to depend on existing routes through the Republic. As it would, incidentally, support African governments against revolutionary elements instead of aiding rebels and insurgents. Destabilisation is becoming as dirty a word as apartheid.

Joshua Nkomo is larger than life and he is big enough to begin with. He sits in the bustling noise of an old store he is converting into a restaurant and talks as easily of the Kremlin as he does of the board-



Joshua Nkomo . . . "oozes good humour".

rooms of London's City. He oozes good humour. To go anywhere with him is to be slowed to a crawl by endless handshaking and shouted greetings. This is as true in Harare as it is in Bulawayo.

Nkomo is no communist. During the Rhodesian war he took Russian aid for his own nationalist purposes, but he will never be anybody's puppet.

His famous TV interview about the Viscount shoot-down lost him much white support. Mugabe beat him in black politics. But I can still easily visualise him in an elder statesman's role of sub-continental economic and diplomatic co-operation. South Africa should be part of it; but as long as apartheid exists, Nkomo won't move.

Harare resembles old Salisbury only as far as total tidiness, good hotels and garden suburbs go.

It is now officially and in fact non-racial. The mood is busy — commercially busy, socially busy and politically busy. The old settler town has become a force in Africa and a lot of what we will be tomorrow is being evolved now by the busy brains of intellectuals, officials and ministries. Nothing is inviolate if the alternative offers better promise.

Respect is earned by results and failure is hammered at any level — including the Cabinet.

My first impression of Minister of State Maurice Nyagumbo is of quality tailoring and old-world manners. He is an overwhelmingly courteous man, and a convinced socialist.

Views on socialism

I told him I saw socialism as theoretically workable only where a people had great but isolated wealth which could arguably be better distributed. It does not provide the drive to create new prosperity.

He saw socialism as the only light at the end of the tunnel for a nation oppressed for too long.

His overall passion, though, was for conciliation and co-operation and the need to build.

Later, I read up on this gentleman. He was a forceful early member of Zanu and a consistent force throughout its turbulent years. He had been imprisoned without trial by the Rhodesian Government, on and off, for 20 years; but kept on driving from his cell. I asked him why he had not cracked and he told me his main irritation was the warders interrupting his studies and his work with meals.

Tough attack on Govt by Player

304A Eve Post 3/3/87

'Bottom line is apartheid — it stinks'



GARY PLAYER

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Sheer frustration prompted golfing legend Gary Player to break his silence on political matters and pledge his support to independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall in the May 6 general election.

"I have not always shied away from politics in the past," he said yesterday. "I have always offered my opinion when asked for it."

After listening to Dr Worrall at Stellenbosch last week, he had been asked to give an opinion and had done so.

"I would have shirked my reponsibility as a South African if I had not. The only thing that counts in South Africa today is the bottom line, and it stinks — and the bottom line is the word apartheid linked to the constitution.

"If any man tells me there's any good in it, he's a liar. The biggest fool in life is the man who lies to himself, and that's what we're doing in our perception of South Africa in relation to the rest of the world."

Player said the facts had to be squarely faced — and the image of South Africa was a third of what it used to be.

● Today no South African sportsman could compete in Japan, and no South African businessman could take his wife into that country.

● "Where many once eagerly came, few overseas visitors — tourists, entertainers and sportsmen — can now be enticed to visit this great country."

● Overseas investment was plunging as international companies moved out.

● Unemployment was now rife and, where people in soweto once waved, they now threw rocks.

"South Africa is now the skunk among nations," said Player "With six-million miles behind me, I've travelled more than any other athlete in history, and I've always held that this is the greatest country in the world, with the greatest diversity of people.

"But where there was once friendliness, there is now growing hatred."

Player said President PW Botha's claim that apartheid was dead was not true and, despite the quality of its people, riches in strategic minerals and the strategic importance of its geographic position, the "graph was dipping".

He had lost faith in the NP when its reform programme "ground to a halt to negate what had been such a promising start".

The country's prestige was continually being lowered by the "Menlo Parks and Basil d'Oliveira affairs and the recent brouhahaha over Mr Hendrickse's dip in the ocean."

If continuing unrest was the desired result, then the country must continue to vote nationalist.

"I would support any party if they are going to work for all the people in South Africa."



A flip and a flop... Miss YVONNE CRUMPTON celebrated Shrove Tuesday in fine style with her first pancake today, but she let success go to her head. She was lending a hand in the kitchen of a Port Elizabeth beachfront hotel.



~~Cape Times 4/3/87~~

Worrall mum on UCT bar

~~Staff Reporter~~

INDEPENDENT Helderberg candidate Dr Denis Worrall yesterday declined to comment on the refusal of the vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders, to allow him to be guest speaker at a campus meeting of the Moderate Students Movement (MSM).

Dr Saunders yesterday confirmed that he turned down the request by the MSM.

"It is university policy not to allow individual electioneering on the campus. However, we would allow a debate between candidates."

Star 4/3/87 (304A)

Updating drive nets 1,3 million voters

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — More than 1,3 million voters have been correctly registered since the Department of Home Affairs started its voter registration campaign last year.

In an interview yesterday, the director-general of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said political parties had estimated before the start of the campaign that voters' rolls were about 35 percent out of date.

This meant that the names of about 1 500 000 voters were incorrectly registered on the Population Register on which the rolls were based.

APATHY

With the position of 1 327 000 people being corrected, the rolls were probably now more up to date than they had been for many years.

But he said there were indications that there was still plenty of work to be done.

"The problem is the apathy of voters. They should ensure they are properly registered."

He appealed to political parties to help during the current election campaign with the proper registration of voters.

This could be done by giving incorrectly registered people registration cards when canvassing voters.

It was estimated that 60 000 white voters changed their place of residence every month.

AWB leader appeals for right-wing unity

PW is a 'deaf dog', says TerreBlanche

By Zenaide Vendeiro

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, last night called the State President, Mr P W Botha, a "deaf dog" who did not deserve one seat in the general election on May 6.

Addressing supporters at a meeting in a packed Roodepoort City Hall last night, he again appealed for unity among the right-wing parties.

He said co-operation had to forced on them by his organisation. "We don't want two right-wing candidates on May 6 who will lose. We want one candidate who will win."

He appealed to the 1 500-strong audience to tell the party leaders not to fight with one another but to put them in a position to fight "P W Botha and Rajbansi".

"If you say it is not too serious if we lose 10 or 20 seats, we say it is. It is 10 or 20 seats that you give to P W Botha ... and that deaf dog does not deserve a single seat."

BLACK PRESIDENT

Mr TerreBlanche said the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, differed on two or three points. However, they both wanted a white government, while "P W Both and his Broederbond" wanted a black State President.

The AWB leader said he would deal with the disunity among the right-wing parties more seriously at a meeting in Pretoria today.

He said the "pass" would be closed on March 31, the day for official nominations. Then, the people would be splintered, as had happened after each by-election when Rightwingers stood against each other.

The reason Parys did not have a CP or HNP MP was because they gave the seat to P W Botha, said Mr TerreBlanche.

Mr TerreBlanche said whatever happened on May 6, a nation's survival and its fight for freedom did not end at the ballot box.

"May 6 is not the abattoir of this nation. If this Government capitulates and law and order falls away, the AWB will, with the mercy of God, recapture South Africa with violence and establish its nation state."

Mr TerreBlance received tumultuous applause and chanting of "AWB" at the end of each of the many attacks he made in his 90-minute speech.

Targets included Cabinet Ministers, members of the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives, the PFP and the NRP, the ANC and the UDF.

By Carina le Grange

LICHTENBURG — The time for an election pact between the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party was over, CP MP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said last night.

Addressing about 500 people in the town hall of his home town, Dr Hartzenberg said the parties might unite "after the election".

Dr Hartzenberg, who won the Lichtenburg constituency in 1981 on an NP ticket and joined the CP at its formation in 1982, said the HNP condition for a pact — the division of seats on a 50/50 basis — was unacceptable.

"The HNP does not have the infrastructure to cope with such a division," he said.

LAND ALLOCATION

"Let us now get to work and fight the National Party, and when we go past on the train we will pick up our HNP friends."

Speaking on CP policy for land allocation to different races, he said he had discussed this with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and he "approved" and had said blacks would move all over to live with their own.

According to the CP land policy each "volk" in South Africa would live in its own area. There would be preferential areas so that Zulus would live only in kwaZulu.

Time for pact is past, says CP MP

He said there were two ultimate tenets for a "volk". The first was that it should be able to keep its own identity to grow, which meant it must be able to govern itself and decide for it self. "We will resurrect this," he said.

"This right also means a people need land with demarcated borders."

"At present, there is peace only in black states. The townships are in chaos and unrest rules. While the policy of each people living on its own land was pursued, we had peace."

Turning to the economy, he said South Africa was worse off than it had been five years ago. The rand was down even to the Botswana pula, inflation was high, property values were down, disposable income was down, bankruptcy and unemployment had reached record highs, and the standard of living had dropped by 20 percent.

Speaking on the new left-wing National Party members — the "New Nats" — he said they had become restless because, for them, reform was too slow.

"But there is already an alliance between many New Nats still inside the NP with the PFP," he warned.

He attacked President Botha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for taking a strong stance inside South Africa "on our television screens" against America and President Reagan. The question was: "What do Pik and PW say to Reagan when they are alone? Then they say they find our pass system repugnant."

Trump-card Pik draws crowds from the Right and Left

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — When it comes to election time one man the National Party is apparently unable to do without is the ebullient Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

Unlike another of his high-profile colleagues, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, who once had the embarrassing experience of not a single person turning up at a much-publicised referendum meeting to be addressed by him, Mr Botha fills halls to capacity without fail.

BUSIEST LEADER

This is why Mr Botha is always the busiest government leader at election time. This election campaign is no different, for the Foreign Minister is scheduled to speak at more than 20 public meetings across the country.

In the 1983 referendum campaign Mr Botha spoke at so many meetings he fainted from exhaustion and the heat of television lights at the start of one event.

His appearances have always guaranteed large crowds, be they in mainly English-speaking urban constituencies or out in the Soutpansberg, heartland of the Conservative Party.

Only one other white politician can draw so many people: Mr P W Botha — and that is probably mainly because he is State President.

He will be addressing eight major election rallies — Lichtenberg, Ermelo, Kuruman, Maritzburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Sasolburg and Johannesburg.

Whether it is merely good politics to follow the "SP's" example or whether they have been ordered to do so, each (white) Cabinet Minister, Minister of the House of Assembly and Deputy Minister is also speaking at a minimum of eight public meetings.

This works out at 39 times eight — or 312 public meetings over the next 10 weeks.

UCT rejects request for Worrall campus meeting

By Zenaide Vendeiro

The University of Cape Town has turned down a request by the Moderate Student Movement (MSM) to hold a campus meeting at which Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate for Helderberg, was to have been guest speaker.

According to a university spokesman, it was not policy to allow individuals to electioneer on campus.

However, debates were allowed as the university could then be sure a balanced view was put, the spokesman said.

DEBATE ARRANGED

He added: "This has consistently been our policy and the MSM knows this as their request late last year for a campus meeting featuring the NRP candidate in the Claremont by-election was turned down.

"The university said it would only allow a debate and subsequently the MSM arranged one between Mr Leisegang and Mr Jan van Eck, of the PFP."

The spokesman said a request by the Progressive Society for a campus meeting during orientation week was refused on the same grounds.

In a statement yesterday, the National Student Federation (NSF), of which the MSM is an affiliate, questioned the "bannings".

The statement said: "Freedom of speech and debate at UCT have been severely impinged upon in recent months by militant left-wing students.

"The imposition of further restrictions by the vice-chancellor (Dr Stuart Saunders) will only aggravate an already unsatisfactory situation."

The NSF statement added: "A large number of students at UCT will be eligible to vote in the forthcoming elections and it is therefore desirable that debate around the policies of different candidates be encouraged.

"It may be asked whether the real motivation for the ban was an attempt to avoid further instances of left-wing violence as might occur should a political figure like Dr Worrall appear on campus."

The NSF called on the vice-chancellor to rescind his ruling and "allow the free flow of ideas at the University of Cape Town".

Joubert negotiated with NP for election candidacy

Cape Times 4/3/87 (3044)

BY BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MR Chris Joubert, the Cape Town city councillor who is considering standing as an independent in the Green Point constituency in the May 6 election, conceded yesterday that he held negotiations earlier this year about being a National Party candidate in the election.

Mr Joubert, who is to decide tomorrow whether to stand in Green Point, said: "Negotiations with the National Party took place, but I wouldn't say I was turned down."

If he does decide to stand as an independent, he will be opposing the NP's official candidate, Mrs Esme Chait, and the sitting PFP MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe.

Mr Van der Merwe said yesterday that the possibility of Mr Joubert's candidature "indicates the extent of division within the ranks of the National Party".

"That is, perhaps, to have been expected considering the change that has taken place in Mr Joubert's own attitudes over matters such as beach apartheid and apartheid in public amenities such as swimming pools, in the course of the last few years."

Mr Joubert said he had been approached by a group of Sea Point and Green Point businessmen to make himself available as an independent candidate.

These businessmen felt it should be shown there were PFP as well as NP supporters who were disillusioned.

PFP NRP

ALLIANCE

In the Spirit of the **Natal Indaba,** the **PFP** and **NRP** are each committed to bringing about a broad multi-racial, multi-party alliance of moderates. People who are prepared to take the next step — to build a genuine non-racial society, free from Apartheid.

The Alliance is committed to:-

- Winning seats from the Nats by NOT SPLITTING the opposition vote.
- Establishing racial harmony because ... there can be NO STABILITY and NO SECURITY without racial harmony.
- Devolution of power — local communities will be encouraged to solve local problems — it will encourage initiatives like the Natal Indaba.

TOGETHER WE WILL BUILD A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Inserted By: I. F. Bentley,
P.O. Box 461, East London

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Election Monitor

by BARRY STREEK

A TOTAL of 45 candidates have indicated that they will seek nomination in the 16 East Cape constituencies in the general election on May 6 — and there will quite possibly be more.

So far the National Party has named 15 candidates, the Progressive Federal Party nine, the Conservative Party eight, the Herstigte Nasionale Party seven and the New Republic Party two.

Four independents have also indicated they will seek election.

Two of them will seek a mandate for the right wing, one on a ticket not dissimilar from that being sought by Dr Denis Worrall, while the fourth, Mr Johan Stander, will fight Port Elizabeth Central on what he describes as a "fish ticket".

So far the line-up involves nine four-way tussles, eight in which three candidates will battle it out and five where only two candidates have been named. Only half the sitting MPs have made themselves available for re-election.

□□□□□

THE fascinating Humansdorp contest has become four-cornered with the HNP announcing that it will also field a candidate — Mr Gerrie Schultz.

The PFP have nominated the former MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, and the CP have nominated Mr Mario van Eeden to take on the sitting MP, Mr W Dempers Meyer.

From the field, one hears that both the PFP and CP are buoyant about their chances in Humansdorp. Clearly, Mr Meyer has a tough fight on his hands.

□□□□□

FORMER Eastern Province rugby player and Springbok trialist Mr Fred Rubidge, a Richmond farmer, is to stand as independent in Graaff-Reinet.

As a result of his decision and his emphatic view that all apartheid should be scrapped, the PFP has decided not to stand in Graaff-Reinet.

The NP candidate in Graaff-Reinet is Mr Louwtjie Retief and the CP candidate is Mr J C R van Rensburg. In 1981, the NP's Sarel Hayward had a 3 809 majority over the HNP in Graaff-Reinet.

□□□□□

THE independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, is to speak in Cape Town on Monday night, March 9, at a meeting organized by Jews for Justice.

Dr Worrall will speak on "South Africa beyond apartheid".

Professor Andre du Toit, of UCT's political science department, will also address the meeting, which is to begin at 8pm at the Albow Brothers Youth Centre in Hatfield Street.

□□□□□

A PRELIMINARY list of ministerial speaking engagements in Natal indicates that the Natal National Party will focus its major election campaign on five constituencies.

These are the PFP-held seats of Greytown and Maritzburg North, the NRP-held Umhlanga and two NP seats, Umfolozi and Vryheid.

Umfolozi, a new seat in terms of the last delimitation, was won for the NP by Mr Willie Heine with a 3 071 majority over the HNP in a 49,8% poll.

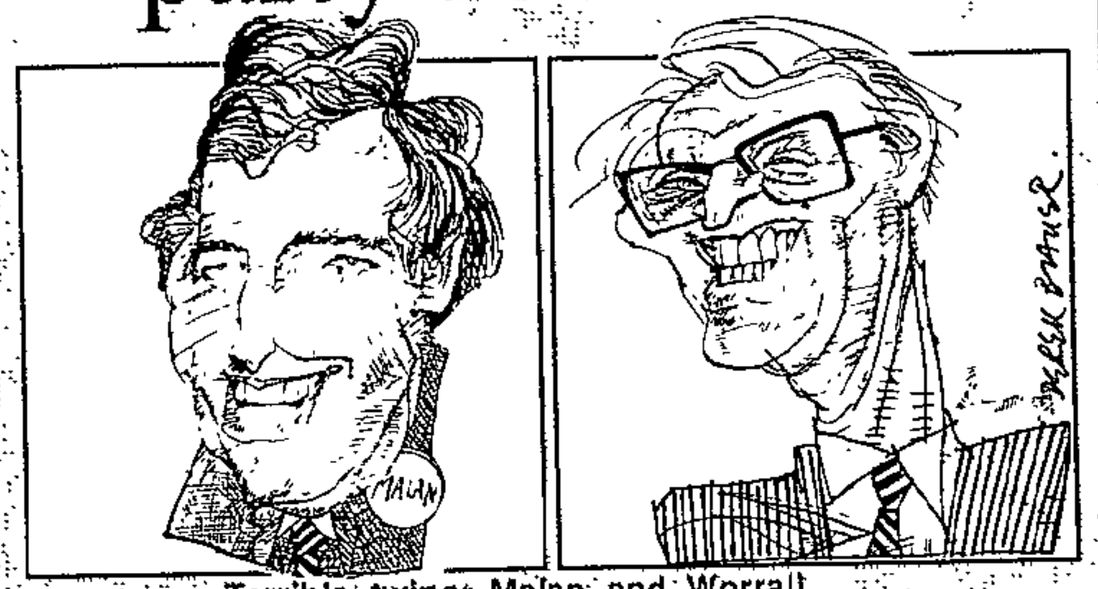
The number of voters in the constituency has increased by about 35% since that election and the CP, who at this stage are the only opposition party contesting the seat, feel a large proportion of the new voters could favour them.

The NP appear to be taking the threat seriously and have arranged for six cabinet ministers or deputies to address meetings there. Among these are the Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, who will speak at Empangeni in mid-April.

A similar situation pertains in Vryheid where the National Party won the seat against the HNP with a 3 404 majority.

The National Party believes it can regain the Greytown seat which it lost to the PFP by a slender 183 votes in the last election. Four ministerial meetings have been arranged for the constituency with Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, the senior speaker.

Afrikaans academics desert the Nats. The press predicts a party rebellion.



Terrible twins: Malan and Worrall

It is 1956. And the press are quite wrong. As they may be today

PATRICK LAURENCE on the NP dissidents

ONE of the clear signs of the imminent collapse of an *ancien regime* is the desertion of intellectuals, Professor Crane Brinton writes in his *Anatomy of Revolution*.

Seen in that context the resignation from the National Party of Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch — and the raised voices of discontent in the Afrikaans universities — raise an interesting question.

Do they portend the desertion of the intellectuals and the consequent fall of the National Party government after its nearly 40 years of unbroke rule?

One who thinks not is Professor Willem Kleynhans, one of 13 Afrikaans lecturers who aroused the wrath of the NP in 1956 by protesting publicly against the removal of coloured voters from the common roll.

At the time the English language press heralded the dissent of the 13 as a sign of a major shift in opinion, of a deep-rooted intellectual rebellion against the Afrikaner establishment.

It was not. The dissenters were hounded and then ostracised and isolated by the establishment.

"We achieved nothing," Kleynhans says, adding of the present rebels: "They will achieve nothing. It (their rebellion) is stillborn. It amounts to nothing."

Kleynhans checks his racing mind and adds a minor qualification. It may lead to a few more votes against the NP in the pending election. But no more than that.

It will certainly not result in the defeat of Chris Heunis, Cape leader of the NP and a contender to succeed President PW Botha, in the pending elecion. Heunis, of course, is being challenged by former ambassador Denis Worrall, who is being backed by the university rebels.

But against Kleynhans's assessment is that of Professor Marinus Wiechers, of the University of South Africa. He sees the rebellion as the beginning of the gradual disintegration of the NP.

Dissent by reform-minded men at the Afrikaans universities should not be exaggerated, in spite of the headline treatment it has attacted in the press.

So far only a handful of academics have protested publicly against the slow pace of reform pursued by the Botha regime — 27 at Stellenbosch University, five at the University of the Orange Free State and only a couple in the Transvaal, one of them the retired history professor, Floors van Jaarsveld.

It is not the first time Stellenbosch academics have rebelled. During the era of Verwoerd there was a rebellion against his refusal to allow white capital to develop the "black homelands". But it came to naught in his lifetime.

Of the current dissenters only three have resigned from the NP. The rest have either long ago broken ties with the NP or, alternatively, believe the best way to ensure reform is to work for it within the NP.

One of the most vocal reformists among them, Professor WP Esterhuyse of the University of Stellenbosch, has decided to remain within the NP. "I have serious criticisms of the NP but I do not write it off," Esterhuyse proclaims.

His statement is particularly interesting because he is a prominent member of the Broederbond. Further, judging from his address to a student meeting at Stellenbosch, Esterhuyse is a supporter of the view expressed in a working document sent to Broeders that Afrikaner survival can be reconciled with a government in which the majority are blacks.

Esterhuyse is not a lone voice. Some of his peers share his view that the NP can still serve as a vehicle for fundamental (by NP criteria) reform.

Van Jaarsveld is not exactly a new face among the dissenters. He was tarred and feathered by zealots of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging nearly a decade ago for his revisionist views on the Day of the Covenant. The AWB charged him with trying to "de-sanctify" the day.

Against the rebellion of ultra-rightists, Afrikaner dissent on the NP's Left is unimpressive. There is nothing to match the breakaway of 17 MPs on the party's rightwing in 1982 and the subsequent formation of the Conservative Party.

The immediate threat to the NP from ultra-rightists seems more dangerous than *verligte* dissent on its Left.

The ultra-rightist split was accompanied by a desertion from the NP of intellectuals of the radical Right. The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, under the leadership of Professor Carel Boshoff, broke with the NP over the 1984 tri-cameral constitution.

But the challenge of *verligte* Afrikaner dissent may be more substantial in the longer run. Much will depend on how the independent candidates, Worrall and Wynand Malan, fare in the May election.

If they do well, they may serve as the catalysts for a fundamental relignment of white party political loyalties by attracting tens of thousands of members or potential members away from the NP. That, in turn, may have far-reaching consequences for the 1989 election which the government is constitutionally bound to hold.

But a lot may happen between now and then: PW Botha may retire and the NP — perhaps encouraged by the muted voices of the ultra-right or, alternatively, spurred by renewed rebellion in the black townships — may move sharply to the Left to capture the ground held by the Worrall/Malan axis.

W Mail
304A
5/3/87

Rumbles over temple's Nat tenant

By PAT SIDLEY

A JOHANNESBURG synagogue which was damaged by a limpet mine just over three years ago before a visit by then State President Marais Viljoen, has let out an office to the National Party for its election campaign.

Angry congregants and management committee members of Hillbrow's Temple Israel are threatening to resign, and the Jewish Board of Deputies is to look into the issue.

While criticism of the move has been subdued, most Jewish groups seem to feel no synagogue should let out its space to a political party.

A member of the Temple Israel management committee, who did not want to be identified, said the committee chairman and the rabbi had been urged not to let out the office.

They had also apparently received, from more than one source in the congregation, written views on why Jews in particular might have a problem with the NP.

He said letting out the office raised three basic issues: one of principle; one of security; and one of the impact such a divisive issue could have on the relatively small Reform Jewish community in Johannesburg.

The principle affected "the majority of South Africans" to whom such a gesture was insensitive and who may regard this as "support for the Nats".

Although the NP had said it would take care of security, this had not been done; and when the congregation was last associated with the NP (the president's visit) a limpet mine had exploded the night before the visit.

The Reform Jewish community was divided anyway, he said, and this would cause further division.

A congregant, who also preferred to remain anonymous, was "appalled" and said she was going to sever her 20-year relationship with the temple.

Rabbi Herbert Richler, who came to South Africa from England five years ago, spoke briefly and belligerently to *WM*. He said the temple had, in the past, let offices to the PFP, "a black man — we don't discriminate", and a church.

But another congregant who did not want to be identified said only the temple's hall had been let out on isolated occasions to the PFP and others — never as an election office.

The rabbi, who said he would release a statement in a couple of days — and only to a journalist who could guarantee the statement would be printed in its entirety — said the office had been let on "a purely commercial basis".

He claimed not to know the NP had had a history of anti-semitism, nor to know anything about its relationships in the past with Nazism.

"It can't be so anyway, they are so good to Israel," he said. He then shouted: "Go and ask the Jewish Board of Deputies what they say about this, they have never told me these things."

A spokesman for the Board of Deputies, Aleck Goldberg, confirmed that the board had not "singled this rabbi out" to tell him about that part of history.

But Goldberg said he had only just heard about the problem and wanted to talk to those involved before he commented.

As a rule the Board of Deputies believed it incorrect for a Jewish body to be seen to be identified with any particular political party.

"But let me set the record straight," he said. "In the 1930s there were elements within the NP sympathetic to Nazi Germany. Ever since the NP came to power in 1948 there has been no anti-semitic platform or policy."

He said the board would criticise any party which espoused or practiced racial discrimination, and had done so before.

The chairman of the temple management committee, Richard Harris, refused any comment.

United Progressive Jewish Congregations head Lionel Ostrowski — whose organisation owns all Reform synagogue properties — also refused to comment.

An executive member of Jews for Social Justice, Franz Auerbach, said: "It seems unwise for a Jewish congregation to let synagogue property to a political party as an election office during an election campaign. Inevitably, in the minds of people, this will link the congregation to whatever party lets the office."

POLITICS

Terre'Blanche calls for rightwing union

ARGUS 5/3/87 (30 FA)

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — In a blaze of red, white and black swastika-type flags, about 4 000 rightwingers voted an overwhelming "Yes" in favour of a motion urging unification between the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Conservative Party (CP).

Almost sobbing with emotion, Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche made another plea to the leaders of the two rightwing parties to unite against the National Party.

He warned that unless rightwing unification was achieved now, May 6 would be the last "whites-only" election.

His voice sometimes barely audible above the roar of the crowd, Mr Terre'Blanche urged Mr Jaap Marais and Dr Andries Treurnicht to heed the demands for unity by Afrikaners.

The AWB — calling itself the mouthpiece of the nation — appealed to the two leaders not to forget the battles of the past and the life-offerings of 26 000 women and children in British concentration camps during the South African War.

A motion read to the audience said: "The meeting thus demands that the two parties' leaders commit themselves immediately to registering a single rightwing party after the May 6 election."

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will respond to the unity call by Mr Terre'Blanche when he addresses a CP meeting in Pretoria tonight.

"I also assume that Mr Terre'Blanche will be in direct contact with me about his proposals. I don't think it is correct to speak to one another through the Press," he said.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais was not available for comment today, but it seems unlikely he will agree to the fusion of the CP and HNP.

He has consistently said the HNP wants an election agreement and that he would consider uniting the two parties only in two years.

Independent for Paarl?

Political Correspondent

AN "action committee" in Paarl which is considering putting up a reform-minded independent candidate has had a meeting with Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Heldeberg.

Mr Vincent Bruwer, chairman of the committee, said today the meeting had confirmed the solidarity of some Paarl voters with Dr Worrall's ideas.

He hoped that by the weekend there would be clarity on a candidate.

The meeting at which the committee was formed was attended by about 160 professional people, businessmen and farmers.

'It's the same song all the time'

By ANDREW DONALDSON

WE know nothing of the rings on his fingers or the bells on his toes, but it seems the State President, Mr P W Botha, shall have music wherever he goes.

Or rather, whenever he goes from or returns to Westbrooke, the presidential residence at Rondebosch.

And it's not exactly popular music, either — just a lone State President Guardsman with a bugle tootling the "Presidential Fanfare" (apparently that's what the tribute is called).

Still, whatever the aesthetic quality of the specially-commissioned fanfare, it is a unique honour.

The Cape Times was hard-pressed yesterday to think of another political figure in the Western world whose comings and goings from home are heralded in such a manner.

Mr Botha has been fanfared for some time now — apparently for more than two years — but it was only when he was questioned about the matter in Parliament recently that it came within earshot of the public, as it were.

Efforts this week to find out further details about the "Presidential Fanfare" were not very successful.

SMR 3044 5/3/87

People power can change SA, editors agree

By Zenaide Vendeiro

The power of the people can change the course of South Africa on May 6, three newspaper editors agreed in Johannesburg last night.

They were speaking at a discussion "Can the Man in the Street Effect Change in South Africa?" organised by Club 44, an arm of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies.

It was chaired by Professor Michael Katz, chairman of the Board of Deputies, and featured Mr Harvey Tyson of The Star, Mr Tertius Myburgh of the *Sunday Times* and Mr Joe Latakgomo of the *Sowetan*.

The editors agree it is vital white South Africans exercise the few democratic rights they have left, such as the vote.

"Use your democratic muscle before it atrophies from lack of use and bureaucratic restrictions," said Mr Tyson.

Mr Latakgomo said "white South Africans wield a powerful tool for change" and asked how whites who failed to use their vote — which blacks wanted so badly — could change the country's course.

"People ask what can be done about Menlo Park, about Indians being kicked out of so-called white areas, about the education system and Group Areas. They can do something. They can use their vote. That is people power. No Government can afford to ignore it."

It is vital, said Mr Myburgh, that whites take part in the political process. "Change cannot be achieved through protest politics. Whites have access to a limited form of democracy and should use it."

Other democratic rights to be exercised, said Mr Tyson, included testing politicians, lobbying the Government, making others politically aware, writing to newspapers, pestering the SABC and understanding the perspectives of the non-electorate.

Mr Myburgh said the man in the street could effect change by "taking a long look at how he conducts his personal life".

"Racial harmony begins at home. Isn't it time for each of us to examine personal relationships and conduct? How many opportunities for the promotion of understanding do we allow to slip by because of thoughtlessness or, even worse, because we don't really care?"

Mr Myburgh expressed his concern at the "lamentable failure of so many South Africans to accept their responsibility as individuals".

"We have become a docile, unquestioning community."

Mr Tyson agreed. "Apathy is the chief threat to democracy, and the best ally of dictators."

The editors feel the public is being kept ignorant under the present censorship.

"Ordinary men and women need information for the conduct of their lives," said Mr Myburgh. "In a democracy they get that from the media. When information is suppressed, it goes underground.

"We should place greater trust in the public and let them judge good information and bad information in a free market of opinion."

Mr Tyson said few people seemed to care when media curbs were imposed.

South Africans, said Mr Latakgomo, faced a challenge. "Here's an opportunity to build a country and a society of which we can be proud."

Unity offer: Treurnicht to reply tonight

SMR 573/87 **Political Reporter** 3044

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will respond to the latest unity offer made by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche when he addresses a CP meeting at the Pretoria City Hall tonight.

At a meeting of AWB supporters in Pretoria last night, Mr TerreBlanche withdrew his offer to make the AWB's dormant political party, the Blanke Volkstaatsparty, available as a vehicle for right-wing unity. Instead, he called for the two parties to unite during the election and form a new party immediately afterwards.

Dr Treurnicht pointed out this had been the stand of the CP all along.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, was not available for comment this morning.

● See Page 7.

PFP candidate asked to resign from SABC post

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

SABC officials yesterday asked their chief radio news sub-editor Mauritz Moolman to resign shortly after he was chosen as the PFP's election candidate in Maraisburg.

Moolman, who is refusing to resign before March 31, when his candidacy becomes official, told his bosses they would have to fire him if they want him to leave before that date.

A former newspaper journalist and active SA Society of Journalists member, Moolman said his bosses, senior news director Sakkie Burger and radio news chief Johan Pretorius twice called him in, asking him to resign before March 31.

"The SABC claims I've broken a rule because I am not supposed to get involved in politics. I've never seen that rule," he said.

Burger confirmed he had spoken with Moolman yesterday and said the matter was now in the hands of the SABC's personnel department.

He said he had made a suggestion to Moolman on a way in which the situation could be "accommodated".

Moolman had rejected his "offer", Burger said. However, he not been asked to leave.

"I explained our dilemma where a member of the staff becomes active in party politics. This is an internal matter and I expect a decision will be made by our personell department during the course of tomorrow (Thursday)," he said.

By 5pm yesterday, the news of Moolman's candidacy which was released to all the media at midday, had not been broadcast by the SABC.

Blooming in the Boland



One of independent candidate Esther Lategan's bevy of supporters: Stellenbosch academic Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

6-12/3/87 (304A) w/Mail Picture: GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

The New Nat wave sweeps as far as Malmesbury

The Nationalist revolt in the Cape has already reached far beyond the Matie campus. JEAN LE MAY reports

THE Nationalist revolt in the Western Cape is showing signs of snowballing throughout the Boland.

Only two reform-minded independent candidates — Esther Lategan in Stellenbosch and Chris Joubert in Green Point — have said they will stand on a platform identical to that of Denis Worrall, who initiated the revolt by resigning as Ambassador to Britain and deciding to take on Minister of Constitutional Planning Chris Heunis in Helderberg.

But the extent of the groundswell of grassroots Nationalist protest has been increased by the formation of an action committee to nominate an independent in Paarl.

And there is talk that ripples of the groundswell are being felt as far afield as Wellington and Malmesbury, where — so *Weekly Mail* was reliably informed — more action committees are gestating.

Lategan, a former Stellenbosch lecturer who turned to business (she owns a chain of shops which specialise in sportswear) is confident she will win, but it is generally agreed that she has a far tougher fight on her hands than Worrall.

The sitting Nationalist MP, Piet Marais, has a considerable reputation as a *verligte* and was actually named last year as a New Nat. However, Lategan has enormously influential backers in the heartland of Cape Afrikanerdom.

Many of Stellenbosch's most prominent business, professional and university people have come out openly in her support.

They include Dr Erika Theron, who chaired the (largely shelved) commission of inquiry into the future of the so-called coloured people; Professor Julius Jeppe, head of the Department of Development Administration at Stellenbosch University; Professor Hennie Schutte of the Mathematics Department; Professor Willie Rautenbach of the Physics Department; Professor Sampie Terreblanche, deputy chairman of the SABC; Michiel le Roux, managing director of Oudemeester; and her own father, former Paarl MP Wynand Malan (no relation to the independent candidate standing in Randburg).

As for student support, Terreblanche told *WM* a recent poll indicated 62 percent of the students would support an independent against a Nationalist.

But much would depend on getting about 4 000 postal votes in, he added, of which the majority consisted of former students registered as voters in Stellenbosch but who had since left the university.

As for Paarl, Vincent Bruwer, chairman of the Action Committee formed early in the week, told *WM* that "support was pouring in for an independent candidate who would identify his campaign with Worrall and Wynand Malan".

No fewer than eight possible candidates had been named, he said. These were Graham Retief, Daniel Malan and himself, who were all farmers, businessmen Ben Gertenbach and John Phillips, attorney Benjie du Bovsky, Dr Paul de Villiers, and NGK minister Jannie Ferreira. Since the sitting Paarl MP, Jac Meiring, was returned unopposed in 1977 and 1981, the Nat revolt is something more than a collection of fly-by-nights.

Chris Joubert, who is standing in Green Point against Tiaan van der Merwe of the PFP and city councillor Esme Chait of the NP, is himself a city councillor and has great influence in the area.

Van der Merwe, who won by only 900-odd votes in 1981 is, however, confident.

In 1981 Walvis Bay was still part of Green Point and its removal has syphoned off at least 1 500 Nat votes, he said. And Joubert's entry will, of course, split the Nat vote.

There is some talk that Joubert may withdraw before nomination day. On the whole this could make the whole outcome in Green Point more clear cut, although — possibly — more uncomfortable for Van der Merwe. This could be affected, however, by the PFP's decision to nominate candidates in both constituencies —

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

On January 31 this year, 196 people were being held in terms of South Africa's security legislation, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament last week. Earlier Vlok has said a total of 3 989 people were detained in terms of the Internal Security Act last year. This number included 3 512 people held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for short-term detention. One hundred fifty-nine of these people had been charged (4,5 percent) and 21 convicted (0,6 percent). He also said 63 people were detained under Section 31 of the Internal Security Act since June last year and a total of 170 people held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since June 12 last year had been released.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee issued a statement this week saying it had erred on the conservative side with its own detention figures (which placed the number of Section 50 detainees at 1 800), "far from exaggerating, as we are accused in some quarters of doing". The DPSC attributed its lower estimates to the "veil of secrecy drawn by the authorities across the subject of detentions".

In addition to detentions under the Internal Security Act, the DPSC estimates that 25 000 people were detained under the Emergency Regulations last year.

According to the Cape-based Repression Monitoring Group, police spending on detainees in 1986/7 was R7,386-million — 39 percent more than in 1985/6. They said there had been a 168 percent increase in the number of persons detained in South Africa last year, compared with 1985.

POLICE STATISTICS

The Minister of Law and Order released the following figures relating to the activities of the SAP in 1986:

- Eighteen policemen were killed and 192 injured in the unrest during 1986.
- A total of 1 750 special constables had been trained and deployed in various parts of the country.
- He said it was not in the interests of the public to release information about the arms with which they were equipped.
- Twenty-six firearms belonging to special constables were stolen but 15 were recovered. In three cases the stolen firearms were used in crimes.
- Seven policemen were suspended and one dismissed last year as a result of arrests, detentions or other unrest-related activities.
- Members of the public were paid a total of R1 209 780 as a result of assaults by police. Vlok said the amount was paid in respect of 124 complaints from shooting accidents and injuries sustained in police dog attacks.
- There were 79 complaints of wrongful arrest, which resulted in police paying out R196 723
- Police were called to the scenes of strikes 286 times, labour disputes 64 times and work stoppages 26 times in 1986.
- Police refused permission to newspapers to publish articles on 75 occasions between the time of the promulgation of the revised Emergency regulations in December 1986 and February 1987.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

VUSI KHANYILE, 37, national chairman of the National Education Crisis Committee, was detained under the Emergency regulations on December 12 last year and is still being held.

Khanyile first became politically active in the black consciousness movement in the early 1970s. In 1977 while completing a commerce degree at the Univeristy of Fort Hare he was elected national president of the Anglican Students Federation. After graduating he moved to Johannesburg and for the next eight years worked as a chartered accountant.

Khanyile has played a central role in community organisation in Soweto for the last five years. He was a member of the Soweto Committee of 10. In 1982, he helped form the Soweto Civic Association and was elected its secretary.

In 1985 he helped form the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee and was one of those involved with negotiations with the Department of Education and Training. He was elected SPCC secretary.

Towards the end of 1985 he was involved in the formation of the NECC and in January 1986 was elected its first chairman. In October last year he was appointed to the position of special adviser to the vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town. The following month he was refused a passport to attend education conferences in Europe and the United States.

Khanyile has been detained three times over the last 20 months. In July 1985 he was detained under the Emergency regulations and was released in August. He was detained for a further two weeks in October that year. On December 12, while he was preparing to move to Cape Town to take up his new job, he was detained again under the Emergency regulations. He is one of at least seven national NECC leaders currently in detention. An application for his release is pending.

Khanyile is married with two children.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Soviet Military Review 1986 no 12 (Soviet Military Review, Moscow); Morning Star Thursday January 8, 1987 (People's Press Printing Society, London); Southscan nos 16 and 17 (Southscan, London); Afrique Bulletin 1986 09-10 (Secretariat of the International Union of Students, Czechoslovakia); World Student News vol 40 no 11 1986 (ius Czechoslovakia); the Namibian no 68 Friday 16, 1987 (The Namibian, Windhoek); Third World Book News no 4 (Kofi Buenor Hadjor); Third World Book Review vol 2 no 1 and 2 (Third World Women's News, London); Miners United Campaign Briefing 2: NUM Against Apartheid (National Union of Mineworkers, Sheffield); The Next Step 30 Jan 1987 (Revolutionary Communist Party, London); Inquaba ya Basebenzi supplement to issue 20/21 of November 1986 and no 22 December 1986 (Inqaba ya Basebenzi, London); Fuel Injected Dreams (James Robert Baker); Prank no 130 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Pty) Ltd, Jeppe, Johannesburg); North Rodeo Drive (Barney Leason); Three postcards produced by Art Unlimited entitled Adrian Loos 1982/Lust Art Pope Jean Paul 11 C1822; Jan Saudek/Courtesy Torch Amsterdam B278 and Christian Vogt1969/Jurg B86 and Supercycle no 63 September 1986 (Power Publications, California — banned for all future editions). The importation, except on authority of a permit, of publications or objects by Playboy paperbacks has been prohibited. Three films were rejected: Fire in the Wind, Malibu Express and Naked Fist.

Unbanned:

Imperialism and World Economy (N Bukharin — unbanned for importation and possession); Cry Amandla: South African Women and the Question of Power (June Goodwin); Skotaville's Diary of Liberation (Skotaville, Johannesburg).

SABC biased, says suspended news staffer

B/Day 6/3/87

THE PFP has been handed a document by a suspended SABC staffer alleging that it recently established a vetting committee to handle election coverage.

Staffer Mauritz Moolman, who was yesterday suspended after the announcement of his PFP candidacy in Maraisburg, says the committee, formed in February and headed by Christo Kritzenger, is biased.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Kritzenger was not available for comment at time of going to Press, but senior news director Sakkie Burger confirmed that a committee had been appointed. He said its function was to co-ordinate the SABC's election coverage.

Burger said: "If Moolman sees all sorts of evils in this committee, I can only presume he wants to score a political point, and I am not prepared to comment on that."

PFP organiser Gary Cooney said yesterday he had received Moolman's document and that it had been handed to the PFP leadership who would take it up while it substantiated its earlier claims that the SABC's news coverage was biased.

A chief sub-editor, Moolman, was suspended after a disciplinary committee hearing on charges that he had been "involved in political actions which were disadvantageous to the SABC."

Moolman has been given until 3pm today to "prove in writing, and to the satisfaction of the SABC that he has ceased his active political role and that he will abide by the SABC's personnel regulations", failing which further disciplinary action would be considered, an SABC spokesman said.

Moolman said: "They wanted me to resign from either the SABC or the PFP. I have no intention of complying with their request of giving them anything in writing."

Senior news editor and specialist reporter Rusty van Druten yesterday quit the SABC in protest against its failure to give full TV news coverage of Dr Denis Worrall's Stellenbosch meeting last week.

Cape Times

SP's bugle call is traditional

3040

THE South African Defence Force sprang swiftly to the defence of State President Mr P W Botha's presidential fanfare, following a report in yesterday's Cape Times.

Apparently, Mr Botha does not receive a fanfare every time he leaves or returns to his Westbrooke residence in Rondebosch. This happens only Mondays to Fridays.

To avoid any misunderstanding, a military spokesman said:

- It is an "old and traditional usage" to sound a presidential fanfare when the State President enters or leaves his residence.
- It is not sounded on every occasion, however, but only when he does on in the line of duty or when he is receiving official guests such as high-ranking members or emissaries of foreign governments, and never on Saturdays or Sundays.
- The SADF "regards it as important that the traditional usages, such as the sounding of the customary trumpet fanfare, be maintained, and adapted to the military system".
- The practice dates back to, and is derived from, British usages, and honours not Mr P W Botha personally but his office as head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.
- The same type of compliments have been paid to South African state presidents since 1967.
- Today's ceremony has been "much scaled down" since the days of the governors-general who represented the head of state in the monarchy. The personnel involved consist of the guard commander and 12 men of the State President's Unit, including two trumpeters and drummers.
- The SPU is not just a ceremonial unit but also performs border service and carries out other duties as well.

THE ELECTION (304A) KM 6/3/87

Independent moves

The latest addition to the ranks of "New Nat" independent candidates for parliament, Esther Lategan, is confident of victory.

In what is bound to be a tough battle in the volatile Stellenbosch constituency, the 43-year-old academic turned businesswoman will be attempting to unseat the Nationalist MP, Piet Marais.

In neighbouring Paarl, meanwhile, a meeting of about 160 disillusioned farmers and businessmen this week resolved to find an independent to fight the sitting Nat MP Kobus Meiring. An action committee was formed whose members significantly include Lategan's brother, the former top middle-distance athlete, Danie Malan.

The Paarl meeting was addressed by Stellenbosch professor Julius Jeppe, who urged an independent to come forward. If one does, it seems likely that the Paarl independent will be aligned to the Denis Worrall group, although word from the Worrall camp is that there has not yet been contact with the Paarl group.

Lategan quit the National Party (NP) last week after 27 years of membership. Her father, Wynand Malan (no relation to the independent candidate in Randburg) was the Nat MP for Stellenbosch before Marais. He retired to concentrate on his farming enterprise. She is married to Stellenbosch theology professor Bernard Lategan and they have three children.

Among her backers who have emerged publicly so far are 19 Stellenbosch academics, including professors Sampie Terreblanche (see page 57) and Julius Jeppe, and one of the town's top businessmen, Oudemeester MD Michiel le Roux.

She has a doctorate in social work which she studied under Erika Theron — one of her staunchest supporters. Lategan lectured at Stellenbosch for eight years before starting her own chain of sports clothing shops.

Her reasons for quitting the NP are similar to those of Worrall and Malan, although she appears to be far more emphatic than the other two in her rejection of Nationalist ideology.

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Meanwhile, the NP Cape machine has thrown all it can into fighting the independents. The Cape NP mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, tried desperately this week to play down the significance of further academic defections from the party and, through Heunis, accused the Progressive Federal Party and the "so-called" independents of a "transparent" attempt to create a "psychosis" of wholesale rejection by academics of the NP.

☐ Worrall, Malan, Lategan and Terreblanche met in Johannesburg this week to finalise a joint election manifesto, which will be published towards the end of the month. The document is expected to clarify their policies and direction, and possibly set out a timetable for the dismantling of apartheid. ■

SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE

Cutting the cord



Sampie Terreblanche, who recently quit the National Party (NP) to join Denis Worrall and the independents, is professor of economics at Stellenbosch University and deputy chairman of the SABC. He has also been an adviser to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

***FM*: What led to your resignation from the National Party?**

Terreblanche: After my long involvement with the NP, I came to the conclusion that the party has neither the will, nor a plan, for reform. Government has moved to the right and its policy does not allow reform — it will not demolish apartheid, it will not improve its foreign relationships nor will it involve blacks in government. Government is co-opting instead of negotiating.

When I backed the tricameral system, I saw it as the starting-point of reform; now it seems nothing but the end of reform. I knew the Houses of Representatives and Delegates would be junior to parliament, but I never realised they would be as inferior as was recently proved by the Hendrickse affair.

As a social scientist I have for many years worked in NP circles to try to solve SA's real problems, but in vain. Even before the Rubicon speech, I and others told government officials to rethink the NP's position. But it seems impossible to get through to them.

Also, a government in any other democracy remains in power for perhaps six to eight years. Our government has been in charge for 39 years. A government needs to fall into opposition once again to identify problems and design viable answers.

To what extent do other grassroot members of the NP share your disillusionment?

Enormously so. Even ~~academics~~ who've been the NP's closest bedfellows are frustrated. Afrikaners can be divided roughly into three categories: 30% of them are conservative, 30% are verlig and 40% are neutral or middle-of-the roaders. About half of the verligtes are disenchanted NP members who feel government has let them down. It is a "loyal protest" and is developing into a movement that must not be underestimated.

Would you describe yourself as a "fast Nat" or as a "new Nat?"

I am a former Nat — a true verligte. And I am an Afrikaner.

Where do you part company with the NP?

Too many things have *not* been happening. To name a few: I want to see fruitful progress in dismantling the morally indefensible apartheid system — which means among other things the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Blacks have to be included in negotiations and decision-making processes. Voters must be politically educated. They must be awakened from their Verwoerdian miseducation.

I want to see confidence restored abroad. Government must act with greater sensitivity — it is vital for SA's economic well-being.

What is it about the PFP that keeps you from joining?

I have always been anti-PFP. It is a capitalist party which uses leftish rhetoric about reform without taking into account the public financial implications of black representation in parliament.

Are you in favour of a Bill of Rights based on the individual?

To be against apartheid is to be for human rights.

Do you favour the idea of blacks in parliament in a majority role?

I want to see an ever-growing participation by blacks up to a point where whites will no longer be in the dominant political position.

What is your assessment of the right wing's strength?

I would say 18%-20% of voters are conservative and they might win 30-40 seats. But so what? Had government's reform been honest, it would probably have lost five more seats to the conservatives. But that is not too high a price to pay for credibility as a party of true reform.

How did P W Botha react to your resignation from the party?

He hasn't said a word, but I assure you he is not happy.

Will a significant number of Afrikaner businessmen desert the NP?

A lot of businessmen are disenchanted. But whether they will actually desert the NP is another question.

Are there plans to form a new political party with the Worralls and Malans?

Maybe after the election.

Is your post as vice-chairman of the SABC endangered by your resignation?

I have heard nothing. After the PFP's challenge (to the authorities) it will be interesting to see what happens.

How would you describe your economic views?

I believe in greater justice and more equal opportunities for all people in SA. This can only be achieved by redistributing wealth, which will inevitably result in scaling down whites' standards of living. But I am not a socialist.

Do you have a vision for peace and prosperity in SA?

Yes. But peace and prosperity will not be possible in the long term unless the desired reform happens at the desired speed.

The State of Emergency must end as soon as possible, but that will only be possible if confidence is restored in SA and abroad. This or a new government must prove it is serious about reform.

REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS

KwaZulu on the warpath

The KwaZulu government is refusing to have anything to do with the proposed regional services councils (RSCs) for Natal/KwaZulu because it claims it was not consulted when the legislation was drafted.

Understandably, its stance is causing some agitation among provincial executives in Maritzburg, who now see the programme for implementing the councils in the region being set back indefinitely.

Delegations from province aimed at getting Ulundi to change its mind have come away virtually empty handed and the parties are no closer to agreement on the establishment of RSCs than they were before the Act was promulgated.



KwaZulu's Dhlomo ... Pretoria failed to consult Ulundi

KwaZulu has fundamental differences of principle with the legislation, which it sees as essentially another example of apartheid-based lawmaking. But even more irksome, explains KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister Oscar Dhlomo, is that it was not consulted in its formulation.

"We are not going to allow our area to be part of RSCs," Dhlomo says flatly. "We are demanding nothing short of a total re-negotiation of the issue with the central government." Referring to the contact between Ulundi and the Natal provincial authorities, Dhlomo adds: "We are not interested in talking to the province, we want to talk directly with the minister."

Clearly RSCs in Natal-KwaZulu are a non-starter without the co-operation of the Zulus. The two areas share a geographic and economic interdependence which is unparalleled elsewhere in SA. Most of the black "cities," for example, are in, or abut, white Natal.

Peter Miller, MEC in charge of local government, admits the problem is delicate. "We are handling matters very circumspectly and delicately in our desire to elicit KwaZulu's co-operation," he says.

Government has the authority to delineate RSC areas, without including national states, if it so desires. The Act makes provision for recognised black authorities, such as community councils, to negotiate their own form of representation on the councils and to contract with them for the supply of services.

However, it is unlikely that the Natal executive committee will use the legislation to bludgeon KwaZulu into submission. Aside from KwaZulu's attitude towards RSCs, for which committee members privately express some sympathy, relations between the two administrations are generally good. A Strategic Policy Group already oversees joint planning, and the new Joint Executive Authority, which will raise co-operation to an even higher level, is only months away from implementation. It is unlikely that the province would do anything to jeopardise that.

Miller confirms that tough action is not an immediate option. "We don't want to foist anything on anybody," he says. He concedes that without the support of KwaZulu, unilaterally declared RSCs would be "less effective" and would probably end up being "stillborn."

Although Miller observes that KwaZulu's reticence has "contributed to the perception that we have not made as much progress as other provinces," he says work on delimiting RSC areas is continuing. The biggest challenge now is to talk KwaZulu into co-operating. ■

☐ See *Leaders, Economy* and page 51

THE ELECTION

Independent moves

The latest addition to the ranks of "New Nat" independent candidates for parliament, Esther Lategan, is confident of victory.

In what is bound to be a tough battle in the volatile Stellenbosch constituency, the 43-year-old academic turned businesswoman will be attempting to unseat the Nationalist MP, Piet Marais.

In neighbouring Paarl, meanwhile, a meeting of about 160 disillusioned farmers and businessmen this week resolved to find an independent to fight the sitting Nat MP Kobus Meiring. An action committee was formed whose members significantly include Lategan's brother, the former top middle-distance athlete, Danie Malan.

The Paarl meeting was addressed by Stellenbosch professor Julius Jeppe, who urged an independent to come forward. If one does, it seems likely that the Paarl independent will be aligned to the Denis Worrall group, although word from the Worrall camp is that there has not yet been contact with the Paarl group.

Lategan quit the National Party (NP) last week after 27 years of membership. Her father, Wynand Malan (no relation to the independent candidate in Randburg) was the Nat MP for Stellenbosch before Marais. He retired to concentrate on his farming enterprise. She is married to Stellenbosch theology professor Bernard Lategan and they have three children.

Among her backers who have emerged publicly so far are 19 Stellenbosch academics, including professors Sampie Terreblanche (see page 57) and Julius Jeppe, and one of the town's top businessmen, Oudemeester MD Michiel le Roux.

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Govt hands tied in Menlo row

PRETORIA—In a new turn to the Menlo Park school racial row, Education Minister Piet Clase said yesterday he did not have the power to dissolve the school's management council or to dismiss individual members.

He has 'appealed' to the Right-wing-dominated council to resign of their own accord.

Mr Clase said there was a clear indication that the council did not enjoy the confidence of the majority of parents He therefore made an 'urgent appeal' that members resign of their own volition to stop the 'unrest' at the school and to demonstrate their goodwill.

'That calm should be restored as soon as possible to ensure the education task can proceed, is more important than any other consideration.

'South Africa cannot afford to allow its schools to become places of tension'

Warning against politicising education, Mr Clase also said it was clear that procedures and guidelines for handling sensitive matters at local school level should be scrutinised once again, and hinted at legislative changes.

The racial row, which received international attention, started with the management council's decision to bar a black Natal schoolboy, Nkululeko 'Squeegee' Skweyiya, from taking part in a national athletics meeting on February 14.

Angry parents called a mass meeting, passed a motion of no confidence in the council and formed an action committee to take the matter further

Delegates

An opposing group of parents, acting in support of the council's decision, was formed later and both sent delegations to make representations to Mr Clase this week

The council ignored an ultimatum from the first parent group to resign by last Friday on the grounds Mr Clase had no authority in terms of legislation to dismiss it.

Mr Clase said his talks with the two groups were held against the background that the constitution expressly included school sports in the category of school affairs.

It was considered part of the total education programme for which the school as an education institution had been established.

'The right of decision-making by the management council is based on this and this is in line with the policy of partnership according to which the department delegates certain functions to its partners in education.'

Referring to Menlo Park specifically, the minister said it was clear the council had dealt with school sports in accordance with its devoluted power, but that its handling of the situation had led to much unrest in the school community.

Legal advice he had obtained indicated he had no power to remove the council, he said.

The PFP's spokesman on Education, Mr Roger Burrows, said last night that Mr Clase's statement was so hard to believe that 'it leaves one at a loss for words'.

'Not once does he condemn the management committee's refusal to allow non- whites to play sport at Menlo Park, but rather depends on legal niceties to duck having to make any principled stand.

'He avoids any stand which may alienate Right-wing voters

'While one accepts that the legal interpretation disallows him from removing the management committee, that this comes from a Government used to closing schools leaves one breathless.' — (Sapa)

Mr Z 'said he wanted gold shares'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Barclays managing director, Mr Chris Ball, authorised a R100 000 overdraft facility used by Mr Z to fund pro-ANC advertisements after two senior managers had refused to do so

Mr Ball did not know at the time that Mr Z had told the managers he wanted the money to buy gold shares, according to evidence given to the Munnik Commission yesterday by bank manager Mr Ross Field

After President Botha made his allegations against Mr Ball in Parliament in January, the cheque was traced to Barclays' Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, branch, where Mr Field is one of two assistant regional managers.

'I said Mr Ball at some stage, possibly on the same day. He said "Thank you — I now know what it was for I was unaware of what it was for before".'

Mr Justice Munnik asked Mr Field how Barclays' Press statement saying neither the bank nor its staff knew what the cheque was to be used for could be true if he had noted on Mr Z's account information card that the money was for gold shares.

'I think the statement was made before they spoke to me,' Mr Field said

Mr Justice Munnik: 'But how can that be if they said they had made inquiries?'

The Judge also queried the fact that the statement said the transaction had been perfectly normal

'It would have been perfectly normal,' the Judge said, 'to ask for a bank cheque if the client had funds or a covering overdraft

'But what is missing from the statement is the fact that the only reason it became perfectly normal was because he (Mr Z) had been granted an overdraft facility for R100 000 that morning'

Mr Field agreed with the Judge that Mr Z would not have been granted the cheque against his first account, which had an overdraft facility of R20 000

The commission also heard that Mr Ball authorised the new account with a R100 000 overdraft facility after Mr Z's request had been refused by

TURN TO PAGE 2

Arrest follows yacht thefts

Crime Reporter

A MAN has been arrested in connection with recent thefts of a skiboat and five yachts from Midmar Dam and the Point and Bluff yacht clubs.

Police are also investigating the man's possible connection with the alleged theft of several more craft in other areas of Natal and as far afield as Pretoria.

Detectives initially believed a syndicate was at work However, at the close of investigations yesterday, the involvement of several other suspects had been ruled out. A man was detained by the police late last week and taken to Richards Bay where a Hobie-Cat catamaran was recovered.

Since then it is alleged that he has been connected with the theft of four other Hobie-Cats and a skiboat, police said.

Detectives of the S A P Transport Division in Durban are to begin their investigations of thefts of yachts and small craft outside the Durban area today.

The most recent victim of a yacht theft in Durban is a Point Yacht Club member and lecturer at Technikon Natal, Mr Nic van Niekerk.

He discovered that his second hand Hobie-Cat, worth about R3 500, had disappeared when he went to the yacht club last Friday

'I had last sailed it in January The trailer and other equipment was left behind.'

g bolt kills jures four

ry Reporter

nstantly and his four companions en lightning struck a tree under at Umhlanga yesterday.

n't have time to take his hand out nga's assistant fire chief, Mr Rob

Every day so many people say:

'Pall Mall, please'

Also in the new

Super 30's pack

Compact and convenient

MP accused of ducking squatter issue

Municipal Reporter

Walkerville residents have accused their National Party MP, Mr Awie Wright, of deliberately avoiding a confrontation with constituents over the potential squatter flashpoint on Weilers Farm.

He did not attend a public meeting this week to thrash out the problems of the 5 000 illegal squatters, whose numbers are believed to be growing by up to 1 000 a month.

The crowd of 300 was addressed by the National Party MP for Losberg, Mr Chris Ballot.

Mr Wright said Mr Ballot had not invited him to the meeting.

He would be unable to attend a meeting next week as he was going to a party divisional council meeting on that date.

Mr Wright said he had been working on a plan to sort out the squatter problem and planned to call a meeting in the area before the election.

PFP starts campaign

The Progressive Federal Party launched its election campaign today with a presentation of candidates at the President Holiday Inn in Johannesburg.

The meeting started with the leader of the party, Mr Colin Eglin, discussing PFP election strategy.

Other spokesmen were Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Harry Schwarz. — Sapa

Apartheid will live on — Suzman

JOHANNESBURG — South Africans, black and white, had been programmed into accepting race discrimination, Mrs Helen Suzman the Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said at the launch of the PFP election campaign in Johannesburg today.

Addressing the issue of getting rid of apartheid, she said years of conformity to apartheid laws would not easily be broken down.

"Indeed, the truth is that apartheid will probably live on in South Africa even after those laws have been repealed."

Mrs Suzman said it had taken a long time for the business community, the courts and sportsmen in South Africa to take action against the disastrous effects of apartheid.



Mrs HELEN SUZMAN

Mrs Suzman said the success of the emergency in the Government's terms had been at the cost of thousands of people detained without trial, losing their jobs, more than 2 000 deaths and uncounted injuries.

In fact, she said, the maintenance for apartheid was inextricably linked "to the draconian powers contained in the security laws".

She said the Rev Allan Henrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, who dared to challenge the Separate Amenities Act had resulted in a pathetic and short-lived act of defiance.

It resulted in "the most disgusting display of bullying and intimidation by P W Botha that I have ever witnessed in many years of observing that gentleman.

"Indeed, that revolting display of his on television makes me wonder if he has not become politically unhinged. Whatever, he has brought ridicule on him at home and South Africa abroad."

The task of the PFP was to continue to expose all adverse effects of apartheid, fight racism and create a climate essential for negotiation before the middle-ground eroded away, she said. — Sapa

(Report by Hcloise Henning, Sixth Floor, Old Mutual Building, Harrison Street Johannesburg.)

13 new helpers for Govt ministers

w/t ARGUS 7/3/87 30cm

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Government has expanded its extensive political bureaucracy by the President's appointment of 13 "political functionaries".

The move, which caused a furore in Parliament when it was proposed, is designed to take the work-load off "own affairs" ministers.

It follows closely on the appointments of 20 deputy-ministers — which also caused an opposition outcry.

There are now 18 ministers in the House of Assembly, five each in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, 20 deputy-ministers and the 13 ministerial representatives, whose posts are effective from May 1.

A statement by the President's office this week said: "Own affairs Ministers have an extensive work-load, especially with regard to policy-making. This created a need for political functionaries who could pay more particular attention to specific matters in designated areas."

There are six appointments for the House of Assembly, four for the House of Representatives and three for the House of Delegates.

They are:

● House of Assembly: Mr Thomas Gunning (Transvaal), Dr Elizabeth Hendrina Venter (Transvaal), Dr Gerald Aubrey Hosking (Natal), Dr Louis van der Watt (Free State), Mr James Mulne Otto (Cape) and Mr Rufus Dercksen (Cape).

● House of Representatives: Mr Frederick Lawrence Erasmus (Cape), Mr John Scholtz (Cape and Free State), Mr Albert William Stowman (Natal) and Mr Jacobus Johannes Albertus Smith (Transvaal).

● House of Delegates: Mr Madanlall Mohanlall (Natal and Cape), Mr Arulsivanathan Gana Varadappa Naidoo (Natal) and Mr Perry Perumall Murugan Chetty (Transvaal and Free State).

The Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, has slated the appointments.

Mr Swart said they should have been elected and that in its present economic situation the country could ill afford its growing bureaucracy.

Nats try to jeer at painful thorns

TOS WENTZEL

CAPE TOWN — While Nationalist politicians try on one hand to ridicule the efforts of the Independents, they are on the other unleashing the full might of their propaganda machine against them.

One of the latest such efforts is that British newspapers are "in ecstasy" over the emergence of the Independents because they see this as something that could harm the National Party.

The suggestion appears to be that the Independents are in cahoots with the National Party's enemies overseas and, therefore, in terms of Nationalist thinking, only a short way from being enemies of South Africa.

After first calling them "shams" and "Prog vultures", Cape Nationalist leader Mr Chris Heunis has returned to the attack with the allegation that the Independents are divisive, and that their efforts do not serve the interests of reform.

He suggested that they fight "non-reformists" such as the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party instead of "reformists" such as the Nationalists.

The Independents are, in fact, showing considerable courage. Especially in the case of Stellenbosch, some observers tended to be rather dismissive, believing that finally there would not be an Independent candidate there.

In the end, some academics and professional people decided to put their political money where their mouths are, well realising that they faced awesome odds, but they were prepared to take on the Nationalist machine — and a Nationalist candidate with a verligte image — because they believed in their cause.

It takes considerable courage for Nationalists to break away from the party, with its tentacles throughout the cultural and even church life of the Afrikaner Ostracism awaits those who break away.

Meanwhile, Nationalist politicians are delighted by the breakdown in the latest right-wing efforts to bring the CP and HNP together in an election alliance.

The HNP is stubbornly sticking to its viewpoint that there cannot now be a rushed unification of the two parties, but that there must instead be an alliance providing for an allocation of seats, leaving each party to fight those they now hold, as well as ones in which they could do well.

The CP wants at least some deadline for unification, and its hope is clearly that individual HNP supporters will come over to it because it is the strongest right-wing grouping.

Mr Jaap Marais, leading his party with the fervour of a religious sect, will not accept the CP proposals because he sees in this, quite rightly, a plan to kill off the HNP.

He feels bitter because the HNP is not getting recognition for the years it spent in the political wilderness after the 1969 split in the NP, while those who formed the CP after the 1982 split had cosily remained in the National Party.

If there is to be political harakiri, Mr Marais is determined to take the CP with him.

The HNP can probably muster at least a few hundred votes in three-cornered contests with the CP and the NP, and this could well lead to Nationalists winning.

The Progressive Federal Party will also be watching the bickering in the right wing with some interest. On it will depend to some extent whether the PFP returns as the official Opposition

● Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Relax, PW, Regina says it will all be OK

SARA MARTIN

A Hillbrow fortune teller maintains that she already knows the outcome of the general election.

She says President Botha should beware an Ides of March situation and that the Progressive Federal Party is heading for hard political times.

What will happen to the NP, the PFP, the CP and the Independents?

Regina says that, using the Chinese philosophical system of "I Ching" or "Oracle of Change" — which, she says, is infallible — she knows it all.

"The State President, Mr P W Botha, will stay in power," says Regina.

"The PFP will be riddled with calamities and an individual with evil purposes will shame them. The party will be forced to retreat from the elections because of its superior attitude which will cause it to blunder.

"The offices of one of the parties will be sabotaged and the CP 'office on the hill' will advance gradually, gaining seats," Regina says.

Asked if Dr Worrall would win the Helderberg seat, Regina said there was "good news for a fair person who has come back from overseas".



REGINA: "Individual with evil purposes will shame PFP."

Referring to Mr Wynand Malan, she says he will be successful provided he remains unruffled. In the long-term he must safeguard himself legally as, in years to come, there will be a stipulation which will be binding.

"The Government's majority will be decreased, with changes coming in from the south. There will be numerous reforms and the familiar will become different."

Regina does not foresee Nelson Mandela being released and, in the domain of finance, the country will suffer if people's feelings are "flouted".

● Report by Sara Martin, 47 Sauer Street, Johannessburg

FULL STATEMENT BY MATIE REBELS

TWENTY-EIGHT prominent Stellenbosch academics calling themselves Discussion Group '85 yesterday released a manifesto sharply critical of the National Party's political style.

The statement in full:

WE the signatories are members of a discussion group of teachers and researchers at the University of Stellenbosch that have met on a regular basis since October 1985.

The group was founded as a result of our concern about the deteriorating security situation in the country during 1985, as well as about the tempo and direction of reform in South Africa. The stagnation of the reform process since May 1986 has increased our concern.

Initially, the group refrained from issuing public statements and preferred to express our concern, and to encourage the acceleration of reform and negotiations between credible, representative leaders of all communities, by means of correspondence, submissions and meetings with prominent Government leaders — including the State President.

According to our judgment, this modus operandi proved to be unsuccessful. We cannot, therefore, refrain from issuing a public statement any longer.

However, we emphasise that this statement is the result of detailed and sincere reflection and discussions over a period of about 18 months.

It has no relation to recent political developments at Stellenbosch, and cannot be interpreted as a declaration of support for any political party or candidates in the forthcoming elections

We are not only concerned about the tempo of the reform process in South Africa, but also about its character and direction.

We are convinced that the process of negotiation about the accommodation of all (particularly black) South Africans in the decision-making process is seriously retarded by the Government's hesitance to issue signs of hope for those concerned.

We understand that a new dispensation cannot become a reality overnight, and that stability has to be maintained during the transitional period. However, the Government has an inalienable responsibility to create hope for the future for *all* South African citizens.

In our opinion this hope can only be created if the Government is willing to issue a clear and unambiguous declaration of intent on two issues:

■ FIRSTLY, ITS INTENTION TO ABOLISH ALL RESIDUES OF APARTHEID

In this regard we specifically refer to four residues of apartheid that can, in no way, be part of the new South Africa:

The Group Areas Act

This symbol of injustice must be scrapped in its entirety as soon as possible We very much doubt whether this scrapping will have any significant effect on the established composition of residential areas.

However, all South African citizens have the moral right to a free choice of residential area. We realise that this view has implications for the current policy of segregated schools.

We support the right of schools and other educational institutions to maintain their cultural identity. The maintenance of cultural identity does not, however, depend on racial exclusivity. Arrangements in this regard should as far as possible be left to local communities.

The statutory definition of groups on the basis of race

We recognise that the realities of South African society require the provision for a group approach to our social and political problems. However, it is no longer acceptable to define these participating groups by statute on the basis of racial characteristics.

Groups must be allowed to associate freely and to define themselves across the colour bar on the basis of a commitment to common values and ideals.

The three-chamber Parliament

This is an institution which, in its present form, cannot survive indefinitely in the new South Africa It should be replaced, after appropriate negotiations, by a central Parliament in which all South Africans, including blacks, are effectively represented.

The Separate Amenities Act

This discriminatory law should be scrapped.

■ SECONDLY, IT SHOULD DECLARE ITS UNAMBIGUOUS INTENTION TO SHARE POWER EFFECTIVELY WITH BLACKS.

All South African citizens must be represented in the central Parliament of the country, and on all other levels of decision-making in such a way that they have an effective say, which is acceptable for a majority, in the decision-making process.

This implies that we recognise that a situation will eventually be reached in South Africa in which the whites, as this group is currently defined by statute, will relinquish their exclusive and decisive ability to enforce decisions which have consequences for all South Africa's people.

The broadening of democracy in South Africa requires, at the same time, the constitutional entrenchment of democratic institutions such as a representative Parliament, an independent judiciary, free elections, freedom of speech, etc, in order to protect individuals and groups against the abuse of power by the authorities.

The ideal formulated in the previous paragraph may be realised by means of different constitutional formulae. We do not argue in favour of any one specific formula because we believe that such a formula can develop only as a result of negotiations between the Government and credible, representative leaders of all communities in South Africa.

We believe that stability and security must be protected in the transitional period during which these negotiations take place. It would therefore be reasonable for the Government to insist on maintaining power until a new constitutional formula, acceptable to most South Africans, is found through negotiations

In view of the urgency of our situation, this transitional period of negotiations should not be allowed to continue indefinitely.

We understand the Government's difficulty, at the present moment, in finding negotiating partners on a national level who have enough influence to legitimise a negotiated deal in all black communities in the country.

This difficulty does not, however, necessarily obtain at local, regional or provincial levels We believe, therefore, that initiatives to promote negotiations on a regional level should not only be encouraged, but that the results of these negotiations should receive serious consideration.

This obviously does not imply that such regional solutions could amount to the condoning of either continued apartheid or group domination. We believe, however, that successful regional initiatives can have a positive influence in the strife for a negotiated settlement on the national level.

With regard to the security problems, we recognise that a situation can develop in which the very survival of a stable society and a State that guarantees the maintenance of law and order are threatened by revolutionary forces.

A state of emergency in which the State obtains extraordinary powers to restore law and order is justified in such extraordinary circumstances. We believe, however, that the actions of the security forces must, under all circumstances, *including* a state of emergency, be submitted to legal control by the courts.

Security action by itself cannot, however, solve our problems, and is never performed for its own purpose. It must always be synchronised with political and other reforms.

The Government ought to adopt a style of rhetoric and action which will alleviate the tensions and polarisation in our country

Signed by:

Prof W S Barnard (Geography), Prof W J Breytenbach (African Studies), Prof J Cawood (Education), Prof W T Claasen (Old Testament Languages), Prof H J B Combrink (Theology), Prof J G H Combrink (Afrikaans), Prof L G de Stadler (Afrikaans), Prof A J M de Vries (Business School), Prof J L de Wit (Biochemics), Prof C A Engelbrecht (Physics), Prof H J Erasmus (Law), Prof W P Esterhuyse (Philosophy), Prof J S A Fourie (Law), Prof J S H Gildenhuys (Public Administration), Prof J H Gilliomee (Anthropology), Prof W J O Jeppe (Development Administration), Prof Bernard Lategaan (Bible Studies), Prof C L McCarthy (Economics), Dr J C Meyer (Student Affairs), Prof B A Müller (Theology), Prof E M Nel (Psychology), Dr P Nel (Institute for Soviet Studies), Prof J P J Olivier (Theology), Prof H J Schutte (Mathematics), Prof S M Swart (Business School), Prof S J Terreblanche (Economics), Dr A A van Niekerk (Philosophy) and Prof C J van Wyk (Agriculture).

(News by Evelyn Holtzhausen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

forcements were called in and tearsmoke was fired.

mittee's report published as quickly as possible. This is a

achieve it. Rapport has obvi-ously not been heeded.

(News by Raymond Joseph, 11 Diag-onal Street, Johannesburg).

IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE !



PFP candidates (back, from left): Mrs Beverley Roos, Durbanville; Mrs Lynn Schreibe, Rustenburg; Mrs Helen Suzman, Houghton; party leader Mr Colin Eglin; Mrs Margaret Fourie, Westdene; Mrs Santie McIntosh, Klipriver; and Mrs Ann Curry, Umlazi. (Front, from left): Mrs Sybil Hotz, Umhlatuzana; Mrs Marleen Webber, Bloemfontein North; and Mrs Desi Halse, Umhlanga.

NEW DEAL — EGLIN

Political Correspondent

VOTERS' support for enlightened candidates, parties and views in the May 6 general election could trigger a new deal in South African politics, according to Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin.

Speaking at a launch of PFP candidates in Johannesburg yesterday, he said: "Much of what is going to happen after the election depends on what happens on election day.

"It is time to move away from the fossilised, institutionalised party politics of the past.

"I do not want to make predictions about what will happen after the election, but I will predict that on May 6 more voters will vote against apartheid and for negotiation than ever before in the history of South Africa."

He said a new alliance of moderate South Africans was not only a short-term possibility but a medium-term certainty.

The PFP was committed to bringing together South Africans who wanted real reform in a new political force that would create an alternative government "based on the consent of all the people of this country".

The National Party Government had shown it was incapable of bringing about real reform, and only a truly representative government could ensure peace, stability and prosperity.

"Whatever is happening in the social, economic and sporting fields, old-fashioned apartheid based on compulsory racial classification remains the heart of the NP's thinking," Mr Eglin said.

(News by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

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Anti-PW revolt grows as new Matie bombshell bursts

TOP NAT EDITOR OUT

WHY I HAVE BROKEN WITH MY PARTY:

By Professor Willie Esterhuyse

See Page 23

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[redacted]

handful led by the first defector, economist Professor Sampie Terreblanche, formerly a close adviser to Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader of the party.

The open Stellenbosch rebellion — combined with the effect of their specific criticisms of Government policies — will give new impetus to the already snowballing campaigns of the three Independents who are contesting key NP-held seats.

The academics say the "Declaration of Stellenbosch" must not be seen as support for any candidate. However, it resembles the standpoints of Dr Denis Worrall (Helderberg), Dr Esther Lategan (Stellenbosch) and Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg). Key points in the statement are:

- The Group Areas Act — "this symbol of injustice" — must be scrapped in its entirety.
- The statutory definition of groups on the basis of race is no longer acceptable.
- The three-chamber Parliament cannot survive indefinitely and should be replaced, after negotiations, by a central legislature in which all people, including blacks, are represented.
- The Separate Amenities Act should be scrapped.
- The Government should declare its unambiguous intention to share power effectively with blacks under a formula that can develop only as a result of negotiations between the Government and "credible representatives of all communities".
- A state of emergency is justified in present circumstances, but the actions of the security forces must be submitted to control by the courts.

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

THE full force of the rebellion against President Botha's leadership of the National Party exploded into the open yesterday.

● Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of the biggest Afrikaans newspaper, Rapport, angrily quit his job.

● Twenty-eight of the most respected Afrikaner academics delivered a devastating indictment of Mr Botha's style of government and his failure to end apartheid.

Dr de Klerk — an outspoken reformist who coined the expressions "verlig" and "verkramp" — is the brother of the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, the man most tipped as Mr Botha's likely successor to the leadership of the NP.

In a statement last night Dr de Klerk left no doubt that political factors played a major part in his decision to take early retirement.

He said he had lately been placed under great pressure from NP politicians whom he did not name.

He added that his warning that 22 percent of NP supporters were dissatisfied with the "content, style and tempo of reform" was not respected.

Dr de Klerk also referred to "vague, generalised and continued criticism" from key members of the Rapport board, who blamed the paper's "flattening" circulation on his editorship.

Rapport is half-owned by Nasionale Pers, a publishing company with close ties to President Botha and the NP's Cape establishment. President Botha was once a member of its board.

Dr de Klerk's resignation was one of the twin bombshells to hit the NP yesterday.

The 28 professors who released a long and searing condemnation of the Government's policies and style are among the most eminent academics at Stellenbosch University — of which President Botha is chancellor.

They are members of a private discussion group, but their views are known to enjoy widespread support at the university.

All but three were among the 27 Matie academics who privately met Mr Botha in Cape Town three weeks ago.

The scale of their protest



DR WILLEM DE KLERK
Outspoken reformist

Early poll has Helderberg on a knife-edge

By LESTER VENTER

THE keenly watched Helderberg by-election is turning into a knife-edge battle — even before it has properly begun.

Dr Denis Worrall and opponent Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, are within two percentage points of each other in a constituency poll carried out by the Sunday Tribune.

Of the sample of 200 voters, 31 percent said they would support Mr Heunis, 29 percent Dr Worrall, two percent the Conservative Party, 21 percent did not know and 14,5 percent refused to say.

(News by L J Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

New Nats must avoid the image trap of the PFP

KIERIN O'MALLEY, a Stellenbosch student, argues the case for a true social democratic party in South Africa

THE emergence of the Independents is the first really positive sign in decades.

But they have illustrated the two major problems of the official Opposition. Both of these problems have more to do with perception and image than with actual policy or substance, but they nonetheless remain the crucial stumbling-blocks to a liberal post-apartheid policy.

The understandable initial euphoria about the New, or Fast, Nats is somewhat dampened if one considers that this embryonic political force said to be found to the right of the Progressive Federal Party and to the left of the National Party cannot itself possibly overcome both these "liberal" obstacles.

The fact that the New Republic Party in any event died a slow and pitiful death points to the "barrenness" of the political ground said to exist between the PFP and NP.

The first of the PFP problems is the "un-Afrikaner" aura of the party, which, some suggest, makes it irrelevant in parliamentary politics.

Accusations of *boerehaat* go too far, but even the most diehard PFP member would have to admit, if true to himself, that his party has failed and is continuing to fail in bridging the language barrier.

Similar

The fact that 27 percent of PFP public representatives are Afrikaans-speaking is irrelevant, and illustrates the harsh political fact that what people think or perceive is more important than what is.

Perceptions, in other words, are more important than reality, if they are not reality themselves. Van Zyl Slabbert's charismatic leadership did little to deal positively with this first problem, and the working arrangement with the now basically defunct NRP can be expected to have similar results.

The recent loss of an able Afrikaner politician like Horace van Rensburg, who, while he might at times have uttered some very un-PFP-like statements, was and still is an avowed anti-Nationalist, makes little political sense.

Especially if one realises one's political impotence as a liberal force, and commits oneself to anti-Nationalist alliance politics.

The English jingo aura of the PFP, fair or unfair, is closely related to the pervasive fear that the party would be unable to safeguard white interests in this country, both militarily and constitutionally.

The second of the PFP problems is its "bourgeois" aura, which contributes largely to its irrelevance in extra-parliamentary politics.

The official Opposition is perceived to be the political arm of capital and especially big business, and little seems possible to dislodge that perception.

Label

It is tough to convince others of one's social democratic tendencies when one's past parliamentarians include many of the captains of South African industry.

The PFP has toyed with the idea of advocating a social democratic economic policy, and most members would probably label themselves social democrats.

Unfortunately for the liberal cause in South Africa, the radical capitalists (à la Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation) of the PFP triumphed over the social democratic Schwarz.

Big business's enthusiasm for the NP — as seen at the Carlton, Good Hope and the economic conference late last year — is a naïve and short-sighted response.

It is time big business started supporting an alternative government, and, if it doesn't believe the PFP to be a viable alternative, it should help create a "new" party.

How do the Independents, New Nats or, most appropriately, simply Fast Nats, measure up against these problems?

They are undoubtedly aware of the crucial importance of winning a respectable share of soft Nationalist support, as is evidenced by Wynand Malan characterising PFP policy as "naïve and outdated".

Not to be outdone, Worrall has alleged that the official Opposition has "gone off the rails" and is basically "irrelevant" in greater South African politics.

And the PFP wants to join an alliance with these guys?

The simple fact is that the Independents seem patently oblivious to the dire need to bridge the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Far-thinking political scientists like Professor David Welsh of UCT have been arguing quietly for some years now that the social democratic option/model deserves liberal attention.

A social democrat is not only a liberal who really means it, but a social democratic party with prominent Afrikaner anti-Nationalist support could well be a viable political vehicle for a liberal post-apartheid state.

Is the creation of an SDP the only way of circumventing the problems posed by the PFP?

8/2/87

Must we give a mandate for patching up old clothes?



WHY A TOP NAT THINKER HAS BROKEN WITH HIS PARTY

By Willie Esterhuyse

ALREADY it is clear that the unhappiness among people who were traditionally associated with the National Party is not limited to just a few "obscure" academics.

It is also present in other groups: doctors, businessmen, farmers, young people, housewives and many others.

What is striking is the earnest [illegible] in which people are listening and talking, as illustrated at Dr Denis Worrall's recent meeting in Stellenbosch. Petty politics and stereotyped slogans no longer please anyone. Rather, they merely strengthen the unhappiness.

People are not only yearning for new political ideas, they also want a new political style; a rhetoric which is conciliatory.

Far-reaching questions are being asked: should one vote? Or should ballots be spoilt? Does one vote for a person or a party?

At this stage it is difficult to determine numbers. What can be said, however, is that such questions materially influence the current political debate and discussion about the election. That is itself a great gain.

If one listens to what is being said, the following becomes clear:

For some people the issue is the pace of reform. They want the National Party to move faster on group areas, population registration and constitutional change. But they are still prepared to give the National Party another chance.

But for a growing number of people, unhappiness with the National Party and its leadership corps goes much deeper. It does not simply concern the pace of reform. It is concerned with the nature, goals and strategies of reform itself.

It is about questions such as these:

Is the present NP really an effective instrument for reform? Does it have the will and courage to act as a dynamic reform agent?

Can one, in all honesty, give intellectual and moral support to the party, its policy and political practices; Can it only be renewed from within; is there, in any event, still time for such tactics? Must there not also be an initiative from outside?

Granted, the National Party is a mighty political instrument which must be reckoned with. But it is also accepted that the NP is currently unable or unwilling to use that power to initiate reforms which will put South Africa on the road to peace.

A mandate for the National Party is, for such people, no longer a mandate for material reform. It is a mandate for patching worn clothes: a mandate for a few new doors and windows and rooms in a building whose foundations are problematical: a mandate for adaptation and modernisation of a system which generates conflict.

More pertinently: it is a mandate for the NP to maintain statutorily entrenched group differentiation (read "discrimination") and therefore a mandate against free association.

It is also a mandate in favour of race and colour as a criterion for admission to the decision-making process and to rights.

It is a mandate in favour of permits to arrange exceptions and for the power to refuse — as recently happened in Stellenbosch — children the right to go to an English-medium school because their colour is not right and their father is not a diplomat.

Finally, it is a mandate in favour of the retention and extension of white control over the most important instruments of power, with the only visible goal of "negotiation" being the co-option of a number of black faces in councils.

People who hold the view outlined above are, however, opposed to foreign interference, sanctions and violence. Yet they do not regard a vote for the NP as simply a vote against these things.

They see it also as a vote in favour of rhetoric and tactics which encourage further isolation. They see a vote for the NP as an expression of support for strict control of the media and of countless detentions without trial.

The unrest in black townships is repugnant. This group therefore accepts the right and duty of the Government to maintain law and order and to take security measures. However, they are in conflict over the question of whether security management is synchronised with political and other reforms. What they observe is increasing alienation and polarisation.

They accuse the present NP of not having a future vision. This accusation sounds a little vague, because the NP does indeed have a future vision.

What is meant by the accusation is that the NP does not have a future vision that generates hope, which makes them enthusiastic, which grips them in an imaginative way, which mobilises black people against revolution, which will dissuade people from emigrating and which restores trust in our currency.

The future vision of the NP does not give them confidence for the future. They cannot get excited over the prospect of a confused network of councils — bilateral, national and regional — with black faces, mostly nominated, in all of them, city states and so forth.

It is, for them, a vision which is still a prisoner of the past because the heart of it is the statutory prescription of race and colour, and the motive is the retention of white control.

At this stage they do not have their own constitutional proposals. What they would rather emphasise is the necessity to bring into operation a more dynamic and visible negotiating process.

More, they want a public commitment to scrap race-orientated legislation (i.e. group areas) and an acceptance of the fact that power-sharing with black people implies that they will sit in a future Parliament.

For them, the process of negotiation cannot begin as long as it is assumed that groups must remain statutorily defined in terms of race and colour.

And certainly not while, in pursuit of this assumption, structures and councils are already in place which determine, pre-emptively, the outcome of the negotiating process and reduce the goal of negotiations to co-option.

Instead of reform from above or negotiating initiatives which are monopolised by the authorities, they favour broadly framed regional initiatives. Thus their excitement over the Natal Indaba and the disappointment at the impression created by the authorities that it had been cooly received.

If they — and here I would like to say us — talk of new ideas and visions it is not just because this has recently become fashionable.

We talk of ideas and visions that are freed from the prison of statutorily entrenched race and colour criteria; which publicly and earnestly deal with the principle of free association and dis-association; which accept community values and interests as a departure point, and which make no secret of the fact that blacks will sit in a future Parliament — whatever its structure may be.

What I have said makes it clear that continued association with the present National Party has becomne, for many of us, an impossibility.

Whether this will be a growth point for a new movement, only time will tell. It has at least shown that independent thinking has not died within our ranks in the face of party loyalty and propaganda.

□ *Professor Esterhuyse is a prominent Stellenbosch philosopher, a consultant to the Urban Foundation and author of the seminal "Farewell to Apartheid".*

Why I resigned — De Klerk

Sunday Times Reporter

DR WILLEM DE KLERK, who quit his post as editor of Rapport yesterday, still believes that the National Party can initiate great reform in South Africa — "but then some of its policies and its style must move in new directions".

Dr de Klerk's resignation has caused shockwaves in Afrikaans journalistic circles, where there is already widespread ferment over the Government's dead stop on reform and President Botha's imperious control over the NP.

Yesterday, Dr W van Heerden, chairman of Rapport's board of directors, declined to comment on the resignation.

No successor has yet been named, but the board is due to meet at the end of the month. Mr Wim von Walsem is acting editor.

As he ended his last day in the editor's chair yesterday, Dr de Klerk issued the following statement:

"I asked the chairman of Rapport to let me resign as editor-in-chief of Rapport as from today. It is my own decision. I have not been asked to do this.

"A concession that I could end my service by taking early retirement was granted almost a year ago.

"I am making use of this option for two reasons in particular:

"The vague, generalised and continuous criticism of key members of the board of

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'Why I quit'

☐ From Page 1

directors that the flattening in Rapport's circulation and other problems were mainly due to my editorship has been so offensive that self-respect compels me to depart.

"With an expected rise in circulation and the progress of Rapport which is now expected, I could have handled the criticism.

"But there is also a definite political background to my resignation.

"With several confrontations in the past two years, even in most recent times, I am being placed under increased pressure by NP politicians.

"It is clear to me, and I have also been told directly, that many of my political insights, accents, arguments and appeals have aroused resistance among the NP politicians. This also applies to some general political reports and background articles in Rapport.

Inhibiting

"This intolerance and rejection of critical and investigative political journalism and reasonable political reportage inhibits my political freedom, integrity, honesty and open-heartedness.

"I have tried, to this very date, to formulate credibility, objectivity and balance as the philosophical basis for reform, and I have promoted the NP as the instrument to achieve it. Rapport has obviously not been heeded.

"Nor has the warning I gave that 22 percent of NP supporters are very dissatisfied with the content, style and tempo of reform.

"Meanwhile, the Independent political movement and alliance politics have emerged.

"Although I understand the emotion of it, there is still too much vagueness to test it.

"I still believe the NP has the opportunity to bring about great reform in this country, but then certain of its policies and its style will have to move in new directions.

"Rapport is so severely reproached for journalistically spelling out and arguing for this renewal within the NP, even before the election period, that it becomes impossible to maintain credibility.

"It is within the rights of politicians to differ. But traditionally it is also the honour of an editor to vacate his chair if his newspaper's political independence is contested and obstructed.

"It has been for me an exceptional experience and opportunity to have been editor of Rapport. I thank my directors, management, personnel and readers for their sustained support.

"I have not yet made any decisions or entered negotiations over my future career. I hope there will be new opportunities ahead."

(News by Raymond Joseph, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg).

Heunis appeal to rebel academics

NATIONAL PARTY Cape leader Chris Heunis has urged the 28 rebel Stellenbosch University academics who issued a statement at the weekend sharply criticising the cornerstones of apartheid to talk to government again.

The academics criticised the way the government was running the country and said it "ought to adopt a style of rhetoric and action which will alleviate the tensions of polarisation of our country".

Own Correspondent

They said the Group Areas Act, arbitrary race classification and the Separate Amenities Act — all laws introduced by the NP — would have to go.

They said the Group Areas Act was "the symbol of injustice" and the Separ-

From Page 2

Talk to us, Heunis tells rebels

ate Amenities Act was "discriminatory".

They also said the tricameral Parliament could not survive indefinitely and would have to be replaced "by a central Parliament in which all South Africans, including blacks, are effectively represented".

The academics were critical of the way the government was handling the state of emergency and said security must "under all circumstances, including a state of emergency, be submitted to legal control by the courts".

From Page 1

Report by Barry Street, St George's Street, Cape Town

HNP bid to oust Pretoria management committee fails

PRETORIA City Council's political backwoodsmen failed in a bid to remove the NP-dominated management committee at a raucous council meeting on Friday.

A motion of no confidence in the committee was tabled by the group of six HNP councillors led by Piet Barnard.

The motion claimed the committee had opened the door to intergration by revoking on its mandate. Its recommendation that the city's cinemas be opened to all races was just one example.

The committee was tearing down the barriers, put up to preserve separate development, Barnard said.

The debate exploded when HNP councillor Eben Geldenhuys accused the management committee of being dishonourable and traitorous.

Mayor J J van der Spuy asked him to withdraw the remark, which he did. But the attack continued.

The committee had betrayed the principles on which it was elected, Geldenhuys said. Again he was asked to withdraw. He refused, and Van der Spuy ordered him out of the council.

He was closely followed by three other HNP stalwarts, Joseph Chiole, Roland Davis and Thys Basson.

Geldenhuys had accused the committee of being fellow travellers with and agents for for the NP government.

The motion was defeated by 20-to-three — two HNP and one PFP vote.

PFP councillor Merle Karp was supporting the broad motion of no confidence in the committee but obviously not segregated cinemas, which the PFP has fought for for years.

None of the four CP councillors were present during the debate as they had gone to the city hall to hear their leader Andries Treurnicht explain why he could not accept an election agreement with the HNP.

Report by Gerald Reilly, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

Nat revolt publicity blamed

Editor quit *Rapport* over govt pressure

BD Day 9/3/87

THE resignation of Willem de Klerk as editor of *Rapport* resulted directly from confrontations he had with "government leaders" and pressures they brought upon his board over the paper's political line, he said yesterday.

One element in the dispute was the publicity *Rapport* gave to Independent ex-Nationalists and to the growing revolt among academics at Stellenbosch and elsewhere, De Klerk told *Business Day*.

That revolt gathered momentum at the weekend when 28 academics issued a statement disclosing that their defection followed 18 months of soul-searching and policy discussion about the national crisis. (See separate report on this page.)

De Klerk confirmed yesterday that *Rapport*'s reporting of the revolt in the party at Stellenbosch "caused strong protest from Cabinet level".

In a clear reference to the leadership of President P W Botha, De Klerk told *Business Day*: "I have been an editor for 14 years. The political pressure on me as an editor and on the independence of my newspaper had never been greater than in the recent past.

"The story that the NP had been allowing Afrikaans papers more freedom and openness was true. But it certainly is not true any more, not with the present government. They are much stricter, harder and more demanding than the previous government."

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

A *Rapport* staff member told *Business Day* yesterday that Botha had on various occasions "exploded" after reading *Rapport* on a Sunday morning and intervened directly or through De Klerk's brother, Transvaal leader and National Education Minister F W de Klerk, or through Cape leader Chris Heunis.

Referring to the party leaders, De Klerk said: "They wanted me to shout hallelujah at every thing the National Party was doing and to carry a blue (NP membership) card. Otherwise they brand you as disloyal. This pressure has become a serious threat to political journalism in SA and to Afrikaans papers."

Rapport board chairman Willem van Heerden confirmed yesterday the board had political problems with De Klerk. "We felt that during the election cam-

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Editor tells of confrontation

● From Page 1

paign *Rapport* should concentrate less on differences in accent and the policy deviations of individuals and more on the importance of this election for government's programme for orderly reform."

He said the NP still had the opportunity to reform SA, but it would have to change its policies. "The NP has problems with its fundamental premise of racial classification, with its refusal to move towards the idea of freedom of association and its refusal to scrap the Group Areas Act."

De Klerk said he had to resign now, because his board and the Cabinet expected papers "to become strongly propagandistic" during election time. He said he had explained several times that *Rapport* had never been disloyal to the NP, but that its political pages had a special readership of intellectual and independent-thinking Afrikaners.

In his last column yesterday De Klerk wrote that it was not true the NP would, after the election, move away from its foundation of four racial groups, or that it would scrap the Group Areas Act, allow free association, accept regional solutions such as the KwaNatal Indaba or work towards one parliament for all.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Nats represent tyranny — Viljoen

THE fight against the National Party in the election was a struggle against tyranny, PFP candidate for Waterkloof Abraham Viljoen said at the weekend.

"Tyranny has come to us disguised in the colours of patriotism," Viljoen, twin brother of former Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen, told a meeting of PFP candidates at the party's election launch.

"The distinction between left and right in our politics has become sloppy and inarticulate. The real distinction is between freedom and tyranny," he said.

Viljoen said was a schoolboy in Standerton when General Jan Smuts lost in the 1948 election to an unknown Nationalist, Wennie du Plessis. "I can remember the Nats dancing in the streets. It was uncouth and brought about a feeling of disgust in me."

Viljoen said apartheid had led to the development of a civil war, international isolation, impoverishment and a loss of freedom, a value fundamental to civilisation.

Viljoen is to oppose Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais, the present Waterkloof MP.

(Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

MAX DU PREEZ
Politica Correspondent

NP defector now PFP man

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE FORERUNNER of Nat defectors — a former NP youth chairman who is now standing as a PFP election candidate — came to light at the weekend.

Describing his resignation from the NP last November as a "traumatic experience", East London city councillor Gwyn Bassingthwaighte announced at the PFP's election launch on Saturday that his "dramatic change" had allowed him "the freedom to live with my conscience".

"The Nationalist government has lost all credibility with a policy that is unworkable and impossible to implement.

"As this reality comes home, more and more disillusioned persons are going to jump ship and seek other political homes."

Bassingthwaighte described himself as an Afrikaner who had come from a long line of Afrikaners.

He said NP supporters no longer believed in the credibility and integrity of the government.

They were having difficulty living with themselves and continually had to make excuses for supporting a "bad policy, badly implemented".

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Independents issue joint manifesto

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The three independent candidates today released a joint election manifesto.

Issued by former Nationalist Dr Denis Worrall (contesting Helderberg), Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg) and Dr Esther Lategan (Stellenbosch), the manifesto says negotiations must begin "aimed at the common overriding objective of one South Africa with equal rights, justice and safety for all".

However, while the independents support free organisation in black politics, they say "emergency powers must be retained to secure stability during the transition period".

The manifesto calls for:

- The Chief Justice to collect and publish all available constitutional options in the major languages "in order that all political groups may use them as a starting point for constitutional dialogue".
- Black politics to be freed. Action against politicians and organisations should cease, but emergency powers are needed for stability in the transition period. However, the "courts and proper judicial procedures must again come into their own".
- A free flow of information. "South Africans must be trusted with the facts."
- The scrapping of all discriminatory laws — including the Group Areas Act — and a timetable for doing this should be set.
- Regional initiatives, such as the Natal indaba, to be encouraged.
- An end to all restrictive measures.
- A Bill of Rights to protect the individual. "Flowing from this, for freedom of association, there must also be protection for the individual's group rights, such as religion, language, culture and access to mother tongue education."

The manifesto says such a flexible programme would restore local and overseas confidence in South Africa.

This new spirit excludes extremist groups on the right and left. "The programme must be free of dogma, it must demonstrate that the expectations of people who may now find themselves far apart politically can be accommodated if they are flexible and respect each other's fears and aspirations."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Feverish activity at key Helderberg seat

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Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — With two months to go before polling day, the white general election campaign for the key Helderberg seat is already in full swing with feverish activity by a virtual "army" of election workers.

Campaign offices are buzzing with activity, house meetings are drawing large crowds, and candidates are rushing about in their race to meet as many voters as possible before polling day on May 6.

A feature of the Helderberg campaign is that it has drawn world attention to the political battle between the sitting Nationalist MP and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall, former South African ambassador in London.

Television crews representing foreign TV news networks have become part of the Helderberg election scene and have recorded a series of interviews with candidates and some of the key figures involved.

The nerve centre of the campaign is in Helderberg's main centre, Somerset West, where both Mr Heunis and Dr Worrall have large and busy campaign head offices in the town centre.

The National Party's main campaign office, a double-storey house decorated with campaign posters, has become known among local residents as "Chris Heunis's Embassy".

Here a constant stream of visitors, supporters and Nationalist election workers have been moving in an out to see Mr Heunis and his workers and party officials.

A spokesman in Mr Heunis's camp said the NP had more than 250 committee members of the party working in the field and in addition a large number of voluntary workers and canvassers were helping.

They were all involved in a house-to-house campaign aimed at reaching all voters in the constituency.

A series of 20 NP house meetings and four public meetings had already been arranged for March and April and more house meetings were still being arranged.

The NP has a total of seven campaign offices situated in various parts of the constituency, including Gordon's Bay, Stellenbosch, Koelenhof, Bottelary and Brackenfell.

Diagonally across Somerset West's Main Street from Mr Heunis's office is the "nerve centre" of Dr Worrall's campaign — a large office in a supermarket building where Dr Worrall's campaign manager, breakaway Nationalist Mr Jannie Momberg, is in charge of administration.

Further down the Main Street, Dr Worrall's second campaign office was also humming with activity yesterday.

Checking cards

Scores of workers were checking cards and papers and were answering telephone calls.

A spokesman said large crowds, including many former National Party supporters, had attended Dr Worrall's house meetings.

In the midst of activities a television team arrived to televise an interview with Dr Worrall for Channel Four TV in London.

This was followed by another team working for a video agency commissioned by a large pharmaceutical company in the United States. Dr Worrall has also been interviewed by British Independent Television News (ITN) and the BBC.

The Conservative Party has not opened an office so far, but its candidate, Mr Len de Wet, and other party officials have been campaigning from their homes.

A CP spokesman said they had received a "miraculous" flood of offers from people wanting to help in Mr de Wet's campaign.

(Report by F Esterhuys, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town.)

PFP enters the fray committed to alliance

Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party launched its election campaign at the weekend with a strong commitment to its new strategy of alliance politics.

The bulk of PFP candidates attended the all-day gathering at a Johannesburg hotel on Saturday. Leader Mr Colin Eglin stressed the importance of convincing voters that there was an alternative to the Government.

"It is no longer a case of getting the Government to reform," he said. "It is a case of bringing together those South Africans, who are committed to real reform, into a new political force that as an alternative government will sweep Mr Botha's jaded and confused political conglomerate from office."

Mrs Helen Suzman and Professor Nick Olivier outlined the strategy for scrapping apartheid and negotiating a new constitution.

Mrs Suzman said the Government's abrogation of the rule of law and its increasing use of repressive security laws ran side-by-side with its apartheid policies.

Mr Harry Schwarz said the Government had failed in to control inflation, provide for economic growth, tackle unemployment and stop the erosion of the currency.

Several aspirant candidates, tackling an election for the first time, also addressed the gathering.

Professor Abraham Viljoen, PFP candidate in Waterkloof and twin brother of the former head of the SA Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said 40 years of National Party rule had resulted in a steady erosion of freedom.

A former NP member, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaighte, who is contesting East London City for the PFP, said many people were no longer able to support apartheid: "People are finding it difficult to live with themselves."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer St, Joannesburg.)

What can one say?

The figures say it a
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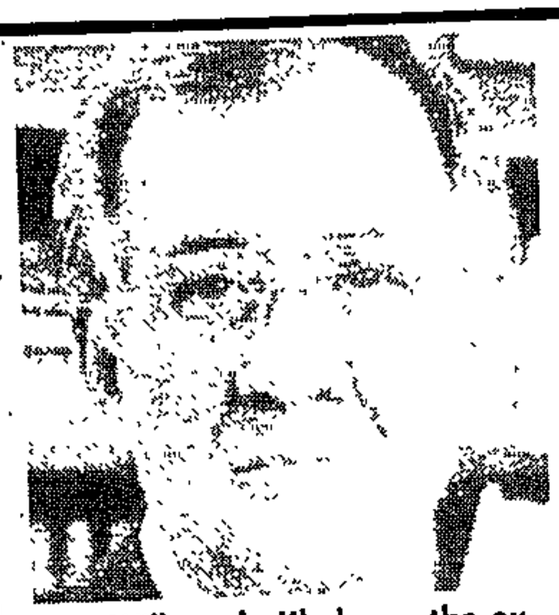
minimum wage rates.

9/3/87

304A

Government must negotiate or be replaced, says De Klerk



Dr Willem de Klerk . . . the ex-editor speaks out on his problems and his future.

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The former editor of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport*, Dr Willem de Klerk, says the Government will have to be replaced if it fails to accommodate its "verligte" supporters.

In an interview with The Star, Dr de Klerk confirmed that political pressure mainly prompted his resignation.

He said he had come under great pressure to toe the Nationalist Party line, especially in view of the election. He had resigned of his own accord.

"It is the tradition in the Western Press if there is something wrong with the newspaper's circulation for the editor to be held responsible. But that is not the main reason for my resignation.

"The main reason is that I am politically inhibited, being an editor of an Afrikaans paper."

Criticism and the new ways of thinking on current political issues were not the style of Afrikaans journalism.

Dr de Klerk said that events in the last two years had made it increasingly difficult for him.

"There is more political pressure on the Press now than was previously the case. I have been in journalism for 14 years, and have spent the last four years with *Rapport*. Lately I have encountered severe pressure on the political side.

"It is not true to say there is no room for difference of opinion. But especially at election time there is a great deal of pressure that one must toe the line."

In the Afrikaans Press one could criticise to some extent: "But basic deviation in official policy — that is more difficult to express these days. "I was the editor of the *Transvaler* for 10 years. In those days you could state your differences with Mr Vorster. Verligtes were permitted. But in the last few years there has been a very strong directive to stay within the bounds of the National Party."

IRONIC INTOLERANCE

Dr de Klerk agreed that the intolerance in the NP leadership was ironic in the light of its reformist image.

"Yes of course, P W Botha is more reform-minded than Vorster was. But there are many people to the right of the Progressive Federal Party and to the left of the NP who are beginning to make their voices heard. The NP is not getting their support — it is very intolerant."

He said at least 22 percent of Government supporters fell into the "verligte" category. Most would probably stay within the party to try to reform from within.

Dr de Klerk said it was too early to speculate about the creation of a new political party.

"There is a new mood in the country. If the NP cannot accommodate this mood then a new party could develop. But that is post-election speculation."

He had a great deal of sympathy for the independent candidates.

"I think they are going to do very well, but they won't be able to win without the support of the PFP.

"The independents are part of the new protest politics. But their proposals at this stage are vague."

He said it would be a sad day if the Government no longer tolerated verligtes.

"I think the National Party must accommodate the new viewpoints. It must be willing to change some of its policies.

"If this does not happen, then the Government must be replaced."

He declined to predict future political trends. "I am not a prophet. But I do believe we must follow the politics of compromise and negotiation. The people of South Africa, black and white, will demand it of the Government. If it can't do this, it must go. Otherwise there will be more polarisation."

NO FUTURE VISION

He believed it was the right time to call an election. "But I am very disappointed in the Government's election manifesto. There is no future vision. That is why so many people are upset and nervous."

He said the right wing threat was overestimated. "I am not afraid of them. They should be cut down to size. They represent 18 to 19 percent of white voters."

He made it clear he would not publicly back Dr Denis Worrall or the other independent candidates.

"I can understand the dynamics of the situation and I am sympathetic. But the NP is still the vehicle for change. I still hope the NP can adapt and accept compromise politics."

He said the strong attack on apartheid and the Government made by the 26 Stellenbosch academics at the weekend was positive. "I like it that people are talking. That is part of democracy. But I am not an active politician. I want to be an individual and be a political commentator. I don't want to be involved in National Party propaganda, or back the independents."

Dr de Klerk stressed that he resigned, and was not fired. "There was no threat."

He was not clear about his plans for the future. "For the moment I am unemployed. I am not interested in entering politics actively. I am not going to stand as a candidate. I am in the line of political commentary. I will have to see what direction I will take."

He said he had no knowledge of plans to launch a new Afrikaans Sunday newspaper.

He would remain a member of the Broederbond. "There is a lot of tolerance in the Broederbond. It reflects many moods in South Africa."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

The Star

3044

A Government out of control

SURELY not even the most deluded of National Party leaders can any longer pretend that the party is properly in control of itself, its followers or the country. Weekend developments included a highly critical manifesto from 28 Stellenbosch academics and the resignation of the editor of *Rapport*, Dr Willem de Klerk, in part because of political harassment by the NP.

The message from important elements of the white community is being conveyed to the Government with exceptional clarity. But such is the arrogance and ineptitude at the top that it is being mashed into Nationalist "Newspeak" pulp to soothe not just party followers but the leadership itself. Two quotes, in particular, illustrate the malaise.

"Whenever a newspaper supports a particular party, it is only natural that the party would take steps when it believes that the support was one-sided or even counter-productive."

Mr F W de Klerk, in talking of his brother's resignation, clearly has not the slightest concept of the role of a proper newspaper. He wants his Press to be lackey to the Party. It is a disturbing attitude. Worse is the nonsense talked by Mr Chris Heunis in response to the academics' manifesto.

"The independence of the courts, free elections, freedom of speech and other social freedoms and rights, as well as the protection of individuals and of groups against the misuse of power are declared policy."

This Government eroded all those rights — long before any Emergency. It tampered with the courts, subverted justice, promoted discriminatory laws and forced thousands from their homes. Latterly it has dragged tens of thousands into detention and licensed security forces to do virtually what they liked. Each day fewer people believe what the Government says about anything. A final quote from editor "Wimpie" de Klerk:

"The story that the NP had been allowing Afrikaans papers more freedom and openness was true. But it is certainly not true any more, not with the present Government. They are much stricter, harder and more demanding than the previous Government."

So much for enlightenment and reform.

CAPE TIMES 9/3/87

De Klerk's words 'being misused', says brother FW

PRETORIA. — Statements by Dr Willem de Klerk, who resigned as editor of the Sunday Afrikaans newspaper Rapport this weekend, were being misused, Mr F W de Klerk, his brother and Minister of National Education, said yesterday.

The leader of the Transvaal National Party said his brother's resignation was being coupled to the image of his party as one standing back from reform.

"The NP has no comment on Dr De Klerk's references to the directors of Rapport ... we were not involved there."

Mr De Klerk said he did not want to comment on his brother's actions.

"We do not attack each other, defend or promote" as far as politics was concerned, he said, adding that each was totally independent of the other "and we still respect this independence".

Dr De Klerk's references to the National Party did however require a response.

"There is appreciation for the positive support of the NP by him and Rapport.

However, there was also reason for dissatisfaction.

"There was ... a lack of objectivity and understanding in reportage, comment and by guest writers of the problems the government is wrestling with.

"Unnecessarily sharp and even unreasonable criticism was not excluded, and Rapport's style also gave offence on occasion."

This had resulted in sometimes sharp reaction and representations from the NP.



Mr F W de Klerk

"When a newspaper supports a particular party, it is natural that the party takes steps when it feels that support is one-sided or even counter-productive."

Mr De Klerk said he did not want to digress on the issue of specific pressure on his brother "because I was not involved".

It was the NP's view that a friendly but frank relationship should exist, particularly with that section of the press that supported it.



Dr Willem de Klerk

"Dr De Klerk's press statement is already being misused in the propaganda onslaught against the NP and its leaders.

"The slanted and untruthful image of an NP backing away from reform is now being coupled to his resignation."

In view of this, Mr De Klerk said he wanted to state categorically that the NP was committed to real, dynamic and orderly reform at all levels of society.

In the constitutional arena, the principle of power-sharing without domination by any group over another was accepted by the NP.

Powersharing on a basis which could lead to domination through a majority was rejected as this would lead to chaos and a loss of freedom and self determination.

"The maintenance of an own community life for the different communities in our country is a prerequisite for freedom.

"To want to destroy this is not reform but looking for trouble and unrealistic day-dreaming."

— Sapa

(Report by Mark van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Bld, Church Square, Pretoria.)

Ideological earthquake rocking the Nat Party, says Colin Eglin

ARGUS 9/3/87 (30CA)

By TOS WENTZEL Political Correspondent

THE continuing revolt of Afrikaner academics against the National Party leadership and the resignation of Rapport editor Dr Willem de Klerk is "an ideological earthquake", says the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin.

Mr Eglin said it was quite clear that the movement against institutionalised apartheid was gaining momentum.

It had reached the stage where there was nothing that the State President, Mr PW Botha, and other old-time politicians could do to stop it.

For the National Party this was not only a political rumble; it was an ideological earthquake.

It was going to rock the very foundations of the National Party's race policy, Mr Eglin said.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, today urged academics to continue discussions with the Government. But Professor Sampie Terreblanche pointed out that discussions and other approaches had been tried in vain for 18 months.

He believed, however, that if the desired results could be achieved further discussions could be considered.

At the weekend 28 Stellenbosch academics demanded the final scrapping of apartheid and called on the Government to declare its intention to share power effectively with blacks.

Mr Heunis, who is also the Cape Nationalist leader, said it was generally known that the Government accepted that there should be more effective power-sharing in national affairs, without domination, and that demands for self-determination had to be given effect through devolution of power.

Many reform initiatives had come after urgent and in-depth discussions with academics from various universities, including some of the signatories of the Stellenbosch statement.

It was in the country's interests that these discussions should continue.

He and his colleague were, however, practical politicians who had to handle all factors which had a restraining influence on the reform process.

Reform had to be a viable process and the country's economy was a critical factor in this regard.

The Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act were the subjects of an investigation and he assumed that the Stellenbosch discussion group would communicate its viewpoints, or had done so, to the President's Council.

Like the academics the Government also believed in stability and security during the process of reform. This had always been the Government's greatest responsibility toward all citizens. Threats to this stability and security were, however, a factor which delayed the reform process.

It was the Government's responsibility to curb these in order to continue with the reform process.

PETER FABRICIUS of the Political Staff reports that according to opposition political commentators the revolt on the left of the National Party has now snowballed.

Disssatisfaction with the pace of reform was a national phenomenon, Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate in Helderberg, said.

Dr Worrall, former ambassador to London, said the National Party was trying to show that his own resignation was a personal matter.

"It should be very evident now with the revolt of the Stellenbosch academics and now Willem de Klerk's resignation, that we are dealing with a national phenomenon.

"The Government has completely underestimated the readiness of white South Africans for change.'

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the PFP, said: "It must be significant politically when a man like Willem de Klerk decides he can't carry on as a newspaperman.

"If anyone has tried his best to give a positive fact to National Party — and as he himself said often at the expense of compromising his intellectual integrity — it is Willem de Klerk."

Mr Wynand Malan, the former National Party MP standing as an independent in Randburg, said Dr de Klerk's resignation was another indication of the snowballing opposition to the National Party.

Mr Malan said the whole election debate had changed from the issues which the National Party would have liked to emphasise — such as the ANC, sanctions and the west — to a debate about the future of the country.

"And this is not the initiative of the NP. They are bankrupt of any vision for the future."

Dr Worrall said the growing dissatisfaction with the pace of reform showed that white South Africans were prepared to tackle the fundamental issues.

"Willem de Klerk was quite specific in his column yesterday. Though the Government calls for a mandate for reform, it is not really facing up the implications.

"Unless it places the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act on the election agenda, its credibility and bona fides will be challenged."

Dr Worrall said it was too early to say if the whole focus of the election was changing from the expected NP fight with the far right to a fight on the left.

"But certainly the Government has misread public opinion. It has made a serious mistake in not tackling the right head-on.

"The right-wing revolt is a result of insecurity and uncertainty about the future.

"It is the Government's failure to provide the vision which millions of South Africans are craving, that has generated this insecurity."

(Report by T Wentzel and P Fabricius, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

'Revolt' cause of De Klerk quitting

Political Correspondent

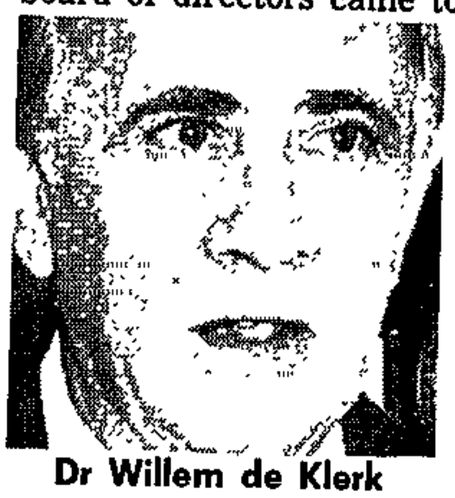
THE revolt of independents against the National Party and the coverage given to this by the Sunday newspaper Rapport were the immediate reasons for the resignation of the newspaper's editor, Dr Willem de Klerk.

Now Dr de Klerk may leave the party if it fails to accommodate the mood for reform.

He gave an indication of this last night when he said he might at some stage no longer feel at home in the National Party.

Meanwhile, sharp differences between Dr de Klerk and his brother, Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, have emerged. Mr de Klerk said Rapport's style on occasions offended the party, while Dr de Klerk said the newspaper was not an official Nationalist organ.

According to sources close to Rapport, tension between Dr de Klerk, the party leadership and the newspaper's board of directors came to a head the week before last.



Dr Willem de Klerk

This was after the newspaper gave great prominence to the activities of dissident Nationalists who were moving out of the party to become independents.

Some of the accusations against Dr de Klerk were that the newspaper nurtured the rebels by providing them with a platform. Rapport's political chickens were coming home to roost, it was said.

Ironically, Dr de Klerk's last political column yesterday was an attempt to show that the National Party was not moving to the left. It was clearly an attempt to help the party in its fight against a determined conservative onslaught, especially in the Transvaal.

Rapport's political line has been under suspicion among top Nationalists for some time.

When President P W Botha had a pre-election conference with Nationalist newspaper editors and political writers in Tuynhuys last month Rapport was pointedly not invited.

Defending his actions in a television interview last night, Dr de Klerk said it was the duty of a newspaper to follow the news line of a newspaper report, even if it might differ from the National Party's policy. The newspaper was not an organ of the party.

If the party could not accommodate the mood to the left of it, he would not longer feel at home in it.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Key difference between HNP and CP is division of seats

Right-wing parties get closer to election pact

3044 STATE 9/3/87

The possibility of a right-wing election agreement between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party had started to improve over the past few days, HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday.

"Letters which indicate further positive developments are now being exchanged," he said in Pretoria on the latest development in ongoing moves to unite the two parties to present a combined conservative front to the National Party on May 6.

Negotiations between the two parties had almost bogged down, and political observers had predicted that an HNP/CP agreement was unlikely because of the differences between the two.

Mr Marais said the HNP had not yet been informed by the CP what its proposals on a division of constituencies was.

According to proposals by the leader of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, accepted in principle by the CP, the CP would keep its 17 seats, the HNP its one seat in Sasolburg and 11 others for its senior members. The division of the remainder would be worked out by constituency committees. The two leaders should first agree, in writing before March 30, to form one party before the end of the year.

Bound by congress decision

Mr Marais said his party had already responded to the CP's demand that this commitment be sealed by tomorrow.

"The HNP's problem with this demand is that, like the CP, it is bound to decisions of its (annual) congress."

The HNP's congress had consistently spoken out against against a hasty unification, but was in favour of co-operation and joint growth of the parties to lay the foundation for a solid unity.

"These congress decisions bind the HNP, and no party body, besides the congress, can revoke them," said Mr Marais.

Unification with the CP presupposed the dissolution of the HNP, and this was by its very nature the most far-reaching decision which could be taken about a political party — something which could only be decided by congress.

Mr Marais added: "I have therefore written to the CP to the effect that the only course which can be taken, is that I undertake to present its demands for unification before 1988 to the 1987 congress of the HNP for consideration and a decision."

The HNP's congress is scheduled for September. — Sapa.

(Report by M van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria).

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Nat plan a flop, says Minister

E. Post 9/3/87

304A

JOHANNESBURG — The plan devised by the National Party in 1981 for black political rights was "on the rocks", the Afrikaans morning newspaper Beeld today reported the party's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, as saying.

This was the reason the NP was now asking for a new mandate to incorporate blacks in decision-making processes without dominating whites.

Mr De Klerk was addressing a closed information meeting in the Pretoria constituency of Innesdal when he made "this important policy statement", the article said.

The NP plan had been to establish local authorities in which urban blacks had political rights and to give blacks a vote in the governing of their homelands.

"After 14 years in Parliament, nine of these years as a Minister, I can tell you we tried hard to make this work. But we have now come to the realisation that it cannot work," he said.

"Our theory is on the rocks. People want a vote where they live.

"Just as little as someone whose grandfather who came from Holland would not want a vote there, a black man living is Soweto would not want a vote in one or other far away national state."

Mr De Klerk said every country at some time faced a crossroads where it could no longer resist the need to move into a new chapter of its history. South Africa was at that junction today.

The article said Mr De Klerk had made an "earnest acknowledgement that the old system that had served well over decades no longer worked" and decisive changes were necessary if "big trouble" was to be prevented.

The constitution would have to be changed just as the former constitution had been changed to include coloureds and

● Turn to Page 2

Plan for blacks on the rocks, says Minister F W de Klerk

● From Page 1

Indians in Parliament.

Mr De Klerk said it was untenable that a minority of whites should rule over a majority of blacks. It had worked nowhere else in the world and would not work in SA.

"A Conservative Party Government would possibly manage to keep putting the lid on the pot for another five years. But after that, the pot will explode and blow us and our future into the air," Mr De Klerk said.

The realisation that its past policies had failed had brought the NP to a critical moment: political freedom for blacks had to be realised without the destruction of white self-determination, he said.

"We dare not drag our feet over this issue. Powers want to mobilise black people for the revolution and tell them not to talk, to grab matches and a weapon. When the blood flows they get everything."

He criticised the Progressive Federal Party and independent candidates for disregarding what he termed the reality of separate ethnic groups. — Sapa

(Report by Tim du Plessis, 32 Miller Street, New Doornfontein.)

● See Page 10

Rebel Nats say SA curbs must go

JOHANNESBURG — Three rebel nationalists — Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Wynand Malan — today said restrictions on black politics and the media must be eased to stimulate constitutional dialogue.

In the first joint statement of their common campaign as independent candidates in the forthcoming white elections, the trio said "black politics must be freed" and "there must be a free flow of information" for moderates of all races to begin negotiation.

Dr Worrall, former Amabassador to London, Dr Lategan, a businesswoman and former NP member from Stellenbosch, and Mr Malan, former MP for Randburg, are contesting key constituencies in a bid to capture the votes of Nationalist supporters disenchanted with the slow pace of reform.

"There is still time to fulfil the common vision of the moderate majority which occupies the middle ground in South African politics. This middle ground transcends colour lines. The time has come to turn that vision into reality by starting negotiations that can be seen by all to be negotiations," the statement said.

Moderates of all races were seeking a political programme to express a new spirit that "seeks a democratic South Africa with equal rights and safety for all its citizens".

"The new spirit already exists. We did not create it. We are merely its focal point. We are not a political party. It would be presumptious now to confine or inhibit this new, dynamic spirit," they said. — Sapa

(News by Eddie Koch, 66 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

Bus. Day 10/3/87

304A

PFP and Nats take opposing lines

New Nat views lauded, damned

THE election manifesto of the three independent New Nat candidates was a positive contribution and pointed SA in the right direction, PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

But the four provincial leaders of the NP and party candidates against Wynand Malan in Randburg, Denis Worrall in Helderberg and Esther Lategan in Stellenbosch described it as lacking vision.

The manifesto calls for scrapping apartheid laws and for initiatives on negotiations "aimed at the common, over-riding objective of one SA with equal rights, justice and safety for all".

Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, Cape leader Chris Heunis, Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Natal leader Stoffel Botha said in a joint statement: "At first glance it creates the impression that there is precious little question of a new vision for which Dr Worrall and his partners have created such expectations.

"It seems to contain a strange mix of existing government policy and the PFP's criticism of it, together with a number of warped interpretations of government's aims with the state of emergency and its general policy and approach."

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

The manifesto proposes that the chief justice or a senior judge be asked to summarise all available constitutional options. These should then be published so that all political groupings can use them as a starting point for constitutional dialogue.

Black politics should be freed to become properly organised, it says. The courts and proper judicial procedures should again come into their own and there must be a free flow of information to ensure everybody is properly informed.

A timetable for scrapping the Group Areas Act should be set. There should be a Bill of Rights and freedom of association. Regional initiatives aimed at local co-operation, such as the Natal Indaba, should be encouraged.

The new spirit in SA is directed "at the general election which constitutionally must be held at the end of 1989", it says.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

De Klerk says PW pressured Rapport

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — President P W Botha himself put pressure on former *Rapport* editor Willem de Klerk to change the political line of his newspaper.

"He told me so directly on several occasions that he was not pleased with my kind of political journalism. That I was not furthering the aims of the National Party," De Klerk told BBC radio yesterday.

De Klerk said pressure had come from Botha at least three or four times in the past two years. It had also come from *Rapport*'s board of directors and the chairman of the board.

He was told the newspaper was too sympathetic towards the independent movement, "too enlightened".

He had resigned because his political integrity and credibilty were at stake. De Klerk's resignation and the statement by 27 Stellenbosch academics attacking President P W Botha's policies have received wide coverage in the British media with both *The Times* and the *Guardian* carrying leading articles on the growing disaffection with Botha.

The Times said the Stellenbosch statement was a damning indictment of Botha and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

In its leading article the *Guardian* said those in the independent movement could not be seen as progressive.

Archbiship of Cape Town Desmond Tutu said in London yesterday Botha was almost certainly regretting having called the forthcoming white election.

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Motivation for regional plan

EAST LONDON — The new regional government plan for the Border area will lay emphasis on more participatory rather than representative democracy.

This emerges in the motivation for the plan which was unveiled here yesterday and which is being considered by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The motivation says that in future constitutional development in South Africa, there will have to be greater emphasis on regionalism to give expression to the diversity of the various regions in Southern Africa and also to bring government closer to the people.

"This regionalism will go hand in hand with the devolution of power and the formation of upgraded regional governments with legislative and executive powers that are just below the central authority."

It says that the provincial level, as the third phase of constitutional reform will have to be adapted to fit in with the other levels of government and to give expression to greater regionalism.

"The proposed structure endeavours to further this approach and takes into consideration the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Border area in relation to other areas in South Africa."

Dealing with relations with Ciskei and Transkei, the motivation said: "It is vitally necessary for the Border area to establish direct links of communication over national boundaries. Only by doing so can it ensure purposeful development of the region as a whole.

"The definite economic interdependence between the Border area and its neighbours make it absolutely essential that a local structure be established to deal on equal footing and direct basis with the two adjoining national states.

"A government structure based within the Border area is a prerequisite for this to happen and for the area to move into a Kwa-Natal indaba situation. In respect of the latter, this was facilitated by the existence of a provincial authority and the fact that KwaZulu is self-governing and not independent placing the two parties on basically equal footing."

The motivation said improved communication was also essential with the South African authorities. Most situations requiring government action now are channelled through regional offices and from there to the seat of government.

"Decisions taken are then channelled back to East London. This is a time-consuming exercise that requires duplication of staff and which hampers effective government."

The motivation notes that the new structure "will provide commmunication, co-ordinating and monitoring of activities and that it will be ancillary to and co-operate with existing government departments and authorities and not usurp their powers or interfere with their line function."



The chairman of the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee, Mr Errol Spring, left, and the co-authors of a plan for restructuring the decision-making process in the region, the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the constitutional development sub-committee, Mr Allister Lightbody.

PFP plan: reform through an alliance of moderates

10/3/87 1304A Stu

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party today launched its election manifesto — an ambitious plan to convince voters that an alternative government can be built through an alliance of reform-minded "moderates".

At the top of the PFP's manifesto is a commitment to building this new alliance. The party's election pact with the New Republic Party (NRP) and its decision not to oppose key independent candidates, is the foundation for the strategy to eventually oust the National Party from power.

The party, which launched its political platform at a Press conference in Johannesburg, called for the scrapping of all discrimination and for a new constitution to be negotiated by all South Africans.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said in a statement his party believed in constitutional government and wanted to bring together "all those who prefer peace to violence, and who are prepared to work together for a new, non-racial, democratic South Africa".

The election manifesto is based on the principles of a new, negotiated constitution, equal rights for all, the sharing of political rights "without domination by one group" and a society free from apartheid.

MAINTAIN CULTURE

The PFP policy also defends the right of people to maintain their culture, stresses equal economic opportunity and individual rights.

The first issue to be addressed in the PFP's 10-point manifesto stressed the goal of "building an alternative government through an alliance of moderate South Africans who want an apartheid-free South Africa".

Other points in the manifesto were:

- The PFP is committed to real reform by repealing the apartheid laws and abolishing discrimination.
- The party wants a new constitution "through which all South Africans can participate in government without one group dominating the other".
- It calls for urgent, "real negotiation between the acknowledged leaders of all sections of our South African people".
- Security and law and order must be maintained, but this would only work "if there is racial harmony and social, economic and political justice".
- The PFP is committed to restoring confidence and trust in South Africa.
- The party calls for economic growth.
- It is committed to caring for the people — adequate crime-prevention, education, housing and food.
- The party wants "security for every South African".

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

Regional govt plan for Border

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The government is considering a new regional structure of government for the Border area which will entail having a cabinet minister with a special portfolio for the region.

The new plan to expedite government decision-making on the region and enable the management structure to transcend political boundaries to negotiate with Ciskei and Transkei was devised by the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee.

The wraps were taken off the plan, which could facilitate the progression toward a KwaZulu-Natal type of indaba, by the the Greater East London Co-orindating Committee chairman, Mr Errol Spring, together with the two co-authors of the plan, the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the constitutional development sub-committee, Mr Allister Lightbody.

It comes against the background of problems experienced by local authorities as well as other bodies being unable to negotiate with Ciskei or Transkei because all negotiations with the national states must be done through Pretoria's Department of Foreign Affairs in terms of protocol.

Mr De Pontes said at the press conference that the new regional management structure had already been discussed with President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei, who had welcomed it in principle.

Outlining the background to the document, Mr De Pontes said: "For some time there has been a growing feeling that we need a structure which can do two things: it must be able to make fast and effective decisions on matters pertaining to this area; and it must provide a structure which can liaise directly with our neighbouring states."

He said most of these matters fell within the ambit of the first tier of government and the motivation with the department was that a structure be set up here to cater for the plan.

Mr De Pontes emphasised that the plan would be supplementary and not a replacement of existing government structures.

The idea was that the cabinet minister with the Border portfolio would advise the cabinet on everything appertaining to the area and with his staff would have delegated authority from the various other ministries to act as their agent on their behalf in the area.

The proposed regional management structure envisages a regional functionary in the form of a cabinet minister, a small permanent secretariat to assit him administratively with his co-ordinating, monitoring and advisory functions, and an advisory committee.

The outline of the plan says it is aimed at providing an effective autonomous regional management system within a broader constitutional framework. It also aims at ensuring that the Border area remains an integral part of South Africa while giving expression to the regional differences and requirements resulting from its unique characteristics.

See also page 2

HNP-CP pact is almost certain

304A
almost
10/3/87.

PRETORIA — An election pact between the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Conservative Party (CP) is almost certain following a statement in Pretoria today by the HNP's planning committee.

The HNP has accepted proposals by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) for a division of seats with the CP in terms of an agreement reached yesterday with the AWB.

The AWB's leader, Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, who has been acting as a forceful catalyst in bringing the two parties together to present a united right-wing front to the National Party (NP), said last week the CP had accepted his proposals "in totality".

Details of the agreeement will probably still have to be thrashed out between the two, but essentially the CP will stand alone in the 17 parliamentary seats it now holds, while the HNP will put the only right-wing candidate in the field in between 10 and 12 constituencies.

The division of the remainder of the 120 or so seats to be contested by rightwingers will be worked out at constituency level, with a majority vote from members of both parties' committees counting where there is a deadlock.

The AWB's demand that the two parties commit themselves irrevocably in writing before March 30 to forming a single party after the election and before the end of the year, seems to have been put on a backburner as an issue that has been all but agreed on but which cannot be sealed immediately.

In terms of the AWB-HNP agreement yesterday, the AWB "expresses its understanding" of the HNP's dilemma that only the party's annual congress, in September can take a decision on unification.

The HNP's leader, Mr Jaap Marais, has undertaken, as proof of his preparedness to solve problems, to take the CP's demand for unification to his party congress for consideration and a decision.

The CP would understand its ultimatum that agreement on unification be sealed by today was impossible and that there was no other way but through the HNP congress.

The Planning Committee said it supported Mr Marais' standpoint wholeheartedly.

(Report by Mark van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.) — Sapa

TerreBlanche denies 'dog' jibe

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, has denied calling President Botha a "deaf dog" — as reported last week in The Star.

Mr TerreBlanche said that at the AWB meeting in Roodepoort last week he referred to Mr Botha as a "stomme man".

The Star's tape recording of the meeting says Mr TerreBlanche used the phrase "stomme hond" (dog). In its report on the meeting, The Star incorrectly translated the word "stomme" as meaning "deaf". The dictionary translation of the word "stomme" is dumb, mute, stupid or poor (depending on context).

The controversial remark was used by Mr TerreBlanche to describe Mr Botha when he said the State President did not deserve to win a single seat in the general election.

(Report by Z Vendeiro, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

aged

two



Leutwiler: 'Botha let me down on reform'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa's debt mediator Mr Fritz Leutwiler says President P W Botha let him down by not pushing ahead with promised reforms.

In an interview with the London Financial Times (FT), Mr Leutwiler said that while he was strongly opposed to apartheid, he was less than happy about the policy of Western countries to Pretoria.

Mr Leutwiler told the FT that sanctions, to the extent that they take effect, hurt the wrong people, blacks, coloureds and "also the banks".

While Western countries have sought greater contact with the ANC, Mr Leutwiler told the FT he believed the ANC should be shunned because "it has a communist face".

Mr Leutwiler, chairman of electrical engineering group Brown Boveri, insists it will not pull out of SA.

Nor, he told the FT, would it be an honest approach to sell its factories to local interests.

Commenting on his role as debt mediator, Mr Leutwiler said the banks needed some pressure to accept the 15-month interim settlement.

In effect he had to give them a take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum.

Mr Leutwiler said Dr Chris Stals had come to Switzerland in January to consult him, but with the banks talking directly to Pretoria he no longer had a direct role to play in the debt negotiations.

Right-wing pact now seems certain

304A
STAR 10/3/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

An election pact which should improve the prospects of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party dramatically on May 6 appeared to be on the cards today.

Sources in both parties confirmed that proposals on a division of seats set out by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche had been accepted in principle.

All that is needed now for a formal agreement are pledges from both sides which will set in motion the machinery to merge the parties after their congresses endorse the plan later this year.

An announcement is expected within the week.

At least two prominent election analysts have forecast that an HNP/CP alliance could win up to 35 seats in the election.

If they oppose each other they would split the right-wing vote and allow the National Party to win in up to 20 of those seats.

It was understood today that the election pact would centre on an agreement which would allow the CP to stand for the 17 House of Assembly seats it now holds.

The HNP would choose 10 seats to contest, while in the remaining constituencies the local party organisations would decide which party should stand.

A CP source said today as far as it was concerned the deal was on — and it was now entirely up to the HNP to make a decision.

An HNP source said a meeting of the party's planning committee last night had not taken a final decision, "but the atmosphere has improved markedly around here".

"I would say the prospects are that there will be an agreement as the remaining hurdles to be cleared are only minor," he said.

Neither party leader could be reached today for comment.

(Report by D Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

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CAPE TIMES 10/3/87

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Millionaire backs video on Worrall

Staff Reporter

AMERICAN-BORN millionaire Dr Robert Hall is backing a R30 000 video production on Dr Denis Worrall's fight for the Helderberg seat in an effort to loosen the SABC's stranglehold on televized election coverage.

Dr Hall, who lives in Stellenbosch, is one of many top Cape businessmen who have thrown their weight behind Dr Worrall's campaign to oust the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, from his Helderberg seat.

The latest to join the "Friends of Dr Worrall" is a former NP supporter and owner of the historic Meerlust wine estate, Mr Nico Myburgh.

Mr Myburgh publicly announced his support for Dr Worrall yesterday while part of the video was being shot at Meerlust.

He described Dr Worrall as "the light at the end of the tunnel".

"We need someone like him to show us the way. I will certainly help him as much as I can."

Dr Hall, the former owner of Sol Kerzner's Leeukoppie estate in Hout Bay, yesterday said the video was being made because the SABC was not giving Dr Worrall "adequate if any coverage".

Dr Hall, who is handling promotion and fund-raising for the Worrall camp, said the video would "give the voters in Helderberg the opportunity to listen to Dr Worrall's questions and answers which, in all fairness, the SABC should be reporting".

"We have had a strong demand, mostly from Stellenbosch and a string of Afrikaner Nationalists who are desperate to understand Dr Worrall's comments and convictions on all the issues at stake in this election," Dr Hall said.

Dr Worrall yesterday again criticized the SABC for its failure to cover the launch of his campaign in Stellenbosch at the end of last month, which he said was so crowded that 200 people had to be turned away.

"This is an important election. We have an important point of view and the SABC has a public service to provide.

"I see my campaign as one of public political education which lends itself to media treatment."

Dr Worrall would not comment on allegations that the SABC had taken a policy decision not to cover independents, saying the corporation had approached him for an interview.

The SABC's senior new director, Mr Sakkie Burger, said he didn't think independent videos were called for, but said candidates had the right to convey their message any way they chose.

He said the SABC would "definitely not" screen Dr Worrall's video.

"As far as the election is concerned, we do our own stuff. There are certain rules to be followed in accordance with our policy code and we will not open the door to outside stuff."

He denied "absolutely" claims that the SABC had decided not to give any airtime to independent candidates, citing last night's television interview with Mr Wynand Malan, and the SABC's approach to Dr Worrall, as examples.

(Report by Hilary Venables, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



A scene from the movie . . . Dr Worrall (right) with one of his new supporters, Mr Nico Myburgh, leaving the historic Meerlust farmhouse on Mr Myburgh's wine estate. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

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Founded:
Head Offi

Govt stands by Group Areas Act, says Botha

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The Government was not worried about contraventions of the Group Areas Act because they did not happen on a large scale, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said last night.

At a meeting in Schoemansville, outside Pretoria, Mr Botha assured a questioner that he knew of many prosecutions still taking place in terms of the Act.

The Government was still committed to the principle of seperate residential areas for the different races, he said.

On the question of mixed beaches Mr Botha, Natal leader of the National Party and one-time Natal Administrator, assured members of the audience drawn from the wealthy Hartbeespoort district that their "beach houses" would be safe while the Government addressed the mixed beaches issue.

"These investments on the coast are safe. The Government is making sure that there are enough facilities for all races," he said.

Mr Botha said many of the Government's reform moves emanated from discussions held with black groups over the years.

"I must say it is not always easy to negotiate with our black fellow citizens. Sometimes the preconditions set out are unreasonable or unfair," he said.

He said there was a lesson to be learned from the kwaNatal Indaba when it came to drawing up a constitution. The political parties should discuss the issues but, at the Indaba, the "interest groups" such as agriculture were out of their depth in the constitutional and political field.

In future indabas the interest groups should make their input to the people involved in the discussions, he said.

(Report by C Robertson, 216 Vermuelen Street, Pretoria 0002)

Verwoerd's son in voters' roll row

Own Correspondent

MIDDELBURG — The National Party in Ermelo is to apply for Mr Hendrik Verwoerd to be taken off the Ermelo voters' roll because they say he does not live in the constituency.

Mr Verwoerd, son of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, is on the executive of the Oranjewerkers Association, based in the town of Morgenzon in the Ermelo constituency.

According to Mr Louis Rothman, chairman of the Ermelo NP, Mr Verwoerd registered in the Ermelo constituency giving a Morgenzon office address.

However, said Mr Rothman, Mr Verwoerd "as far as we know lives in Pretoria and has never lived in Morgenzon".

According to a Department of Home Affairs spokesman voters "must have ordinary residence in a constituency to qualify as a voter in that constituency".

All attempts by The Star to contact Mr Verwoerd were unsuccessful.

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000.)

Don't trust Right — FW

Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Two right-wing Afrikaner groups, unable to make peace between themselves, cannot be trusted to make peace between South Africa's various population groups, Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk said last night.

Speaking to a crowd of 350 supporters Mr de Klerk said even at this late hour the CP and HNP continued fighting and insulting one another.

The PFP likewise, Mr de Klerk said, had saddled themselves with a horse which was in the process of bucking them.

"Those few independants who supported them have proved directionless and the PFP have not even been able to muster the support of all the MP's of the dying NRP," he said.

Mr de Klerk called on all white South Africans to stop bluffing themselves.

The millions of blacks not living in the national states would, he said, always be here.

"A minority cannot always dominate a majority and a formula must be found to accomodate all South Africans.

"Our present situation cannot continue any longer and all in our country must have equal opportunity and freedom, else we are in the process of building a time bomb," he said.

"A political formula must be found for these people who no longer can be expected to be satisfied with municipal rights only," he said.

Mr de Klerk said he was "shocked" that the PFP in Nelspruit had placed an advertisement in the local newspaper calling on voters to "stand for sharing of political rights without domination of one group by another", Sapa reports.

The advertisement's content amounted to "political dishonesty" and showed "absolute double standards" he said.

(Report by C Johnson, Sigrit Centre, De Waal Street, Nelspruit 1200, and M van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria 0002)



Born-again Otto sends out SOS

The Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate for Ermelo, Mr Hennie Otto, has sent out an "SOS" to the country's right wing.

Mr Otto, a former mayor, placed advertisements in local newspapers calling on rightwing groups to nominate only one candidate for the election.

"It is of vital importance for the survival of different race group identities that we come together," he explained.

He said he sent out the SOS as a "born-again Christian".

Ermelo is currently held by Mr J J Tempel of the National Party. He was returned to Parliament in 1981 by 467 votes over the HNP's 4 557 votes.

At present the Ermelo seat looks like a three-cornered fight.The Conservative Party has nominated an attorney, Mr Moolman Mentz.

Both the NP and CP say they are confident of a victory at the polls, but Mr Otto feels he can win only if there is one rightwing candidate.

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg 2000.)

Heard in the hustings

Johannesburg North Nationalist candidate Mr Mike Roberts, at a meeting in Houghton on Monday: "As the Frenchman said: enough of this love talk, down with the pants."

★ ★ ★

Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk, at Nelspruit last night: "The enemies of the NP must not rely on the so-called New Nats."

★ ★ ★

PFP candidate in Simonstown, Mr John Scott, in Fish Hoek last night: "Our tragedy is the numbers of people on fixed incomes. They will starve to death if they have the temerity to live long enough."

★ ★ ★

Minister of Law amd Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, at Meyerton last night: "People say we will not get this right because we cannot satisfy everybody. You cannot get Nelson Mandela and Eugene TerreBlanche at the same table and satisfy them both. But we must look for a solution."

★ ★ ★

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, at a meeting in Houghton on Monday: "I would like Nelson Mandela out of jail. I think his wife is making millions while he is sitting in jail. She's the biggest capitalist of the lot."

★ ★ ★

Mr Pik Botha again: It was nonsense to say there was no Press freedom in South Africa when no newspaper [illegible]

Application date for postal votes

Voters who cannot go to election booths personally on May 6 must submit their applications for postal votes by 4 pm on Friday May 1.

Applications for postal votes opened last Saturday.

The Department for Home Affairs [illegible]

Worrall and Malan will 'lose reform chances'

By Susan Pleming

Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan should have tried to force reform within the National Party, says the NP election candidate in Jeppe, Mr Hennie Bekker.

He said in an interview yesterday that Dr Worrall and Mr Malan had done a "fantastic job" from the inside. "My criticism against them is that they will lose a lot of the opportunities they would have had if they had stayed in the party."

He said he did not believe the independents had enough "ground-swell" to be elected [illegible]

Nat outsider to take on Gastrow

Cape Town — The National Party now has an outsider taking on national chairman of the PFP Mr Peter Gastrow for his Durban Central seat.

Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, announced today Mr Robbie Viljoen, former Port Natal MPC, had withdrawn for health reasons to be replaced by Pietermaritzburg businessman, [illegible]

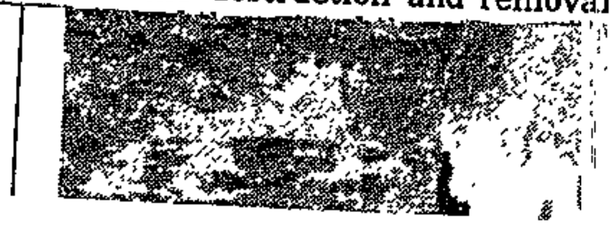
Vlok reveals three-pronged plan to fight revolution

Political Correspondent

South Africa must address the legitimate grievances of its communities no matter what the price, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said last night.

At a National Party election meeting in Meyerton, Mr Vlok outlined the three prongs of the Government's counter-revolutionary strategy.

The first was security action and the destruction and removal [illegible]



Call for Border region indaba

QUEENSTOWN — A Queenstown election candidate last night called for a Border indaba to work out the political future of the region and urged that the African National Congress be invited to attend.

Speaking at a meeting in Cathcart near here, the NRP-PFP alliance candidate, Mr Robert Edlmann, said those invited [illegible]

COUNCILLOR TOOK BRIBES — CLAIM



Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, met his ay. He came face-to-face with a wax effigy of himself aud's waxworks museum. The portrait, modelled chbishop last May, wears an exact replica of the ock. Can you recognise the real Tutu?

THE police are investigating allegations of bribery against a top official of the Tembisa Town Council in the East Rand.

The official is alleged to have received R3 000 from two Tembisa businessmen after he had promised them sites.

The men claim in affidavits submitted to the police that they have not been given the sites by the official. One claims he paid the official R2 000 and the other R1 000.

The money was allegedly paid in January.

Court

An East Rand police spokesman said he could not say when the official would appear in court. "As soon as we are through with out investigations, the man will be charged," he said.

One of the businessmen said in an affidavit that he applied for a business site in September last year.

"When I did not hear from the City Council of Tembisa, I approached Mr X. Mr X advised me that I would not get the site unless and until I gave him a sum of R1 000," he said.

"On January 9, 1987 I gave Mr X R1 000. I was in the company of my driver. I was not given any receipt."

The other businessman said in his affidavit: "On a Monday (I cannot remember the date) I went to Mr X's place, where he said if I offered him R2 000 I would get the site."

He gave the official R2 000 on January 20 this year.

He said he was accompanied by his son when he gave the official the money.

"Up to now I have not yet received the promised site," the man said in the affidavit.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

'Mr X promised housing sites'

PFP may form alliance

THE Progressive Federal Party would form an alliance with groups, including the African National Congress, which wanted an apartheid-free South Africa, the chairman of the party's federal executive Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg on the party's general election policy document, Mr Andrew said they wanted to build an alternative government.

He said such a government would then:

- Remove all apartheid laws;
- Negotiate a democratic constitution; and
- Bring about stability through racial harmony and justice for all in our country.

He said: "In this way we will restore confidence and trust in South Africa and get our economy going again.

"Economic growth is essential to be able to tackle our many social and economic problems such as inflation, unemployment, inadequate pensions and accommodation for our senior citizens, malnutrition, crime and the acute shortage of housing," he added.

He said every South African needed security for himself, his family, his home, his job, his business and his country.

The PFP believed in negotiating a new constitution with genuine black leaders such as Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

304A
Sowetan
11/3/87

Nationalists and former Nationalists have delivered damning indictments of the NP's policy, leadership and lack of vision since the election campaign started. These are the views of insiders, some of whom have since quit to oppose the party they know intimately and once supported fervently . . .

Those inside PW's cupboard know it is bare

304H 11/3/0 **MICHAEL ACOTT** B1 Dey 304A

WITHIN days of President Botha's New Year election announcement, Denis Worrall — former Nationalist Senator and MP — resigned as South African ambassador in London.

Worrall said he was standing as an independent against Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis because Heunis was "part of the problem" and described the NP's election manifesto as "yesterday's politics, like a two-year-old lettuce salad".

"Government's reform programme has shut down. Its election manifesto, the refusal to put the abolition of the Group Areas Act up front, the rejection of the Indaba and the failure to offer anything more specific than city states, are clear indications of this."

The NP was missing out on "a new spirit in the land, a spirit which thirsts for a clear, shared vision of a democratic future," Worrall said. "Government is misreading the public's readiness for fundamental change."

While Worrall was preparing his campaign, Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg and a leading Nationalist *verligte*, resigned from the NP and announced that he, too, would contest the election as an independent candidate.

Malan said after his resignation: I am afraid the NP can no longer meet the political aspirations of the SA people as a whole, nor provide the vision for a new, united and a free country."

He told Parliament during the no-confidence debate that the NP finds itself in a transitional phase, where it is losing its ideology without being able to replace it with a policy".

"The party no longer has a clearly directed vision; it no longer offers a goal towards which its every action is aimed."

The NP had spelt out principles accepting universal suffrage without domination, a say for all at all levels, and that SA could only have one government.

"But when we had to give meaning to them, we retreated and refused to accept the consequences of what we had said," Malan stated.

"The time for reform as government strategy is passed. In most extra-parliamentary communities, for instance, the scrapping of discriminatory measures is no longer relevant. The keys to the future lie in security management and in negotiation, with both aimed at a united SA with equal rights for all."

This was followed by the academic revolt at Stellenbosch, led by prominent members of Botha's own Nationalist think-tank and a similar protest at Bloemfontein,



☐ **WORRALL . . . "a new spirit"**

in the heart of Free State Afrikanerdom.

Sampie Terreblanche, Stellenbosch economics professor and one of the NP's leading theoreticians, resigned from the party, saying: "I have become convinced that government under its present leadership does not possess the will or the vision to bring about appropriate reforms, and also that a plan for reform does not exist.

"For many years I placed my academic freedom and integrity at risk in order to lend credibility to government's alleged reforms.

"As a social scientist I co-operated for a long time to bring the true nature of the SA problem to the attention of people in government circles, but without the necessary success."

His criticism of the NP was subsequently endorsed by another Stellenbosch academic, *verligte* Nationalist philosopher Willie Esterhuyse.

The NP was accused, Esterhuyse said, of lacking a vision which generated hope, which made people enthusiastic, which gripped them in an imaginative way, which mobilised black people against revolution, would dissuade people from emigrating and restore trust in SA's currency.

He included himself among those seeking new ideas and visions, and said independent thinking had not died within the NP in the face of party loyalty and propaganda.

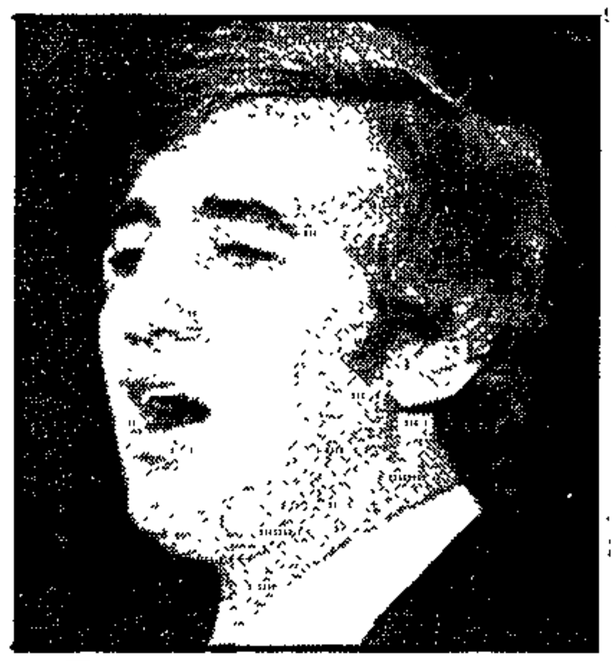
"We talk of ideas and visions that are freed from the prison of statutorily entrenched race and colour criteria; which publicly and earnestly deal with the principle of free association and dissociation; which accept community values and interests as a departure point; and which make no secret of the fact that blacks will sit in a future parliament — whatever its structure may be."

Last week, 28 Stellenbosch academics criticised the NP in a joint "manifesto" which expressed their concern "not only about the tempo of the reform process in SA, but also about its character and direction".

"Groups must be allowed to associate freely and to define themselves across the colour bar on the basis of a commitment to common values and ideals," they said.

"All South African citizens must be represented in the central Parliament of the country, and on all other levels of decision-making, in such a way that they have an effective say, which is acceptable for a majority, in the decision-making process.

"This implies that we recognise that a situation will eventually be



☐ **MALAN . . . "a united SA"**

reached in SA in which the whites, as this group is currently defined by statute, will relinquish their exclusive and decisive ability to enforce decisions which have consequences for all SA's people."

The latest condemnation of Nationalist reformism has come from Willem de Klerk, Broederbonder and former editor of the *Transvaler* and *Rapport*.

The man who coined the words *verlig* and *verkramp* told the nation not to expect far-reaching post-election reforms under Botha's NP.

De Klerk resigned last weekend as editor of *Rapport*, citing continued government pressure on him to toe the NP line, to soften criticism and to promote the party image.

In his final column, De Klerk said that people who believed the NP would move several steps to the left after the election were wrong.

Refuting some "overheated expectations" of government's post-election direction, he said it was not true that the NP would break

11/03/87

3049

Finally, De Klerk said, it was not true that a pressure group would develop within the NP after the election which would move the party to accommodate the demands on its left. There were plans for such a group, but what could it achieve?

"After the election the NP will be caught in the basics of its election manifesto."

De Klerk's brother and critic, Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, admitted last weekend that the NP plan for black political rights had failed. He told a closed Nationalist gathering that the idea of forcing blacks to exercise their political rights in the homelands would not work.

"Our theory has run on to the rocks. People want to vote where they live and work."

De Klerk said a new mandate for a new, and so far unspecified, plan would have to be sought at the May 6 election.

☐ REPORT by Michael Acott, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

away from thinking based on four race groups, because it knew this posed no solution to SA's problems.

"The NP stands firm on its cornerstone of race groups as the division which must apply to all levels of government. This is non-negotiable and there is no indication that the NP is considering a compromise on this."

It was not true, De Klerk said, that the NP would repeal the Group Areas Act after the election. There would be adjustments at most, but the NP was committed to separate schools and residential areas and "grey areas" was not part of official NP terminology.

It was not true that the NP would let free association take its course or allow political groups to build power bases across racial lines. The "race group idea of own affairs and general affairs" was a cornerstone of NP policy.

It was not true that the NP would work in the direction of one Parliament, including blacks, and move in the direction of a federation under a new constitution. It wanted to build up black political rights from black municipalities, regional authorities operating like city states and homeland authorities.

They would be joined in a National Council, which could lead to a Council of State in which all race groups could formulate general affairs policy.

It was not true that the NP would allow regional solutions after the election, or regional power-sharing structures which might later be combined at the highest level. "The KwaNatal Indaba was shot down as an untenable model."

Election coverage 'one-sided'

PFP and CP set to take action against SABC

THE PFP and CP are preparing to take separate legal action against the SABC over its election coverage.

Both parties accuse the SABC of blatantly pro-NP coverage and say the election should be fought on equal broadcasting terms for all parties.

The PFP yesterday briefed counsel to establish what rights it would have if a case of bias were proved.

The CP is closest to court action and has engaged senior counsel to prove a case of biased reporting against the SABC.

PFP MP David Dalling says a meeting between party leader Colin Eglin and SABC director-general Riaan Eksteen to discuss the corporation's election coverage has been set for March 18.

The CP bluntly rules out talks with the SABC.

CP Transvaal regional chairman Clive Derby-Lewis says: "We've already gone that route before, and had no satisfaction. The SABC refuses to commit itself to equal treatment for parties."

HAMISH McINDOE

The PFP has also commissioned Rhodes University to analyse, on a weekly basis, the SABC's news bulletins and current-affairs reports on the election.

Dalling says this material will — if necessary — be used in court.

The PFP's hardening of its attitude to the SABC's election coverage follows Sunday's screening of Daan Retief's film biography of President P W Botha, called "PW, the man behind the name". The PFP has slated the film as blatant NP propaganda.

CP reaction to the film was also heated, but Derby-Lewis says the party's main grievance against the SABC is over its coverage of the CP-HNP negotiations on "Network" last Wednesday. It was blatantly one-sided, he says.

In terms of the Act governing the SABC, its reporting must be fair and impartial.

Traces of Nazism in AWB - Nats

304A EPOST 11/3/87

NELSPRUIT — A carefully worded National Party (NP) election pamphlet says there are clear traces of Nazism and anti-Semitism in the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's (AWB) official documents.

Copies of the bilingual pamphlet were distributed in Nelspruit last night at a meeting addressed by the NP's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Entitled "Concealed by Jackboots and Piety", the four-page document was compiled by former journalist and the NP's MP for Springs, Mr Piet Coetzer, on behalf of the Transvaal NP's information service.

Under the sub-heading "The True AWB", the pamphlet says the AWB professes the highest interest of the Afrikaner with the noisiest of fanfares, attempting with "unbelievable piety" to give their "struggle" a quasi-theological base.

"A detailed analysis of their official documents reveals a strange confusion of clashing ideologies and a dangerous plan for South Africa, amounting to a typical one-party African state."

The AWB's introductory letter, programme of principles and manifesto reject democracy and the parliamentary institution "no fewer than 15 times" and the movement openly declares its main aim to be the establishment of an authoritarian system in SA.

The NP claims the AWB exposes itself as a "purely socialist movement", rejecting capitalism and even envisaging industrial nationalisation similar to other African states.

Sections of the AWB documents could be inserted, unchanged, into typical Communist propaganda.

The AWB also rejected freedom of speech and freedom of the Press.

"Traces of Nazism are clear throughout these documents.

"On the one hand the *herrenvolk* idea appears on 12 different occasions in the three documents, while on the other hand there are also seven anti-Semitic statements."

The NP also claims that, according to the AWB approach, "religion should actually be guided by politics".

"They even prescribe to the Church that it must accept the AWB's political ideology."

It is against this background that the cooperation between the AWB and the Conservative Party (CP) should be regarded, the NP says.

"It is unthinkable that CP leaders would be aware of these facts while they share platforms and common projects with the AWB."

(Report by Mark van der Velden, 514, Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

SABC admits Malan interview was 'offensive'



Mr Malan

By RENEE MOODIE

THE SABC yesterday admitted that Monday night's "Network" interview with Mr Wynand Malan, independent Randburg candidate, was "offensive" — and said he would probably be approached again for another interview.

After SABC-TV interviewer Andre le Roux quizzed two Randburg candidates — Mr Malan and the National Party's Mr Olaus van Zyl — on their election manifesto, the Cape Times was inundated with irate callers who criticized Mr Le Roux's handling of the interview with Mr Malan.

One of them, Mr Peter Hendrickse, Labour Party MP for Addo, said Mr Le Roux's constant interruption of Mr Malan was "absolutely disgusting and showed a clear and obvious bias in favour of the government's candidate (Mr Van Zyl) who was allowed to continue ad nauseam".

Replying to these complaints yesterday, Mr Kobus Hamman, the SABC's Deputy Director-General (News), said there was a thin dividing line between a penetrating interview and interviews which gave offence.

"The SABC admits that this dividing line, in the atmosphere in which the interview (with Mr Malan) took place, was overstepped," Mr Hamman said.

Mr Malan last night said that although he had felt "aggression" in the interview, he had not found it offensive.

☐ Meanwhile, the Cape Times Johannesburg correspondent reports that the PFP and CP are preparing to take separate legal action against the SABC over its election coverage.

Both parties accuse the SABC of blatantly pro-NP coverage and say the election should be fought on equal broadcasting terms for all parties.

Edlmann calls for ANC participation in Border indaba

DD (30)A. (HB), 11/3/87

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — A Queenstown election candidate last night called for a Border "indaba" to work out the political future of the region and urged that the African National Congress be invited to attend.

The New Republic Party-Progressive Federal Party alliance candidate, Mr Robert Edlmann, said all political parties with a significant following — the Herstigte Nasionale Party as well as the ANC — should be asked to take part.

Mr Edlmann was speaking at an election meeting at Cathcart.

"These organisations were invited to the Natal Indaba, but did not accept. Well, I would invite them to a similar exercise here, too.

"I am no extremist, but if you exclude any body with identifiable leaders and a genuine following, you are not going to get the full range of opinions necessary to make such a meeting meaningful."

Mr Edlmann, a 59-year-old farmer from the Hanover area who has fought three previous elections, said that those invited to the indaba should include, beside political parties: business organisations, farmers' associations, municipalities and divisional councils, and representatives of the black, coloured and Indian communities.

"The government too should be involved," he added.

The National Party had "sat on the touchline" in Natal — which was wrong because it represented a large body of opinion in the area, as well as being the country's governing party.

"The indaba executive in Natal now want a multiracial referendum to be held to gauge support for the indaba proposals.

"If local people vote overwhelmingly in favour of them, and the government continues to veto the proposals, there could be some kind of confrontation. I am fearful of that confrontation."

To organise an indaba in the Border area, Mr Edlmann added, it would first be necessary to identify which blacks wished to remain citizens of South Africa and which preferred to belong to one of the neighbouring independent states.

Only in this way would identifiable natural leaders emerge, he declared.

"With our special problems, the Border area is in many ways unique. In a speech at Stutterheim this week, I spoke of the possibility of a national federal cantonal system, along Swiss lines, reflecting the needs of differing areas.

"Each region in this country has its own needs and problems, so we have to find a solution unique to each region. The Natal indaba was so important because it showed how peaceful negotiation in this direction could take place."

He called for "maximum devolution of power and responsibility to the lowest level of government" — and added that the most efficient means of government was of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Referring to a speech earlier this week by the National Party's Transvaal leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk, in which he said the government's plans for black political rights were "on the rocks", Mr Edlmann said:

"No one should be surprised at this. The whole concept of their race policy has foundered in spite of the fact that those of us in opposition have warned time and time again that apartheid could not work."

(News by A. Monteath, 64 Cathcart Street, Queenstown.)

NP wants a mandate to share power with blacks

MAX DU PREEZ

THE NP's main theme in all the election meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers so far has been that government needed a mandate for black "power-sharing" — but none of them spelt out how the party planned to achieve it.

Transvaal NP leader and National Education Minister F W de Klerk told an NP meeting in Innesdal the NP had a "framework for a solution" of the problem of black political rights, but the details would have to be negotiated.

De Klerk said the NP's plan for black political rights — to build black rights on local authorities with a vote in the homelands — "has run on to the rocks".

That was why, De Klerk said, government was now asking the electorate for a mandate for a new plan for blacks to share power without domination so that it could write a new constitution.

Natal leader and Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha told a meeting in Brits the NP was "fearlessly addressing the future of black political rights". He said the NP believed blacks "had to be accommodated, by way of negotiation, in structures relating to general affairs".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in Houghton that "fellow black citizens of this country must join us in decision-making affecting the interests of the country as a whole".

But not one of the Ministers explained how this black accommodation was going to be achieved — not even when they were pushed during question time.

PFP constitutional expert and director of research Professor Nic Olivier said the NP leadership was not fooling anyone any more, not even their own party supporters.

He said of their references to power-sharing: "I take it they were referring to the new gimmick of city states and a state council."

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

PFP-NRP pact is 'a forerunner'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The election agreement between the PFP and the NRP was the forerunner of a broad alliance of moderate South Africans which would eventually replace the NP government, PFP leader Colin Eglin said last night.

He told an election meeting in Umhlali that could happen far sooner than anyone would have predicted a few months ago. Eglin was supporting the PFP candidate for Umhlanga, Desi Halse.

He said the PFP-NRP alliance was made possible by "the synthetising influence of the KwaNatal Indaba".

The breakaway from the NP was gathering momentum because of frustration with its leadership, and its "arrogance after 39 years in office".

The country was realising there was a need for a society "based on voluntary association as opposed to compulsory race grouping and separation".

Eglin said: "The tide based on disillusionment with government and with commitments to real reform is becoming unstoppable."

Report by Mervyn Orchard, 36 Westguard House, Gardiner Street, Durban.

PFP threatens SABC with court

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

would not hesitate to take legal action against the SABC if the corporation's coverage of the election was unsatisfactory, PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday after meeting top SABC officials.

Commenting on the hour-long meeting, PFP media spokesman Dave Dalling, who was also present, said the PFP team and the SABC men had not been "able to find each other or reach any agreement".

The PFP had gone to discuss with SABC director-general Riaan Eksteen, deputy director-general Kobus Hamman and senior news director Sakkie Burger concern over alleged bias against opposition parties in election coverage.

Eglin said: "We will be monitoring the SABC in two ways and where we feel the coverage has been unfair we will continue to take it up with the SABC. We will be dealing with the matter politically, and if need be legally."

Dalling called on the public to assist in the monitoring of the SABC's election coverage and put in writing views of any particular bias and send them to PO Box 11250, Johannesburg, or to telephone him at (011) 788 9502.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

'SA must change quickly'

HAMISH McINDOE

SANCTIONS dominated the SA Foundation's AGM in Durban yesterday, with hopes of ending boycotts likely to be stillborn unless Pretoria moves quickly towards political change.

The Foundation's Washington director, John Chettle, spoke of hardening US attitudes in favour of plugging loopholes in existing sanctions legislation.

SA's opponents were waiting for some extreme action from Pretoria as an excuse to activate a ban on further SA exports to the US, and legislation had already been introduced to cut all trade ties, Chettle said.

He said SA had never faced a more dangerous threat to its relations with the US than it would over the next two years.

"It would be hard to resist extreme (anti-SA) legislation when it is brought up for a vote just before the US presidential election in 1988."

But he made clear that further US sanctions could be defeated.

"We should use the system to beat the system. As Secretary of State George Shultz said recently, no decision in Washington is ever final," Chettle said.

The Foundation's Paris director, Desmond Colborne, believes the spotlight on SA's foreign relations will swing from the US to Europe this year.

Colborne said European policy towards SA would only shift from sanctions to Marshall Aid-type measures if Pretoria quickly demonstrated its willingness to bring about political change.

The Foundation's London director, David Willers, warned that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would not allow her natural sympathies with SA's plight to override her political caution and allow Britain to stand isolated in its defence.

"Thatcher simply cannot afford to allow SA to become an election issue at this stage," Willers said.

This was echoed by Bonn director, Rudolph Gruber, who said the mainstream German parties opposed sanctions, but would not "stand alone if the rest of the world were united in seeking SA's downfall through boycotts".

Foundation president Fred du Plessis described the weakening of SA's economy through sanctions as the "height of folly", and said the foundation would work towards bringing SA back into the Western fold.

He noted that large sections of the SA electorate had rallied around government because of this "irrational foreign threat".

"At a stroke, sanctions solved its most pressing problem. Rather than weakening government, sanctions have strengthened it — to the point it has called a general election," Du Plessis said.

Report by Hamish McIndoe, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



● Von Schirnding

FORMER SA Ambassador to the UN Kurt von Schirnding takes over as director of the SA Foundation from Peter Sorour. Foundation president Fred du Plessis said at yesterday's AGM the foundation would work at bringing SA back into the Western fold.

Help reform, Worrall tells businessmen

3044A

SMH 12/3/87

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall has told businessmen they could make a major contribution towards getting real negotiations started in South Africa.

He said such negotiations for peaceful solutions to the country's problems could not succeed while apartheid measures such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and race classification remained.

Businessmen could help by raising an awareness of South Africa's international situation and by making known their aspirations and viewpoints.

Dr Worrall, independent election candidate for Helderberg and former South African Ambassador in London, was addressing about 200 Western Cape business people at a meeting in Stellenbosch last night. The meeting had been arranged by the Stellenbosch Chamber of Commerce.

Dr Worrall said a message which businessmen had to get across was that South Africa was a trading country which "cannot do without the world."

"We are part of the world, we must stay with the world, we must argue our case and beat sanctions," he said.

The kind of South Africa which South Africans wanted was a country based on Western values.

Asked by a member of the audience what his vision of the future was, Dr Worrall said he believed South Africans of all population groups and most political parties were "thirsting for a vision."

What most people wanted was "one South Africa which works for all South Africans."

Dr Worrall said he did not have a blueprint for the future, but certain steps ought to be taken urgently, including steps to get real negotiations going.

Regional initiatives such as the kwaNatal Indaba had to be recognised, and South Africans needed to accept that black people would not be prescribed to.

Replying to a question on the role of the African National Congress, Dr Worrall said the ANC would play a role in future.

It had to be remembered, however, that the ANC was not only in Lusaka and other centres abroad, but also in Cape Town's Guguletu township and even in parts of Stellenbosch.

A process had to be started to involve everybody in a commitment to find answers by peaceful change. The ANC would have to drop its ideas of violence, because "you cannot negotiate with people engaged in violence."

Dr Worrall said very few of South Africa's political leaders had a real understanding of the international situation.

Businesmen had the advantage that they travelled extensively and understood South Africa's involvement with the international community better than most other people.

(Report by F. Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Right-wingers in last-ditch bid for election pact

Political Correspondent

Last-ditch attempts are being made to salvage the on-off election alliance between the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) in Pretoria today.

The two parties, which appeared to be close to forming a pact a few days ago, were in disarray again last night after differences in interpretation of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) proposals which they had earlier both accepted in principle as the basis of the alliance.

The HNP planning committee was meeting urgently early today to see if there was any point in going back to the CP on that party's formula for the sharing of constituencies.

The CP head committee is standing by in Pretoria to meet in the event of any fresh developments.

Neither party leader nor AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche could be reached for comment early today.

The two latest major differences between the parties include the interpretation of what the AWB meant by giving the HNP 10 seats in the election and the CP's demand for a firm commitment from the HNP to a merger before the end of the year.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

ilations, news, pictures

Right-wing pact falters

Cape Times 12/3/87

3044

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE anticipated election pact between the right-wing parties — a move which could threaten a number of National Party seats — is faltering.

The Conservative Party yesterday made a new election offer to the Herstigte Nasionale Party, naming 10 "good" seats the HNP should fight, and set a deadline for 7.30 last night.

But the HNP ignored the deadline.

The CP later said no "conclusive" reply had been received by 7.30 and urged its workers to carry on as before.

The CP yesterday repeated its demand, which the HNP had earlier rejected, that the HNP commit itself to unity with the CP by the end of the year.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais has rejected this demand, saying that only an HNP congress, which is scheduled for October, could decide on this.

Mr Marais said last night that the CP's offer differed fundamentally from the accepted proposal and was unacceptable.

"I have called a meeting of my planning committee for tomorrow (today) to launch a full campaign. The CP has now closed the door," he said.

The CP unilaterally named the 10 "good" seats it felt the HNP should fight and some of them are seats where the right wing can expect anything but a win.

Among them are the NRP-held seat of King William's Town and the NP-held seat of Pretoria Central where neither of the two parties has bothered to name candidates yet.

In another seat, Queenstown, where the HNP has nominated Mr H P de Wet, the right wing has only the remotest chance of victory.

Apart from Rustenburg, not one of the seats offered is in the Transvaal platteland where the right wing is likely to make the most gains.

The CP offer strongly implies that the HNP will have to withdraw from all seats where the CP has nominated candidates — a virtually impossible demand.

A right-wing pact is still possible, particularly because of the obvious electoral advantages to both parties. But it seems Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is going to have to negotiate more compromises before it becomes a reality.

In yesterday's offer, the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said that "on the assumption that the HNP unites with the CP by the end of this year", the CP offered 10 "good" parliamentary seats to the HNP.

The CP would not oppose the HNP in those seats where the HNP had nominated candidates and where the CP had not nominated candidates, the statement said.

In all seats where no right-wing candidates had been nominated so far, the HNP could nominate candidates.

The CP undertook to "fully support" the HNP in all these seats.

The following seats were named in the offer: Sasolburg, Roodeplaat, Rustenburg, Pretoria West, Pretoria Central, Vryheid (Natal), Virginia, Kempton Park, Queenstown and King William's Town.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)



Mr Rusty van Druten



Mr Barend du Plessis

Cape Times 12/3/87

TV man will oppose Barend

304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior SABC newsman Rusty van Druten will stand as an independent in Florida against Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, a source close to Mr Van Druten said yesterday.

Mr Van Druten, who resigned last week, said that in terms of SABC regulations he could not comment to the press while he was still employed by them.

The source said Mr Van Druten's plans were at an advanced stage and likely to be announced on his departure from the SABC at the end of the month.

According to the source, Mr Van Druten had been a PFP member "all his life", but now felt the time had come for a new political movement which could provide for and be acceptable to South Africans across every political spectrum.

Mr Van Druten is said particularly to want to fight Mr Du Plessis because, against the backdrop of disinvestment and South Africa's economic predicament, Mr Van Druten found it "totally unacceptable that the man who is supposed to be steering South Africa's economy in an honest direction" could support the NP.

However, it is unlikely at this stage that Mr Van Druten, who has apparently spoken to Dr Worrall, will join the Worrall-Malan group.

The source said Mr Van Druten fundamentally differed from the declared manifesto of three in that he does not agree with their justification of the state of emergency.

Mr Van Druten is said strongly to oppose the detention of children.

"He believes 'evolutionary change' is an outdated phrase — change should come now, overnight."

"What disturbs him most is the country's increasing isolation in the international community."

The source said Mr Van Druten had been "effectively shelved" at the SABC since he announced his resignation.

□ In another development last night, Sandton city councillor and former mayor Mrs Zoë Marchand resigned from the PFP. She joined the NP and is going to be its candidate against PFP MP Dr Marius Barnard in Parktown.

Mrs Marchand said she had "no problems with the PFP — they treated me very well", but she believed change could best be effected through the NP.

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Election Monitor

Nat MPs opposed in all seats bar one

By BARRY STREEK

ONLY one Nationalist MP, Mr Kobus Meiring of Paarl, is at this stage of the election campaign unopposed.

Every other National Party MP, including every cabinet minister and every deputy minister, except Mr Meiring, is being opposed, either by one or more of the right-wing parties or by members of the Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party alliance.

It will be the first time for many elections that the National Party will have to fight on such a wide scale.

In previous elections, large numbers of NP MPs were returned unopposed, but this is clearly something of the past.

And it is virtually certain that Mr Meiring, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has never had to fight an election before, will have an opponent before nomination day, March 31.

The PFP is almost certain to put up a candidate in Paarl, particularly since the action committee of dissident Nationalists has decided not to put up a candidate there.

□ At present, four PFP candidates are unopposed. They are Dr Marius Barnard (Parktown), Mr Ray Swart (Berea), Mr John Malcomess (Port Elizabeth Central) and Mr Jan van Gend (Groote Schuur).

A MARITZBURG businessman, Mr Ian Alva-Wright, will replace Mr Robbie Viljoen, a former MPC, as the NP candidate in Durban Central.

Mr Stoffel Botha, NP leader in Natal, said Mr Viljoen had withdrawn for health reasons.

Mr Alva-Wright will oppose the sitting MP and national chairman of the PFP, Mr Peter Gastrow, who won the seat in 1981 with a 1 052 majority over the NRP and NP.

PFP plays conservative in Nelspruit?

AN allegation by the NP leader in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk, that the PFP in the Nelspruit constituency was playing conservative to woo voters has been rejected by the PFP's candidate there, Mr Bob Snaddon.

Mr De Klerk, speaking at an election meeting, referred to an advertisement, in Afrikaans, placed in the local newspaper calling on voters to support the PFP if they "stand for the sharing of political rights by all citizens whithout the domination of one group by another".

Mr De Klerk said he was "shocked" at this attempt to hide the PFP's conservative platteland policy in a small newspaper in the hope it would not come to national attention.

The advertisement was in direct contradiction to what PFP parliamentarians were saying in their criticism of government's recognition of group rights and the need for balanced power-sharing.

Mr De Klerk promised listeners he would expose the PFP's "political dishonesty and absolute double standards" throughout the country.

However, Mr Snaddon, a Nelspruit businessman, said yesterday that the advertisement quoted directly from the PFP's principles, contained in a pamphlet which had already been in circulation country-wide for a number of weeks.

MR SNADDON certainly has a point. The PFP's manifesto, released on Tuesday, says: "A new constitution, through which all South Africans can participate in government without one group dominating the other, must be brought into being."

CP candidate reacts to defection of 'chairman'

THE CP's candidate for Benoni, Mr Mario Valli, has reacted to the "so-called" defection of the "chairman" of the CP in Benoni, Mr M Pretorius, to the NP.

Mr Valli said Mr Pretorius had not held office in the CP since 1983 "when he vanished with the CP's records as a result of intimidation by his employer.

"But we can understand the NP's ecstasy at the thought of getting back one intimidated member of the public into their fast-diminishing fold," he said.

NRP candidate calls for Border 'indaba'

THE NRP candidate in Queenstown, Mr Robert Edlmann, has called for a Border "indaba" to work out the political future of the region and urged that the ANC be invited to attend.

Speaking at a meeting in Cathcart, Mr Edlmann said all political parties with a significant following — the HNP as well as the ANC — should be asked to take part.

"These organizations were invited to the Natal Indaba, but did not accept. Well, I would invite them to a similar exercise here, too.

"I am no extremist, but if you exclude anybody with identifiable leaders and a genuine following, you are not going to get the full range of opinions necessary to make such a meeting meaningful," he said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Cape Times 12/3/87 (306A)

Govt 'failed to act on promises'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CABINET ministers had told influential British businessmen in London to expect positive developments in regard to the Group Areas Act and other reforms and the government's failure to act on these promises had a tremendous impact on them, Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

The government's rejection of the Natal Indaba also had a "very serious" impact on South Africa's relations with Britain and British businessmen, he said.

Dr Worrall, who was speaking in Stellenbosch to more than 200 members of the Stellenbosch Chamber of Commerce and representatives of other chambers of commerce in the Western Cape, said various developments in South Africa had depressed businessmen in Britain.

"This was helped by various cabinet members who passed through London and who addressed lunches of more than 70 influential businessmen ....

"They would say in answer to questions on the Group Areas Act that there was a high-powered inquiry into it. 'Yes, you can expect positive results. Yes, peaceful answers are possible. We are negotiating. A good example of peaceful negotiation is the Indaba in Natal.'"

But at the end of 1986, the government put a lid on the President's Council report into the Group Areas Act and the Natal Indaba was dismissed by Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister of Home Affairs, who, Dr Worrall believed, was acting on behalf of the government.

South African businessmen in their own self-interest had to get around sanctions, Dr Worrall said.

"We have to do it because sanctions are here to stay unless there is a turnaround in the political situation."

South African businessmen, who had travelled extensively, understood South Africa's position in the international world.

"But the fact is that there are very few of our influential politicians who have real understanding of our international situation."

President P W Botha's statement that the Menlo Park incident had occurred in other parts of the world demonstrated a perspective of the world which was "very skew".

Businessmen should put across that "we are part of the world".

"We are a trading country. We cannot do without trading," said Dr Worrall, who was loudly applauded at the end of his speech and again after answering questions.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

DOWN THE CENTRE AND ON THE LEFT .... TWO PERSPECTIVES O

Er, ja, nee, ahem



Wynand Malan


Denis Worrall

304A
13-19/3/87 W/Mail

A critical look at what the New Nats really stand for: Same party, new faces

By PATRICK LAURENCE

IN their search for a position between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party, the *troika* of independent candidates — Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Esther Lategan — risk ending up on the fence.

Their high-sounding manifesto invites their categorisation as prevaricating *draadsitters* more than it commends them as intrepid innovators.

"Black politics must be freed so that it may become properly organised," they declare. "Action against politicians and political organisations must cease."

But, they add hastily, Emergency powers must be retained — subject to the supremacy of judicial procedures — "to secure stability during the transition period."

It has a familiar ring, sounding suspiciously like a new variant of the old "*Ja-Nee*" equivocation of the defunct United Party.

But then the UP did aspire to occupy the middle ground between the Nats and Progs and develop a chameleon-like ability to change its colours in accordance with the political terrain.

The cry in the townships is for the ban on the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress to be lifted and for Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothopeng to be released from jail.

But independents do not specifically define their position in the manifesto on that burning question. They offer a vague statement instead.

They refer to a "new spirit in our country" which yearns for "a shared vision of the future". They assert: "It asks of all political parties — excluding the extremist groups on the Right and the Left — a commitment to one South Africa."

They do not say who the extremists are. No doubt voters can fill in whatever names please them. But the implication is the phrase may include the ANC.

Wynand Malan, a Nat MP for about a decade before he finally became disenchanted with the ruling party, is explicit. He does not think the ANC should be involved in negotiations as long as it is committed to violence.

But, he adds, the ideas espoused by the ANC — as defined in the Freedom Charter — can be represented in the negotiations by forces in South Africa which eschew violence. He cites the United Democratic Front specifically.

As the political process gains momentum, the ANC, Malan reasons, may renounce violence — in which case it will be free to join in.

The ANC need not be a force led by "bandits in Lusaka," he adds. It is not clear whether he thinks the "bandits" will be superceded by internal leaders or whether they will undergo a political metamorphosis.

Former ambassador Worrall could not be contacted for comment after publication of the manifesto. But, judging from his comments so far, he thinks a "process" must first be initiated before it can or will be drawn in.

"I accept the involvement of the ANC — and of other groups — is essential to resolution of our problem," he said at his first press conference after returning to South Africa. "But that can only happen when there is a process into which they can emerge."

The trio of ex-Nats are more definite on the need to repeal discriminatory laws. "All discriminatory laws, regulations and practices — including the Group Areas Act — must be scrapped and a timetable for doing so must be set," they proclaim.

The manifesto, however, does not state whether they consider the Population Registration Act a discriminatory law.

Malan replies affirmatively when asked directly: the law must be repealed.

Worrall's brother Neil says Worrall concurs that the Population Registration Act must go. But the ex-ambassador and former chairman of the constitutional committee of the President's Council has yet to formally repudiate the racial approach to constitution-making which underlies the report he produced in 1982.

The trio of ex-Nats say they are not anti-Nat — a point which prompted Transvaal Nat leader FW De Klerk to invite them to prove it by standing against Progs.

It raises another, more fundamental question, as Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town has pointed out. It is that Worrall, at any rate, may not be really interested in changing Nat policy, but rather in altering its leadership.

Worrall is standing against Chris Heunis, one of those tipped to succeed President PW Botha. If he can defeat Heunis, or even expose his lack of popular appeal by reducing his majority substantially, he will all but eliminate Heunis from the succession stakes.

If, at the same time, the anti-Nat ultra-rightist parties score successes in the Transvaal, De Klerk's chances of taking over as president will be reduced considerably.

Elimination of Heunis and De Klerk as contenders to succeed PW Botha will open the way for Worrall's former boss: Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Giliomee speculates that Worrall's role may be to clear the path for Pik Botha and that his reward may be the Foreign Ministry.

So far there has been much talk of Worrall and Co acting as catalysts, bringing disillusioned Nats into a centrist alliance. But it is equally possible that they will use Prog votes for their own manoeuvres and ambitions in the succession struggle within the National Party.

They will need Prog votes, judging by a study of student views at Stellenbosch University by political scientist Jannie Gagiano.

He found 70 percent still support the Nats. A similar proportion of students believe the police should open fire on demonstrators if they damage property and that soldiers should be deployed to contain protest strikes.

Gagiano's findings offer a counter-poise to excitement by the *verlig* declaration by 28 rebel professors at Stellenbosch University

●A fourth independent, in the form of former SABC journalist Rusty van Druten, has decided to stand in the election. Van Druten, who resigned from the SABC last week, is expected to stand against the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis.

(Report by Patrick Laurence of 190 Marshall Street, Johannesburg)

ON THE ELECTION

No, no, no, no. Well, perhaps

Whites to the left of the PFP have decided not to put up candidates. But there's still no word from either the UDF or ANC, both caught in a tricky bind. By DAVID NIDDRIE

WHITE anti-apartheid groups to the left of the Progressive Federal Party will *not* be putting up candidates for the May 6 election.

After weeks of debate on the potential impact on white politics of an extra-parliamentary liberal-left intervention, major opposition groupings are lining up behind a position of non-participation.

Latest to go for this option is the loose grouping of Johannesburg-based opposition organisations known until now as the "alliance".

The group, which includes pro-participation organisations such as the Black Sash, will formally constitute itself as the Five Freedoms Forum at a meeting at Temple Emmanuel next Tuesday.

The "five freedoms" in its name — which representative Sheena Duncan says are "the basic requirements of any decent society" — will be unveiled at the Tuesday meeting.

Several organisations will not be taking part, however — the PFP and Women for Peace have withdrawn until after the election, and a number of United Democratic Front affiliates have said they oppose participation.

While not participating in the election, says Duncan, "we will use the election to reach white people who are disillusioned with the *status quo*, but see no solution; people in the white community who — whether they vote or not — certainly wouldn't attend election meetings or be actively involved in any other way.

"Many have become disillusioned with the government's reform policies since the referendum of 1983," she explains. "Our role is to give them a vision of a peaceful future, to persuade them there is a place for them in South Africa without apartheid, and that they have a role in achieving that society — they don't need to emigrate."

The forum rejected the idea of fielding a candidate, says Duncan "mainly because, under the Emergency, it was impossible to debate the issue fully in the structures of the organisations within the FFF." A number of these are United Democratic Front affiliates, and although the UDF has not yet formally announced its attitude to the election it is known to be formulating a position incorporating flat rejection of active participation in "a racist election."

While it will not advocate voting in the election, it will suggest that, if supporters do go to the polls, they demand that their candidates meet a number of preconditions. These are understood to include endorsement of universal franchise, an immediate end to the Emergency and other restrictions on civil rights, and endorsement of the "five freedoms."



Allan Boesak

Elsewhere in the extra-parliamentary opposition, attitudes to the election have clarified. In rapid succession in the last 10 days:

● The churches, through SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude, effectively rejected the election for further dividing an already divided society. All it could do, he told a meeting at Wits university last Wednesday, was make the black, voteless majority more "tense, frustrated, bitter and angry".

● UDF patron Allan Boesak called for a complete boycott — including a stayaway by the PFP. Boesak's statement, made in New York, has pre-empted a formal pronouncement by the UDF, expected in the next two weeks. The organisation is known to have completed canvassing its affiliates some days ago and to be formulating a position which, while conceding nothing to a "racist election", will apparently attempt to address the issue more seriously than to suggest a PFP boycott.

The African National Congress, too, has yet to pronounce on the election. But, like the UDF, it is caught in a double bind: Both are traditionally inclined to favour a blanket boycott — as they did in the coloured and Indian elections for the tri-cameral parliament.

Both argue that extra-parliamentary pressure has, directly and indirectly, been responsible for the new fluidity in white politics — an argument in favour of a straight boycott call.

But a major thrust for both ANC and UDF is the isolation of Botha's government.

And while a good PFP showing at the polls on May 6 will both demonstrate and accelerate the process of white alienation from the government, any overt hostility to participation in the election is likely to hit the Prog candidates.

Some indication of the delicacy of this problem was the UDF's first statement on the election, three weeks ago, which concentrated on the sins of the National Party, rather than on the election itself.

(Report by David Niddrie of 190 Marshall St, Johannesburg)

department, said in at none of the youths of being emotionally aggressive at home. He ere caught up in the the events sweeping ownships at the time. the emotions of black exacerbated by the way re handled by the police. hey showed no desire to za murdered but had had "come to kill the

id it was unfortunate that t of the accused had to viest burden, but it was is age who caused "the id committed necklace found the youth's actions rate and remorseless. It is age which saved him allows, he said. — East Agency.



arvey Tyson and

Picture. SANDY SMIT, Afraplx

co calls on lana to quit

SEFAKO NYAKA

veto Youth Congress (Soyco) ed on the Black Equity tion (BEP) to disband and eto Civic Association leader lotlana to dissociate himself from the venture.



APARTHEID BAROMETER

304A)

DETENTIONS

The current State of Emergency was nine months old yesterday. The government has refused to release the numbers and names of all those who have been detained under the Emergency regulations. Many of those detained on June 12 last year are still being held.

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament that a total of 263 people detained in police cells since June 12 last year had been hospitalised since August 29. These consisted of 158 Emergency detainees, 39 held under the Internal Security Act, one held under the Intimidation Act and 65 detained under the Criminal Procedures Act. He said the figure was correct as at Febuary 10, 1987.

DETENTION AND IMPRISONMENT OF CHILDREN

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament that 58 962 people aged 17 or under were held in police cells awaiting trial in 1986. Last year the figure was 52 730 and in 1984 it was 62 136.

The Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said in parliament that a total of 2 677 children aged 17 or under, including 254 aged 15 or under, were being detained in prison as at October 15 last year. In addition he said that a total of 2 280 children, of whom 1 880 were black, were imprisoned with their mothers last year.

BANNING OF PERSONS

At the start of last year 10 people were living under Internal Security Act banning orders. On March 11, 1986 two Port Elizabeth United Democratic Front leaders, Mkhuseli Jack and Henry Fazzie, were served with five-year banning orders. Jack successfully challenged his order in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court. As a result the validity of several other banning orders fell away, while others expired during the year. By the end of 1986, no-one was living under an ISA banning order.

During 1985, a new form of banning order was introduced under the State of Emergency, restricting the movement of released Emergency detainees as well as their activities, occupation, utterances, attendance at educational institutions and presence at gatherings. In March 1986, when this Emergency was lifted, 68 people had been served with these orders, 61 of them in the Western Cape.

In terms of regulation 3(6) of the current Emergency, this form of banning order has been used more extensively. The government has refused to disclose the number of persons affected but the Detainees Parents' Support Committee believe it to be "several hundred".

In November 1986 in Johannesburg a new type of restriction order was used under regulation 7(1), forbidding persons affected from calling for the release of Emergency detainees and political prisoners, the lifting of the Emergency, the ending of conscription, the withdrawal of the SA Defence Force from the townships, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament and from participating in several campaigns. At the end of 1986, 36 persons had been served with these orders.

LISTING OF PERSONS

In July 1986 a list of 180 persons was gazetted; the penalty for quoting any utterance of persons on this "consolidated list" is a prison sentence of up to three years. Of the 180 persons, 27 are in South African prisons, 32 are resident in South Africa, 98 are in exile and 23 are deceased.

UNREST DEATHS

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations 39 people died in political violence in January bringing the total since September 1984 to at least 2 365. The Institute stressed that the actual number could be higher than this, given the difficulties of gathering such data.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE SADF

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in parliament that 26 complaints arising from the activities of the troops in the townships had been investigated. He said these complaints involved allegations of murder, rape, assault, misconduct and unlawful search and seizure. In one of the two convictions for rape arising from a complaint, a soldier was sentenced to a fine of R80.

The Minister said that "about" 24 SADF members had been tried and 17 convicted for "exceeding the bounds of duty while serving in the black townships".

He also said there had been 168 civil actions against him or the SADF last year. One hundred one of these involved assault, indecent assault, molestation, rape, abduction, unlawful arrest and unlawful detention.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

WILTON ZIMASILE MKWAYI, 64, former ANC and SA Congress of Trade Unions leader, was detained in August 1964 and has been imprisoned on Robben Island since December 1964.

Mkwayi, the son of a Port Elizabeth ANC member, left school in 1938 at the age of 15 and worked in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town as a stevedore, labourer, factory worker and clerk.

In 1947 he joined the SA Railways and Harbours Workers Union. From then on, he played a leading role in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) and later in Sactu, organising workers in the railways, textiles, tin and iron and steel industries. In 1952 he was elected Eastern Cape volunteer-in-chief of the ANC's Defiance Campaign. Over the next eight years he was arrested or detained five times for his role in strikes and ANC campaigns. In 1956 he was one of 156 people charged with high treason and was aquitted in 1961. He was Sactu national treasurer from the late 1950s until his arrest in 1964.

When the Emergency was declared in 1960 he narrowly escaped arrest, slipped out of the country and represented Sactu at the World Federation of Trade Unions. He later received military training; he returned to South Africa and became a member of the Umkhonto weSizwe high command. He escaped arrest at Rivonia in 1963 and from then on led the new MK high command. In August 1964 he was arrested and was tried together with Lalloo Chiba, Mac Maharaj, Johan Matthews and Lalloo Chiba. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in December 1964. He has spent a total of over 23 years behind bars for his political views. He has a wife, Edith, and two children.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Resistance News Issue No 23 Winter 1987 (National Resistance Committee, San Francisco); The Democratic Journalist Vol XXXIII No 11 Nov 1986 (International Organisation of Journalists, Czechoslavakia); The Newly Free Countries in the Seventies (Karen Brutents); Lenin's Doctrine on National Liberation Revolutions and Modern World Book 7 (LPK — A Pavlinko); A World to Win (World to Win, London); Azania Frontline No 15 Jan 1987 (Azanian Liberation Support Committee); How to be God (George Mikes); Christina's Escape, A Star for Christina, A Kiss for Christina, Christina's Torment (all by Blakely St James). The following films were banned: Witness to Apartheid; Final Justice; Felicity; I Love You (Euteamo); The Messenger; The Men's Club and Bliss.

Unbanned: The Sunday Hangman (James McClure).

ANGING SOUTH AFRICA

Winnie Mandela and her faceless footballers ... their photographs can't be printed
custody. The entire team — formed by Mandela for unemployed youths — was detained

Rightist squabble flares anew

W Mail 13-19/3/87

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties were squabbling as furiously as ever yesterday, despite the attempt by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, to persuade them to form an ultra-Rightist pact for the pending white election.

For the ruling National Party, the querulous voices of CP leader Andries Treurnicht and HNP leader Jaap Marais — both held press conferences in Pretoria yesterday — had the ring of sweet music.

Already suffering from defections on its Left, the NP cannot have welcomed the prospect of an ultra-Rightist pact. It retained a stoical silence, however, as its ultra-Rightist foes apparently moved toward reconciliation with one another earlier in the week.

But the HNP rejected an ultimatum to accept a "final" CP proposal for unity by 7,30 pm Wednesday night.

The CP demanded that the HNP commit itself irrevocably to amalgamation by the end of the year.

As a quid pro quo it offered to stand back for the HNP in 10 specified seats, all selected by the CP. The HNP would, of course, have to back CP candidates elsewhere but would be free to field candiates in any seat where the CP was not a contestant.

An angry Marais rejected the offer, claiming that he had only been given 20 minutes to accept the offer and that only four of the 10 seats offered by the CP could be won by the combined ultra-Right.

The CP offer was based on its estimate of the relative strength of the two parties. Its "final" proposal differed from the compromise formula mooted by Terre'Blanche last week.

Terre'Blanche proposed that the CP field candidates in its 17 existing seats, that the HNP select 10 seats — one of which should be Sasolburg, where its only MP won a by-election in November 1985 — for its 10 best men, and that the remaining seats be allocated jointly by CP and HNP divisional committees.

Terre'Blanche's proposal was conditional on the HNP agreeing in writing before nomination day on March 31 to amalgamate with the CP before the end of the year.

The HNP agreed to Terre'Blanche's proposal for the division of seats. It did not, however, agree to bind itself

13/3/87 SOWETAN, Tuesday, March

WHY govt has acted tough

THE Government is beginning to reveal more of the rationale behind many of the decisions it has taken over the past few months, including its refusal to negotiate with the African National Congress, its clamp on the Press and on various organisations.

Many of the Government's pronouncements and edicts in the state of emergency, not directly related to the unrest, have been in direct response to the multi-faceted psychological war based on information and reasoning, given to it by the security establishment.

On the all important question of negotiation with the ANC the government has repeatedly refused to enter any negotiations until the ANC renounces violence and distances itself from the South African Communist Party (SACP).

At the same time the Government has actively attempted to stop organisations speaking to the ANC.

Advice

The type of advice the Government has been getting on the issue revolves around two main points.

The first is that the ANC is a Marxist organisations and as such committed to revolutionary change using violence.

Secondly, negotiations would be used or misused as a process of government surrender or at the very least of creating the appearance of surrender.

The ANC agreement to talk to various groups in South Africa was merely a tactic to create an image of being prepared to negotiate while also placing itself in the position of being a viable alternative to the Government.

Those who participated in talks had played into the hands of the ANC, the advisors say.

These steps by the ANC were all part of a well-conceived psychological campaign to undermine the Government.

It was this campaign that also sparked the increasing measures against the Press.

Security advisers are convinced that the entire role of the media not only needs to be re-examined in South Africa but also worldwide if the threat of international terrorism is to be overcome.

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

The terrorist picked a civilian target. It had to be a civilian target as this evoked more public response.

Once an incident either of bombing or kidnapping had been carried out the media would publicise the event. The opinions of those involved would be gleaned, building up pressure on the Government to take action to protect innocent lives.

However the options of a government were very limited and eventually it appeared that only the terrorists themselves could protect the lives they threatened.

This, say the security advisers, has a number of results, firstly, it undermines the standing of government but it also forces an unwilling government into negotiations. Negotiations that were in fact a surrender.

And the public also seeks to negotiate itself directly with the terrorist.

This had already been happening in South Africa with the increased public pressure for negotiations with the ANC and with the groups which had been involved in negotiations with the ANC.

It was a no-win situation for a government.

The advisers do however concede that a total ban on reporting of terrorist incidents would be counter-productive causing rumours which could also be damaging.

They are now pressing for a new code of ethics to be drawn up to account for the situation as they see it.

Nats bow out of the temple

THE National Party in Hillbrow has vacated its office in Temple Israel, its candidate Leon de Beer confirmed yesterday.

The office has moved to a "much more advantageous" position on the corner of Claim and Kaptein Streets in a house donated by a sympathetic member of the Jewish community.

The move follows the disapproval of Reform rabbis and the United Progressive Jewish Congregations (UPJC) when it became known that Temple Israel had let an office to the NP for its election campaign.

Sources within the UPJC said De Beer was contacted by the president of the UPJC, Lional Ostrowsky, and asked if he would move.

By PAT SIDLEY

De Beer told the *Weekly Mail* he was not forced out but had left voluntarily after the offer of a house.

He did not believe it would affect his campaign adversely — on the contrary, Jews were "intelligent and moderate" and would vote NP.

A former Stellenbosch Progressive Federal Party organiser, who voted against the new constitution in the 1983 referendum, De Beer believes the whole row was started by the PFP, and not the Rabbis or the synagogue management committee or the congregants.

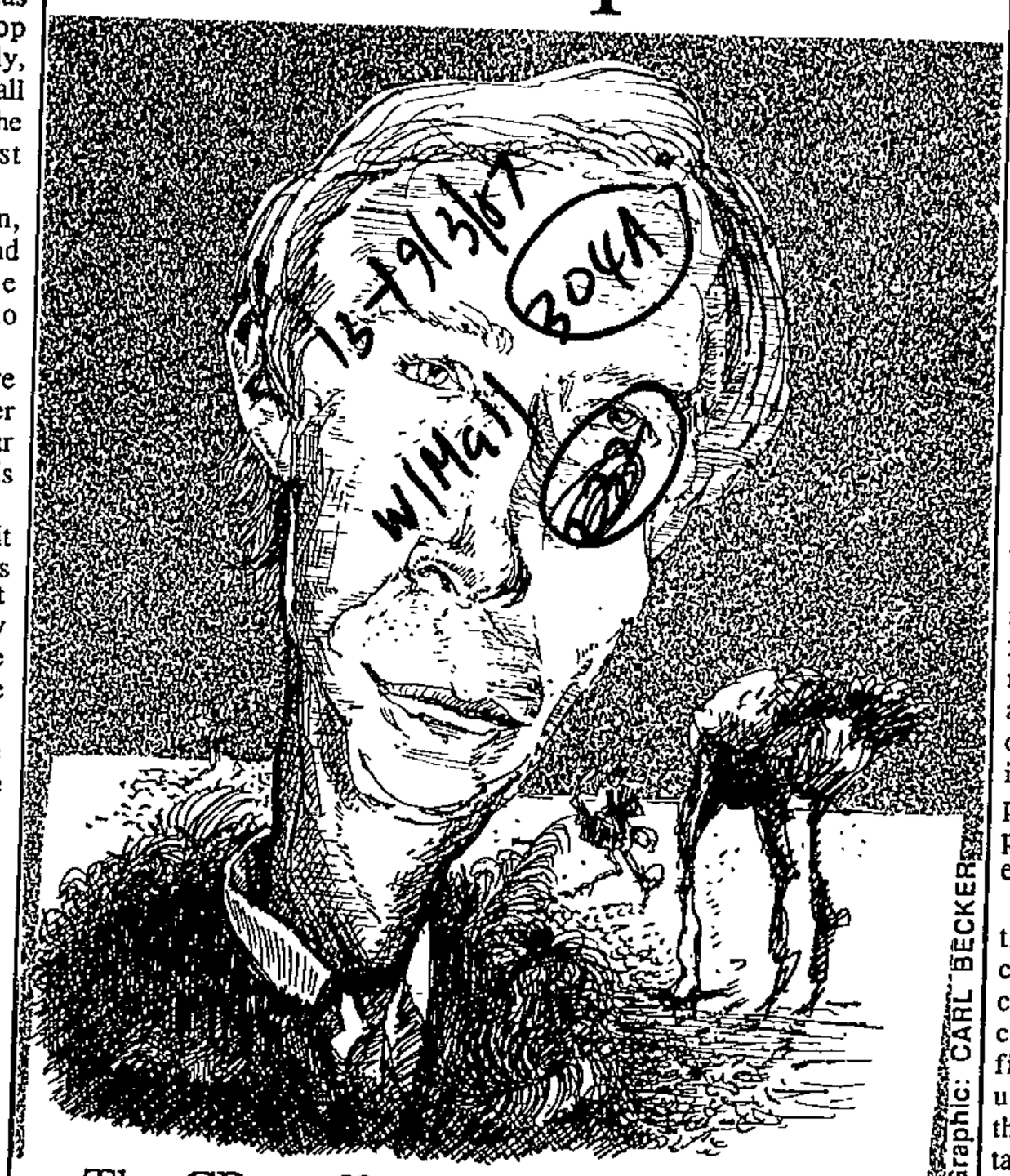
In fact it had started with dissatisfaction on the management committee, some of the members of which had contacted *Weekly Mail*.

But, De Beer said, he has canvassed Jews in Hillbrow and believes that "for the first time we will get their support."

De Beer said he originally rented the office after seeing an advertisement in the *Hillbrow Herald* placed by the synagogue.

304A W/Mail 13-19/3/87

A sudden interest in monopolies



The CP scoff at 'election tactics'. The Progs welcome the move. But what exactly is meant by investigating concentration?

DUNCAN INNES reports

THE government's decision last December to investigate the high level of concentration in the financial sector has suddenly become an election issue of sorts, with the Conservative Party accusing the government of using the investigation as an election ploy.

Party national secretary Frans van Staden said: "The government has allowed monopolies to develop without interfering. Now suddenly, just before the election, and with all the bankruptcies, they want to give the impression they are against monopolies."

Not so, replied Danie Steyn, Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, insisting the investigation was a response to "disinvestment".

"With disinvestment there are bound to be buy-outs, and after Anglo's takeover of Barclays last year we need a clear pattern as to how this should be handled in future."

However, Steyn's argument that it was Anglo's takeover of Barclays which led to the investigation does not accord with the position adopted by Steph Naude, chairman of the Competition Board, which will be conducting the investigation.

According to Naude, the investigation had been planned since 1984.

Van Staden notes that the Conservative Party "has always been against big monopolies" and it does seem that there is some truth in his claim that the government's sudden concern with monopolies is related to the forthcoming election.

This is partly at least due to the link which is currently being established between monopolies or cartels and rising prices.

Whatever the government's reasons for setting up the investigation, it seems such a move is to be welcomed. However, whether it will lead to any significant improvement in our economy is open to question. For one thing, the Competition Board has not exactly proved itself the champion of the little guy in the past.

But, more importantly, there seems to be very little clarity about how best to deal with the problems of massive monopolies in our society. With South Africa's big four corporations — Anglo American, Sanlam, SA Mutual and Rembrandt — now in control of 83 percent of the shares on the JSE, more and more people seem to be coming round to the view that the concentration of economic power has reached unhealthy proportions. However, there is still very little agreement as to how to resolve the problem.

There are broadly two schools of thought. Some, like Robin McGregor, argue that the government should introduce regulations governing the conditions under which companies can acquire shares in one another. Specifically, McGregor argues that as soon as a company acquires 30 per cent of the shares in another company the former company should be legally required to buy the balance of the shares in the latter. In this way, he argues, companies will be prohibited from spreading their control from a comparatively low capital outlay.

Others oppose this position, arguing that the South African economy is already riddled with too many regulations and so it is undesirable to have any more. Instead, they argue that the government should deregulate existing regulations, since many hamper the effective operation of competitive forces and allow monopolies and cartels to flourish.

Underlying the debate between those who want more regulations to control monopolies and those who want fewer regulations are two very different arguments explaining the causes of monopolies.

Those who want fewer regulations argue that these are the main cause of monopolies and price-fixing among cartels. Import duties and tariffs, for instance, are seen to promote monopolies in that they restrict the free flow of imports into the local market, thereby favouring local companies. The reduction in competition this involves, so the argument goes, encourages the process of monopolisation.

Foreign exchange controls are also often cited as a cause of local monopolisation because, by preventing large local corporations from investing overseas, they force corporations to invest in the local economy, which inevitably leads to their power increasing. Also, because of these controls, foreign companies are reluctant to invest in South Africa — which once again reduces competition on the local market.

While there is undoubtedly some truth in the argument that these regulations do promote local monopolies, their removal would pose serious problems for the economy

Were foreign exchange controls to be lifted, for instance, it is unlikely that we would benefit from a major influx of foreign investment. Quite the contrary — many of those foreign corporations still left in South Africa would probably join the rush of corporations trying to get at least some of their financial assets out of the country.

Lifting import controls and tariff barriers would also be detrimental to local industry in that the competition from overseas producers would lead to mass closures of local factories, especially during the present difficult times.

However, be that as it may, it is undoubtedly true that the existence of these and other regulations does facilitate the growth of monopolies and cartels. But is it their only cause?

Anglo Alpha chairman Peter Byland makes the point that cartels are a feature of the free market system in most parts of the Western world and are in fact a product of the particular circumstances facing capital intensive industries. This argument locates the primary cause of monopolies, not in particular regulations, but in the evolution of competition itself.

But this competitive process leads in the end to restrictions on free competition. Successful small companies get ever larger, concentrating more and more financial and technical resources under their control, until they drive their competitors out of the market or take them over or merge with them.

Ultimately, then, the process of competition itself leads to a situation where a few powerful conglomerates emerge in control of a market or economic sector. Once in this position, these conglomerates form cartels or monopolies to promote their combined interests.

Although I would argue that, even in a situation of dominance by monopolies or cartels, competitive forces are never completely removed, their impact can undoubtedly be substantially reduced (temporarily at least). Thus, according to this argument, free competition itself produces monopolies.

If this argument is correct, then although deregulation of import and other similar controls may slow down the monopolisation process, it will not arrest it. Consequently, the solution to the problem of monopolies needs to be sought elsewhere: ie, in government intervention to regulate the extent of their power in the economy.

This is the approach adopted both by the Americans with their anti-trust legislation and by the British who stipulate that if a company seeks more than 30 per cent of the shares of another it must buy all the shares.

Only time will tell which, if any, of these two approaches our own government will follow.

AWB snubbed as unity hopes shatter

13/3/87 N/M
304A

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—AWB leader Eugene Terre'-Blanche, who acted as mediator in the bid to unite the ultra-Right parties, was snubbed by the CP in the 11th hour of negotiations and then cold-shouldered by the HNP.

The electoral flirtations between the Right finally ended when CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and HNP leader Jaap Marais held separate Press conferences in Pretoria yesterday at which they both said they were no longer interested in unity.

It transpired that Mr Terre'Blanche had made an 11th hour bid to avert the breakdown in talks between the two parties but was later told by Dr Treurnicht he was no longer acceptable as an arbitrator.

Mr Marais said at his conference that while Mr Terre'Blanche had played a major role as mediator, the AWB was still an organisation which worked outside of party politics although it had its own party.

He said the HNP had policy differences with the AWB and the time had come for a clear 'dividing line' to be drawn between the HNP and the AWB.

Mr Terre'Blanche was not available for comment.

Dismissing reports of personality clashes between him and Dr Treurnicht as 'exaggerated', Mr Marais yesterday blamed the CP for going back on its word and for 'deliberately misinterpreting' the AWB motion which brought the two parties together.

He said the CP had backtracked on the motion which made proposals for the division of constituencies. Mr Marais said it was clear the CP had never intended there should be an agreement.

Abandoned

He said it was curious that the CP had interpreted the AWB motion — which had been accepted by the HNP and 'under a false pretention' by the CP — as saying that the rest of the constituencies should be divided between the parties after May 6.

In throwing down the gauntlet Dr Treurnicht emphasised that for all practical purposes hope had been abandoned for unity between the two parties.

He then challenged Mr Marais to stand against him in his Waterberg constituency.

In turn, Mr Marais challenged Dr Treurnicht to share his platform at an HNP meeting next Thursday and enter a public debate on television.

The HNP would be using the CP's tactics in the unity talks in its electoral campaign in their fight against the CP in an estimated 80 to 100 constituencies, Mr Marais said.

He called Dr Treurnicht a 'downright liar' for denying at his Press conference that Mr Marais had only been given 20 minutes to accept or reject the CP's proposals for an election pact on Tuesday night.

He estimated the HNP support from the Right-wing at between 1% and 2%, possibly 4% in Pretoria.

As a result of developments, Mr Marais said the CP and the HNP could — optimistically — win only 10 to 12 seats and a number of CP MPs would lose their seats, gaining perhaps one or two seats.

The HNP may win up to five seats in constituencies where the HNP's chances were as good as the CP's and NP's.

The CP and HNP's failure to reach an election agreement clearly demonstrated their shocking inability to think big, the Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The NP did not build its hopes on a split far-Right vote, he said.

● See Editorial Opinion

(Report by Max du Preez and Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Group rights to be 'protected'

Mercury Correspondent

ERMELO—The 'established rights' that grew out of the application of the Group Areas Act would not be touched as long as he was head of Government, President Botha said last night.

He said devolution of power and protection of minority groups were not possible without 'own' residential areas and community lives for different groups.

But he also indicated that existing grey areas would be legalised.

There were certain unproclaimed areas where people of different races had always lived 'and we will most probably continue with that', Mr Botha said.

Seperate residential areas were of the utmost importance to the protection of the white worker in the cities. The wealthy could buy apartheid in upper-class areas, but the white worker had to live where he could afford it.

That also applied to the coloured and Indian, he said.

The Act was not a holy cow, and it would have to be changed if necessary, as it had been changed 17 times before. But the principles of 'own areas' and 'own cultural lives' for different communities would not be changed.

Mr Botha said the Government could not negotiate with self-appointed black leaders.

(Report by M du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

Voters urged to use election to demand tax reform

STAR 13/3/87.

By Michael Chester

When a young Johannesburg Post Office researcher named Russell Richter talks about the involved issue of tax reform he can make a reasonable claim to speak on behalf of the silent majority of taxpayers.

He senses an urgent need to find radical new solutions but despairs of the chance of a single man-in-the-street voice ever being heard above the din of endless academic and political arguments.

He has never studied economics as such and concedes that he flounders over such jargon as "fiscal drag" and "bracket creep". His job absorbs him in the technical problems of future trends in telecommunications.

Even so, Russell Richter has launched into the formidable task of trying to mobilise taxpayers to use their collective clout at general election time to force a radical swing in parliamentary attitudes in the tax reform controversy.

"There is a small core of us ordinary taxpayers convinced that taxation should be pulled out of the party political arena and judged on a purely non-partisan economic basis," he says.

"Now we are campaigning to encourage taxpayers in every single constituency to stand up and be counted at pre-election meetings and demand a commitment from each candidate to pledge active involvement in an entirely fresh approach to the tax muddle.

"The political banners carried by each candidate should make no odds to the commitments. It's snide political bickering and gamesmanship that seem to have blocked all real progress so far.

"We are convinced that the man-in-the-street can use his muscle at election time to put pressure on all candidates to pledge to bury the hatchet on tax reform and commit themselves to a round-table nonsense debate in Parliament.

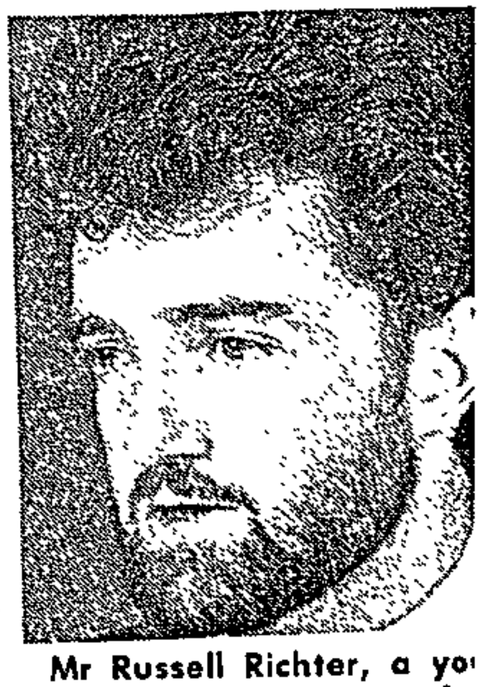
"The most appealing solution may be contained in the tax reform blueprint prepared by Johannesburg tax consultant Nic Nel and strongly supported by the Econometrix research unit.

"The blueprint, in short, recommends the sweeping away of the entire present system and the introduction of a simple flat tax rate of about nine percent for all taxpayers — individuals and companies alike — in tandem with a special tax on cash transactions.

"Its simplicity is astonishing but it promises a square deal for everyone — means the scrapping of the general sales tax, spikes the row about convertng to a value added Tax system, closes all the loopholes used by corporate as well as individual taxpayers.

"Perhaps even more important, it promises to restore the incentives that are essential to business expansion at one end of the spectrum and productivity performance at the other. The results — better economic growth, far more job creation projects."

(Report by M F Chester, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Mr Russell Richter, a yo man with a mission — br ing pressure on all gen election candidates to ple commitment to a re-think tax reform.

Right wing peace seeks still

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Right-wing parties in the Eastern Cape will continue in their attempt to forge an election pact despite the failure of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party to do so at national level.

The HNP candidate in Algoa, Dr H. (Stompie) Botha, who has offered to step down if a CP candidate is prepared to do so in another seat, said yesterday that he had been in touch with the CP candidate in Port Elizabeth North, Mr Danie Dorfling, and they hoped to meet early next week.

Any arrangement hammered out by the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage candidates would, however, have to secure the blessing of the national leadership.

An agreement was reached earlier this year in terms of which the HNP would fight Humansdorp and Port Elizabeth North while the CP contested the Algoa, Sunday's River and Uitenhage constituencies.

The agreement was torpedoed by the deputy-leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

The leaders of the two parties both held press briefings yesterday with the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, blaming the HNP for the failure to reach an agreement and the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, predicting that the right wing would now win only between 10 and 12 seats at best.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr Marais had supplied the answer by rejecting the CP proposals and by calling a planning committee to plan their election campaign.

He added there had been no direct contact between him and Mr Marais yesterday and he accepted the HNP was not interested in an election pact or unity.

At his press conference Mr Marais said it was optimistically estimated that the two parties without a pact would win 10 to 12 seats.

Now that hopes to form an election pact between the two parties had been dashed, he said, conservatives had lost "a great opportunity to make a big breakthrough".

The miscarriage of cooperation plans was "final", he said "unless new intiatives came from the CP, as a result of pressure from its supporters."

● The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who had acted as mediator in the bid to unite the right-wing parties, was snubbed by the CP in the 11th hour of negotiations and was then cold-shouldered by the HNP.

It transpired that Mr Terre'Blanche had attempted to avert the breakdown in talks between the two parties but was later told by Dr Treurnicht he was no longer acceptable as an arbitrator.

Mr Marais said at his conference that while Mr Terre'Blanche had played a major role as mediator, the AWB was still an organisation which worked outside of party politics although it had its own party.

He said the HNP had policy differences with the AWB.

Mr Terre'Blanche was not available for comment because he travelled to Bothaville to deliver yet another speech on his countrywide campaign.

(Reports by P. Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth and M. du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Election reports P3
Editorial opinion P16

Frederiks honoured by Wits

Wits University will confer an honorary doctorate next month on Mr Wayne Frederiks, an American businessman who has worked closely with organisations promoting black education and civil rights in South Africa.

The university said Mr Frederiks has been on missions to South Africa "more than any other American of international stature".

He has been a member of the American National Advisory Council of the South African Education Programme, which administers grants from Congress for black education in South Africa.

Mr Frederiks, who worked closely with the Institute of Race Relations and Funda Centre, was US Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. — Sapa.

R10-m 'allocated for black farming'

The Government will spend more than R10 million on the improvement of black farming in the up-and-coming farms in Natal, the Minister of Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

About R9 million has already been used to develop the Makatini Flats near kwaZulu where black farmers are producing rice, cotton, dry beans and mealies.

Dr Viljoen said his department was also promoting new farming methods in other national states as well.

"I am very impressed by the changing methods of black farmers from their individual subsistence farming to the more productive and economic commercial farming," said Dr Viljoen at the Makatini Flats yesterday after a tour of the farms.

He said there was a lot of potential in black farmers if additional funds could be made available to them for development.

This would be possible in the next financial year when more than R10 million will be pumped into the project.

'Liberals will influence events'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa's "liberals" will have their moment to influence events in the country "when the new National Party Government resumes its reforms", the *The Independent* newspaper said today.

The Nationalists will win the election, it says, but adds: "... the liberal agonising ... signifies the possibility of changes after the election".

"Sexual relations are no longer a matter for the police. Job discrimination is eroding. What remains are random economic inequalities and injustices and residential segregation."

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THE VOICE OF BUSINESS

A many-tongued hydra

It has always been a weakness of South African business that it has not spoken with a single voice. Civil servants or politicians, faced with delegations from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Chamber of Mines, Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), all giving different advice, can be forgiven for saying "A plague on all your houses!" and going on to do just what they wanted to in the first place.

Historically there were good reasons — or, at any rate, explanations — for lack of unity. When Afrikaans business was very much the poor relation, it needed the separate voice which the AHI provided. Crudely, but not unrealistically, the FCI was seen as protectionist, Assocom in favour of free trade. And the concerns of the mining industry were unique.

These distinctions are fading. The problems that face "Afrikaans" business — if that description still makes any sense — are now no different from those of their English counterparts.

Commerce and industry increasingly realise that the one thing they both need most is a healthy, competitive economy free from special pleading and entrenched inefficiencies. And while mining, with its high export orientation, may still be in a unique position, the financial interests that control the mines have spread their tentacles widely into the secondary and tertiary sectors.

It is significant that a sizeable proportion of Assocom's membership now comprises industrialists rather than merchants. They not only find Assocom more effective, they feel at home there.

The FCI is a venerable institution which has played a valuable role in promoting its members' interests. But its activities increasingly overlap with those of Assocom, to the extent recently of making joint statements and representations on matters of mutual interest.

A combination of changed circumstances and hard times raises the question whether business can still afford this plethora of representative bodies. South Africans above all should remember that Unity is Strength. The departure of senior staff from the FCI and what is understood to be an adverse consultants' report could offer an opportunity to end structural weakness.

The last thing we would advocate is that one body should swallow up the other. That could create great resentment and would suggest that all the virtue lies on one side — which is definitely not the case. But a genuine merger of Assocom and the FCI, with an entirely new identity reflecting the broader scope and capitalising on each constituent's own special skills, could enable business to chart a much surer path through the political and economic minefield that lies ahead. ■

RIGHTWING PACT

Waiting on Jaap

The ferment in white politics threatening the ruling National Party (NP) was reaching fever pitch this week with an election pact between the two main rightwing parties expected to be announced on Wednesday.

As the *FM* went to press, Conservative Party (CP) Transvaal secretary Karel Schoeman said the party was waiting to receive, within hours, a letter from Jaap Marais; in it the HNP leader was expected to undertake not only to refer the CP's unity plan to the HNP congress in September, but to "recommend" unity as well.

Earlier on Tuesday, the HNP had issued a statement accepting a plan by the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweeging (AWB), which proposes a division of seats between the right wing. The HNP also undertook to put the CP unity proposal to its September congress. The CP wanted Marais to state the same formally in a letter, explained Schoeman, adding that for the HNP simply to agree to present the unity plan to its members was "not strong enough."

Main principle

"If they agree on becoming one party, there *will* be a an election pact," said Schoeman, "unity is the main principle."

The AWB plan essentially has the HNP bowing out of the race in the 17 constituencies held by the CP, allowing the HNP to then choose which 10 seats it would like to contest — without the CP splitting the vote. Local CP and HNP divisions would then decide among themselves which party should carry the far-Right banner in the rest. The CP has also accepted this proposal.

Acceptance of *eenwording* (literally, becoming one) has been the only obstacle to the two parties forming a pact that, observers agree, could enable it to supplant the PFP as the official Opposition. A CP-HNP agreement could see the rightwing win around 30 seats in the election on May 6. The PFP holds 26 seats. It is thought CP members have been pressing their leaders to come to an arrangement with the HNP, as they no doubt realise victory in predetermined constituencies could slip from the Right should the vote be split by two rightwing candidates.

Receipt of a letter from Marais, said Schoeman, would pave the way for a meeting on Wednesday (March 11) between the leaderships of the two rightwing parties at which they would formally announce their alliance.

Earlier, HNP deputy leader and its only MP, Louis Stofberg, told the *FM* the HNP was "strongly in favour of co-operating with the CP in this election, but arriving at and implementing unity is a long and involved process." However, he did not reject the idea of a merger.



Treurnicht



Marais

Stofberg dismisses talk that a personality clash between Marais and CP leader Andries Treurnicht was a factor. Neither does he believe the parties' differences over John Vorster are insurmountable.

An election pact with the CP, says Stofberg, would see the Right win about 30 seats in a "dramatic" election result. "We can then come very close to making it impossible for the government to govern on its own," he says.

Although Stofberg says *eenwording* between the CP and HNP is "inevitable," he says it must not be rushed, like the Smuts-Hertzog *samesmelting* (a joining up) of 1933, which couldn't last. Instead, he prefers the way in which the National and Afrikaner parties became one: "they talked about it in 1946, arrived at an alliance in 1947, and formally merged in 1951." ■

ELECTION

Anti-Nat moves

Two weekend developments linked to the growing rebellion in the National Party — the resignation of *Rapport* editor Willem de Klerk and the formal publication by 28 leading Stellenbosch academics of a call to end apartheid — have added further impetus to the independents' campaign.

De Klerk, brother of Transvaal Nat leader F W de Klerk, clashed politically with the newspaper's owners and senior Nats, including P W Botha, over their insistence that he effectively give unquestioning support to the NP during the election campaign.

The declaration issued by the 28 Stellenbosch academics, who call themselves Discussion Group '85, was seen as the most fundamental rejection of apartheid ever from such an influential group of former Nationalist supporters.

The group includes professors Attie de

BULLIES AND THE BOX

We can only hope that the SABC's *Netwerk* interviews on Monday with the parliamentary candidates for Randburg do not reflect the way the corporation will be covering the rest of the election campaign. It is hard to imagine a more incompetent and farcical performance.

Independent Wynand Malan was dealt with first. The interviewer, senior "public affairs" man André le Roux, was aggressive and abrupt beyond the point of rudeness. Displaying not even a pretence at objectivity, he appeared to be personally outraged at some of Malan's statements, and continually interrupted him. At one point Malan had to beg to be allowed to finish a sentence. Le Roux was clearly not listening — the thrust of his prepared questions became hopelessly illogical, and he was often embarrassingly inarticulate.

Le Roux had calmed a little by the time he got to Nat candidate Olaus van Zyl, but this discussion was only slightly more coherent. Van Zyl looked as bewildered as Malan had done; both men remained dignified. Malan probably emerged with a few more hundred votes in the bank. He made some fresh points, and the Nationalist line — thanks to Le Roux — sounded very silly indeed.

The Le Roux fiasco also revealed, if proof were still needed, that the SABC's idea of journalism is to ask the questions and engineer the answers. Because it takes a biased party line, it has no guiding principles to help it deal with the "New Nats."

The SABC is arguably cunning, too — as one of the key constituencies, Randburg should be featured near the end of the campaign. To get it out of the way now smacks of insurance against too great an impact being made by Malan.

At the very best, the SABC's approach is horribly confused. For all its protestations, its only principle seems to be that the National Party must win the election by as big a margin as possible. Ironically, last Monday's *Netwerk* interviews will help achieve anything but that.

Vries (business school), Willie Esterhuyse (philosophy), James Fourie (law), Julius Jeppe (development administration), and Sampie Terreblanche (economics). Their declaration calls for the scrapping of all apartheid laws and the dismantling of the tricameral parliamentary structure. Most of the group were members of the delegation which met President Botha and Cape Nat leader Chris Heunis in Cape Town last month for talks aimed at averting a breakaway from the party.

De Klerk's resignation is clearly the most telling blow against the NP since Wynand Malan abandoned the party in January.

Political integrity

He tells the *FM*: "Certain members of government contacted me directly, while others worked through the chairman and board of management. Hints were thrown at me and I could feel in the general mood that people were irritated and unsatisfied with me.

"I wanted to retain my political integrity as editor and as political commentator. I did not want to expose myself further to news selection, news prominence and news comment without objectivity ... *Rapport* must be less tied to a party."

However, De Klerk has not resigned from the National Party.

He describes himself as being part of the pressure group on the party's Left. And although "I understand the independents, their mood and the grounds well, and often agree with them," he is not choosing the road of an independent just yet. "In a time of election, such as we are in now, all parties want to seize any event for their own advantage. But I am not a Prog, nor an independent, and I have not resigned from the NP. But if the party ignores its elements on the Left, it will not be able to complete reform," he says.

In a scathing attack on De Klerk this week, the Cape Nat mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, suggested that as a man with his roots in academia and theology, De Klerk could not meet the increasing demands of professionalism being made on editors. That was rich coming from the Nat camp.

In reaction to De Klerk's resignation, *Rapport* chairman Willem van Heerden conceded that "political problems" contributed to the move.

He said in a statement that *Rapport's* directors believed that during the election campaign the newspaper should give greater emphasis to government's programme of "orderly constitutional reform" rather than to "difference in accent or even individual deviations from policy."

Paarl search

Meanwhile, disillusioned former Nationalists are still searching for a "New Nat" independent candidate to stand for election in Paarl. The committee heading the search includes Danie Malan, brother of the independent candidate in Stellenbosch, Esther

The *FM* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.
It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.

Lategan. According to committee members, a number of names have been put forward, but nothing has been decided yet.

In nearby Helderberg, where Denis Worrall is fighting constitutional chief Chris Heunis, more prominent members of the local community have come out openly to back Worrall. The US-born, Stellenbosch-based millionaire businessman, Robert Hall, confirmed this week that he was funding a R30 000 video on Worrall, which will be used to compensate for lack of coverage on government-controlled SATV. Featured in the video as a supporter of Worrall is former Nat backer and leading Stellenbosch wine farmer Nico Myburgh of Meerlust, who describes Worrall as "the light at the end of the tunnel."

In Cape Town this week Worrall drew an audience of about 1 000 at a rally organised by the Jews for Justice organisation. The attendance was seen as further evidence of the groundswell of support for the independent movement.

Worrall, who together with Lategan and Malan this week released his election manifesto, rejected the idea of a one-man, one-vote system of government.

Manifesto

The independents' manifesto talks of a new spirit in SA "that seeks a democratic SA with equal rights and safety for all its citizens ... and a flexible programme for real political progress."

They say "the time is past when governments could unilaterally pursue reform... And there is still time to fulfil the common vision of the moderate majority, which occupies the middle ground in South African politics."

They call for the start of negotiations "that can be seen by all to be negotiations."

As a starting point towards dialogue, they want a senior judge to assemble and publish all available constitutional options. "Black politics must be freed so that it may become properly organised.

"Action against politicians and political organisations must cease, but emergency powers must be retained to secure stability during the transition period. However, the courts and proper judicial procedures must again come into their own.

"There must be a free flow of information to enable a proper political debate about different viewpoints and options.

"All discriminatory laws, regulations and practices including the Group Areas Act — must be scrapped and a timetable for doing so must be set. There must be a Bill of Rights to protect liberties of the individual."

However, "through freedom of association, there must also be protection for the individual's group rights, such as religion, language, culture and access to mother tongue education."

Regional initiatives (such as the KwaNatal Indaba) should be encouraged and there should be de-regulation and the removal of all restrictive measures so that all may share in a strong economy. ■

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Maritzburg's metro

Ignoring the imminent imposition of regional services councils (RSCs), Maritzburg is taking steps to establish a non-racial metropolitan council for the greater city area.

A conference called to discuss the proposal has apparently drawn much support from a wide spectrum of political interest groups — including constituencies on the Left.

But at the same time, it has incensed provincial authorities who claim they were not consulted. Province's view is that the move cuts directly across existing RSC legislation and is an unnecessary duplication of effort.

"There is nothing to stop Maritzburg adapting the current RSC Act to suit its needs," notes Peter Miller, MEC in charge of local government. "In terms of the Act, the format for representation can be negotiated."

But the convenors of the Greater Pietermaritzburg Conference, scheduled to take place in July, point out that RSCs have become so politicised that it is impossible to rally broad support in the various communities for any initiative under their aegis.

Rather than offering an alternative to RSCs, Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell says he sees the proposed metropolitan council going "hand in glove" with the new legislation, perhaps acting in a more "consultative" capacity than a legislative one. Its prime function, he says, would be to offer guidance in areas of mutual concern.

"RSCs," he says "are essentially about the supply of services. But there is more to life than where you draw your water from."

It seems that urban blacks are increasingly willing to accept the authority of the municipality into which they fall rather than answer to some nebulous homeland. Cornell has thus received popular support after being appointed official "administrator" of Sobantu Village, Maritzburg's principal black township. As such he is one of the few white mayors who enjoys jurisdiction over a black area.

Cornell's appointment was confirmed after the township's de facto authority, the so-called "Committee of 12," had rejected two other nominees put forward by government. He describes it as a "precedent" and says he is "delighted government has seen its

ESTHER LATEGAN

Fresh from the Cape

There is something unnervingly honest about Esther Lategan, the independent candidate in Stellenbosch for the House of Assembly election on May 6. Unlike so many seasoned politicians, she doesn't try to obscure her true intentions behind the "ifs" and "buts" that are such a major part of SA's political vocabulary.

Lategan (43) knows where she's going and what she wants for SA. A long, rational process has seen reason triumph over emotion in her mind. She admits that she is an unlikely politician — an academic with a sociology doctorate, now a successful businesswoman. Why give it all up to stand for parliament as an independent?

Lategan links her motivation to her work: "A business undertaking cannot develop in a society that is constrained. What makes me tick is people and their development. To promote this, one must provide the best possible climate and environment. Current South African political policies are preventing this," she says. She is aligned with the two other "New Nat" independents, Denis Worrall in neighbouring Helderberg and Wynand Malan in Randburg.



Lategan ... determination and disarming honesty

In the family

Her candidature came about almost by chance. A long, low-key process of debate in the Stellenbosch community was elevated by Malan's resignation from the National Party (NP) in January. It was decided to find a similar independent to oppose the NP's Piet Marais in the university town. Lategan was closely involved and was eventually persuaded to stand.

She was a member of the NP for 27 years. Her father, Wynand Malan, was the Nat MP for Paarl from 1958 to 1981. She grew up in a "political" home and has always had a deep interest in politics (but no real desire, until now, to become actively involved). But she lost faith in the party. "The most powerful force in white politics has become ineffective. It has lost so much credibility that it cannot be effective," she says.

Lategan believes it is important for Stellenbosch to make a stand, because the town has been the centre of so much of the intellectual development of the NP. Once chosen as a candidate, Lategan says, she had no second thoughts and is confident of total commitment to the campaign, despite her initial reluctance.

Her business, Venetti, a Stellenbosch-based sportswear manufacturer which is expected to have a turnover of around R4,5m this year, will be looked after largely by her associates during the campaign.

Lategan is unashamedly a capitalist — "I believe that making money is the only moral thing one can do in this country because it keeps the wheels going." She traces both her business venture and many of her current beliefs back to her participation in the writing of a book on human rights. She decided then that the basic human right is the opportunity to have a good, meaningful job, and to assume responsibility for oneself and one's family.

As an "activist" rather than "theorist," she says that she and a friend decided to launch an undertaking which could put their beliefs into practice. They bought sewing machines and put them into people's homes. They sought markets near the homes, and started making sports clothes for schools in coloured communities. The project snowballed. Today Venetti's factory employs 50 people, and the clothes are sold through a chain of four sportswear boutiques. Two more are in the pipeline.

With her determination well proven through the success of Venetti, Lategan's candidacy must be taken seriously. Although Worrall has a higher profile, she says it was Wynand Malan's decision to quit the NP that finally convinced her that she should leave the party. She would have followed the same course even if Worrall had not made his move.

Lategan believes she has a good chance of winning: "I wouldn't be standing if I didn't believe that. I am not standing merely to make a statement." Her vision of SA is of a free, democratic community; the diversity of the country can be used to enrich it. "During this campaign, I will market the principles of freedom and rights of the individual. I know it has an emotional connotation, but for me it is a very basic thing."

She is uncompromising on the scrapping of apartheid — the Population Registration Act included. Lategan sees one of the main tasks in SA at present as helping people to "take the leap" out of the NP. "It is a traumatic experience for someone to take that leap, to be able to think ahead within the framework of the NP," she says. She believes the Progressive Federal Party has a role to play in SA — like the NP at present — but that it is an inefficient political machine. It has never been able to win enough support.

About half the 13 000 voters in Stellenbosch are students. She believes more than half of them will vote for her. Her backing, both financial and organisational, is coming from individuals ("There are no Rembrandts or Sanlams behind me"). Of her opponent, Piet Marais — regarded as one of the most verligte MPs in the Nat caucus — she will only say that "he is a fine gentleman, but belongs to the wrong party."

It is perhaps unusual, given the traditions of white politics in SA, that Lategan's dramatic step has not split her family. Her husband Bernard is a theology professor at Stellenbosch; their three children back her move; and she is still on good terms with her father and six brothers and sisters. Her brother Danie Malan, a former Springbok athlete, is actively campaigning as an independent candidate in Paarl.

She is also unaware of any friendships being broken by her move. "It is not as if what I have done has come as a surprise. I am really only the current focus of what has been happening in this community over a period of time. I don't feel I am moving into the wilderness as a missionary. I am a realist. If we don't move now, if we don't take the leap, we have had it," she says.

She believes that fear is what keeps most people from changing.

"How does one overcome people's fear? If you tell me how to do that, I will win this election." ■

Barnard 'is not worried'

Dr Marius Barnard, Progressive Federal Party MP for Parktown, said he was not concerned about the nomination of a former PFP mayor of Sandton, Mrs Zoe Marchand, as the National Party candidate in his constituency.

After May 6 the NP would realise they had made a poor choice and Mrs Marchand would realise she had been misused.

"I find it strange that while the National Party are shedding votes to the left and right, Mrs Marchand in her wisdom has seen fit to move in the opposite direction and join a party which has reached a state of paralysis in respect of the whole question of fundamental reform."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

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Whites have choice of ending status quo — Idasa

Blacks can show there is life after apartheid ends

Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN — Whites in South Africa could bring the country closer to a democratic alternative to its present totalitarian society, or they could prolong the status quo for a long time because they held political, social and economic power.

This is the view of a former Progressive Federal Party MP, Dr Alex Boraine, who is now the national executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Idasa was launched late last year by Dr Boraine and the former leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Boraine told an Idasa meeting in Grahamstown this week that blacks also had to convince whites that there was a life after apartheid.

Idasa, he added, was looking at the post-apartheid era. A national conference would be held in Port Elizabeth on May 8 and 9 when the focus would be on aspects such as labour, business, the media, government, church and society.

Idasa's Eastern Cape regional director, Mr Max Mamase, said: "In a conflict situation the masters must be the winners, but it's the blacks who are feeling the pinch."

The Nationalists had imposed a multi-racial solution to which blacks were opposed.

"Now whites must come up with a non-racial democratic concept. They are Idasa's target market ... they must become the conscientious objectors to the present system.

"Only when apartheid is null and void can South Africans come together in a free and unitary state," Mr Mamase said.



DR BORAINE

He said blacks and whites lived in two different worlds and that the National Party was in a cul de sac. Idasa's role would, hopefully, be that of professional facilitator.

Asked whether it was "a vain hope" to get people to change their ideologies, Dr Boraine said whites would not change unless it suited their self-interest.

He said the Freedom Charter, "a conservative, moderate document", was an excellent starting point for discussion.

"I would encourage people to look at it, question it and inquire what it means," he added.

The way to force a government to consider alternatives was to isolate it from white support.

"When this government is totally bankrupt it will be forced into a situation where there is no other way but to negotiate," Dr Boraine said.

"We think we are in a pre-negotiation stage so we are working for a negotiated settlement, but we can't offer guarantees."

Asked whether Idasa should be going for a vote to change the government so they could enact "all these beautiful ideas", Dr Boraine said that was not where the real power lay.

"The people who are running South Africa are the State Security Council, the military and the police," he said.

Dr Boraine said he was committed to the parliamentary process but as long as it was unrepresentative and excluded the majority of South Africans it was not a parliament which could bring about change.

"Through Idasa's facilitating role, 18 white Stellenbosch dominees will soon travel to key African townships. All the blacks there have agreed to see these people," he added.

A group of 15 young student leaders were about to go on a similar exercise.

"I believe they, too, will come back different people," Dr Boraine said.

(News by J. Joubert, 49 African Street, Grahamstown).

Why I quit — Nat press leader



W/L amus 14/3/87

30 Mar

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

MR D P "Lang David" De Villiers today spelled out why he decided to quit Nasionale Pers to support the cause of the independent candidates.

A former managing director — and subsequently a director — of Nasionale Pers made it clear his decision was "a matter of conscience" and largely political.

He said he did not resign from Nasionale Pers because of any dissatisfaction with his colleagues.

"It was only because of the incompatibility of supporting an independent candidate while Nasionale Pers daily newspapers were committed to opposition to the independents."

In a letter to Nasionale Pers chairman Professor Piet Cillie, Mr de Villiers said he agreed to help the independent candidate for Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan, after she approached him.

No sudden change

He said today he was not heading for any political career and there had been no sudden drastic change in his political views.

"For a long time my political views have been in accord with what is now put forward by the independent Nationalists.

"Although we differ, my former colleagues and I respect each other's views — and that makes the parting all the more traumatic.

"I do not want to break down the National Party, still the most powerful instrument for halting the onslaught from the right. The party will undoubtedly be returned to power at the election.

"As I understand it, the independents want to convey a message via the voters in their constituencies to Government leaders.

Ready and eager

"The message is that those voters are ready and eager for more quicker, more visible and more incisive movement towards a just dispensation for all South Africans through peaceful processes — negotiation and agreement.

"It is a message of hope to those who have lost it."

Because a just dispensation catered for all South Africans, it was capable of providing the necessary safeguards for all.

"If Stellenbosch — the Boland's heart of Afrikanderdom — endorses this message, it must be a powerful one,' said Mr De Villiers.

Asked whether his decision meant he would resign from the National Party, he said he had not been a signed (ingeskrewe) member of the party in recent times. It was, therefore, not necessary to resign.

Mr De Villiers would not say whether he had experienced any pressure from the Government as a result of his decision.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

We're delighted — Worrall, Lategan

Political Staff

DR DENIS WORRALL said today that Mr D P de Villiers's stand confirmed that the Government had underestimated the readiness of whites to face up to fundamental problems.

He said that Mr de Villiers's statement on his decision to support the independent election candidates was "highly significant". He was a man who knew about South Africa's position in the world.

Down the years he had been close to the Government and Nationalist leadership. He was also highly respected by blacks.

"That he should come to the same conclusion — that the Government is bankrupt of ideas and has lost its way — as the Stellenbosch academics, Dr Wimpie de Klerk and others confirms the correctness of the stand which we independents have taken."

Dr Esther Lategan, independent candidate for Stellenbosch, said she welcomed Mr de Villiers's decision. "It is a step which has special value for all of us at Stellenbosch."

Dr Lategan, who had approached Mr de Villiers for help in her campaign, said he had a clear understanding of her stand. This, in the words of Mr de Villiers, involved "a search for fairness towards all South Africans".

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had no comment except that "it is known that Mr de Villiers is not a Nationalist".

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

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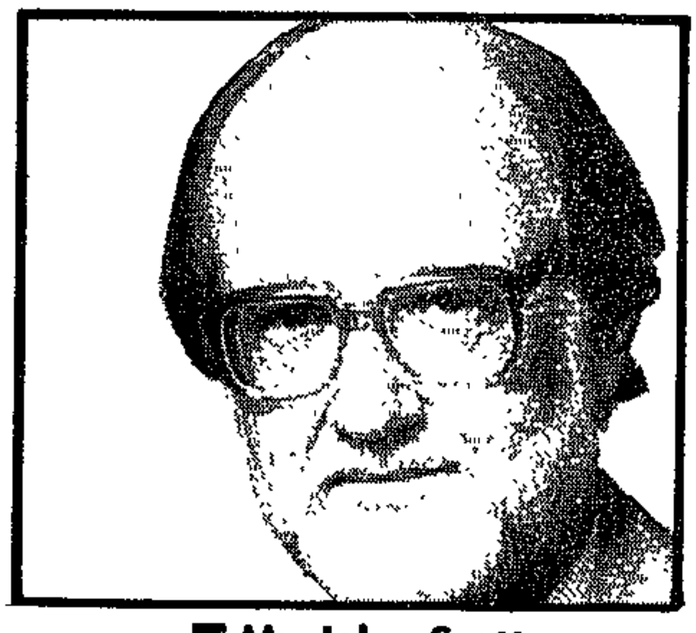

■ Mr John Scott

Seconds out at Simon's Town

AS THE TWO JOHNS SQUARE UP BUT WHICH ONE WILL HAVE THE LAST LAUGH?

W/E ARGUS 14/3/87

by DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

304A

SIMON'S TOWN Progressive Federal Party candidate John Scott launched his election campaign this week with a sharp left jab at his opponent ... "lame", "fat" and "uncaring" was Cabinet Minister John Wiley's Nationalist Government.

"The left jaw of his party doesn't know what the right jaw's doing," said Scott and his capacity audience loved it.

We'll have to wait for Wiley's return right hook at his campaign launch in the Muizenberg pavillion on Wednesday but it's bound to be an equally bruising blow. And no matter where it lands it will be Seconds Out in the Simon's Town fight where the odds are on many heated exchanges.

It is the biggest urban constituency in the Western Cape with nine polling districts and close on 21 000 voters. Since the 1981 election which Mr Wiley carried with a majority of 891 votes over the PFP in a 75,5 percent poll and with 155 spoilt papers, about 5 000 new voters have been registered.

The Nationalist headquarters are in the Assemblies of God Hall in Muizenberg and here one runs into the first little irony in a constituency being fought by two men whose roots go deep into southern peninsula soil. Mr Scott was born in Simon's Town and Mr Wiley has held sway here as MP for 21 years. One cannot ignore the political battle they are fighting but it's a contest, too, between two personalities well-known and, for different reasons, well-loved in this "toe of Africa" as Scott calls it.

Irony one: That church hall where the NP is plotting its moves is also the place where Mr Scott, a deeply committed Christian, celebrates his faith. You climb the stairs and a huge photograph of Mr Wiley greets you ... under a plaque which says *Muizenberg for Christ*. Do they put the photograph away on Sundays when Scott comes to worship?

TRACKING the whereabouts of all the NP campaign offices in the constituency, you trip over another irony at the NP office in Fish Hoek.

"Now let's see, we've got a United Par-..t. .y. .er. .National Party office in ..." etc. Mr Wiley's 21-year tenure as MP has seen him serving in three different political parties and he's bound to have a core of supporters who have seen the man, and not the party policy, down the years This party worker was obviously a Wiley man.

And with all that experience Wiley runs a tight ship which had me just about thrown out of the Fish Hoek office for asking too many questions.

"You'll have to ask your questions in Muizenberg," said an NP worker in uptight tones. She said it more than once, I concede, and in desperation to be rid of me dialled HQ.

"Ag, Chris, we've got a lady from the newspaper down here and she's asking questions and fishing for information and she won't leave."

Eventually I did and Chris (van der Westhuizen, election agent at HQ) up the line greeted me with suave PR style making no attempt at a reprimand for the luck I pushed in Fish Hoek.

THERE is no one picture of a typical voter in this constituency but a composite set of profiles. Yes, there are all the pensioners and elderly people in Fish Hoek (the second largest polling district with 5 661 voters registered) but here too are the "young marrieds" and "a lot of teenagers running around", said Van der Westhuizen.

In Retreat there are the railway employees and their families and in a constituency where the boundary runs "right to Pollsmoor" (I liked Van der Westhuizen's turn of phrase there) the prison personnel and their families make up another 800 or so votes.

And then there's the military profile. Da Gama Park is an exclusively navy suburb and although non-military Glencairn is counted in this polling district, the count of 1 384 voters for both areas carries a weighty slice of the SADF. As does Simon's Town itself where more Navy personnel mingle with yuppies and "the middle class".

The breadth and geography of the constituency adds particular quirks to its profile too. For one, it's remarkably white. Walk the streets in the towns clustered along this picturesque and in some patches still strongly colonial coastline and you hardly see a black face, the townships far away and out of sight (and mind?) beyond the dunes of Strandfontein. The so-called coloured people cluster at Oceanview and in Kalk Bay but there's little reminder that this southern toe belongs to a larger foot and a body of Africa bigger still.

Unless you count the fauna in Cape Point where the smallest polling district nestles.

"There are just 221 voters down there," said Van der Westhuizen. "It's the polling station which phones you on election day to say they've just seen a zebra walk past."

"It's the kind of constituency where local issues count for more than in others perhaps," said Scott. "There is a sense of geographic isolation here and many problems are peculiar to the area."

HIS own manifesto commits him to "giving you a better train service, putting bobbies on the beat at night and unplugging the Muizenberg-Fish Hoek road bottleneck".

Scott is strong too on conservation in a constituency where, alongside the urban profile, the veld runs wild and the sea laps on a broad front. The kaolin mining industry is a bone of contention here and the fisher folk have their own lore of the sea which has run aground on some Cabinet decision making.

"But apart from local issues we're being questioned constantly about the future," said Scott. "People are concerned

14/03/87

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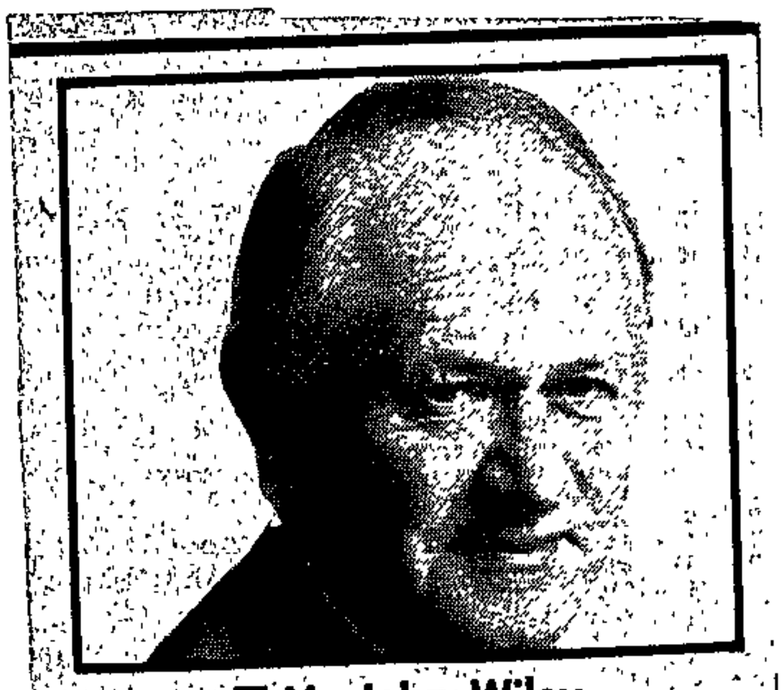


■ Mr John Wiley

about the need to give rights to people of colour and there's a recognition of this issue which I've not seen before. People know there must be change but they're afraid of the implications. There's a lot of reassuring to be done here about *swartgevaar*."

The NP offices too admit to some grilling on the Group Areas Act.

"People are asking what's going to happen about this act," said Van der Westhuizen.

And what are you telling them? ... "That the President's Council report was delayed because it was incomplete. Beyond that we can't speculate on the content of the report."

WITHOUT wanting to resurrect the Horace van Rensburg *boerehaat* spook, the language mix in the Simon's Town constituency carries certain significance too.

Van der Westhuizen claims a well, er, roughly fifty-fifty ... "with the accent probably on English".

Scott is more statistical: "English speakers make up 83 percent and Afrikaans 17," he says.

But the really unknown quotient remains the "personality vote", the votes that will got to Scott just because he's Scott and to Wiley the man.

"Yes, there is something of a personality cult about him," said Van der Westhuizen of his National Party cabinet minister. "He has long and loyal supporters and people know him from his regular door-to-door visits, election or no election."

But Scott is no unknown either. He has his cult no doubt, carved out in the columns of the Press with his sharp and entertaining pen as former political commentator and satirist.

"You're going to have fun down here with Scott," said PFP boss Colin Eglin at Scott's campaign launch. "He's got what none of those Cabinet Minister's night after ghastly night on TV have got ... a sense of humour."

But one of them will have to have the last laugh.

Areas Act fan to fight Govt


Mr Gert Botha

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

ONE of the Government's "master builders" of residential apartheid over many years has emerged as a Conservative Party election candidate to challenge the Government on its handling of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Gert Botha, who is contesting the De Kuilen seat in the Cape Peninsula, has accused the Government of failure and unwillingness to adhere to its principle and ideal of total residential separation of the races.

He was introduced as a candidate this week at a public meeting in Brackenfell, where the CP launched its election campaign for the Peninsula and adjoining region.

He is campaigning for a return to the old-style strict implementation of the Group Areas Act, when Mr P W Botha, now President, handled the establishment of group areas "with fiery enthusiasm" in his capacity as the then Minister of Community Development.

Demolition

Mr Gert Botha, a retired civil servant, said that like Mr Botha he was involved with the demolition of Cape Town's District Six and with other major areas and slum-clearance projects in the 1960s and 70s.

Subsequently, however, disillusionment came for Mr Gert Botha when the Government began to backtrack by watering down the Act and its implementation.

He retired from the public service last year.

The "beginning of the end" of strict residential separation came when the Government scrapped one of the original clauses of the Group Areas Act which provided for an inspectorate.

After that complaints about group areas contraventions had to be made to the police. Through no fault of the police, the implementation of the Act became increasingly difficult.

Mr Botha said a situation was reached where complaints about contraventions and irregularities seldom resulted in prosecutions.

There was a steady return to racial mixing in residential areas, but the Government seemed to do nothing about it.

In a brief address to this week's Conservative Party meeting, Mr Gert Botha said the direction in which the Government was moving would be "disastrous".

The mandate the Government was seeking in the election would lead to ultimate black majority rule, he said.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

AWB in new move to unite rightists

Weekend Post
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has confirmed that efforts are still being made to persuade the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party to reach agreement before the general election.

Efforts to set up an election pact collapsed this week.

The AWB is considering new possibilities on how the two rightist parties can be brought together, according to reports here.

Apparently the bitterness between the two party — the CP's Dr Andries Treurnicht and the HNP's Mr Jaap Marais — has intensified and has led to public emnity.

However, there is speculation at rank-and-file membership level that the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'-blanche, will still step in to force the two leaders to meet at the negotiating table.

The AWB has 600 000 members in the Transvaal, and some believe that if Mr Terre'blanche said they would abstain from voting, which gives the AWB leader powerful leverage.

Other political parties have also not ruled out the possibility of the CP and HNP still withdrawing from clashes against each other in a surprise move as late as election day, May 6.

Post Focus

An alignment on the Left?

Yes, but. . .

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

A REPORT in The Times of London this week that Foreign Minister Pik Botha and 40 other National Party MPs would leave the NP after the election, reflects growing speculation about a possible new alliance to the left after May 6.

At the heart of such speculation is very likely the strategy outlined by the Progressive Federal Party, coupled with the defection of the verligte MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

The flames have been fanned by the resignation of the editor of Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, by anti-National Party leadership sentiments expressed by Stellenbosch academics and by businessmen, and opf course by the nomination of several independent candidates.

In an attempt to halt the wave of defections, the National Party has reiterated its commitment to reform, adding the rider that only it can bring about reform.

The Transvaal Leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Botha — increasingly the spokesmen for the NP — both trotted out this line during the course of the week.

(Interestingly, the contention that only the NP can bring about peaceful reform was also the somewhat hesitant conclusion reached by Dr De Klerk in an article in Rapport six weeks ago).

The obsession during the early weeks of the election with possible left-wing alliances has been coupled with the conclusion that this will mean the end of the NP Government and, in cowboy terms, "the good guys will ride off into the sunset".

It does, of course, all depend on numbers.

The Times, basing its mathematics on an article in a South African magazine, mentions as possible "defectors" Mr Botha, Dr Gerrit Viljoen and between 35 and 40 supporters.

Other scenarios put the number at 25 or 30, others at far less.

Then there is the question of how many seats the PFP-New Republic Party alliance will manage to win. The optimistic talk in terms of 45 to 50, those with longer memories of the power of the NP drum calling the faithful to the polls are more comfortable with 39 to 43.

The magic figure for an alliance between the PFP-NRP and Independents is 84, just one more than half the 166 elected members of the House of Assembly.

And only the most optimistic left-wing dreams make that a reality.

Perhaps far more likely, if there is a significant breakaway and the NP no longer has an absolute majority over the combined forces of the left and right, seems a re-uniting of a "purified" NP with the Conservative Party.

Such a unification would obviously have to take place in a post-P W Botha era.

What makes this scenario more likely is the kind of noises being made by members of the Conservative Party amid the hullabaloo of election propaganda.

Neatly distancing themselves from the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), who wish to turn the clock back to 1969, the CP is now stating that what it wants is to maintain the *status quo* as it exists today.

It recognises that the apartheid egg cannot be returned to the pristine shape it held in 1969, but says further racial scrambling can be halted.

One hears little today about that much vaunted "colouredstan" or other of the more controversial aspects of CP policy It's almost as if, like the PFP and other left-wing elements, the CP has scented the possibility of power.

The attacks are on Government corruption, the plight of poor or elderly whites, the decline in white standards of living, the amount of money being spent on blacks at the expense of white standards and the apparent willingness of the Government to hand over the reins to the majority.

Above all, the Government stands accused of selling out the *volk* and of planning to deprive the Afrikaner nation — English-speaking South Africans are included here — of their birthright.

Many of these sentiments would enjoy the support of the more conservative members of the National Party.

Certainly they would be happier with such a credo than one advanced by such candidates as Mr Wynand Malan, or perhaps even those remaining within the National Party, such as Mr Sakkie Louw, who openly supports an end to beach apartheid.

Would such conservative elements be happy with the motion tabled by the Baakens Valley branch of the Newton Park constituency advocating an end to the Group Areas Act, with all that that entails — racially-mixed residential areas, which must inevitably lead to racially-mixed schools?

Essentially, the verkramptes in the NP are the "group people", those who are committed to a South Africa whose future is firmly founded on the concept of racially demarcated groups and for whom voluntary association is total anathema.

It is that distinction which underpins the decision facing voters when they go to the polls on May 6.

Looking at future alliances, it seems quite possible that, tired of the lack of real change, the Sakkie Louws and Albert Nothnagels — perhaps even Sam de Beer, Pik Botha and a score of others — may leave the Government benches and sit as Independents.

That there will be enough change to oust the Government is another matter.

Far more likely is that, shorn of the liberal elements within their ranks, the way will be open for a new alignment on the right between a "purged" NP and the Conservative Party.

There is, fundamentally, little real difference between the two.

Both are wedded to a future constitutional dispensation that will ensure the domination of whites in South Africa, to the preservation of racial group identity and the pursuance of apartheid, whatever nomenaclature they might adopt from time to time.

The realists on the right, as one candidate in the May 6 general election put it this week, recognise that all that really would mean would be buying yet more time.

But at what price?



PIK BOTHA



GERRIT VILJOEN



SAKKIE LOUW



ALBERT NOTHNAGEL

Malan a figure of hope, says chief

African Affairs Correspondent

THE independent candidate for Randburg in the election on May 6, Mr Wynand Malan, was a 'figure of hope' because he was an inspiration in the way he claimed the right to follow his conscience against every pressure exerted on him by his own people.

This was said yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, when he spoke at the 14th prayer breakfast in Durban to mark the opening of the next session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi next week.

Mr Malan was among the guests, as was Dr Piet Koornhof, South African Ambassador-designate to the United States.

The Chief Minister said South Africa needed the kind of independence of thought dictated to by conscience in every political party

'It is, I think, important for our brothers in the National Party to appreciate that God can speak to the leaders of the party, and all of us, through the Wynand Malans and Denis Worralls of this world.'

Difficult

Chief Buthelezi said he hoped that, in the difficult task which awaited him in the United States, Dr Koornhof would capture the respect of the American people.

It would not be his diplomatic gifts which would be at stake, however, he said.

'It will be the sincerity of Mr P W Botha that will go through this acid test when he says that he has called for an all-white election in 1987 in order to get a mandate from the electorate to implement fundamental changes, that almost the entire population is clamouring for at this time,' Chief Buthelezi said.

irday, March 14 1987

304A N/M 14/3/87

'Distorted' NP pamphlet on Indaba slated

14/3/87 304A N/M

Municipal Reporter

A NATIONAL Party pre-election pamphlet casts reflections on the integrity of those involved in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and 'seriously distorts' its proposals, Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk said yesterday.

Prof van Wyk said the Indaba had no intention of entering the election campaign and would do its utmost to avoid becoming a party political issue.

Appealing to all political parties 'for no more than simple, decent honesty' when discussing the Indaba during the election campaign, Prof van Wyk said too much was at stake for it to be put at risk 'for the sake of a few votes'.

However, he had no option but to react to the pamphlet titled *It's Your Indaba/Dis Jou Indaba*, he said.

The Indaba, which represented a wide spectrum of interests, was not susceptible to hijacking and took orders from nobody. It had not been hijacked by the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party or anybody else.

Insult

'Any suggestion to the contrary is an insult to the 24 other organisations which signed the final report,' he said.

Outlining 'distortions' in the NP pamphlet, Prof van Wyk said financial demands implicit in the Indaba proposals were 'no more than would be made on central Government anyway if it is to upgrade health, social and educational services to an acceptable standard, as it says it will.

'The costs are negligible in comparison with the cost of quadruplicating Government services as happens at present.'

Prof van Wyk said there was 'no justification' for suggesting in the pamphlet that the Indaba's educational proposals could result in educational standards being lowered or private schools losing their subsidies.

It was 'absolutely misleading' to say that under the Indaba's constitutional proposals existing group rights could be sacrificed overnight.

'The constitutional proposals provide explicitly for each group to have a veto over legislation affecting its particular language, religious and cultural rights.

'Any group with a reasonable degree of electoral support would have direct representation in the Cabinet, which is not the case at present.'

Prof van Wyk said it was simply untrue to say that the Indaba proposed 'forced integration' of residential areas.

Nobody would, or could, be forced anywhere. People would be free to live where they chose and where they could afford to live.

'It is unlikely that existing residential patterns would be much disturbed. Even the National Party Government was toying with similar ideas before it called an election,' he said.

(Report by Anne Maggs, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Cape Times 14/3/87

30 C A

Malan a 'figure of hope' — Buthelezi

DURBAN. — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly prayer breakfast here yesterday that the "ferment" in the National Party was cause for hope in solving South Africa's crisis.

He described Mr Wynand Malan, MP, who was at the breakfast and who has quit the NP to stand as an independent, as a "figure of hope" because he had followed his conscience against every pressure exerted on him by his own people he loved so much.

"I see emerging in the National Party rank and file hope that people are beginning to ignore party political dictation when it conflicts with their conscience."

He said: "It is, I think, important for our brothers in the National Party to appreciate that God can speak to the leaders of the party, and to all of us through the Wynand Malans and the Denis Worralls of this world."

Chief Buthelezi said that in "polarized and strife-torn" South Africa, it was all too easy for one group to believe that God was on its side.

"It is all too easy to expect God to be on our side, without us bothering to examine whether we ourselves are in fact on God's side. God is on the side of justice, he is on the side of those who work for peace. But he works in mysterious and wondrous ways which are quite beyond our fathoming.

"I thank God for the new pressures being put on that broken-down old wagon of apartheid, from within the hearts of those who were nurtured within that ideology," he said.

Referring to, but not naming, politically active clergymen, Chief Buthelezi said he had trouble with "Christian idealists" who said they espoused the principles and policies of the ANC but not their methods.

The ANC ideal could not be imposed on a determined and well-armed minority without a deeply wounding conflict, he said.

The gathering was attended by clergymen, the Judge-President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, Dr Alan Paton, members of the diplomatic corps, politicians of various parties and two American civil-rights campaigners, Mr Tom Skinner and Mrs Barbara Williams Skinner. — Sapa

(Report by Terry McElligott, 85 Field Street, Durban.)



Chief Buthelezi



Mr Wynand Malan

Moonies see P W Botha

Cape Times 14/3/87 (304)

By BARRY STREEK and RENEE MOODIE

PRESIDENT P W Botha and other members of the cabinet have met a key member of the controversial Moonies, Colonel Bo Hi Pak, said to be the chief lieutenant of the cult's leader, the Rev Sun Myung Moon.

Col Pak was among 35 United States journalists and academics who recently visited South Africa and Namibia on a three-week fact-finding trip under the auspices of the World Media Association (WMA). The WMA is funded by the Washington Times, the conservative US newspaper established by the Moonies.

During their visit, they held discussions with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and his deputy, Mr Ron Miller.

A spokesman for President Botha last night confirmed that a meeting with a group of people from the WMA had taken place. "It was requested by the WMA. It was a routine meeting, in keeping with the President's policy of meeting people from all over the world," he said.

They also met the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius Myburgh.

'Don't mind talking'

Mr Eglin said last night that he had been invited to address a group of US journalists by the SA Foundation. "I wasn't aware who the WMA were when I was given the list of names. I gave them my interpretation of the South African situation," he said.

Asked what he would have done if he had known of the group's connections, he said: "I don't mind talking to people that I don't necessarily agree with. I see no problem in talking to groups of people about my point of view."

The Cape Town manager of the SA Foundation, Mr Koos Sadie, said the SAF knew there was "some link" between the WMA and the Moonie cult.

A spokesman for Chief Buthelezi said the group had visited Ulundi and had been addressed by the chief. "I don't think he would have had any idea of the religious predilections of individuals in the group, and he would certainly not have asked them," she said.

The group were described as conservative and extremely anti-communist by people who met them.

The Moonies, officially known as the Unification Church, have been strongly criticized in the US for allegedly "brainwashing" members.

In August 1976, the Minister of Environment Affairs and Water, Mr John Wiley, travelled to California to fetch his son Mark, then 22, who was allegedly trapped in a Moonie camp after being brainwashed.

He was "rescued" with the help of Mr Adrian Woudstra, who was at the time SA Deputy Consul-General in San Francisco.

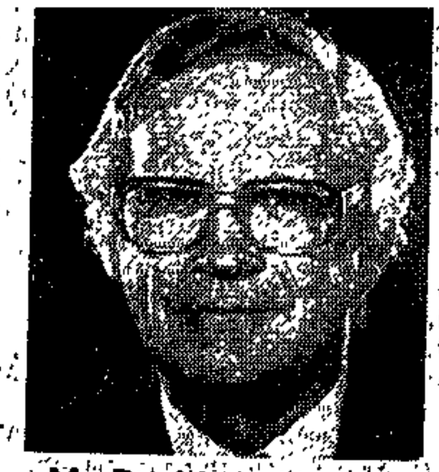
Mr Wiley would not comment on the recent visit.

Although Mr Moon is said not to have direct ties with the Washington Times or the Washington Times Corporation, which owns the newspaper, Colonel Pak is chairman and president of the corporation.

The Washington Times was launched in 1982 by Mr Moon and the following year the paper warmly profiled Mr Botha as one of the world's ten most important leaders.

Among the WMA group were Mr William Rusher, publisher of the National Review Magazine in the US, and Dr Ernest W Lefever, who writes for the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times — and is the author of several books.

Although the group knew the trip was sponsored by the WMA, most of the group's members had no links with the Moonies.



Mr David de Villiers

CAPE Times 14/3/87

N Pers director quits

3044

Staff Reporter

MR David de Villiers, one of South Africa's top press leaders and former managing director of the Nasionale Pers group, has resigned as a director of the giant press group.

He is to support the independent Stellenboch candidate, Dr Esther Lategan.

Reliable sources disclosed to the Cape Times last night that Mr De Villiers's decision followed approaches to him by Dr Lategan.

Neither Mr De Villiers nor Dr Lategan were available for comment.

Mr De Villiers has been a director of Nasionale Pers ever since he retired as managing director in 1984.

He took a leading role in the newspaper industry in the executive of the Newspaper Press Union.

The Independents — just a fuzzy fantasy?

The Independents have certainly stirred a new spirit of anticipation in the land, but the question is whether it is based on anything substantial or, as Professor Hermann Giliomee has suggested, it is just "wishful thinking and froth".

A fascinating debate involving some of South Africa's finest political minds is taking place in the Cape — but strangely not in the racially critical Transvaal — about the new developments.

Essentially there are two arguments being advanced. One is that the Independents are potential catalysts who could bring about a new coalition government committed to reform.

The other is that they are engaged in a tactical ploy that is part of the succession struggle in the National Party and has no more promising reformist potential than the futile tricameral constitution.

The first argument goes something like this. The Conservative Party is not going to do as well as it expects in the election: it has an optimum potential of only 20-25 seats, and far fewer if it fails to form a pact with the HNP.

If the Progressive Federal Party can improve its position, say from its present 26 seats to about 40; and if the Independents do well enough to shake the Government — which will certainly happen if Dr Denis Worrall beats Mr Chris Heunis — then a block of between 20 and 30 "New Nats" may be encouraged to break away and form a "reformist alliance".

With the next general election due in only two years' time, the alliance would be well placed to win more seats and take over the Government in 1989. Negotiations with black leaders for a new constitution could then begin.

The other argument is that the Independents, particularly Dr Denis Worrall, are intent on changing the leadership of the National Party but not its fundamental policies.

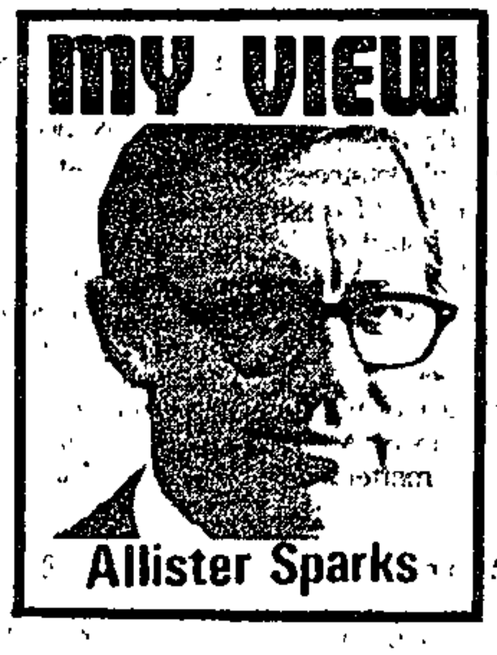
Professor Giliomee says bluntly that he does not believe Dr Worrall has really left the NP but is merely engaged in what he calls "an extra-caucus manoeuvre".

The purpose of this is to inflict damage on Mr Heunis, who is a leading contender in the succession stakes. It will also discredit the swing-to-the-right strategy to counter the Conservatives, so weakening the claims of the other main contender, Mr F W de Klerk.

This would improve the success-ion prospects of Mr Pik Botha, who was Dr Worrall's boss until four weeks ago. If the strategy succeeds and Mr Pik Botha becomes President, then Dr Worrall will be rewarded by being made his Foreign Minister.

In an elegantly argued article in the *Cape Times* recently another top political scientist, Professor Andre du Toit, advanced much the same thesis. He said the new tricameral constitution, by creating an executive President with authoritarian powers, had cut off the traditional "insider access" by influential Afrikaners to the NP leadership.

This was forcing them to try to exert pressure on the leadership from outside the party. Hence not only Dr Worrall's extra-party action, but also that of the Stellenbosch academics.



Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader who now runs a political think-tank, is another who has serious misgivings about the Independent movement.

His worry is that it has no clear vision or solid basis of support and is merely an euphoric phenomenon that is diverting white thinking away from the critical issue of the day — which is the need to begin negotiating with black nationalism — into another cul de sac of false hopes like the tricameral constitition.

To the extent that it may lead anywhere, Dr Slabbert fears this will be towards an intensified attempt to co-opt blacks into a white-controlled multi-ethnic autocracy — "a Turnhalle constitution" — with a militarised Afrikaner-Zulu alliance at its core.

Such a set-up would mean increased levels of oppression and violence and set back the cause of a nonracial democracy many years.

Which of these analyses is correct? I think both — to some extent. I go along with Giliomee, Du Toit and Slabbert when they say there is a lot of froth and wishful thinking about the Independents, but I don't go all the way with their dismissive and pessimistic conclusions.

Opposition whites, especially the business community, have always been suckers for clutching at straws in their eternal hope for an easy, quick-fix solution to our intractable race problem. There is no doubt they are doing so again now, as they did at the referendum.

Denis Worrall also touches another mystical theme in the opposition psyche — what I call the Tielman Roos cult.

For as long as I can remember there has been a recurring hope that one day some "non-political" figure would step down from his elevated platform of impartiality to save the nation from the folly of the politicians, as Judge Roos did when he jolted Prime Minister Hertzog into forming a fusion government with Smuts in 1933.

It is pure fantasy but the messianic hope has become part of our political tradition. Now here comes Dr Worrall filling the cult role as he steps down from his supposedly "non-political" ambassadorship in London and flies to Cape Town (Tielman used a train) with a whiff of St James still clinging to him.

I had a long talk with Worrall in Somerset West the other day and came away still unclear about what his real goals are. Giliomee may be right. But I don't think it matters too much.

What matters is that he and the other Independents, the Stellenbosch academics, Dr Wimpie de Klerk and even the Conservatives are all helping to break up the monolithic solidarity of Afrikaner Nationalism, without which there can be no movement towards a solution of our race conflict.

As that other shrewd political analyst, Mr Colin Eglin, puts it: "They (the Independents) are shaking the trunk of the Nationalist tree, and I don't really mind where the apples fall at this stage."

It may well be that those who join a "reformist alliance" will have as fuzzy a vision as the lemmings who voted "yes" at the referendum.

Perhaps it will lead to a Turnhalle constitution, but even if it does that will fail just as the Turnhalle itself failed, and the tricameral and Muzorewa constitutions and all other variations on the theme of co-option which seek to bypass the core constituency of the disaffected and so can never bring peace.

But the status quo will have been ended and a new fluidity created As we have seen with the tricameral constitution, even as the futile interim experiments fail new forces are unleashed, vain hopes are extinguished and we move a little closer to the ultimate issue that has to be faced — the reconciliation of Afrikaner and African nationalism.

STAR 3044 14/3/87

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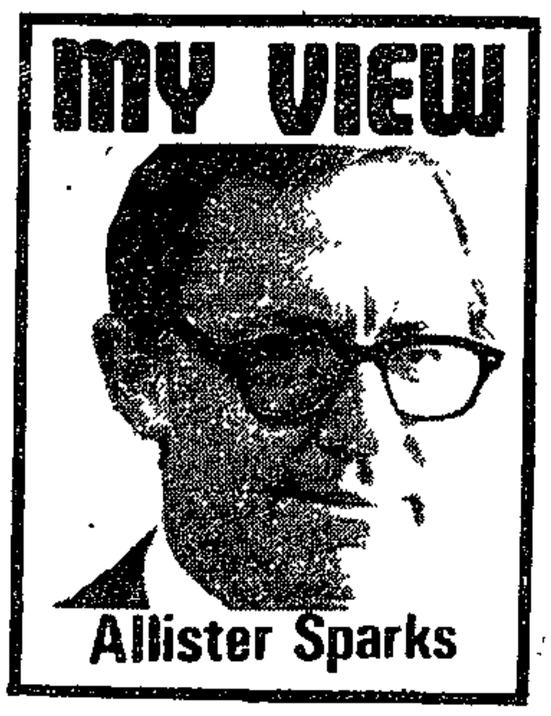

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STAR 3044 14/3/87

Dr L means business on reform issue



□*Dr Lategan — "Stellenbosch has a symbolic significance.*

John MacLennan

Dr Esther Lategan, the independent candidate in Stellenbosch, is standing against the National Party she has supported all her life because she passionately believes somebody has to do something about the political logjam.

She said this week: "I am standing for election because of my responsibility as a citizen.

"I am convinced we have to do everything possible to get the process of reform going again. This just doesn't seem possible with the National Party. There is no initiative. Nothing new is coming from it."

Even if the NP were genuine about reform, she said, it could not implement the programme.

"The Nat track record is not about reform and it does not have enough credibility to get it going."

A win for her in Stellenbosch against the verligte and likeable current Nat MP, Piet Marais, will strike almost as many sparks as a victory for Dr Worrall over the Helderberg incumbent, Minister Chris Heunis.

Said Dr Lategan: "It was important that somebody should stand in Stellenbosch. It has a symbolic value because of its traditional close connection with the Government.

"Many of the NP ideas and policies came from here.

"It is also important because the rest of the country, in the light of the academic defection, is looking to Stellenbosch."

This 43-year-old mother of three is no militant feminist.

She trained at Stellenbosch University and qualified in social work and community development. At the same time she has an imposing presence which probably stands her in good stead as a highly successful businesswoman. She has a clothing factory and several outlets.

> ' All race laws must be lifted to get talks going '

For the last 18 months she has been worrying about the country's slide and eventually decided to do something herself.

Dr Lategan explained: "I want to get the process of reform going again. The 'how' of this will be decided on after we arrive in Parliament."

She is not concerned about having to answer tricky political questions at her public meetings. Her concern is not with political history, but with what is going wrong now.

But, broadly speaking, she will be telling people: "We believe all discriminatory laws and regulations must be lifted for us to carry on with the process of negotiation.

"You cannot negotiate with people who are not on the same footing as you are."

She clearly believes the independents have everything going for them. "This is a groundswell movement. It is spontaneous. There's great enthusiasm building up, not just here but all over the country.

"The support comes from all sorts of people ... from the technician who fixes your telephone, from academics, from all sorts of people in the community.

"Even friends in the coloured community in Stellenbosch are taking an interest.

"One rang to say she was sorry she could not vote for me and she wanted to work for me in the election."

Dr Lategan has disclosed that she has the backing of a formidable team of helpers. She would not give details but sources said they included:

● **Mr Johan Rupert**, "crown prince" of the Rembrandt empire and son of Dr Anton Rupert. His name has been mentioned ever since the independents' furore started.

● **Mr Michiel le Roux**, the 36-year-old "wunderkind" MD of the liquor giant Oude Meester.

● **Mr Wilhelm Landman**, MD of the Cape Town-based public relations firm Intermark.

A Government puppet — or victim of a smear campaign?

Riddle of the elusive bishop

By Gary van Staden

BISHOP Isaac Mokoena may have lost the battle against Winnie Mandela for the chancellorship of Glasgow University in Scotland this week, but he did earn the consolation title of "most shy political leader in South Africa".

Bishop Mokoena — recently presented with a Decoration for Meritorious Service (DMS) by the State President for his services to South Africa — was not available to speak to *The Sunday Star* last week, despite eight attempts over two days to talk to him.

Bishop Mokoena, leader of the recently formed moderate political party the United Christian Conciliation Party, returned from Scotland on Thursday morning last week following his unsuccessful attempt to win the chancellorship of Glasgow University. The post went to Mrs Mandela by a massive majority of votes in a low-percentage poll.

Bishop Mokoena also heads the Reformed Independent Churches Association.

Attempts to contact the bishop on his return proved fruitless although on three occasions *The Sunday Star* got close — until his secretary asked who wanted him.

Then he had "just stepped out".

The Sunday Star offered to put its questions on telex so that the bishop could take his time replying, but was told that there was no telex facility available at his office.

These are the questions *The Sunday Star* wanted to put to the bishop:

- You (Bishop Mokoena) have claimed a membership for your alliance of black churches of some 4,5 million. Can you substantiate this and what are your comments on claims by your opponents that you would be "lucky to draw 45 people"?
- How was it possible that you were able to obtain a nomination for a chancellorship at a university in Scotland when you are not very well known even in your own country?
- Who were your sponsors at Glasgow University and how did they get to know about you?
- You have consistently denied claims of SA Government funding for your church organisation and your political party but the rumours persist. Where does your funding come from and how much cash is involved?
- What educational qualifications do you hold and what formal theological training have you undergone which would qualify you for the title of bishop?
- Did you travel to Scotland (last week) specifically to promote your candidacy for the Glasgow chancellorship and if not what were you doing in Glasgow?

(The office of Bishop Mokoena told *The Sunday Star* on Wednesday that the bishop was in Scotland and would return the following day. The spokesman said he did not know whether the bishop was in Glasgow because of the campus election.)

- What are your comments on the election held there this week and do you believe that you got a fair deal?
- Who do you believe was behind the smear pamphlet distributed at the university which said you were a "SA Government puppet" and did not have a political party to lead?
- Did the smear campaign hurt your chances of being elected?
- Do you have any plans to make yourself available for similar honorary positions at foreign institutions in the future?
- What is your reaction to comments from the United Democratic Front that you "fully deserved" the DMS for your "services to apartheid"?

The questions remain unanswered but if the bishop reads them he is welcome to reply — even at this stage — and *The Sunday Star* will carry them.

Meantime *The Sunday Star* has had to rely on other sources for some of the answers and these include:

- The Research Institute on Black Independent Churches at the University of Zululand which spent more than a decade studying the black independent churches concluded that Bishop Mokoena's association was confined to a small number of churches and was limited to "only a few thousand" members.

The Council of African Independent Churches — one of the groups in Bishop Mokoena's association of churches — has also disputed his membership claims.

- Bishop Mokoena has addressed several Press conferences but despite repeated questioning on the issue has yet to say where the funds for both his church organisation and his political party come from.
- The bishop's background, his educational qualifications and theological training remain unknown.



BISHOP ISAAC MOKOENA . . . a Decoration for Meritorious Service to South Africa, but not available to answer questions about himself or his work.

Govt has to negotiate or go, says De Klerk

14/3/87 STAR

Former editor of the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, says the Government will have to be replaced if it fails to accommodate its "verligte" supporters.

In an interview with The Star, Dr de Klerk confirmed that political pressure mainly prompted his resignation.

He said he had come under great pressure to toe the Nationalist Party line, especially in view of the election. He had resigned of his own accord.

"It is the tradition in the Western Press if there is something wrong with the newspaper's circulation for the editor to be held responsible. But that is not the main reason for my resignation.

"The main reason is that I am politically inhibited, being an editor of an Afrikaans paper."

Criticism and the new ways of thinking on current political issues were not the style of Afrikaans journalism.

PRESSURE

Dr de Klerk said that events in the last two years had made it increasingly difficult for him.

He added: "There is more political pressure on the Press now than previously.

"It is not true to say there is no room for difference of opinion. But especially at election time there is a great deal of pressure that one must toe the line."

In the Afrikaans Press one could criticise to some extent: "But basic deviation in official policy — that is more difficult to express these days."

He added: "I was editor of the Transvaler for 10 years. In those days you could state your differences with Mr Vorster. Verligtes were permitted.

> ' Difficult to deviate from the official party line these days '



□Dr Willem de Klerk.

"But in the last few years there has been a very strong directive to stay within the bounds of the National Party."

Dr de Klerk agreed that the intolerance in the NP leadership was ironic in the light of its reformist image.

"Yes of course, P W Botha is more reform-minded than Vorster was. But there are many people to the right of the Progressive Federal Party and to the left of the NP who are beginning to make their voices heard.

"The NP is not getting their support — it is very intolerant."

He said at least 22 percent of Government supporters fell into the "verligte" category. Most would probably stay within the party to try to reform from within.

Dr de Klerk said it was too early to speculate about the creation of a new political party.

"There is a new mood in the country. If the NP cannot accommodate this mood then a new party could develop. But that is post-election speculation."

He believed it was the right time to call an election.

Mr de Klerk declined to predict future political trends. "I am not a prophet. But I do believe we must follow the politics of compromise and negotiation. The people of South Africa, black and white, will demand it of the Government. If it can't do this, it must go. Otherwise there will be more polarisation."

He had a great deal of sympathy for the independent candidates.

"I think they are going to do very well, but they won't be able to win without the support of the PFP.

"The independents are part of the new protest politics. But their proposals at this stage are vague."

He said it would be a sad day if the Government no longer tolerated verligtes.

"I think the National Party must accommodate the new viewpoints. It must be willing to change some of its policies.

"If this does not happen, then the Government must be replaced."

"But I am disappointed in the Government's election manifesto. There is no future vision. That is why so many people are upset and nervous."

He said the right-wing threat was overestimated. "I am not afraid of them. They should be cut down to size. They represent 18 to 19 percent of white voters."

He made it clear he would not publicly back Dr Denis Worrall or the other independent candidates.

"I can understand the dynamics of the situation and I am sympathetic. But the NP is still the vehicle for change. I still hope the NP can adapt and accept compromise politics."

He said the strong attack on apartheid and the Government made by the 26 Stellenbosch academics at the weekend was positive. "I like it that people are talking. That is part of democracy. But I am not an active politician. I want to be an individual and be a political commentator. I don't want to be involved in National Party propaganda, or back the independents."

FUTURE

Dr de Klerk stressed that he resigned, and was not fired. "There was no threat."

He was not clear about his plans for the future. "For the moment I am unemployed. I am not interested in entering politics actively. I am not going to stand as a candidate."

He said he had no knowledge of plans to launch a new Afrikaans Sunday newspaper.

He would remain a member of the Broederbond. "There is a lot of tolerance in the Broederbond. It reflects many moods in South Africa."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Help reform, Worrall exhorts businessmen

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall has told businessmen they could make a major contribution towards getting real negotiations started in South Africa.

He said such negotiations for peaceful solutions to the country's problems could not succeed while apartheid measures such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and race classifie[illegible] remained.

Businessmen could help by raising an awareness of So[illegible] Africa's international situation and by making known their aspirations and viewpoints.

Dr Worrall, independent election candidate for Helderberg and former South African Ambassador in London, was addressing about 200 Western Cape business people at a meeting in Stellenbosch last night. The meeting had been arranged by the Stellenbosch Chamber of Commerce.

Dr Worrall said a message which businessmen had to get across was that South Africa was a trading country which "cannot do without the world."

"We are part of the world, we must stay with the world, we must argue our case and beat sanctions," he said.

The kind of South Africa which South Africans wanted was a country based on Western values.

Asked by a member of the audience what his vision of the future was, Dr Worrall said he believed South Africans of all population groups and most political parties were "thirsting for a vision."

What most people wanted was "one South Africa which works for all South Africans."

Dr Worrall said he did not have a blueprint for the future, but certain steps ought to be taken urgently, including steps to get real negotiations going.

Regional initiatives such as the kwaNatal Indaba had to be recognised, and South Africans needed to accept that black people would not be prescribed to.

Replying to a question on the role of the African National Congress, Dr Worrall said the ANC would play a role in future.

It had to be remembered, however, that the ANC was not only in Lusaka and other centres abroad, but also in Cape Town's Guguletu township and even in parts of Stellenbosch.

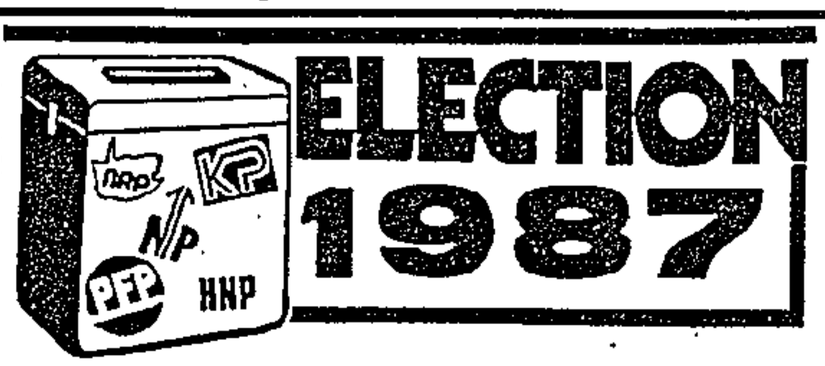
A process had to be started to involve everybody in a commitment to find answers by peaceful change. The ANC would have to drop its ideas of violence, because "you cannot negotiate with people engaged in violence."

Dr Worrall said very few of South Africa's political leaders had a real understanding of the international situation.

Businesmen had the advantage that they travelled extensively and understood South Africa's involvement with the international community better than most other people.

(Report by F Esterhuyse, 123 St George's Street, Cape Town).





Pik calls for 'show of unity to outside world'

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

It was a lie to allege that reform, innovation and adaptation had come to an end, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said this week.

He was opening the National Party's election campaign in Johannesburg at a public meeting in Houghton to introduce Mr George Pagan (NP, Houghton), and Mr Mike Roberts (NP, Johannesburg North).

Hundreds filled the Norwood Primary School hall to listen to Mr Botha

In a wide-ranging speech, he appealed to voters to send a signal of unity to the outside world and to internal radicals.

He warned that if the white electorate started splintering it would weaken the country and allow South Africa's enemies to exploit the situation.

Mr Botha was particularly critical of dissident Nationalists who had broken from the party to stand as independents.

Listing his long record of public appeals for reform, he said he would not resign because he intended to continue fighting for South Africa and the things he had stood for over the years.

"Where I disagree most strongly with my friends (the independents) is their demand for faster change.

"Which laws would they have repealed earlier and on what dates and with what support, because without a political power base they would not have been able to use the constitutional body that must bring about peaceful change," he said.

Mr Botha warned that the independents were giving rise to expectations which could not be fulfilled.

He also had harsh words for the United States Congress, which he said did not express the views of most Americans with regard to sanctions on South Africa, thereby playing into the hands of Moscow.

He said not even a Progressive Federal Party government would be able to satisfy world demands with regard to surrendering power to a "bunch of Marxists".

He called on voters to show the outside world that the white electorate stood behind the principle of change and power sharing without domination by one group over others.

(Report by D Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

A 'no' to one man, one vote

CAPE TOWN — The former ambassador to Britain, Dr Dennis Worrall, dissociated himself from a one man, one vote system of government and said he and other independent election candidates would not commit themselves to any particular future constitution.

Addressing the Jews for Justice organisation in Cape Town, he elaborated on the election manifesto released by the three yesterday and said it was aimed chiefly at starting constitutional negotiation among all South Africans.

Referring to the manifesto's statement that all constitutional options for South Africa should be published, Dr Worrall said the belief that there was only a choice between "tinkering with the status quo" and one man, one vote had to be allayed.

"We (the independent candidates) say that is not the case. There are many different forms (of constitution) and they need to be put on the table.

"Until people are given the chance to be for things rather than against everything, we will remain far from the kind of negotiation we want to see."

(Report by G G Smith, 801 Nedbank Building, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

Put your trust in NP, Van der Merwe tells voters

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The National Party was not asking the electorate to "sign a blank cheque" in accepting its election manifesto, but for a mandate to negotiate for South Africa's future, Deputy Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe told a Bronkhorstspruit meeting this week.

"This approach contains a degree of uncertainty, but we ask for trust — knowing that we will come back to voters (before making constitutional changes)," he told the audience of about 200 in the town hall.

It would have been "so much easier" to have brought the electorate a detailed plan on how the NP planned to accommodate black people, Dr van der Merwe said.

Though the NP had no specific plan, it had preconditions for a new dispensation, he said.

These included participation for all without one group dominating another; freedom of religion; that such a dispensation comply with "Christian norms and standards"; and that order be guaranteed.

If those were the qualities sought, the specific form a new dispensation would take was "not that important," he said.

He outlined the movement away from separate development as a means of giving black South Africans a political voice.

He added: "Is it reasonable to expect a black man born in this white corner of Africa to practise his right to vote in a homeland where he has never been?

"Unless one gives blacks effective political rights, there will still be dissatisfaction.

"Our own people would not have been happy with these rights."

Dr van der Merwe faced questions on job reservation, inclusion of Muslims in Government and the Broederbond.

The constituency is to be the scene of a three-cornered fight between the NP's Professor Jan Viljoen, triathlete Dr Eddie King for the PFP and Mr Daan Nolte for the CP.

Asked if he was a member of the Broederbond, Dr van der Merwe hedged.

(Report by Claire Robertson, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Election could be Eglin's crowning triumph — or it may be a disaster

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In the cut and thrust of South African election politics there is little prospect of survival for the politically naive.

One key national figure who is not only surviving but, from all accounts, thriving in this election is Colin Eglin, 61-year-old leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Not known for his oratorical skills or the charisma that characterised his predecessor, he is yet a tough political animal and a shrewd political manager who has so far impressed even opponents with his electioneering.

In fact, this election campaign may prove to be the crowning triumph of his 37-year public career. Or it could be a disaster.

He is playing a political game for high stakes at seemingly hopeless odds. But he is confident that his political nose is right, and that events in this election, and particularly afterwards, will prove this.

Mr Eglin's followers evidently agree with his judgment because there are no complaints or tensions about what can only be described as unorthodox political strategies and decisions taken by a political leader in an election.

These strategies have involved standing back for a New Nat Independent even in Randburg, a constituency in which the PFP was generally believed to have a good chance of taking on May 6.



PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin . . . even his political opponents admire his electioneering.

He has formed an election alliance with the New Republic Party, a party which has traditionally been bitterly opposed to much of what the PFP stands for

He has persuaded his party not to field candidates against liberal Nationalists in constituencies where the entry of the PFP could split the reform vote and allow the Conservative Party to sneak off with the prize.

His efforts are reminiscent of the role he played in the 1970s when he first made it possible for the reformists of the United Party to cut their political apron strings and then merge with the Progressive Party (a process which many purist Progs objected to vehemently at the time).

He was also the man who snatched Dr Van Zyl Slabbert from the UP on the eve of a general election — a deal clinched at a secret meeting of the two in front of a bakkie parked at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Eglin calls all this "playing participatory politics" to build something in the future.

His intention has been to get as many reform-minded people elected into Parliament as possible, even if they do still sit in the National Party

He believes that ultimately the forces at work in the political system will bring these soul mates together somewhere in the future when they can form an alternative government.

The strategy seemed bizarre at the outset of this campaign But since then he has seen vindicated his belief that if he allowed the dissident Nationalists a niche between the PFP and the Government a new momemtum would build up.

Since Mr Wynand Malan's announcement that he would stand as an Independent, a number have followed suit, and the resignation from the party of leading Afrikaner academics is privately regarded by the NP leadership as "serious".

Dr Denis Worrall, another frustrated Nationalist seeking election as an Independent, described Mr Eglin's decision not to stand against him in Helderberg as the mark of a statesman. (Mr Eglin himself puts this down to anticipation of a political process rather than reacting to specific events and opportunities.)

"An effective leader tries to see and understand the processes at work and then tries to stake a position in that process at a point in the future.

"In South Africa today there is a process in which I have no doubt that the total pressures on society, particularly the white sector of society, are pushing us in the direction of having to negotiate some new Constitution which, while it will take into account many of the realities of South Africa, will not be based on race per se."

Mr Eglin's strategy has been to try to "loosen" the political structures in the system to the point where it was possible for people to move ahead and away from the National Party.

"The phenomenon of the Independent candidates represents more than a breakaway because of NP leadership. In the long term I think it is going to be much more fundamental."

Report by David Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria

CP and HNP 'are heading a grass-roots rebellion'

14/3/87 30 MAR STAR

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

Rank-and-file white right-wingers are threatening to rebel against the leadership of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party after the failure of the two parties to forge an election pact this week.

There are also indications of differences of opinion at the highest level of the CP over the party's hard line towards the HNP in demanding conditions for an election pact.

High drama is expected in right-wing politics over the next few weeks as attempts are start ed to form a grassroots movement to make election agreements at constituency level.

At the same time the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and other right-wing groups are to increase pressure on the two parliamentary parties to put aside their differences.

A member of the AWB, Mr Manie Maritz, said yesterday neither the CP nor the HNP would be allowed to hold public meetings in Brits or Rustenburg (two constituencies considered by the Right to be "winnable") unless the parties agreed on a pact for the general election.

This follows a walk-out of a large group from a meeting in Vryheid addressed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on Thursday night after an HNP supporter asked those who wanted right-wing cooperation to stand-up.

The chairman of the meeting stopped the speaker and he and a large part of the 400-member audience walked out.

A source in the AWB has confirmed the organisation's leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, will be making fresh initiatives next week to bring the two parties together.

Meanwhile, it was understood the HNP's Pretoria offices fielded several calls yesterday from the party's local organisations seeking permission to clinch election pacts with their CP counterparts at constituency level. (See Page 5.)

● Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria

3044 14/3/87

Caught in between — where to now, Wimpie?

Out in the cold. Again. That's Willem ("Wiempie") de Klerk who resigned last Sunday as editor of *Rapport*.

Four years ago he vacated another editor's chair, that of *Die Transvaler*.

The problem then was a clash on internal company matters.

This time he left because the)pressure from the Cabinet and his own board became intolerable.

He was expected to put National Party interests above the natural flow of the news. He felt he could not do so. So he left.

What does he do now?

"I don't know," he says frankly. "I have no plans and am looking to what I can do."

But his history shows that he is not about to disappear.

As a Dopper, he is a member of the strictest of the three Afrikaans churches (Gereformeerde).

He studied theology at Potchefstroom and started his working life as a dominee in Krugersdorp.

Personality

WILLEM DE KLERK

Interviewed by HARALD PAKENDORF

Then came a chair in Ethics at his *alma mater*, a part-time job as newspaper columnist and since 1973 editor, first of *Die Transvaler* and later of *Rapport*.

He has also been a prominent member of the powerful Broederbond for years.

In between, he sandwiched a part-time professorship in journalism at Rand Afrikaans University and was continually active in Afrikaans cultural matters.

A varied career and one that indicates that he will find another niche. In one respect it will be easier this time around to change to something new. His children have all left home — except for the youngest, a 13-year-old daughter.

In the study of his Greenside home, his wife Elsabe says: "It's difficult, but we have had tremendous support from so many people. It has been heartwarming."

She has been through the mill before. She feels she can handle this one, too.

Willem de Klerk reluctantly agrees that his going is of special symbolic significance. Not because of himself, he hastily adds.

Fact is, though, that he is a Bloed-Nat — his brother is Transvaal leader of the National Party and a pretender to Tuynhuis, his father was a Cabinet Minister and his uncle, Mr J G (Hans) Strijdom, Prime Minister.

Naturally there is tension between the two brothers but, says Willem "we remain brothers. There is no bitterness and we can still discuss issues of the day."

Right now, though, Willem is just enjoying that very special feeling which overcomes you when you know you've done the right thing.

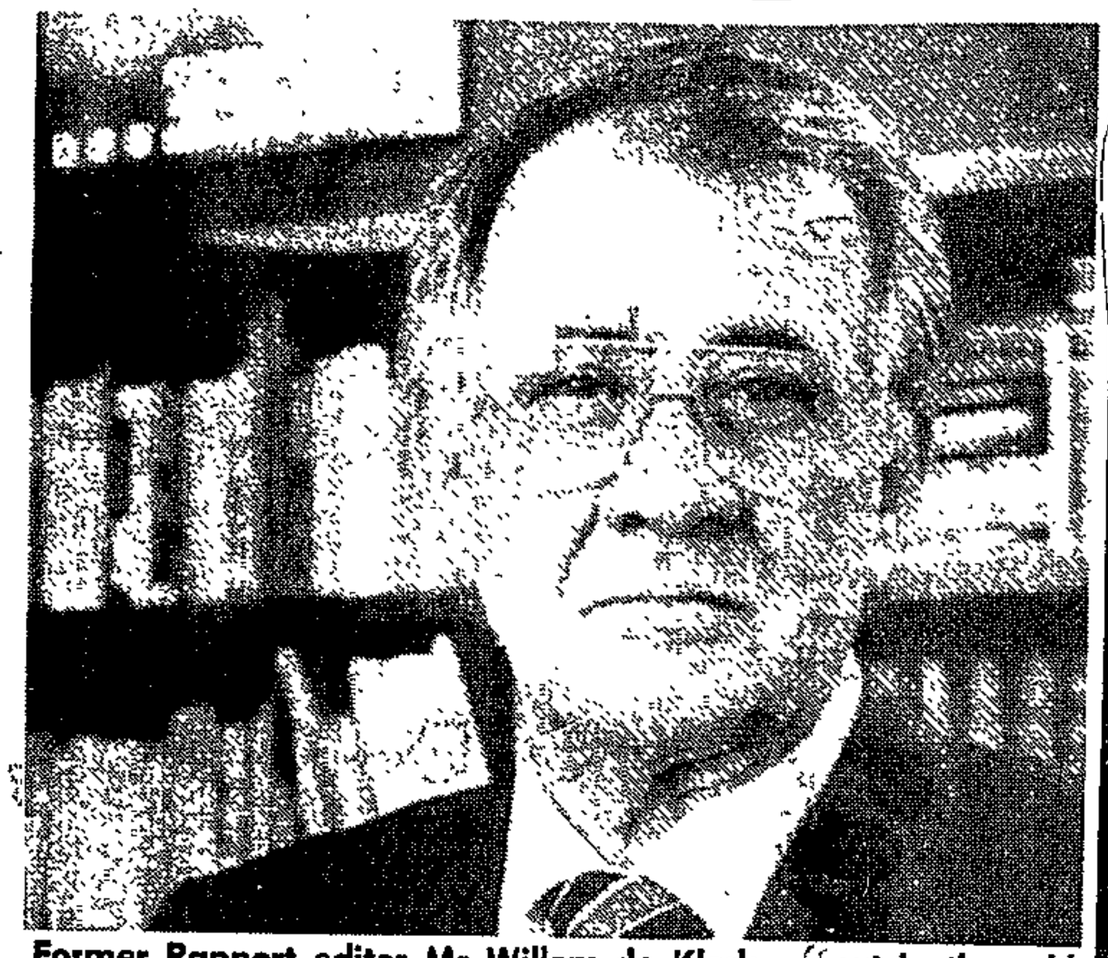
Will he join up with the Independents? He smiles. That is too early to say. As a candidate, no, he asserts.

But it is obvious where his sympathy lies.

"Perhaps," he muses, "it is inevitable that I will end up in that camp. After all, it was my not being critical enough of them that brought me to where I am."

He worries about the staff of *Rapport*. He has gone through the trauma once before of having to leave behind loyal and supportive journalists.

They face uncertainty — except that the one constant remains: the pressure from the top to toe the line will continue.



Former Rapport editor Mr Willem de Klerk . . out in the cold but not about to disappear.

CP and HNP leaders face a rank-and-file dissent

Rebellion at the grassroots

Rank-and-file white right-wingers are threatening to rebel against the leadership of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party after the failure of the two parties to forge an election pact this week.

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DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

MEETING BAN

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This follows a walk-out of a large group from a meeting in Vryheid addressed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on Thursday night after an HNP supporter asked those who wanted right-wing cooperation to stand up.

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firmed the organisation's leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, will be making fresh initiatives next week to bring the two parties together.

Meanwhile, it was understood the HNP's Pretoria offices fielded several calls yesterday from the party's local organisations seeking permission to clinch election pacts with their CP counterparts at constituency level.

One HNP official said he did not wish to exaggerate the importance of this development, but "there is a growing feeling out there that a pact must be made".

The division within the CP hierarchy appears to be over the importance to the party of an agree-

Here's karate and it says: no handicap

But an ostrich expert from Oudtshoorn district has advised ... and see whether Sy heels turn pink.

You think there are easier, b direct methods of determining trich's sex? The experts say no only are their genitals inverted are also located inaccessibly hi on the back.

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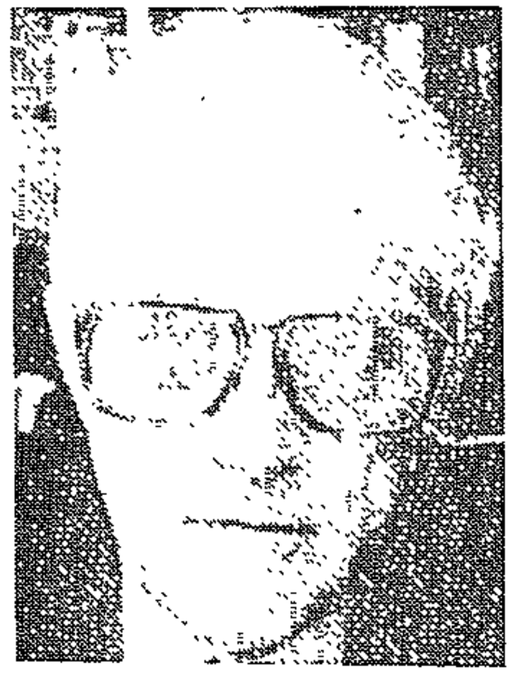
PFP to put up Paarl candidate

CAPE TOWN — The PFP is going ahead with nomination procedures to put up an election candidate in Paarl where the NP is so far unopposed. Cape PFP leader Mr Roger Hulley said an announcement on the Paarl nomination would probaby be made next week. The party's nomination procedures in that constituency had been suspended pending the outcome of moves by an action committee to put up an independent candidate. The committee has decided not to nominate an independent. Mr Hulley said the PFP would not put up candidates in Stellenbosch and Helderberg where the NP was being opposed by independents. At this stage the PFP was advising its members and supporters to support the independents on the strength of their election manifesto.— (Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

A PROMINENT FIGURE IN THE SLABBERT REVOLT TELLS HOW VERLIGTES WERE BLUFFED INTO BELIEVING IN REFORM

THE BOTHA YEARS: WHAT WENT WRONG



By SAMPIE TERREBLANCHE

THE reform programme of the Botha years has become derailed. Is it possible to put it back on track? I do not think so ... for the simple reason that it was never properly *on* track.

To explain what went wrong during the Botha years, it is necessary to focus on how the balance of power — and with it the ideological orientation — shifted between the different groups within Afrikanerdom during the last 20 years.

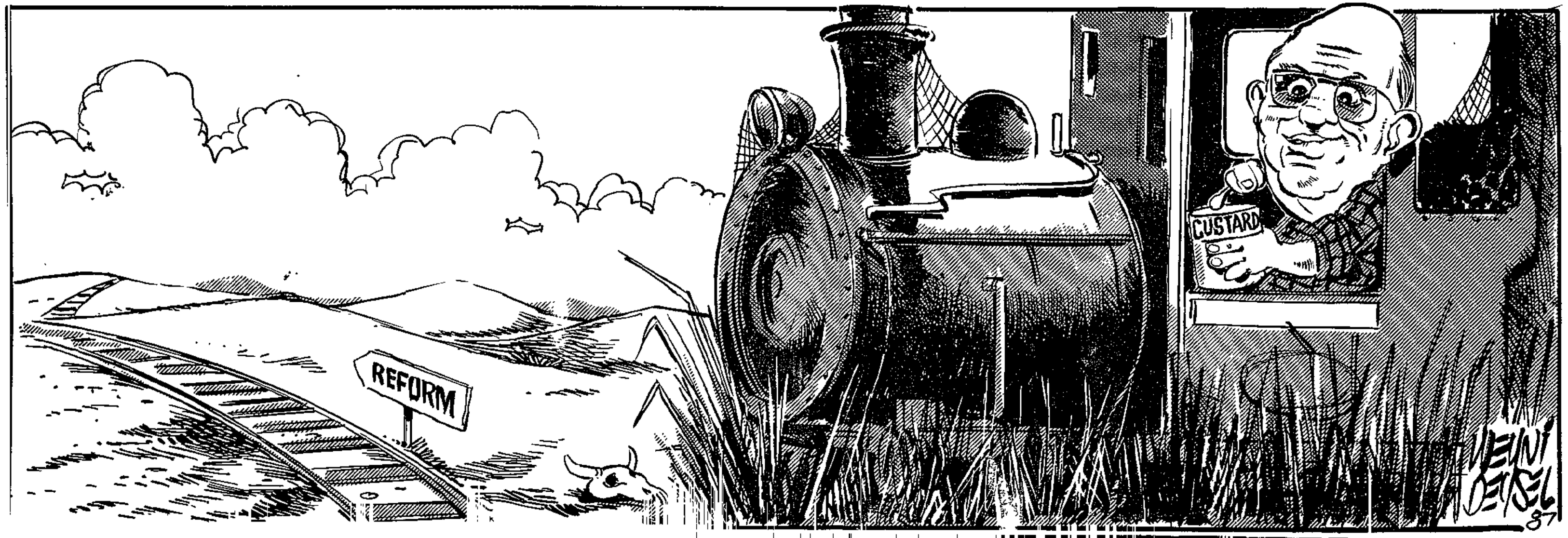
Although the Botha government lost considerable Afrikaner support during the split of 1982, it is still Afrikaner-oriented. It remains in power because it still succeeds in consolidating the support of non-extreme rightwing Afrikaners and because it succeeds in obtaining the support of 20 to 30 percent of the English speakers.

The popular conception is that Afrikanerdom is a monolithic entity. This is not the case. Afrikanerdom has consisted, at least for the last 20 years, of three clearly defined and ideologically divided groups: the verligtes (30 percent), the verkramptes (30 percent) and the middle-of-the-roaders (40 percent).

Both the relative size and the ideological orientation of these three groups have remained remarkably stable. Only two important changes have taken place during the last 10 years.

Firstly, the split of 1982 brought the close unity of the party and the clan to an end.

Secondly, the verkramptes have become more reactionary, the verligtes hopefully more reform-oriented and the middle group more stereotyped middle-of-the-roaders, thus providing the ideological "home" for the greater part of the bureaucracy and those favoured by government



Firstly, President Botha shifted his ideological orientation from the verligtes towards the middle-of-the-road group of Afrikanerdom, i.e. towards the rightwing of the present National Party.

Secondly, in the absence of a political solution for the dual crisis situations, the Government had no choice but to declare a state of emergency.

The combined effect of both these events is that President Botha is no longer the leader of the verligtes, but has become the "captive" of the middle-of-the-roaders — a group in Afrikanerdom highly "populated" by those unduly privileged by the spoils of government.

The 30 percent who comprise the verligte Afrikaners have at least two reasons to be very disenchanted and ought to reconsider their membership of the party.

'The reform strategy was little more than a public relations exercise to improve the image of apartheid and not endanger the Afrikaner'

Mr Vorster and Mr Botha of-the-roadism. He maintained party unity by alternately creating the impression that his real sympathy lay with the verligtes and the verkramptes respectively — and both groups believed it alternately!

In the last few years of his government, however, he became the "captive" of the verkramptes.

The stronghold of the verkramptes during those years was based on the combined strength of five smaller establishments within Afrikanerdom: the (NP) Caucus and Cabinet, the (Afrikaner) Churches and Cultural organisations and the Civil servants (or the bureaucracy).

Verkramptheid found its strength in the consolidated efforts of these five notorious Cs. The five Cs, with their overlapping memberships and their ideological unanimity, cemented the rightwing in those years into a stone wall obstructing the way towards reform.

The Information scandal shocked Afrikanerdom to its foundations. It created the opportunity for P W Botha and the Cape liberals in the NP to hijack the Caucus and the Cabinet. In the last days of September 1978 a dramatic ideological swing took place from reactionary verkramptheid towards reform-orientated verligtheid.

Unfortunately this shift in the ideological orientation at the top could not immediately be used for reform, because the other three Cs (the Churches, the Cultural organisations and the Civil servants) were still part and parcel of the verkrampte camp.

The support of two other smaller Afrikaner establishments — Afrikaner business and the Press — was not strong enough to cover Mr Botha's back at that time.

It took him three and a half years (until February 1982) to consolidate his position within the Caucus and the Cabinet, and even longer to move the other three Cs sufficiently towards his camp.

The decisions of the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1986 could have been very meaningful for the Botha government and its reform programme if they had been taken four years earlier.

At the time the decisions were taken, P W Botha, no longer the ideological leader of the verligtes, was already backtracking from his reform course.

The Botha camp attained control over the cultural organisations more easily than was anticipated. The difficult one to capture was the bureaucracy (including the SABC and other parastatals).

Their allegiance to the Botha-camp could only be attained by "co-opting" the upper layers of the bureaucracy.

This was done in two ways: firstly, by means of highly improved employment conditions (through the implementing of the controversial system of occupational differentiation); and, secondly, by allowing senior officials to become an even greater part of the decision-making and executive elite.

Because of this, many senior officials — especially in departments connected with security and the flow of information — became alarmingly powerful (powerful enough to veto certain aspects of reform).

To consolidate his position, President Botha was obliged to "co-opt" the bureaucracy, but in due course he became their "captive" ... for reasons I will now explain.

Looking back, the Botha years can be divided into three periods: the Formative period until February 1982, the Reform period until September 1984 and the Crisis period since September 1984.

During the Formative period P W Botha proved himself to be a masterful political strategist, outsmarting the verkramptes all the way. He effectively utilised a verligte rhetoric to drive the verkramptes out of the party and to mobilise the support of the verligtes and many English speakers. Unfortunately, the optimism it created in reform circles proved to be unwarranted.

During the Reform period the verligtes were very much in the driving seat. The main events during this period were the Referendum, the Tricameral Parliament and the Nkomati Accord.

Although many verligtes had reservations at the time about the appropriate nature of the reform strategy, they were bluffed into believing that it was only the starting point for greater things to come!

Today, at least, I know that even during the Reform period, the reform strategy was little more than a public relations exercise to improve the image and the effect of apartheid, but in a manner that would not endanger Afrikaner (or white) control.

The reform programme during this period suffered from four serious defects.

Firstly, the political leadership failed to formulate a new ideology to replace Verwoerdism. It is not enough to acknowledge (belatedly) that we had outgrown the (or *an*) outdated concept of apartheid. Apartheid must be replaced by a new and apartheid-free ideology and by an apartheid-free system.

For the immediate future, a new ideology is indispensable to re-educate the electorate after decades of Verwoerdian miseducation. The formulation of such an ideology is clearly beyond the reach of President Botha and his senior ministers.

Secondly, the Tricameral Parliament turned out not to be a method to share power, but only one to "co-opt" the Coloureds and the Asians in a rather complex and costly manner.

Thirdly, it was a serious mistake not to include the blacks in this method of "co-option". During 35 years of apartheid, the coloureds had been socially degraded to almost the same level as the blacks.

Consequently efforts to "upgrade" them politically to a higher level only humiliated the blacks.

Fourthly, it was wrong to be in favour of reform but against a programme to redistribute income and opportunities.

Given the sharp contrast between white wealth and black poverty and the cumulative role played by apartheid in maintaining, aggravating and perpetuating the inequalities, redistribution through social investments and improved accessibility to resources ought to be at the centre of the reform debate and strategy.

After being both the victims and the beneficiaries of political and economic structures (respectively before and after 1948), the Afrikaners cannot but be aware of the importance of the redistribution issue.

Was it honest to neglect it so conspicuously? Was it wise to ignore the fact that apartheid inhibits the forces which in a market-oriented process of economic development could have enhanced greater equality in the distribution of income and opportunities?

The implementation of the new constitution in 1984 coincided with the start of the present spell of black unrest — unrest that became endemic. This triggered the internal crisis, which in turn was complemented (and aggravated) by an external crisis.

The latter was initiated in August 1985 after the wrongly marketed and wrongly presented Rubicon speech. This unfortunate event torpedoed the last chance for a (partially) successful reform strategy by this government.

In the course of 1986 it became evident that the Government had lost political control of the internal and external crisis situations.

It became clear that the Government does not have a political (or a constitutional) solution for the dual crisis situation. This lack of a political solution must be blamed squarely on the fact that from the beginning the Government's reform programme was inadequate and wrongly conceptualised.

During the crisis of the last two and a half years the facade of the reform programme was removed to reveal a deficient and superficial structure that shocked all those verligtes who cared and who cared to look!

The verligtes have reason to feel let down — even the credulous ones.

When it became evident in late 1985 and early 1986 that the reform initiative was too superficial to offer a political (or constitutional) solution for the dual crisis situations, two important things happened.

Firstly, the reform programme they supported so enthusiastically was not intended to be real reform and real power sharing. It was only cosmetic reform and co-option to win as much time as possible ... for the maintenance of Afrikaner sectionalism.

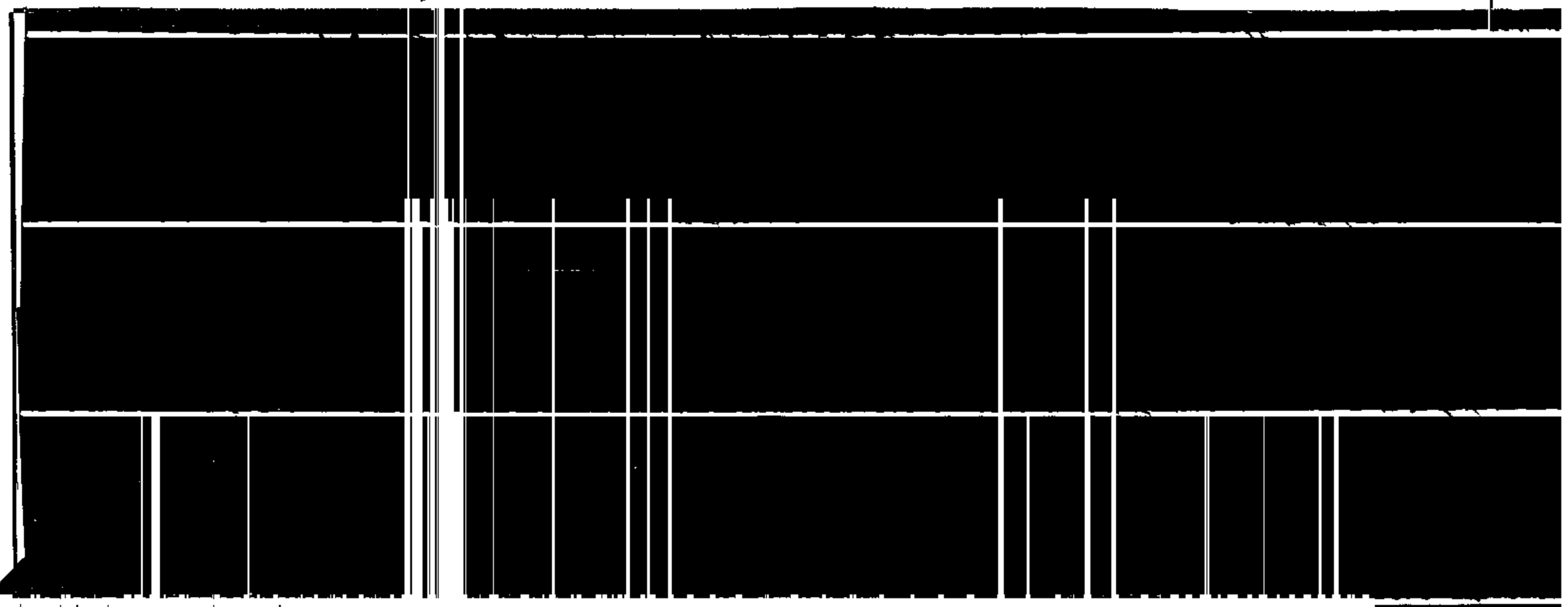
Secondly, because President Botha and several of his senior ministers have become the ideological leaders of the middle-of-the roaders.

This group will not easily relinquish their grip on both the Party and the State — two institutions that have become ONE after 39 years of NP government!

Must we regard this unity of Party-and-State as part of the South African solution, or as part of the South African problem?

● *The writer is Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University, deputy chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and a leading member of the academic breakaway from the National Party.*

(Comment by S Terreblanche, Schumann Building, University of Stellenbosch.)



Helderberg blitz!

Nats roll in the heavy artillery to fight Worrall

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE National Party in Helderberg will wage one of its most intense campaigns in recent years to defend the seat for Mr Chris Heunis.

The NP has drafted in nine full-time workers and appealed for voluntary workers to help fight Independent Dr Denis Worrall.

Meanwhile, the Independent's camp is gearing up for a major big-money campaign which will inundate the voters of the Boland constituency with literature.

A video blitz is also planned. The Worrall camp will spend R30 000 producing a video of the candidate and his family for showing in the homes of Helderbergers.

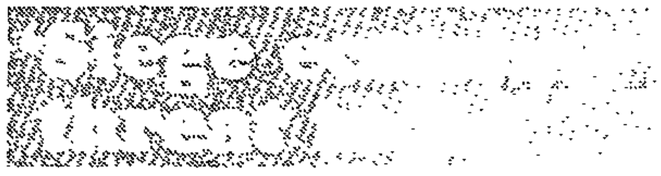
The fight has turned particularly keen in the wake of a poll last week which showed that Mr Heunis and Dr Worrall were virtually level-pegging, with a big uncommitted vote still up for grabs.

One of the heavy guns who will be speaking in Helderberg during Mr Heunis's campaign is Foreign Minister Pik Botha. It is the first time the colourful Minister — always a crowd-puller — has spoken in Mr Heunis's constituency.

Indicator

Helderberg is regarded as a vital "indicator" seat by the National Party — both because it is held by the Minister responsible for the Government's entire constitutional development programme and his opponent is the most prominent of the newly-emergent Independents.

The results of the Helderberg poll last week have apparently shaken the party, and the defence of the constituency has been given the highest priority in terms of money and workers.



By ALAN DUGGAN

SOUTH Africa cannot survive in a siege economy for much longer, warns Mr Len Abrahamse, newly appointed president of the South Africa Foundation and one of the country's leading businessmen.

Interviewed by the Sunday Times this week, Mr Abrahamse said the situation could only deteriorate if South Africa continued to drag its heels on reform.

Mr Abrahamse is the chairman of Syfrets Trust, chairman of NEI Africa and chairman of the council of the University of Cape Town.

His election to the top spot in the SA Foundation will please overseas opinion-makers, who appreciate his forthright condemnation of apartheid in all its forms.

Mr Abrahamse said that in 1985 the pace of reform had been encouraging.

"But now there's an almost hysterical attempt to justify our return to the laager."

He said he was also disturbed by the fact that there appeared to be no new investment other than in the mining sector.

"We cannot survive much longer on an economic growth rate of under five percent."

The South African business community should concentrate on resolving conflict in this country, he said.

"If we can accommodate the less privileged South Africans — and I'm not talking about lip service — we can go places.

"There's no denying the impatience of blacks here."

Mr Abrahamse said the SA Foundation was unlikely to become an overt pressure group but couldn't afford to be too low-key either, or to defend the indefensible.

Respected

Once viewed as a rather conservative though well-meaning group of unofficial ambassadors, the SA Foundation has built up considerable respect in recent years for its uncompromising stand on social and political issues and its criticism of the Government's apparent reluctance to introduce real reform.

'Lang David' body blow for Botha

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SUCCESS for the Independents in the May 6 election campaign could help propel South Africa to a just solution for all, according to Mr David de Villiers, the latest in a series of prominent Afrikaners to break with the National Party.

Mr de Villiers, widely known as "Lang David", resigned this week from the board of Nasionale Pers, the group that owns the official NP organ, Die Burger, and other Government-supporting newspapers like Beeld.

His resignation is another body blow to the pummelling Mr P W Botha has been taking with the wave of household-name Afrikaners who have been rejecting his leadership.

Mr de Villiers said he had long questioned whether Nasionale Pers's journals should be tied to a political party and felt that the conviction he had held for "a long time" — and had now voiced — conflicted with his directorship of the company.

He is to support and advise the Independent candidate fighting the NP in Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan.

Explaining his support for the Independents' movement, Mr de Villiers said: "They want visible and more incisive and expeditious advance to an end goal that will be a just dispensation for all South Africans.

"They consider that such a dispensation could afford the necessary protection for everybody — because it will be for everybody. Without this there can be no lasting peace."

Letters

Mr de Villiers was managing director of Nasionale Pers from 1969 to 1984 and became an international figure when he led the South African legal team that presented the country's case on SWA/Namibia at the World Court in The Hague.

The following are edited versions of letters exchanged between Mr de Villiers and Professor Piet Cillié, chairman of Nasionale Pers

MR DE VILLIERS:

"The reasons for my actions are deep. The standpoint of the Independent candidate in Stellenbosch and her leading supporters represent for me the best in the thought and ideals of the Boland Afrikaner, of whom I am one to the core, and always will be.

"It involves a search for justice for all South Africa's people. The same attitude long ago led to precedence of "apartheid" over "segregation" because in the first there was an elevated ideal lacking in the latter.

"This led in the '50s to demands for recognition of the principle of self-determination, including independent homelands, long before government policy came to that.

Pressure

"At the start of the '60s it brought pressure for fundamental reform of the policy through which so much alienation was brought about between Nationalist Afrikaners and the coloured population.

"Now, after it has been long apparent that the ideals of justice cannot be reached via apartheid and separate development, those same attitudes are demanding a clear, alternative policy by which the ideal can be attained.

"The people involved in Stellenbosch, like the other independent nationalist candidates believe, rightly or wrongly, that the leaders of the National Party have not progressed as desired — not where it concerns substantive policy content, nor in terms of timing.

"And they want to give the voters in the constituencies concerned the opportunity to demonstrate that, as far as they are concerned, the Government can really move more drastically and faster along the road of reform.

"Seen as such, their effort in this election is not to dethrone the National Party or discredit it.

"Especially in the light of intensive contact with a wide spectrum of moderate black and coloured leaders over many years, my own convictions for a considerable time, rightly or wrongly, are in agreement with these of the Independent candidates"

PROFESSOR PIET CILLIÉ:

"Nobody knows better than yourself of the leadership provided by these newspapers and which still go out for what you call 'a search for justice for all the people of South Africa'.

"Often it was a search together with the National Party, sometimes in parallel with it and, when it had to be so — despite tensions — with elements of the party.

"But must we now betray our tradition of fighting together with the party for South Africa and demonstrate our proud independence by helping to discredit the party just when it enters a critical election?

Best

"We do not support the party because we are its slaves but because it is now so clearly the best instrument for security, reform and wellbeing in South Africa.

"You admit this yourself by saying your friends' attempt is not to dethrone or discredit the National Party.

"What else are they doing by calling voters against leading reformers like Minister Chris Heunis and Mr Piet Marais?

"We respect your wish to remain true to your conscience and principles But we fear that soon you will be drawn by forces you cannot control into a country-wide maelstrom of anti-Nationalist hysteria."

(News by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

MINIMUM WAGES IN 1986

Don't let's talk about 1986

In the 1984 annual review we pointed out how wage rates lost the battle against inflation with a downward movement in real wages for most job categories. In the 1985 annual review we said, "(it) is impossible to describe 1985 in similar terms without being suspected of understatement. 1984 was a bad year; 1985 was the worst in at least a decade."

1986 was even worse.

How can SALDRU say this?

SALDRU keeps all the information on minimum wages rates prescribed by wage determinations and labour orders, and by industrial council agreements on a vast data base. This data base has all the minimum wage rates prescribed since 1976 for every job category in every industry covered by statutory wage legislation.

Minimum wage rates are stored in the computer in two ways - "nominal" wage rates, that is, the wage in cash terms, and "real" wage rates, that is, what the nominal wages are actually worth taking inflation into account. We compensate for inflation by using the monthly consumer price index (CPI) issued by the Central Statistical Service.

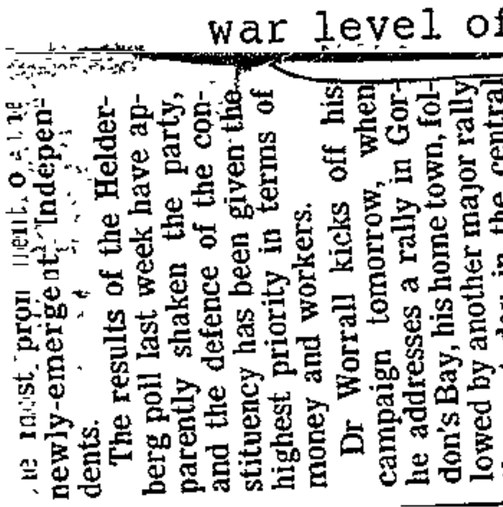
To allow comparison between wage rates, real wages have a 1980 base. This means that wages are converted into what they would be worth in 1980.

So, not only can we look at nominal wage trends over the past 10 years, but we can see whether there was an actual increase in the standard of living, or whether inflation ate away any increases.

Inflation beats minimum wage rates by far

Once again, the wage boards and industrial councils failed to take inflation into account when setting minimum wages. There is no excuse for this ommission - in mid 1985 the rate of inflation left the 10% - 16% range it had held since 1970, and by January 1986 it soared to its highest post-war level of 20,7%, and settled down to an average of around 18% for the

Fewer and fewer councils exceeded the



...ne most prominent, of the newly-emerged Independents.

The results of the Helderberg poll last week have apparently shaken the party, and the defence of the constituency has been given the highest priority in terms of money and workers.

Dr Worrall kicks off his campaign tomorrow, when he addresses a rally in Gordon's Bay, his home town, followed by another major rally the next day in the central Helderberg town of Somerset West.

Mr Heunis has called in the help of a string of heavyweights to keep up the pace of his campaign — including the help of Deputy Minister of Finance Kent Durr, last week, and Minister of Trade and Industries Dr Dawie de Villiers later this month.

A factor that could hold an advantage for Dr Worrall against Mr Heunis is the decision of the Conservative Party's Mr Len de Wet, a Somerset West businessman, to join in the battle for the key Helderberg seat.

It means Mr Heunis will now have to face a two-pronged attack from Dr Worrall and Mr de Wet, with CP participation actually benefiting Dr Worrall — because the CP candidate will probably make inroads on traditional NP support.

(News by N West, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Dr No pulled the plug on pact - Marais

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party deliberately sabotaged this week's moves that brought rightwing parties within an ace of forming an election pact, the Herstigte Nasionale Party believes.

The HNP sources say the CP is banking on siphoning off large pools of HNP supporters at the May 6 ballot — and emerging as the dominant rightwing party ty in the elections scheduled for 1989.

They believe many HNP followers could vote for CP candidates as the CP stands the better chance of winning the greater number of seats.

Slapdown

Many observers consider this a likely scenario and the May 6 election could well spell the end of the HNP's fitful 16-year life on the fringes of white parliamentary politics.

The week's failure to achieve rightwing unity is also a slapdown for Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre Blanche, who engineered the latest moves after prospects for unification had been written off at least once before.

Mr Terre Blanche's hopes appear to have been dashed.

He wanted to be seen as the "Godfather" who reconciled the warring parties, while he remained remote from the party political battlefield.

Hopeless

AWB members were scrambling at the weekend to revive their leader's unification proposals, which came at a highly-charged AWB mass meeting in Pretoria last week.

But the two political bosses, Mr Jaap Marais and Dr Andries Treurnicht, remain hopelessly antagonistic.

The HNP's Marais said the CP knew its interpretation of the AWB proposals was not what the AWB intended.

CP Spokesman Dr Connie Mulder said the CP's interpretation had been "bona fide".

The rightwingers' failure to reconcile will have a significant effect on the outcome of the election.

First to benefit will be the National Party.

With the rightwing splitting the vote, the NP could win up to 30 seats where it might otherwise have been vulnerable.

Emphasis

The Progressive Federal Party could also benefit.

With the conservative, mainly Afrikáans vote shared by the NP, CP and HNP, the PFP could win in several marginal seats where the NP might otherwise have come in as voters tried to stop a unified right.

In essence, failure of the right to unite will swing the emphasis of the election and its outcome to the Government left flank.

(News by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Shock poll nod for reformers

LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

A POLL commissioned by the Progressive Federal Party has shown that the Government and the reform alliance are level-pegging in terms of public support.

The startling results revealed that 35,9 percent of the sample trusted the Government with reform, while 35,4 percent wanted a multi-party reform alliance.

Meanwhile, another private sector poll has shown that 21 percent of people who identified themselves as National Party supporters also favoured the reform alliance.

Now there are indications that the NP will do a 180-degree turn on its chosen electoral strategy. At first the party strategists opted for a verkrampte campaign, but the polls and widespread unhappiness in the party mean "reform" could again become the buzzword.

The independent national survey, undertaken by Mark en Meningsnavorsing for the PFP, also revealed that only 15,6 percent of voters polled believed separate development was the answer to the country's plight — yet another reason why NP rank-and-file believe the party should move left to regain lost ground.

Another major private sector study of voter attitudes showed large shifts among NP followers towards accepting federal government, with blacks in top structures.

The study shows that 71 percent of people nationwide agree with the concept of local option in regard to integrating residential areas; 71 percent of voters — including 73 percent of NP supporters — favour joint decision-making and power-sharing involving all races.

The report has apparently been intently studied by cabinet ministers.

The emergence of the Independents and the unexpectedly intense public support for major reform has apparently surprised NP strategists, who have been focussing ex-

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THE BOTHA YEARS: WHAT WENT WRONG

By Sample Terreblanche:

Page 19

Poll setback for Nats

☐ From Page 1

clusively on the rightwing threat.

The disarray in the party reinforces the view that President Botha has miscalculated badly by positioning the party to the right.

When the election was called, the NP had planned to fight a conservative campaign. It delayed liberalisation of the Group Areas Act to placate rightwingers, and cranked up the foreign interference issue.

Now the focus of dissatisfaction within the National Party is on the Government's election manifesto, which even senior party members believe is too vague and insufficiently committed to reform.

The manifesto was drawn up by President Botha and the four provincial party leaders and not adequately canvassed within the party — not even by the party's information service.

Observers are now speculating that the Government might even consider dusting off its report on the Group Areas Act, hastily shelved last year when the election appeared on the political horizon.

Commenting on the survey that revealed voters' desire for a new alliance in South African politics, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said: "What is absolutely fascinating is how quickly the concept of an alternative government has caught on — to the point that it is now running neck-and-neck with the Government."

This week the NP was rocked again by the resignation of an eminent Afrikaner, Mr "Lang" David de Villiers, from the Nasionale Pers board in order to support Stellenbosch's Independent candidate, Mrs Esther Lategan.

The giddy swing of the political spotlight from right to left in recent weeks is heightening tension between factions in the NP.

Cape leader Mr Chris Heunis, who faces possible defeat at the hands of former ambassador Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg, has been opposed to the election from the beginning.

Mr Heunis, who has been shown in another survey to be only marginally ahead of Dr Worrall, is understood to be one of those putting pressure on President Botha for a tactical concession to the left.

Another man understood to have been recruited recently to the pressure group's ranks is Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk.

"FW has crossed his own personal Rubicon," one top party source said this week.

(News by L Ventor, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Kwa-Border plan slammed

CP Correspondent

A "KWA-BORDER" regional government plan for the Border area has been attacked only a day after its announcement this week.

The plan, proposed by the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee, aims to create a Kwa-Natal situation for Transkei, Ciskei and the Border area.

The plan was slammed by chairman of the Border Regional Development Association, Cyril Manthe, who queried the standing of the GELCC, which is linked to the National Security Management System.

He also accused the man named as co-author of the plan, Peet de Pontes, Nat MP for EL City, of "hi-jacking the new Border regional government plan to use it as a political platform". De Pontes is currently defending his seat in the general election.

The plan calls for a Cabinet Minister to act as a regional functionary and draw together private sector leaders, local government department heads, public representatives and the city council.

Polls show drop in support

NP suffers two more heavy blows

B/Day 304A 16/3/87

THE NP suffered two more heavy blows at the weekend.

☐ Prominent Afrikaner David de Villiers resigned from the board of Nasionale Pers, which owns the mouthpiece publications of the NP, to back the rebel independents in the election.

☐ National opinion polls — commissioned by the Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, and the PFP — show the NP is losing support, notably on the left.

De Villiers, former Nasionale Pers MD, said yesterday his decision to throw his weight behind Stellenbosch independent Dr Esther Lategan should be seen as a message to government and voters.

He said: "The message is that it is absolutely essential for SA to move more rapidly, visibly and incisively towards a just dispensation for everybody on the basis of peaceful negotiation and agreement.

"Without that there can be no lasting peace, with built-in protections for everyone, or the restoration of the economy and confidence from the outside world."

It was important that Stellenb[osch] "the nerve centre of the Af[rikaner]

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

should be seen to be taking the lead.

De Villiers said although he had no political ambitions, he felt obliged to resign from Nasionale Pers because he seriously doubted whether the close relationship between the Nasionale Pers newspapers and the NP was in the best interests of the company.

He also opposed the papers' uncompromising stand against the independents.

The *Rapport* commissioned the survey from Mark en Meningsopnames. It showed the NP had 49,4% of polled support as compared with 51,7% three months before the 1981 election, or 55,8% in 1984 after the referendum.

The PFP's support had risen from 18,6% in 1981 to 19,4%, while the CP had 15,2% support.

Rapport's poll also recorded 3,7% support for the independents and 6,6% in favour of a stayaway vote.

A PFP-commissioned Mark en Men-

● To Page 2

NP suffers two more heavy blows at weekend

ingsnavorsing survey was quoted by the *Sunday Times* as showing only 35,9% of respondents trusted government with reform, while 35,4% favoured a multi-party reform alliance.

The poll also showed that only 15,6% believed in separate development.

Another "private sector poll" — quoted by the *Sunday Times* — showed that 71% of respondents, including 73%

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● From Page 1

of NP people, were in favour of joint decision-making. While 71% overall agreed with the concept of local option in terms of the Group Areas Act.

The poll also found 21% of those who identified with the NP also favoured a reform alliance.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Shock-waves throughout the political spectrum

THE RESIGNATION of Dr Wimpie de Klerk's as the editor of Rapport has been something akin to watching the rumblings of a volcano preparing to erupt. The pent-up pressure, frustration if you like, has been building up for a long time.

When it finally came, his resignation sent shock-waves throughout the political spectrum.

He is the son of tough political veteran and Nationalist minister Jan de Klerk and brother of 'FW', the Transvaal Nationalist leader. In today's loaded political climate it is difficult to imagine a better-connected Nationalist dissident.

Wimpie de Klerk is, or was until his resignation, a good newspaper man. But primarily he is a theologian, then a 'good Nat' and only then a newspaper editor.

With his 'connections' there is no doubt he was privy to 'inside' information from the National Party, and he was a NP supporter in newsprint almost every weekend. But then things began to go sour.

A survey of his writings over a period shows that for some time he gave dissident Nationalist views inordinate publicity for a so-called Nationalist-supporting newspaper editor.

These views often came across not as his own but as those of people within the National Party who were dissatisfied with the pace of reform. Public-opinion surveys commissioned by his newspaper said 22% of NP supporters fell into this category.

They were Left of the mainstream NP, and on his retirement Dr de Klerk said he would feel unwelcome in the NP if it could not accommodate them.

Dr de Klerk has said he resigned of his own free will. Although he was not fired it is clear that because of some of his more recent columns pressures built up against him that

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

were outweighed only by his own integrity as a journalist and sage political thinker.

His own brother, 'FW', exposed the arrogance and tunnel vision of the National Party in demanding total subordination of Nationalist-supporting newspapers.

Although a supporter of the National Party, Rapport has never been a mouthpiece. Yet 'FW' — the most likely candidate to succeed Mr P W Botha as State President — did not hesitate to question the newspaper's political approach as soon as it was seen to step out of line.

Few people are taken in by the suggestion that the NP did not apply pressure on the newspaper's board and that the real problem with Dr de Klerk was that the newspaper's circulation had decreased.

Clearly under heavy pressure because of his forthright political approach Dr de Klerk wrote on January 11 that election time was not a time for democratic discussion. There was too much sensitivity and rigidity, he said, which had its effect on newspapers too.

Two months later he resigned, and the belief, in simple terms, is that the NP applied pressure on his bosses because it did not approve of his independent approach and the publicity his newspaper gave to such dissident thinking as the need for the dismantling of apartheid and repeal of discriminatory measures.

It is significant that at the end of 1984 Dr de Klerk wrote that black political rights were the kernel of South Africa's problems. Since then the Government has admitted this but does not know what to do about it.

He wrote also that the present dispensation was not the 'end', and this, too, the Government has conceded. Also, that Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act with their offensive connotations had to be broken down. They have since been repealed.

Dr de Klerk wrote that the Group Areas Act needed to be looked at. It was, but the President's Council's report, which is understood to have recommended important changes, was referred back for further study.

The dismissal, or engineered resignation, of a Nationalist editor is regarded as an extremely significant development in White South African politics. Editors enjoy the status of a privileged friend; they do not get there unless they enjoy the confidence of the party; they do not get there unless they are trusted implicitly.

All this made Dr de Klerk's final column in Rapport a damning indictment of the the National Party and its heirarchy. As an insider with all his background knowledge he has said, in short, that the party has no vision and no plan and that people who are waiting for action after the elections will be kept waiting.

Expectations that the party will break with its race concepts, that it will allow free association, that it will work in the direction of one parliament in which blacks will be an integral part and that it will promote regional power-sharing are all misplaced, he says.

For a Nationalist with his impeccable credentials it is a serious charge. Dr de Klerk does not ask the question, but others have: 'If a government can be so wrong for so long, does it deserve a vote?'

The spotlight now falls on his successor and how he will handle the columns of the largest Nationalist-supporting newspaper in the country.

304A 16/3/[illegible] N 114

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Jacko Maree denies he has 'large' income

Political Reporter

THE National Party MP for Klip River, Mr Jacko Maree, who has asked businessmen to donate R24 000 for him to run a 'non-political help centre' in Ladysmith, has denied that he has a large income from properties around the town.

Some people in Ladysmith, particularly supporters of the PFP Klip River election candidate Mrs Santie McIntosh, have said Mr Maree is a 'man of means' and could pay for his constituency office.

They point out that Mr Maree is joint-owner of a suite of offices, built two years ago in Keate Street which is rented out to Government departments at R14 a square metre.

The 850m² single storey block, in face-brick and with lock-up garages, is occupied by the Department of Manpower, the Department of Health and Welfare, the Department of Agriculture and the House of Assembly Department of Health Services and Welfare.

Ladysmith estate agent, Mr Andy Breedt said rents for ground floor offices were usually between R3,50 and R6,50 a square metre but office space in Ladysmith was at a premium.

A professional man, who asked not to be named, said it was impossible to compare the older offices with the plush Keate Street suite. The cost of building in Ladysmith was very high, he added

Mr Maree said his house was the only building of which he was sole owner.

'As for the other buildings, they are vested in companies of which I am not the only shareholder.

'These buildings are heavily bonded'.

Mr Maree said he did not want to give any further details because this involved the private affairs of his fellow directors and trustees.

It seems the matter will have some effect on the election, but observers are divided about the extent.

Unaware

Some sources said several businessmen were angered by Mr Maree's appeal for donations.

Others said this was restricted to a few Ladysmith businessmen and the vast majority of voters in the constituency were either unaware of or unconcerned about the matter.

Except for a close call in a by-election in 1972, the National Party has held Klip River with majorities of several thousand since it took the seat from the United Party in 1966.

Mr Maree won the seat in a by-election last year with a majority of more than 3 000.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Advertisement calls for a Security Forces Day

ARGUS 16/3/87 (3064)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Security Forces Day has been called for Sunday, March 22.

The call came in an advertisement in the Sunday Star.

The advertisement was inserted by the University Freedom of Speech Association and the Victims against Terrorism, and supported by the United Christian Action Signpost Publication and Research Centre, Women for South Africa, the Aida Parker Newsletter and other organisations.

De Klerk: NP ready to share with blacks

Cape Times 16/3/87 3044

Own Correspondent and Staff Reporters

LONDON. — Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Education, yesterday told Britons that the Nationalist government was now prepared to share power with blacks.

Speaking on the BBC, Mr De Klerk said this was a major shift in policy, adding that the government was seeking a mandate for its "new direction" in the coming election.

Asked about the growing dissatisfaction with the slow pace of reform, Mr De Klerk said: "The government itself has taken the lead with regard to reform. It is a false perception that there is a choice between the government and reform."

Reacting to these comments, the former ambassador to London and independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, said "negotiation" was essential for real reform and the government "just doesn't have the credibility to get those talks going". He said the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act were "serious obstacles to any major talks".

In the interview, Mr De Klerk said that all the efforts of Dr H F Verwoerd and other leaders to reduce the numbers outside the homelands had failed and the people for whom the policy was devised did not accept it.

"Therefore we now say that we must provide the so-called urban blacks — the blacks living outside the homelands — with their own political institutions, their own political power bases, legislatures and executives, so that they will also get the same degree of self-determination as the homelands blacks have and as the whites have," he said.

(Report by M Robertson, S Westcott and C Harper, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Mudslide kills 2

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Four people were killed — two of them in a mudslide — during a violent storm which lashed Maritzburg and district yesterday.

Two Natal Parks Board employees died and another was hurt when a mudslide wiped out a Parks Board settlement, Kettle Fontein. Police said the men had been sleeping in the hut at the time.

The body of only one man has been found. His name has not been released. The missing man is Mr James Khumalo. Police said that because of the dangerous terrain they had been unable to find his body.

Many other huts were hit by the slide, but the occupants scrambled to safety, a police spokesman said.

Another two people — a man and his wife — were killed and seven others seriously hurt in car accidents during the storm. They were Mr Muday Mohanlal and his wife Kunthai, 60.

His master's voice — for R1,30

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha will rocket to the top of the hit parade if he sells all 400 000 copies of a record called "Why you should vote NP".

The record will be released soon — at a price of R1,30 — to voters where the NP is standing.

A record company managing director yesterday said: "If you sell 10 000 or 12 000 singles you're guaranteed to top the hit parade. The last time a single went gold — you have to sell 20 000 — was more than two years ago."

(Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

3044

Govt reform a sham — new Nat

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government's reform strategy was little more than a public relations exercise to improve the image and effect of apartheid and not to endanger white control, Professor Sampie Terreblanche, the Stellenbosch University academic who dramatically resigned from the National Party two weeks ago, said yesterday.

Although many verligtes had reservations about the appropriate nature of the government's reform strategy, they had been bluffed into believing it was only the starting point for greater things to come, he wrote in an article in yesterday's Sunday Times

The government's reform strategy suffered from four serious defects, Professor Terreblanche said.

Firstly, the political leadership failed to formulate a new ideology to replace Verwoerdism.

"It is not enough to acknowledge (belatedly) that we have outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid.

"Apartheid must be replaced by a new and apartheid-free ideology and by an apartheid-free system."

Secondly, the tricameral Parliament "turned out not to be a method to share power, but only one to 'co-opt' the coloureds and Asians in a rather complex and costly manner".

Thirdly, it was a serious mistake not to include blacks in this method of "co-option".

"During the 35 years of apartheid, the coloureds had been socially degraded to almost the same level as the blacks.

"Consequently, efforts to 'upgrade' them politically to a higher level only humiliated the blacks."

Fourthly, it was wrong to be in favour of reform but against a programme to redistribute income and opportunities.

"Given the sharp contrast between white wealth and black poverty and the cumulative role played by apartheid in maintaining, aggravating and perpetuating the inequalities, redistribution through social investments and improved accessibility to sources ought to be at the centre of the reform debate and strategy," Professor Terreblanche said.

It was clear the government did not have a solution to the internal and domestic crisis.

"This lack of a political solution must be blamed squarely on the fact that from the beginning the government's reform programme was inadequate and wrongly conceptualized," he said.

(Report by B Streek 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Argus 16/3/87

FOCUS ON THE ELECTION

Polls: Dramatic shift in voting pattern — Eglin

3041A

DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff reports

RESULTS of two recent authoritative opinion polls showed there had been a dramatic shift in voter allegiances, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said today.

He was reacting to two surveys undertaken by Market and Opinion Surveys, one for Rapport and the other for the PFP.

According to the first, the National Party's support in the white electorate has dropped to 49,4 percent while the PFP's support has grown to 19,4 percent.

According to the second, about an equal number of people support the concept of a reformist alliance government as those supporting a National Party government.

Mr Eglin said the surveys proved that what had been unthinkable just six months ago had now caught on like wildfire.

He said: "The point is that the concept of an alternative government to the Nationalists is running neck and neck with the National Party at the moment.

"This dramatic move away from orthodox support of the National Party to the point where it is split about half and half between reform alliance and National Party government was unthinkable a short while ago."



Mr Eglin

Mr Eglin said it was interesting to see from the surveys that 21 percent of people who said they would vote for the National Party preferred an alliance with reform-minded people.

This matched the 22 percent that former Rapport editor Mr Willem de Klerk had identified as being frustrated National Party supporters.

PW's policy is backfiring, says Herman Nickel

Dateline WASHINGTON: The Argus Foreign Service reports

THERE are signs that President P W Botha's bid through elections to rally whites against foreign meddling is backfiring badly, says the previous United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel.

He also described as "encouraging" the present ferment in Afrikanerdom, a society which had always stressed unity as a condition for survival.

"This decision by some of the most respected opinion leaders to go public expresses the depths of their disenchantment with both the substance and style of Botha's leadership," he wrote yesterday in the Washington Post.

Mr Nickel, US envoy to Pretoria until late last year, said it was predictable that Mr Botha would try to make the best of economic sanctions the US had imposed against South Africa "in a show of defiance and solidarity".

The election must have looked to Mr Botha as the best way to close the schisms his leadership had opened.

"But, now there are signs that Botha's political gambit is backfiring badly," said Mr Nickel.

With mass defections to the breakaway right-wing parties, and the present rebellion of progressive Afrikaners, "he is now in real danger of emerging from the election with an even more divided white electorate and a personal mandate so badly damaged as to place a question mark over his continued effectiveness as a leader".

On the progressive Afrikaner breakaways, Mr Nickel said: "Now that Botha seems to have reverted to appeasing the right wing and appears out to break his black opposition rather than talking to it, they are also no longer prepared to swallow their long-smouldering resentment of a bullying leadership style..."

The effect on the credibility of the government and cohesion of the National Party could be very serious.

"To anyone who does not want change to come to South Africa in a destructive revolutionary struggle, this ferment must be an encouraging sign," said Mr Nickel.

"For it is axiomatic that without support from at least significant parts of Afrikanerdom, an accommodation between black and white South Africans is impossible."

CAPE TIMES 17/3/87 3064

Worrall sees govt 'panic'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government was showing signs of "panic stations", the independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, said last night.

"They are indeed worried about us — because we are speaking for a very important spirit in this land," he told a campaign meeting in Gordon's Bay.



Addressing more than 200 people in his first public meeting in the constituency, Dr Worrall said the reaction of the minister responsible for the SABC, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, to his criticisms of SATV and the publicity given to Mr Schlebusch by the Nationalist press was "panic stations".

Mr Worrall also said the "inside story" was that the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, could not stand each other.

The fact that Mr Botha agreed to speak in Helderberg in support of Mr Heunis was "a message of their desperation", he said.

During his speech, applauded on a number of occasions, Dr Worrall said the government had lost direction.

He had returned from London because "I sensed the government is totally underestimating the readiness and preparedness of white South Africans to change and to tackle the fundamental issues of our politics".

The government now had no direction and no vision for the future.

He believed South Africa had a fantastic future. But it had to have a political future for all South Africans and it had to grab the imagination of all South Africans.

"After 40 years of power the government has got tired . . . complacent.

"I don't blame the State President. I blame the whole government and I blame my opponent who is a senior member of the government."

The real issue in the election was how to initiate meaningful negotiations between blacks and whites.

This could not take place while the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act were in force because these laws were apartheid.

Dr Worrall said he supported the right of the parents of the Rhenish Primary School to back the admission of two Malawians to their school. He believed the parents of Bloemhof School would have taken the same decision. "I want to hear what my opponent says on this issue."

Beach apartheid

□ Dr Worrall also said the Gordon's Bay municipality had decided to phase out beach apartheid.

"I respect it (the municipality) for that — in contrast to our neighbour along the coast," Dr Worrall said.

It is understood he was referring to the Strand.

□ At the start of the meeting Mr Graham Banks, who had been a member of the National Party for 25 years, announced his resignation from the party and his support for Dr Worrall.

Mr Banks also said the NP government was not suffering from the economic deprivation that ordinary South Africans were and that the leadership had lost touch with ordinary people.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

CAPE TIMES 17/3/87

'Stay and contribute' drive

Own Correspondent 30CA

JOHANNESBURG. — A new alliance of movements on the left of the white political spectrum, Five Freedom Forum, will be launched here tonight.

One of the alliance's aims will be to encourage white South Africans not to emigrate, under the slogan "Stay and contribute".

The Detainees Parents Support Committee, Jews for Justice, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and Nusas are among the organizations involved.

A spokesperson for the forum, former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan, said the first focus of the forum would be on the white election. After that it would debate the future and role of whites.

(Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

New left-wing alliance to be launched

AN ALLIANCE of movements on the left of the white political spectrum, Five Freedom Forum, is to be launched in Johannesburg tonight.

One of the alliance's aims will be to encourage white South Africans not to emigrate. The slogan "Stay and Contribute" will be used.

The Detainee Parents' Support Committee, Jews for Justice, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the Academic Staff Association and Nusas are some of the organisations involved.

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

A spokesperson for the forum, former Black Sash president Sheena Duncan, said yesterday it was an "ad hoc grouping" of various organisations in the Johannesburg area which first met last year to discuss ways they could co-operate in addressing the national situation.

Duncan said the first focus of the forum will be on the white election. After that it will try to stimulate debate on the future of the white community.

"We want to give white people a vision of the great future SA could have if we sort things out," Duncan said.

The launch is at Temple Emanuel in Parktown at 8pm.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

17/3/87

POLITICS

304A B/Day

Storm grows over Worral attack on SABC, Vlok



● SCHLEBUSCH

THE storm around Helderberg independent candidate Denis Worrall's attack on the SABC and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's quoting of the banned ANC grew yesterday with a sharp attack on Worrall by the Minister responsible for broadcasting, Alwyn Schlebusch.

That attack was coupled with a call by the CP for the appointment of an SABC board representative of all political parties fighting the election.

Worrall accused the SABC of "political corruption" and of quoting the ANC for NP propaganda purposes.

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

He said he planned to ask the SABC for an opportunity to reply to Vlok's statement that the ANC's Alfred Nzo had said the ANC would use white disunity in the election to further the revolution.

Schlebusch referred to Worrall's "natural arrogance" and said his statement was "scandalous". He said: "My advice to him is that he must realise as soon as possible he is simply an ordinary candidate in an election. When he realises this, he will have reached political adulthood."

Worrall said yesterday that if there were good reasons to ban ANC statements in SA, they were reasons of state. He saw Vlok's statement as an attempt to discredit the independents.

CP media spokesman Tom Langley said yesterday SABC TV was a "primitive propaganda instrument flagrantly used to promote the crumbling NP.

"There are too many P W Botha-type tributes, too many pro-NP interviews, too many antagonistic interviews with NP opponents and too much dishonest manipulation of the facts."

He said it was time for Schlebusch to retire from political life if he believed the SABC observed impartiality in terms of the Broadcasting Act.

The CP called on Schlebusch to rectify the situation immediately by creating a board representative of all political parties fighting the election to ensure equal air-time be given to each party and that impartial interviewers control discussion programmes.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

AWB leader still trying to unite right

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche would continue taking the lead to obtain right-wing unity before the election, although he had been snubbed by the HNP and the CP, AWB officials said yesterday.

They would not comment on whether Terre'Blanche would activate his Afrikaner Volksparty (AVP) under his leadership as an alternative for right-wingers disenchanted with the CP and HNP leaders' inability to agree on an electoral pact.

Terre'Blanche yesterday did not want to comment to the Press, but a spokesman said he would be making "an important statement" on latest developments at his meeting in Vereeniging tonight.

AWB administrative secretary P W Bingle said yesterday: "We are not easily going to lie down and are determined that the right wing find a solution."

However, he and AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald would not comment on statements by AWB's Manie Maritz that the AWB would break up meetings of the HNP and the CP in Brits unless the parties unite.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

HNP ready to go it alone — Marais

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

WITH a traditional, stoic resistance to interference in his "purist" beliefs, HNP leader Jaap Marais is prepared to go it alone in the election, even if the risk of doing so holds an element of self-destruction for his party.

Marais, who told a Press conference last week co-operation and the possibility of unification with the CP had finally broken down, has accepted developments with a certain amount of relief.

"Perhaps it's a good thing because it will lead to the purification of rightist politics," he announced.

On the question of whether the HNP had a long-term future, Marais said he believed it would "never be destroyed".

He believed it might win fewer seats than possible, but would poll a significant number of votes.

Marais claimed whole CP branches in Primrose and Vryheid, as well as senior CP officials, had resigned to join the HNP because of its purist stand.

Marais, who staunchly believes no unification could occur unless policy differences were resolved, said the two parties still fundamentally differed on the question of official language, the future of Indians, and the fact the CP initially supported former Prime Minister B J Vorster's 1977 acceptance of the principle of the tricameral Parliament.

Referring to the "idiotic situation" between the CP and the HNP, Marais said: "If we can't work together in an election like now, then I don't think there's any chance we'll be able to work together in the future.

"Clearly it's a setback, but the CP regards the HNP as a bigger enemy than the NP...

"What is important to us is that with growing instability in SA's politics and the flexibility which has crept in, there is a general sigh of relief for the true durability of the HNP, which has stuck with its policies."

For that matter, Marais is again breaking the temporary links the HNP forged with the AWB, because he believes AWB policies clash fundamentally with the HNP's.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Mandela must renounce violence — Worrall

GORDON'S BAY — The jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, should not be allowed to take part in constitutional negotiations if he did not renounce violence, Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate for Helderberg, said here last night.

Addressing about 200 people, he said he believed it was necessary to create a process in which people who were committed to peaceful solutions to South Africa's problems could take part.

The government had not created such a process but the independent candidates believed they could succeed where the government had failed.

Replying to a question from the floor, Dr Worrall said it was in everybody's interest that Mr Mandela should be freed and taken up in this process.

"But we can't go into a negotiating situation with people who support violence or who commit violence.

"If he (Mandela) does participate then he will have renounced violence. If he does not renounce violence then he can't take part."

Dr Worrall said earlier, the independent candidates recognised that the ANC was a factor to be reckoned with.

It was a measure of the desperation of the National Party that two of its senior cabinet ministers — the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis — were to address an election meeting in the Helderberg constituency.

"That's a burying of the hatchet if ever there was one. Believe me, they can't stand each other," said Dr Worrall.

Referring to the row over what he called selective quoting of the ANC by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, he said it was irresponsible and short-sighted of the minister to try to discredit the independent movement by referring to positive ANC statements about the independents. — Sapa

(Report by Greg Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

304A
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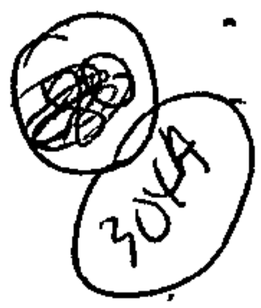
17/3/87

Only four convictions in '86

Group Areas back-off by Govt?



STAR 19/3/87.

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

Cape Town

Almost 1 000 complaints about contraventions of the Group Areas Act were made last year — but only four resulted in convictions.

These figures, revealed in questions in Parliament, indicate the Government is avoiding prosecutions under the controversial Act.

The Act, which is still under inquiry by the President's Council, is fast becoming one of the hot issues of the election.

Mr Tian van der Merwe MP (Progressive Federal Party, Green Point), who elicited the latest figures in questions to the Ministers of Law and Order and of Justice, today condemned the situation as a waste of taxpayers' money.

"This ridiculous state of affairs continues under a government which hides behind bureaucracy because it is almost as scared of the bad publicity of Group Areas prosecutions as it is by the scrapping of the Act.

"It shows the Government's utter spinelessness and utter lack of commitment or direction in respect of apartheid."

Mr van der Merwe said while he was grateful few people were prosecuted under the Act, it was "intolerable this miserable Act remains on the Statute Book, to be obeyed only because of the fear and disruption it creates".

He said it was ridiculous that police all over South Africa should waste their time and taxpayers' money investigating complaints that would go no further than a prosecutor's office.

"The police should be released from this ridiculous burden so they have more time to protect our citizens from real crime."

Free trade

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said in reply to a question that of 923 complaints, 69 were closed as false, two were closed as undetected, and 307 were still being investigated.

The other 378 cases had been referred to various attorneys-general and prosecutors.

Mr van der Merwe also criticised the "painfully slow" progress being made in granting exemptions to the Group Areas Act for the creation of free trade areas.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis said in reply to a question asked by Mr Graham McIntosh MP (PFP, Pietermaritzburg North) that 60 free trade areas had been created in 28 municipal areas.

Mr van der Merwe said: "Business people should be allowed to trade wherever there is a market."

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Cape Times 17/3/87

3041

'One stroke' could rid SA of all sanctions

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

THE four overseas directors of the South Africa Foundation said at Stellenbosch yesterday that attitudes abroad towards this country could change almost overnight with "really impressive and imaginative" steps to reform.

Mr John Chettle, outgoing Washington director, said SA could immediately regain nearly R2 billion in exports to the US alone by aiming at the "goal-posts" the Americans had, for the first time, put in place.

He was speaking at the directors' annual report-back meeting to Cape trustees of the foundation. It was attended by the new president of the organization, Mr Len Abrahamse, and the recently appointed director-general, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, SA's former ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr Chettle, who is leaving the SA Foundation at the end of this month to join a law firm in Washington, said: "We could take advantage of one fundamental mistake made by those proposing sanctions. In fact, we could get rid of all the sanctions dramatically — at one stroke.

"And we could do so by taking the initiative to make reforms which we know are necessary if we are ever to build a peaceful, just and prosperous society.

"The mistake our opponents made was to lay down the conditions which would end sanctions. For the first time, they have the goal-posts in place.

"They said sanctions could be totally scrapped if we did five things:

□ "Repeal the state of emergency.

□ "Release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political detainees.

□ "Scrap the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

□ "Unban the ANC and other political parties.

□ "Begin good-faith negotiations with black leaders, for a new contitution."

Mr Chettle said: "Now most of this is old hat. South Africans have thought more deeply about these points than anyone else, and most would agree that these steps are necessary.

"If you examine those requirements item by item, you may well be struck by how many of them are agreed on — even by senior members of the government.

"The State President himself has on one occasion ended the state of emergency, and has said it is his objective to end it altogether."

Mr Chettle said "a substantial number" of cabinet ministers probably supported Mr Mandela's release, and a President's Council committee had recommended major changes to the Group Areas Act.

"There is absolutely nothing in this programme which we cannot do — nothing indeed that is not already supported, often at a high level."

Mr Chettle added that by meeting these five requirements "we would provide so important a sign of our goodwill that it would be almost impossible for our opponents to set new goal-posts".

NNP casts doubt on Border plan

DD 304A 17/3/87

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The plan for home rule for the Border was a welcome start but it had "terrible Nationalist government overtones," the MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the plan for a new regional structure of government for the Border area which is being considered by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who will address a public meeting here next Monday where he is expected to make reference to the plan.

The plan, submitted to Mr Heunis by the Greater East London Coordinating Committee, envisages a cabinet minister for the Border to facilitate swifter decision making in the area and to be able to transcend the boundaries of national states for regional planning without breaking protocol rules of negotiations between independent states.

Mr Rogers said he had supported the plan out of necessity in order to improve on it as he was an absolute protagonist of a totally independent region in terms of administration and regional development.

"Any move toward separation deserves support but I am concerned about the proposed structure because it is simply a conduit to cabinet. The appointed minister will have to do the bidding of the cabinet and exercise government policy.

"I doubt whether an indaba will have the same credibility and flexibility as the KwaNatal one if it is held under the auspices of the National Party. The NP had observer status at the KwaNatal indaba and then later rejected it.

"I think this plan is too closely structured to the government structure. It is structured to get past Chris Heunis and not tailored to the needs of the region."

Mr Rogers said he was strong on the point of separation and that it was nonsense for people to argue that the region is too small.

"We have only to look at the size of a place such as Qwaqwa to discount that argument. I say small is beautiful when it comes to getting government back to the people.

"And we've got to start with people in the corridor before we think of jumping into indabas with Transkei and Ciskei. The plan is seriously flawed if it does not have the support of the people in the corridor."

Mr Roger's National Party opponent, Mr Ray Radue, said he did not want to comment on the plan at this stage.

"There's a lot involved and I would like to make an in-depth study of the matter first as there is considerable argument for and against," he said, and promised to make his views known at a later stage.

(News by M Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

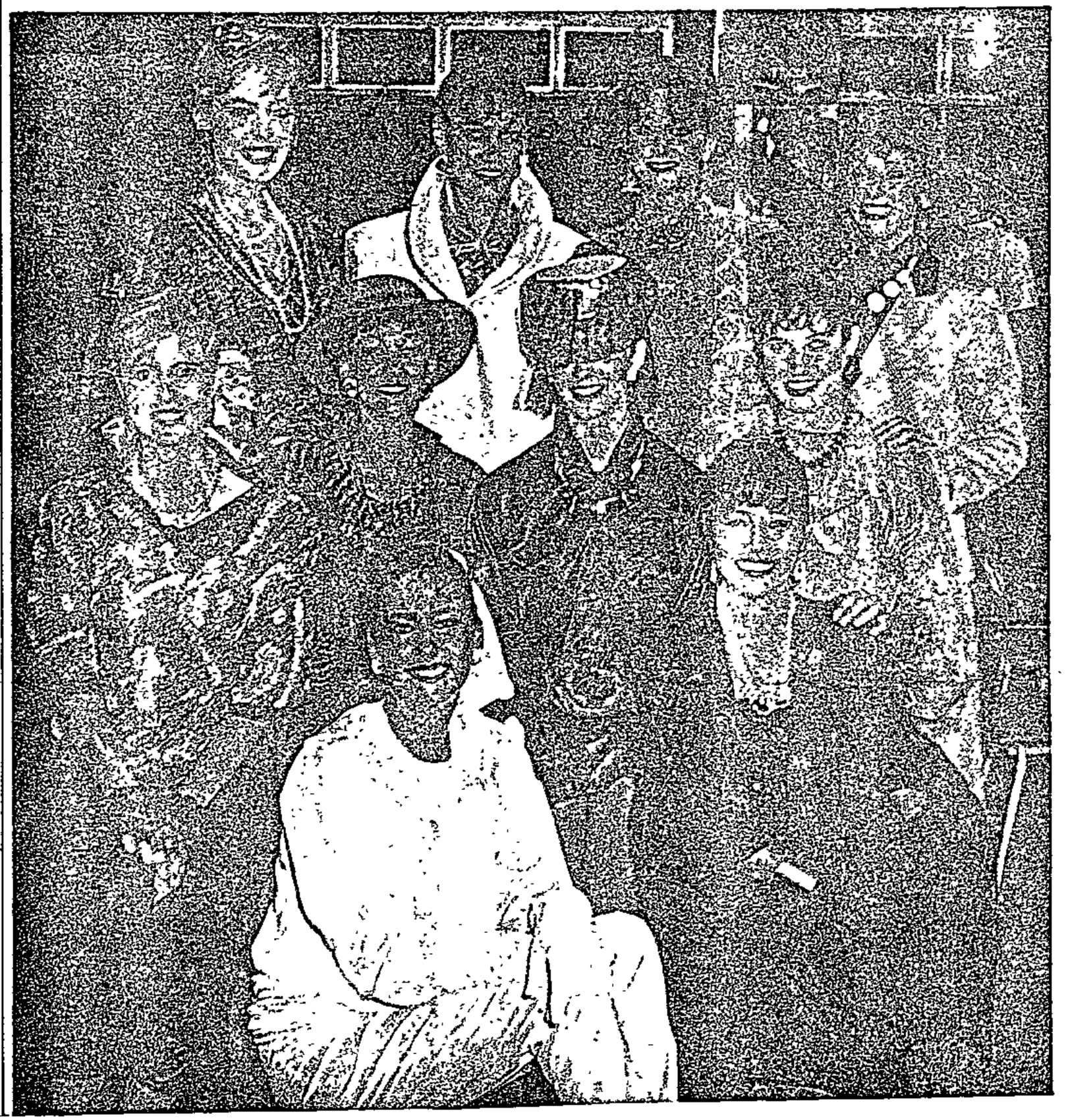
DD 17/3/87

Minister: face of SA must change

UITENHAGE — There would have to be fundamental reform in South Africa before "we can sit back", the leader of the Transvaal National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, told an audience of about 300 here last night.

That would mean changing the face of South Africa and not just creating a new form of apartheid.

However, Mr De Klerk



(News by M Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

Minister: face of SA must change

UITENHAGE — There would have to be fundamental reform in South Africa before "we can sit back", the leader of the Transvaal National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, told an audience of about 300 here last night.

That would mean changing the face of South Africa and not just creating a new form of apartheid.

However, Mr De Klerk said, any future dispensation would have to take place on the basis of group identity with a strong commitment to own residential areas, own schools, separate political institutions up to the highest level and no domination of one group by another.

One of the keys to future constitutional development lay with the concept of "own affairs".

There had to be a division of power as well as a sharing of power, he said.

● In Roodepoort, the Minister of Manpower and Public Works, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said if white South Africans were not prepared to share the country's wealth and prosperity they would lose it all like the Tsarists did in Russia.

Rightist radicals had sold the whites out with their policies of race polarisation, he told about 100 people at a meeting.

They were doing the work of the ANC and the communists.

Baasskap, whether it was white or black, would lead to revolution and armed struggle.

(News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth and Heloise Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)

Mandela must renounce violence, says independent

GORDON'S BAY — Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela should not be allowed to take part in constitutional negotiations if he did not renounce violence, Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate for Helderberg, said at an election meeting in Gordon's Bay last night.

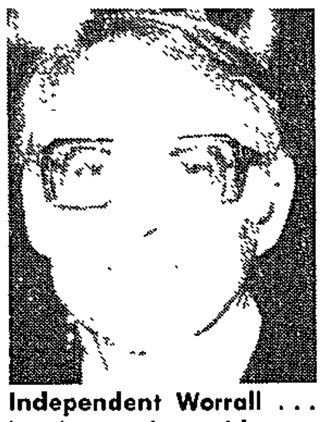
Dr Worrall told about 200 people he believed it was necessary to create a process in which people who were committed to peaceful solutions to South Africa's problems could take part.

The Government had not created such a process but the independent candidates believed they could succeed where the Government had failed.

Replying to a question from the floor Dr Worrall said it was in everybody's interest that Mandela should be freed and involved in this process.

"But we can't go into a negotiating situation with people who support violence or who commit violence.

"If Mandela does participate then he will have renounced violence. If he does not renounce violence then he can't take part."



Independent Worrall ... 'can't negotiate with people who support violence.'

'FACTOR TO BE RECKONED WITH'

Earlier Dr Worrall said the independent candidates recognised the ANC was a factor to be reckoned with.

Referring to the row over what he called selective quoting of the ANC by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, he said it was irresponsible and short-sighted of the Minister to try to discredit the independent movement by referring to positive ANC statements about the independents.

Mr Vlok's good judgement was in question if he believed it was in the national interest to quote the ANC for National Party purposes.

Dr Worrall also said that the quotation by the SABC of Mr Vlok's statements without giving the independents a chance to reply was bad journalism and a form of political corruption.

About the same time, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had told a prayer meeting that the independent candidates gave hope to South African blacks.

This news had not been carried by the SABC although he regarded Chief Buthelezi as a more important person than the secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, who was quoted by Mr Vlok and the SABC. — Sapa.

(Report by G Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

Worrall view of ANC naive says Barend

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall was "terribly naive" in saying that the internal wing of the ANC did not support violence, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis said at an election meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr du Plessis said Dr Worrall had been quoted as saying he was strongly opposed to the armed struggle being waged by the ANC from Lusaka, but that the internal wing could not be disregarded in negotiations for a new constitution.

Mr du Plessis said President Botha had told Parliament that the ANC's "people's war" included each and every action that promoted the cause of revolution.

"I want to ask: If the local ANC rejects violence, who is responsible for the necklace murders ... and killing that necessitated the State of Emergency?" — Sapa.

(Rport by B MacLennan, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

ELECTION 1987

CP calls for SABC board

The Conservative Party yesterday called for the appointment of an SABC board, representative of all political parties fighting in the coming election, to ensure fair and equal coverage.

Conservative Party spokesman Mr Tom Langley said South Africa's television was a "primitive propaganda instrument ... flagrantly used to promote the crumbling National Party". — Sapa.

(Report by H Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg).

Share wealth 'or lose it all'

ROODEPOORT — If whites were not prepared to share the country's wealth and prosperity they would lose it all like the Tsarists did in Russia, said Manpower Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis last night.

Rightist radicals had sold whites out with policies of race polarisation, he told about 100 people at a town hall meeting. Baasskap, whether white or black, would lead to revolution, he warned. — Sapa.

(News by H Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

'Fundamental reform needed'

UITENHAGE — Fundamental reform was needed before "we can sit back", the leader of the Transvaal NP, Mr F W de Klerk said in Uitenhage last night.

That would mean changing the face of South Africa and not just creating a new form of apartheid.

But any reform would have to be on the basis of group identity with a commitment to own residential areas, own schools, separate political institutions and no domination of one group by another.

(News by P Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth).

Close USIS, CP man urges

If the Government was angry over United States meddling, then it should close the Johannesburg office of the United States Information Service, Mr Tom Langley of the Conservative Party said last night.

Addressing about 130 people in the Benoni Town Hall in support of local candidate Mr Mario Valli, Mr Langley, MP for Soutpansberg, said voters should not be misled by the wave of anti-US rhetoric.

"Pik Botha does not have the guts to close the USIS down. If they are really sick and tired of US interference, why is it still allowed to operate?"

Having the USIS in South Africa was no better than having the "Moscow information service".

He urged voters to think carefully about to whom they would be giving their mandate.

"There are rumours that P W Botha will retire. There is a tendency to squeeze out the conservatives in the National Party, so it would leave your mandate with Pik if P W retires," Mr Langley said.

"Then you can be sure that Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall would be back in the NP the next day."

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition is by H W Tyson and R A Gibson, headlines by D Rink and posters by R G Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

'Traitor' Treurnicht is blamed for unity failure

Pretoria Correspondent

Right-wingers in the conservative stronghold of the Northern Transvaal have criticised Dr Andries Treurnicht, calling him a "traitor".

They are blaming the Conservative Party leader, the interference of his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, and two other members in the hierarchy of the party for the sudden change of mind last week with regard to an electoral pact between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the CP.

They are also threatening to spoil their ballot papers or refrain from voting unless the two parties enter an electoral pact.

This will severely damage the chances of a right-wing win in any of the four major constituencies in the Northern Transvaal, including Dr Treurnicht's chances in Waterberg.

"What we don't understand is that the CP and HNP agreed to Mr Terre-Blanche's proposals but then Dr Treurnicht turns around at the last minute and spoils everything.

"The flame was flickering but it has taken one man to turn it into a roaring fire," a prominent CP member said.

"For some time now Dr Treurnicht has not played his role and has not listened to his people."

He said Dr Treurnicht was not welcome in the Northern Transvaal any more.

RESIGNATION

Many, including CP executive members in the area, are talking of calling for the resignation of the CP leader at the party's congress later this year.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, is "shocked and bitterly disappointed" at the failure of the right-wing leaders to form an electoral pact.

And he says he is giving HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais and Dr Treurnicht until Tuesday to renew plans for an electoral pact.

He said he will then react with an important announcement at a public meeting in Vereeniging on Tuesday.

(Report by L Wroughton, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

I worked hard, retorts Marchand

Political Correspondent

National Party candidate in Parktown Mrs Zoe Marchand has reacted angrily to suggestions in a Sunday newspaper that she tended to regard municipal affairs as an interesting alternative to bridge parties when she was Progressive Federal Party Mayor of Sandton.

Mrs Marchand said in a statement yesterday that in her two terms as the first citizen of Sandton she had kept long hours in the service of residents.

She had initiated a town-planning project which involved providing Sandton with a large lake for recreation. This project was only now coming to fruition.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street Pretoria)

Millions spent on ads in pre-election battles

Political Correspondent

Advertising agencies are laughing all the way to the bank as the political parties start spending millions on major campaigns to gather votes.

The big guns started firing this weekend with full-page newspaper advertisements being placed by the Progressive Federal Party and the three "New Nat" independents.

The National Party also announced it was spending more than R500 000 on plastic records of President Botha's message to the voters.

The three-minute record is to be distributed free to "selected voters" throughout the country.

Meanwhile, the independents and the Conservative Party are understood to be making video recordings for distribution to voters.

A video recording of Dr Denis Worrall is said to be costing in the region of R30 000 to make.

The CP's video is understood to deal with the Group Areas Act and "illegal integration" in Hillbrow.

Smaller advertisements were placed by the "International Freedom Foundation", a group which claims not to be in support of any political party but which wants to focus the national debate less on getting rid of apartheid and more on what is to take its place.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Violence is no answer — Wentzel

Own Correspondent

GROBLERSDAL — The right-wing parties which were trying to play off whites against blacks did not realise the gravity of what they were doing, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said last night.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in the conservative Eastern Transvaal town of Groblersdal, Mr Wentzel said between 70 and 80 percent of black people in South Africa still supported the Government.

"If the support of these people is lost, a rifle will never guarantee our safety," he said.

He warned that violence was no solution to South Africa's problems, just as it had not been the answer anywhere else.

Mr Wentzel hit out at the right-wing parties for intimidating voters. "In a democratic land, you don't do that."

He advised voters to look carefully at the policies of right-wing parties and to make sure they knew what they were voting for on May 6.

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Govt plans to hijack revolution for its own ends

In the second article in a three-part series on the Government's counter-revolutionary strategy, Political Correspondent DAVID BRAUN examines the national management system.

The essence of the Government's sweeping counter-revolutionary strategy amounts to hijacking the revolution for itself.

It is a bold move for the highest stakes which the authorities are confident of getting away with.

Government strategists understand only too well the revolution in the country's black townships is caused by the exploitation of appalling living conditions and the frustrations of political impotence.

The revolutionary forces are easily able to promise the masses improved quality of life and political liberation.

If the Government forces are to achieve the target they have set themselves, the winning of the hearts and minds of the masses, they are going to have to be seen to be delivering on the same promises.

Government planners believe there are four ways to win the revolutionary onslaught they have identified:

- Exterminate the revolutionaries or resettle the civilian popula tion. Neither of these will work as the revolutionaries are not readily identifiable from the masses while massive resettlement would be counterproductive in the circumstances.
- The military or police approach. Conventional use of these forces is not successful unless the revolutionaries make mistakes or the security forces have the element of surprise.

Unconventional use of the security forces (for example, the use of undercover personnel and vehicles) nearly always succeeds, unless the revolutionaries have advance warning or the security forces are not properly trained.

- Surrender or seeking accommodation with the revolutionaries. The Government firmly rejects these options.
- Stealing the thunder of the revolutionaries. This is the option that the South African security forces have opted for.

To beat the revolutionaries at their own game, as one senior strategist recently put it, the Government must first protect the authority of the State and the masses from intimidation.

At the same time drastic action must be taken to eliminate the underlying social and economic factors which have caused unhappiness in the population and which have lent themselves to be exploited for revolutionary purposes.

Ultimately, this will all fail unless the Government can create a political system to satisfy the basic aspirations of the people and engender faith in their future.

The latter aspect of the strategy is up to the politicians who are supposed to be working on negotiations with leaders of all race groups to work out a viable political system to the satisfaction of all.

The first part of the strategy, the "security and welfare" aspect, is being dealt with by means of massive undertaking known as the National Management System.

Through this system virtually every Government department is co-ordinated to administer the black townships.

At grassroots level this takes the form of Mini Joint Management Centres (JMCs) or "Minis".

The Minis report to sub-JMCs which in turn report to JMCs which in turn again are co-ordinated by the Joint Security Staff.

On the Witwatersrand, for example, the JMC concerned is responsible for the region which coincides with the Witwatersrand Command of the SA Defence Force.

Four sub-JMCs report to it: West Rand, Soweto, Johannesburg and East Rand.

Minis are operational in each township, such as in Alexandra.

Representatives of the Minis meet in sub-JMC meetings to compare progress and experience and convey reports ande requests upwards.

Each Joint Management structure is representative of the security forces and welfare departments. The representatives elect a chairman for each structure, and in practice this has meant a soldier or policeman has been selected to serve as head of each joint management structure.

At the pinnacle of the system the entire operation is monitored functionally and as a whole. The security forces and the relevant welfare departments work together but also separately according to their own specialised functions.

The system makes provision for involving the private sector by way of liaison forums, such as the steering committees which involve the residents of Alexandra in local decision-making.

Minis operate in townships where local government structures have collapsed and also in areas where there has been no unrest, but where unrest might reasonably be expected.

The main role of a Mini is the exercise of "good government" as well as co-ordinating the components of welfare and security.

The Mini operating in Alexandra, a black township of 110 000 people outside Johannesburg, is a good example of how the system works on the ground.

It comprises three sub-committees: Veikom (security committee, including the Police, SADF and the municipal police), Semkom (constitutional, economic and social committee, under the chairmanship of Alexandra Administrator Mr Steve Burger), and Komkom (communications committee, considered to be vital to the success of the entire operation, under the chairmanship of a representative of the Bureau for Information).

The Mini, further, has a Joint Intelligence Section, under the leadership of the Security Police.

There are no blacks serving on the Mini in Alexandra, although in areas where black local authorities are still operative these do take part in the joint management system.

The security committee meets every 24 hours to analyse occurrences of the previous day, discuss mistakes and plan and assign tasks for the next period.

In the seven months since the Mini was set up the combined security forces have applied their maximum power to the situation in Alexandra to restore law and order and stability to the township.

This involved the use of thousands of personnel to seal the township and then to search it from one end to the other in search of people wanted for any crimes and for weapons.

Stone-throwing and petrol-bombing was stopped by sheer numbers of security force personnel on patrol.

The security forces further installed high-mast street lighting while World War Two searchlights are used to light up the township from nearby high ground.

The work of Semkom complements these heavy security actions by upgrading the quality of life in the township as a matter of urgency.

A R90-million upliftment and urban renewal programme has been initiated with a view to completely upgrading the town by May 1990.

Community organisatons have been included in decision-making of this committee by means of steering committees which meet regularly at the Alexandra town hall.

Komkom's major role is keep the residents of Alexandra fully informed of developments and to seek maximum co-operation.

It also has a propaganda role, mainly by use of cartoon strips which depict radicals as rats which do and say stupid things, while the nice guy character "Alex" has all the right answers.

The overriding philosophy of the Mini-JMC system, according to one senior official, is to exercise good government "which must see and be seen".

Argus 18/3/87

CITY/NATIONAL

'12c in every rand spent on apartheid'



Mr Colin Eglin

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

MR Colin Eglin has attacked the claim by Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis that casting a vote on the basis of the economic situation would be "unjust" and "unfair".

At a meeting in Hout Bay last night the leader of the Progressive Federal Party said: "If apartheid were abolished, general sales tax could be abolished."

He said between 10 and 21 percent of the annual budget was devoted to financing the machinery of apartheid and added: "Conservatively, 12c out of every rand spent by the State is spent on apartheid."

Research had shown apartheid cost about R13-billion in 1977 and R56-billion in 1986. The single Parliament costing R8 720 660 to run in 1981 had been replaced with a tricameral system costing R40 447 000 last year.

"Mr du Plessis said 'Yes, inflation is too high, but it could have been higher'. I say it could have been lower. He said the growth rate was too low, but did you realise what it could have been? Yes, higher.

"Incompetence"

"After the millions of rands spent on forced removals and homeland consolidation and uneconomic decentralisation schemes and non-viable 'independent black states' and the duplication, triplication and, at times, quadruplication of services, Mr du Plessis says it would be 'unfair' to vote on the basis of the present economic situation."

Mr Eglin said South Africans were "thoroughly fed up with the wastefulness, incompetence and bullying style" of the National Party government.

Resignations, "academic rumblings", independent candidatures and the reaction to racial incidents at Menlo Park and Rhenish School were evidence of the growing groundswell of discontent within the National Party.

PFP thinking now, said Mr Eglin, was an alliance of moderates and the party was making a serious bid for power and for the creation of alternative government structures through negotiation.

"To hell with being an effective opposition. We're going to structure an alternative government."

Mr John Scott, standing for the PFP in Simon's Town against Cabinet Minister John Wiley, shared the platform with Mr Eglin and underlined the PFP's new thinking.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

tal Mercury, Wednesday, March 18, 1987

Mandela just Xhosa leader, says CP man

18/3/87 N 17

304X

Political Reporter

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is a Xhosa and can therefore lead only Xhosas, Conservative Party Natal vice-chairman Pat Mohr told laughing Edgewood College of Education students yesterday.

Mr Mohr, who is standing in the May 6 election in Port Natal, was speaking during a panel discussion with Dr Johan Steenkamp, the National Party's Umhlatuzana candidate, and Mr Roger Burrows, Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinetown.

Mr Mohr, whose speech was punctuated with laughter from the several hundred students packed into the lecture hall, said it was nonsense to talk of 'black identity' because there were many different black groups.

'Mandela is a Xhosa and Xhosas can lead only other Xhosas and Zulus can lead Zulus — and even that is difficult sometimes.'

Mr Mohr said the Government's policy was of 'appeasement at all costs' and the NP was becoming irrelevant.

Blueprints

Dr Steenkamp said the NP had taken the route of power sharing because this was the only way to achieve stability and security.

'The NP will take up the challenge of negotiating with all the population groups.

'The NP refuses to put blueprints on the table because future blueprints will have to be the result of negotiation.'

He said the present situation could be seen as white domination with black co-option but the KwaZulu/-Natal Indaba proposals was an excellent example of black domination.

Mr Burrows said the PFP rejected one-man, one-vote in a unitary state because the Westminster system had led to the domination of one group over others, but believed in a federal system in which the federal states had strong self-governing functions.

'The NP has been in power for 39 years and they want more years from you to get themselves out of the mess they have got themselves into.'

Mr Burrows said the PFP believed in the recognition of cultural and religious values but did not believe these values should be tied to political practices.

He said security and racial harmony needed to be equally strong.

'The PFP doesn't just care for whites, or for blacks, but for all the people of South Africa,' Mr Burrows said.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

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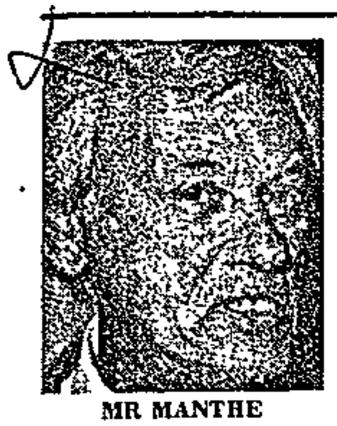

MR MANTHE

Row over origins of plan

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A row blew up here yesterday about who the authentic authors are of the plan for a new management structure to bring home rule to the Border area

The president of the Border Regional Development Association (BRDA), Mr Cyril Manthe, said at a press conference yesterday that his organisation's plan "had been hijacked by a bunch of people who were stuffed by their own self-importance"

The MP for East London City Mr Peet de Pontes, claimed the idea to increase government presence had been mooted long ago by himself, among others, in an address to Rapportryers

"It was discussed by and with various people and organisations and the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee (GELCC) took a leading role in getting the plan formalised," he said.

"I was involved with academics of stature in drafting proposals which were then presented to the BRDA at a meeting in Kei Mouth Before that, the outline of the proposals was discussed at a meeting in King William's Town."

However, Mr Manthe insisted that the GELCC had nothing to do with the plan and the organisation had no jurisdiction in the area but merely functioned in relation to the joint management system.

"That plan came from the BRDA and I want to emphasise that it is incomplete and has been submitted prematurely to the minister We are still awaiting input from various municipalities"

He said that, as a member of the East Cape Strategic Task Force Committee, it was on his recommendation that the GELCC had been asked for comment on the proposals, together with other municipalities.

Mr De Pontes said the proposal had been sent to the minister as a matter of urgency and that "it is too important for it to become bogged down in petty point-scoring and politics. It is non-political, as witnessed by the fact that two members of the GELCC are standing for different political parties in the May 6 election"

He was referring to the Progressive Federal Party alliance candidate in East London North,



MR DE PONTES

Mr Errol Spring, who is chairman of the GELCC. Mr Spring had also said that his organisation had sent the proposal to the BRDA for comment.

Mr De Pontes said the document was not final.

"The detail is not important. It is the principle. We want to bring government closer to the people and make it more effective by having someone with the necessary official status to deal with neighbouring states.

"The BRDA were also sent a document with the request that they channel it through their channels"

He appealed to people to stop knocking the plan and to support it

(News by M. Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London)

Home rule plan stems from BRDA says Manthe

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The president of the Border Regional Development Association, Mr Cyril Manthe, yesterday raised the question of whether there were not two proposals being put forward for a new management structure for home rule for the Border area

An angry Mr Manthe earlier rejected claims by the MP for East London, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee (GELCC), Mr Errol Spring, that they had drawn up the proposals.

He said the plan had been bandied about for several years but had been galvanised into a formal proposal by his organisation

On May 28, 1986, a BRDA executive meeting had discussed various ways of bringing central government closer to the Border and also create effective communication with Ciskei and Transkei

"Various ideas came to the fore such as a KwaNatal-type indaba for the Border and I and the BRDA secretary, Mr Bernard Aucamp, approached Mr De Pontes with an idea of convincing the government to appoint a representative for the Border area.

"The secretary visited Mr De Pontes' office on June 6 1986 where Mr De Pontes, after listening to the ideas, presented him with a copy of an address he was due to deliver that same night at a meeting of the Senior Rapportryers of East London"

Mr Manthe said part of the speech coincided with the ideas on government representation put to him by Mr Aucamp

It was then agreed that a meeting be arranged with a political scientist, Dr Dawe Joubert The meeting was held in King William's Town and was attended by Mr Allistair Lightbody

The framework of the management structure for the Border was put together at this meeting and the document was finally drafted by Dr Joubert and Mr Aucamp.

"It was also agreed that the document be circulated to all local authorities in region 21 and then be channeled to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis."

Mr Manthe said on August 5 1986, Mr De Pontes addressed a BRDA executive meeting in Kei Mouth where he paid tribute to Mr Aucamp for the work he had done in drawing up the document.

The document was later circularised to all local authorities as decided at the meeting. It was also circulated to the GELCC but no reply had been received to date.

Mr Manthe said local authorities response was presented to a BRDA executive meeting on February 13 1987 in Queenstown where it was resolved to forward it to Mr Heunis

Rogers attacked by De Pontes over new plan

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, has been criticised for casting doubt on the plan for a new management structure to bring home rule to the Border area

Yesterday the MP for East London, Mr Peet de Pontes, who said he had co-authored the plan with Mr Allistair Lightbody, urged Mr Rogers to read the whole proposal before he commented.

He said the matter was devoid of party politics and that Mr Rogers should confer "with his partner in the so-called alliance"

He was referring to the chairman of the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee, Mr Errol Spring, who is also the alliance candidate in East London North.

Mr Rogers said he welcomed the plan being studied by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, but that "it had terrible Nationalist government overtones".

He said it was too closely structured to the government structure and that it had been tailored to get past Mr Heunis and not to the needs of the region.

The chairman of the Border Regional Development Association which claimed that it was their plan which had been hijacked, Mr Cyril Manthe, said Mr Rogers should comment on the final plan as a lot of new input had gone into it since Mr Rogers last saw it.

"This should nullify his fears and I invite him to make fresh input. My previous invitation to him in October drew no response"

Meanwhile, several prospective candidates for the May 6 election have commented on the plan

The MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said insofar as the scheme involved devolution of area and should be divided in smaller provinces.

He said the rest of the mechanics of the plan could be worked out later.

The New Republic Party alliance candidate in Queenstown, Mr Robert Edlmann, said his political philosophy was based on the democratic process and he felt strongly that bodies must be elected

"I feel you do not have representation unless you have bodies elected"

Mr Edlmann reiterated his call for Border indaba, which must include the African National Congress, to work out the political future for the region.

He said all parties with a significant following must invited to the indaba but that it would first be necessary to identify blacks who wished to remain in South Africa rather than in one of the neighbouring states

"I don't think we can negotiate across borders until we have identified our people and worked out a structure of government for the region"

He said cross border negotiations would have to take place later but he did not think negotiations could take place until there was a structure which represented the region.

Mr Edlmann said the idea of cabinet minister for the Border might work administratively "but we are getting to a situation with our provincial executives who are totally nominated by the government. We are going right away from the democratic principle of elected leaders"

He said in the long run such a situation could only lead to trouble as the representatives were not elected by the people

Mr Edlmann said he also wanted to clarify a headline in the Daily Dispatch that he had called for participation of the ANC in the Border disqualified from any negotiation.

"As a volunteer member of the Hantam Commando in Colesberg for the past 11 years, I obviously demand that law and order be maintained in South Africa. I have nothing in common with any organisation which stands for destabilisation and anarchy"

The rightwing independent candidate in East London City, Mr Nic Slabber, rejected the plan and asked who was going to pay for it.

"The National Party seems to like the word structure lately Who's going to pay for these structures? The salaries of ministers are high while that of the average white man is low We just cannot afford to have a man to carry the Border portfolio. Other areas will also want such a minister.",

He said the government should do something constructive for the white worker who was highly overburdened

He said coloureds had had thousands of houses built for them and he asked what had been done for the white man.

"Mr De Pontes fights for houses in Duncan Village What has he done for the whites in East London?"

Mr Slabber said the only new structures needed now was an old age home for white pensioners where they could live the last days of their lives in comfort and peace. There should also be low cost-housing for other whites who could not afford to pay high rents."

The other independent rightwing candidate in East London North, Mr Bazil Niemand, said the plan was no secret to the NP.

"This could be the master plan, as I see it, to hand East London over to Ciskei and Transkei at the lowest cost.

"However, I will like to make an in-depth study of the plan. I am

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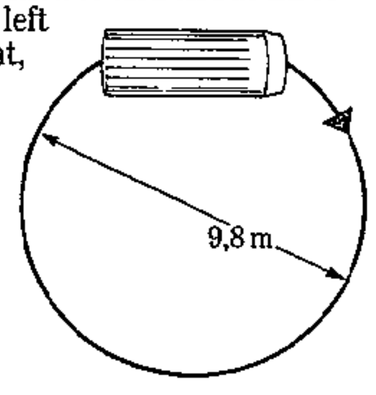

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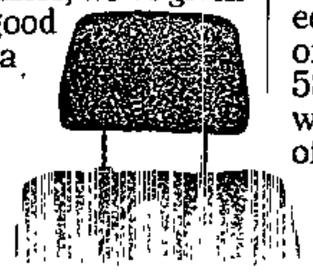

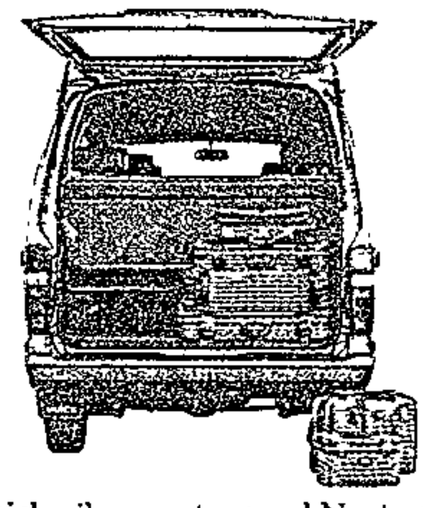

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"This should nullify his fears and I invite him to make fresh input. My previous invitation to him in October drew no response."

Meanwhile, several prospective candidates for the May 6 election have commented on the plan.

The MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said insofar as the scheme involved devolution of power to local areas, it was in accord with Progressive Federal Party policy.

"Our federal policy would go even further in terms of ascribing a greater authority and autonomy to the region. We believe East London knows better than Pretoria what is good for East London."

The National Party candidate in Albany, Mr Jannie van der Vyver, said he supported the plan in principle as it could only benefit the Border and the Eastern Cape.

"We will be able to improve our relations with Ciskei and Transkei. We are all inter-dependent in the region."

He was all for devolution of power and championed the idea that the Cape was too large an

process and he felt strongly that bodies must be elected.

"I feel you do not have representation unless you have bodies elected."

Mr Edlmann reiterated his call for Border indaba, which must include the African National Congress, to work out the political future for the region.

He said all parties with a significant following must invited to the indaba but that it would first be necessary to identify blacks who wished to remain in South Africa rather than in one of the neighbouring states.

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He said in the long run such a situation could only lead to trouble as the representatives were not elected by the people.

Mr Edlmann said he also wanted to clarify a headline in the Daily Dispatch that he had called for participation of the ANC in the Border indaba.

He said the indaba was the cardinal issue and not the participation of the ANC.

"Anyone who read the report in the March 11 issue of the Daily Dispatch will know that I called for the participation of every realistic organisation and party in the Border region and I trust that my bona fides have not been prejudiced as a result of the headline that I feel was misleading.

"I have a genuine desire to find negotiated settlements to the problem of our country at every level of government, based on trust, respect for one another and goodwill.

"In the light of this it is obvious that while the ANC espouses violence, they are automatically

The rightwing independent candidate in East London City, Mr Nic Slabber, rejected the plan and asked who was going to pay for it.

"The National Party seems to like the word structure lately. Who's going to pay for these structures? The salaries of ministers are high while that of the average white man is low. We just cannot afford to have a man to carry the Border portfolio. Other areas will also want such a minister."

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The other independent rightwing candidate in East London North, Mr Bazil Niemand, said the plan was no secret to the NP.

"This could be the master plan, as I see it, to hand East London over to Ciskei and Transkei at the lowest cost.

"However, I will like to make an in-depth study of the plan. I am 100 per cent behind any development in the area, as long as it is in favour of all people and not an at increasing cost to the taxpayer.

"All South Africans want reform. One must just ask oneself how long, at what price and at what cost. Those are the three important factors.

"The NP and the PFP must realise that their days of bulldozing their plans through parliament is over. The only recipe I feel for reform and prosperity in the country is to reinstall law and order immediately and then to take all people into consideration when government decisions can interfere with lifestyles of the people or their children."

(News by M. Moonieya, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

CAPE TIMES 18/3/87

Nat shifts: Blacks 'take notice'

304A

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU said yesterday the "new ball-game" developing in Afrikaner intellectual circles was being noted with interest by the black community.

Replying to questions after addressing the Cape Town Press Club, at one of its best attended lunches, he said:

"We don't have a history of dissent and when this type of movement out of the kraal happens with people such as D P ("Lang David") de Villiers going into what could be a political wilderness, then I think one could say we are starting to take notice."

Archbishop Tutu also said the black community had those it considered to be its real leaders and he warned that it would be "dangerous to substitute others".

In jail or exile

"Whether whites like it or not, for blacks their leaders are mostly in jail or exile. The ANC and PAC can't be willed away. Unban them and let them speak for themselves."

Real negotiation to dismantle apartheid should begin now "while you have some control over the transition process" to a new South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu said he wished to repeat his position on violence.

"It is the position of the church that all violence is evil.

"But a time may come when you have to decide between evils — oppression or a violent overthrow of the oppressive regime. Which is the lesser evil?

"I am sick and tired of those who say I support violence when I have said, and will repeat here, that I support the ANC in its aims to found a just, democratic, non-racial South Africa. But I do not support its methods."

The archbishop called for the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners and detainees, followed by talks with "those recognized as authentic representatives and leaders".

"If this does not happen soon, then Armageddon will be upon us."

(Report by R Williams 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Troublesome priests

Du Plessis: Tutu and Boesak make fools of themselves



Dr ALLAN BOESAK



Mr B DU PLESSIS



Archbishop TUTU

CAPE TOWN — The real effect of the public utterances of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak was "to make fools of themselves" and not to harm South Africa, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said last night.

Addressing about 250 people at Kraaifontein he also said the structure of the United Democratic Front was such that it could be difficult for the Government to effectively ban the entire organisation.

He was responding to questions on why the Government did not take steps against the UDF and people who advocated sanctions, such as Archbishop Tutu and NG Sendingskerk moderator, Dr Boesak.

He said he believed "the foolish utterances" of Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak had become counter-productive and influential people in the US were saying that the two clergymen had overplayed their role.

"Why should we elevate them to public martyrs if the real effect of their public utterances is to make fools of themselves and not really harm South Africa?" he asked.

Mr Du Plessis said the "cynicism" of US sanctions had become clear with the later exemption of certain minerals that they needed.

The US had become the laughing stock of the world and could not have impressed their colleagues in the European community.

To the extent that Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak might have been instrumental in bringing about such sanctions, they were "tainted with the same brush" as the US, Mr Du Plessis said.

There were two ways to deal with such people:

"Some say you should lock them up. Others say you should leave them because they are counter-productive to their own cause. The gentlemen concerned can decide for themselves if they are counter-productive."

Referring to the UDF, Mr Du Plessis said, it was made up of hundreds of affiliates and had already been declared an affected organisation.

"It won't surprise me if there are bona fide organisations associated to the UDF."

(News by Greg Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street Cape Town). — Sapa

NP man in 'regular ANC contact'

18/3/87 STAR

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Former police spy Mr Craig Williamson says he is in regular contact with "moderate" members of the African National Congress (ANC) in London, but denies this is contrary to the Government's policy of discouraging contact with the banned organisation.

"I have been in direct contact with people in the ANC since 1975," said Mr Williamson, National Party candidate in Bryanston.

He denied there were incongruities, either in his own or the Government's attitude to the organisation, as outlined in the Bureau for Information's booklet, *Talking with the ANC.*

The booklet, published in June last year, said it was understandable that "concerned South Africans" would explore all options for "peaceful and negotiated solutions".

However, it warned: "In their consideration of the advisability of talking with the ANC, they (concerned South Africans) should ask themselves what price they were prepared to pay for peace, what chance they would have of securing their basic interests through negotiations and what guarantees there would be that promises made at the negotiating table would be kept."

Mr Williamson said: "What the Government is talking about is talking or negotiating with the ANC. When I talk it is individual to individual. It is between myself and people I became friendly with over a number of years.

"My discussions are with people who would be prepared to renounce violence and to negotiate with the South African Government, but who, at this stage, are not able to publicly come out with this point of view because of the dominant feeling against such a move," he said.

"We have got to be realistic in life. One day all the protagonists in the South African struggle are going to get together to talk. People in the National Party and people in other organisations such as the ANC, when they can establish the basic ground rules, which at this stage relates to the renunciation of the use of violence, will be able to come together and talk.

"The basic problem in negotiations revolves around a clique in the ANC who decided for ideological reasons that the only way to change South Africa is to destroy the status quo through an armed struggle and revolutionary war, and that is still the dominant view."

Opposition politicians and groups reacted with anger to Mr Williamson's claims yesterday that the ANC was trying to "sow confusion" amongst the white electorate.

Mr Williamson claimed that, apart from a stepping-up of the terrorist onslaught, "Project Rose" involved the formation of a "monitoring group" of ANC supporters in South Africa to ensure all extra-parliamentary organisations were welded in a united front against the election.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Worrall taking revenge, claims Heunis

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

DR DENIS WORRALL was standing in the Helderberg constituency to take revenge, his National Party opponent, Mr Chris Heunis, said last night in De Kuilen.

Mr Heunis, Cape leader of the NP and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the statement by Dr Worrall that Mr Heunis and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, could not stand each other was "not true".

He also accused Dr Worrall of breaking codes of behaviour for public figures. Even if Dr Worrall's allegation about him and Mr Botha were true, it involved relationships and customs which people did not publicize.

"He has taken action in Helderberg when I thought he was a National Party member.

"I have serious doubts that he ever was," Mr Heunis said.

"I think the National Party was for my opponent, not a vehicle to serve South Africa, but a vehicle to serve his own ambitions."

Dr Worrall's candidature in Helderberg was characterized by revenge and it would be an election of revenge.

"Dr Worrall believes I was responsible for sending him to Australia. That is not true.

"Dr Worrall believes further that I was responsible for the fact that he is not in the cabinet. That is also not true. I do not make appointments. I have to suffer the consequences of appointments."

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Govt's wielding of ANC issue 'scurrilous'

Own Correspondent

SOMERSET WEST. — It was "absolutely scurrilous" that the government should try and run the election on the African National Congress issue, SA's former Ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, said last night.

He said that technically speaking, cabinet ministers such as the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, were breaking the law by selectively quoting the ANC.

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Addressing a packed Somerset West town hall, Dr Worrall said the ministers were going way above the law and "others could play that game as well".

The independent candidate for the Helderberg constituency said he wished to state clearly his attitude towards the ANC and other similar organizations.

"I want to get open-ended negotiations going as soon as possible.

"For such negotiations even to begin requires a willingness to compromise and accommodate," he said.

"There is therefore no way that such negotiations could include persons or organizations who espouse the use of violence as the final arbitrator."

Dr Worrall said it was very disturbing to see National Party politicians — for short-term party political purposes — "highlighting the ANC".

He said the ANC was clearly not involved in this election. Nor was it party to the election.

"Yet, the use which National Party candidates and — more particularly — ministers are making on ANC statements gives to the ANC precisely that status which it is seeking in the international community.

"It is government ministers therefore who are enhancing the ANC's international status."

Dr Worrall maintained that "this dismal performance" on the part of the government served to enhance the ANC, while detracting from the significance of internal political organizations like Inkatha, which are "committed to peaceful change".

(Report by Chris Cairncross, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

(304A)

NRP calls for plan to displease all

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — The New Republic Party nominee here for the House of Assembly general election last night called for a new constitution that would dissatisfy all population groups ... as long as it dissatified them equally.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Queenstown branch of the Progressive Federal Party, with which the NRP has an election pact, Mr Robert Edlmann said that if any party to talks were entirely happy, others would not be so.

In a reference to the NRP/PFP electoral pact, Mr Edlmann said: "Things have so developed in this country that we don't dare but to work together, though finding common ground in a country like South Africa is not easy."

Referring to the Natal/KwaZulu indaba, he said that evidence that people could get together in one region should make a similar exercise easier at the highest level.

He called for greater devolution at local levels ... "without decrees from Pretoria". The country was overgoverned, which was ruining both the economy and relationships between people.

"The only way of putting this right," he said, "is to begin talking to each other. We cannot afford the head-on confrontations that might happen if the government ignores the Indaba report.

"The day we stop talking there will be tragedy — and that means chaos, widows and orphans. But meetings in other areas are taking place ... quietly, slowly, but they are there.

"The government can't get people to negotiate," he added, "so the Opposition has to take on the task."

He claimed that the breakaway National Party independents and their supporters were just the tip of an iceberg — the broad portion of the centre of the NP caucus was going to join up with the reform movement.

"We are about to see the breaking up of the National Party monolith," Mr Edlmann, who also forecast the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in favour of local options, said.

"The solution to our country's problems has got to come across party lines, across colour lines. It will come from people in the broad centre, not from radicals ... people who do not demand, but negotiate."

He forecast that the NRP and PFP, working together, could take the Queenstown constituency from the NP. "The objective of this alliance is to let as few Nats as possible into Parliament," he declared.

Earlier farmer Mr Sandy Stretton, branch chairman of the PFP, had stood down — "you need someone who lives in Queenstown" — in favour of Mr David Stacey, the previous vice-chairman.

He said that before the Indaba there had been race-based differences between the PFP and the NRP, but these had mostly disappeared. Now the parties were getting together to get rid of a government that had ruined South Africa.

He added that there was now a great possibility of the two parties picking up what he described as "a great number of seats" — and that this could even lead to the setting up of a new political party.

This might mean the disappearance of the PFP, but the party was not wedded to its name, he added. NP defectors such as Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Denis Worrall were only repeating what the PFP had been saying for up to 15 years.

(News by A Monteath, Cathcart Road, Queenstown.)

304A

The Natal Mercury, Wednesday, March 18, 1987 ★ 3

CP vow on homelands

Political Reporter

TEN to 15 years after the Conservative Party came to power, about 70% of blacks would be living in their own homelands, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in Kloof last night.

Speaking at a meeting for the CP candidate in Greytown, Mrs Doreen Williams, Dr Hartzenberg said a CP government would impose a fee for employing blacks in places outside homelands.

He said permits and citizenship would also be used to control blacks' movement.

Dr Hartzenberg predicted the Government would 'arrange an attack on the capital of a neighbouring state' during the election campaign.

'Last year they attacked three capitals, broke three windows, killed no terrorists and came back and said "look at this tough Government".'

Mrs Williams said the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba was a conspiracy influenced by Eastern European and Western countries and the PFP.

'It is an evil formula designed to sink whites and millions of blacks who will not have the faintest idea of the reality which awaits them.'

She said influx control and separate development should be restored. 'Neither blacks nor whites are all good. Like all animals, once you mix them, dissension and fighting are the order of the day.'

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

3044

Struggle for Bhongulethu will continue in 'The Last Affidavits'

By Carina le Grange

Bhongulethu, Oudtshoorn, is a township which briefly made the headlines in December 1985 when human rights workers Mrs Molly Blackburn and Mr Brian Bishop died in a motor vehicle accident.

They had been visiting the unknown village to acquaint themselves with its problems and were on their way home when the accident happened.

The information gleaned from Bhongulethu's residents on that day has now been documented by co-worker and wife of Mr Bishop, Mrs Di Bishop.

Mrs Bishop, who survived the accident with a fourth member of the team, Mrs Judy Chalmers, resigned from active party politics (as Mrs Blackburn, also an MPC at the time, had intended doing) and drew up the document known as "The Last Affidavits". It was recently published by the Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The deaths of the two human rights workers while "on duty" overshadowed the circumstances of Bhongulethu and its residents, but the struggle continues with the booklet's detailed documentation of both affidavits as well as reports, background and other information.

However, among the affidavits there is only one statement which is sworn to be the truth and is signed by Mrs Bishop as a Commissioner of Oaths. The others are statements which were taken by the four-member delegation and signed by them.

"Massive SAP/SADF raids on the Bhongulethu community and the victimisation of children is serving to exacerbate an already serious situation. Allegations of neglect of prisoners and atrocities committed against those in prison and police cells are cause for grave concern and call for follow-up action," Mrs Bishop wrote in her report dated January 20 1986.

Among the statements taken in the previous month was that of Jennifer Sokudela (12), who told Mr Bishop she had been on her way home after buying a loaf of bread when she was caught in a shoot-out and hit in the back. Mr Bishop took a photograph of the scar.

She told him she had spent a month in hospital under police guard and that doctors had said she could be paralysed if they removed the bullet. She appeared in court.

"The magistrate said I threw stones. I do not know the charge. I did not throw stones. I was sentenced to five years imprisonment, suspended."

A minister of religion, Mr Xolile Xaba, told Mrs Blackburn of his concern for his 15-year-old daughter who was arrested in his home at 4.30 am in August 1985. "I am very concerned at what I believe to be a deterioration of her health following accounts from others in her cell that tear-gas was poured into the cell while she was sleeping," he said.

Mrs Bishop's background report on the township says: "The Bhongulethu of 1985 is a product of the horrible neglect which has resulted from apartheid. Hidden from the scrutiny of visitors to Oudtshoorn, few people are probably aware that its exists and that 4 000 people are living there."

Mrs Bishop also describes the township's lack of infrastructure and grievances of the people

Opponents harming NP's reform moves — Heunis

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said last night that the National Party was the greatest initiator of reform in South Africa but that its reform moves were being harmed by some of its opponents.

Addressing a meeting of about 350 people in the hall of the Bellville Technical High School in Labiance, Mr Heunis pleaded for unity in a country which would transcend colour or race.

Mr Heunis said the Government had called the general election to ask for a renewed mandate to handle the internal reform process, relations with the outside world and the security situation.

The question was no longer whether there should be reform, but how this should be done.

Mr Heunis said the high tension potential in the country made efforts to find solutions difficult, but he was not prepared to negotiate with people who were in favour of violence.

Mr Heunis also launched a sharp attack on his independent opponent in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall.

He said that Dr Worrall had broken the code of those taking part in public life and rejected allegations that he (Mr Heunis) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, did not get along. He also denied he had kept Dr Worrall out of the Cabinet.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

'Beware the Treurnicht bogyman'

Pretoria Correspondent

Sunnyside voters have been cautioned to beware of the "Treurnicht bogyman".

PFP candidate Mr Rowan Haarhoff has urged voters, by means of 10 000 pamphlets, not to be fooled into voting for the NP in Sunnyside to keep out the CP.

The leaflets, distributed by his campaign office at the weekend, deal with the "imagined right-wing threat".

"In the past the NP has attempted to persuade PFP supporters to vote Nat to keep out the CP," said Mr Haarhof.

"It cannot win on its own support so it scares voters with the Treurnicht bogyman. And this comes from a party which orginally won power on a 'swart gevaar' ticket."

(Report by R Green, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

Politics set for a big shake-up, says Eglin

CAPE TOWN — The May 6 poll is turning out to be one of the most "fascinating and important" elections since the National Party came to power in 1948, the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night.

"The issue in the election is no longer what is happening on the far right of the political spectrum, but what is happening on the anti-apartheid reform front," he said, launching his campaign in Hout Bay.

Mr Eglin said if the PFP, the NRP and the breakaway independents — "all of whom are standing on anti-apartheid and pro-reform platforms" — did well on May 6, "the scene will be set for the biggest shake-up in South African politics in over 50 years."

The tide of disillusionment with the Government was becoming irresistible.

"A few months ago, when the PFP first mooted the idea of an alternative government, we were greeted with polite smiles," said Mr Eglin.

"Yet the idea of an alternative government to the Nats has caught on in an unstoppable way."

A recent independent market survey had revealed the concept of an alternative government consisting of an alliance of reform-minded people was running neck-and-neck (35,4 percent) with the NP (35,9 percent) as a government in South Africa.

Mr Eglin said he saw the pact between the PFP and the NRP as the forerunner of a broader alliance of moderate South Africans which, "far sooner than anyone would have predicted a few months ago, will replace the NP as the government." — Sapa.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

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AWB to mediate in move to unite Right

VEREENIGING — Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, last night said his organisation would act as a mediator for the two right-wingparties who had accepted his election strategy proposals.

Addressing an audience of 2 000, he called on the leaders of the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties to unite before May 6.

There was no time to wait for decisions from party federal congresses. The differences between the parties were less than the "volk's" desire to defeat Mr P W Botha.

The proposal was that the HNP be given 10 seats the CP were not contesting, the CP contest 17 held by their sitting MPs and that candidates in the other constituencies be decided regionally. — Sapa.

(News by H Henning, 626 Colonial Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Conservative Party candidate in Lichtenburg, speaking in Durban: "In Amanzimtoti (during the Christmas holidays last year) they emptied the swimming pool to keep the peace.

"If you vote NP and they get back into power, by the end of the year they will ask you to empty the sea to keep the peace."

★ ★ ★

Mr Tom Langley, Conservative Party candidate in Soutpansberg, at a meeting in Benoni: "I remember P W Botha telling Alex Boraine (then PFP MP for Pinelands) that he would have to wait until chickens grew teeth before there would be any power sharing in South Africa. Six months later the chickens could bite so hard they drew blood."

★ ★ ★

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, in Bellville: "People who need law and order to retain their identity might as well lose it."

Mr Heunis: "You can't make the weak strong by making the strong weak."

Mr Heunis: "I don't make Cabinet appointments — I'm just a victim of those appointments."

★ ★ ★

Mr Mike Tarr, PFP candidate in Pietermaritzburg South, speaking in Maritzburg: "For years we have seen the task of defeating the Nats as impossible. It is time we all got a bit of fire in our bellies and went for it. If we do, we will win."

(Compiled by J M Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

PFP has eyes on 1989 poll

The PFP was determined to use this election to lay the foundations for victory in two years time, Mr Douglas Gibson, Transvaal chairman of the PFP and its candidate for Bezuidenhout, said last night at the party's campaign launch in Springs.

"We are forming a reform alliance which will challenge for power at the next election in 1989.

"South Africans who want sensible reform are turning their backs on the Nationalists and are looking around for something new," Mr Gibson said. — Sapa.

(Report by M Eorwine, 626 Old Mutual Bldg, Harrison St, Johannesburg).

Every South African should have right to be President

In the third and final article of a three-part series on the Government's counter-revolutionary strategy, Political Correspondent DAVID BRAUN looks at what is being envisaged by way of political reform at central level.

It is generally accepted, even by the Government, there can be no lasting solution to South Africa's problems until the majority of the country's people are accommodated politically to their satisfaction.

In a nutshell this must imply that every South African, no matter what colour, should, if he has the ability and qualifications, know that he or she could become State President.

Anything short of this would not be genuine power-sharing and would fall far short of the political reform necessary to defuse the revolution.

The Government has on numerous occasions by way of key Ministers and the State President stated that it accepts power-sharing to the highest executive and legislative level but on the basis that no one group should be in a position to dominate the others.

It has also bandied about such concepts as "one-man-one-vote in a unitary state", although this must fit in to the overall plan of non-domination.

Essential to the Government's approach is the legal definition and maintenance of distinctive groups which would form the building blocks in the future political system.

This is a point of major controversy of course, but thus far there is no sign that the Government is considering abandoning this.

The authorities resufes to spell out what kind of constitutional model is envisaged to accommodate the different groups in such a way that they share power equally while not being in a position to dominate one another.

The reason often given for this is that it would be prescriptive of the Government to suggest something when in fact the system should be the product of give-and-take negotiations between the groups in the first place.

However, behind the scenes, much thought and energy is being given by the Government's top constitutional planners to this problem.

One concept gaining currency in the minds of many of the Ministers is that of "concurrent majorities".

The idea is that each group has its own elections for its constitutional decision-making forum to run its own affairs.

The majority party or group in each forum is then represented on an equal basis on a separate forum, such as a Council of State, to deliberate and take decisions on matters affecting everyone.

The great dilemma for which there are no answers is how such a forum will ever take decisions which will not be construe domination of one or more groups.

There is talk of granting each group represented on the general affairs forum a veto, but that would make administration unwieldy and perhaps certain decisions might never be taken because consensus cannot be achieved.

There is talk of a three-quarters majority being sufficient to override a veto, but Government politicians reject this because that would open the way to a ganging up of a majority against the minority.

Then there is talk of some form of deadlock-breaking institution (a Constitutional Court or some form of President's Council), but this would not resolve the problem of avoiding one group dominating the others.

Cabinet Ministers privately admit they have no answers to this conundrum, but nonetheless the Government feels that the solution to the country's political problems lies on the road of concurrent majorities.

An interesting facet of Government approach to this model is what is being suggested for the control of the State Presidency and the various Ministerial portfolios.

Quite clearly, whoever controls the Presidency and the portfolios of Defence and Law and Order is in effect in a position of domination over the others.

Two schools of thought are being applied to this problem.

One is that each portfolio, including the Presidency, should be made as powerful as possible, taking up as much authority as each one can.

Then each position should be stripped of its authority on the basis of maximum decentralisation to own affairs administrations of each group.

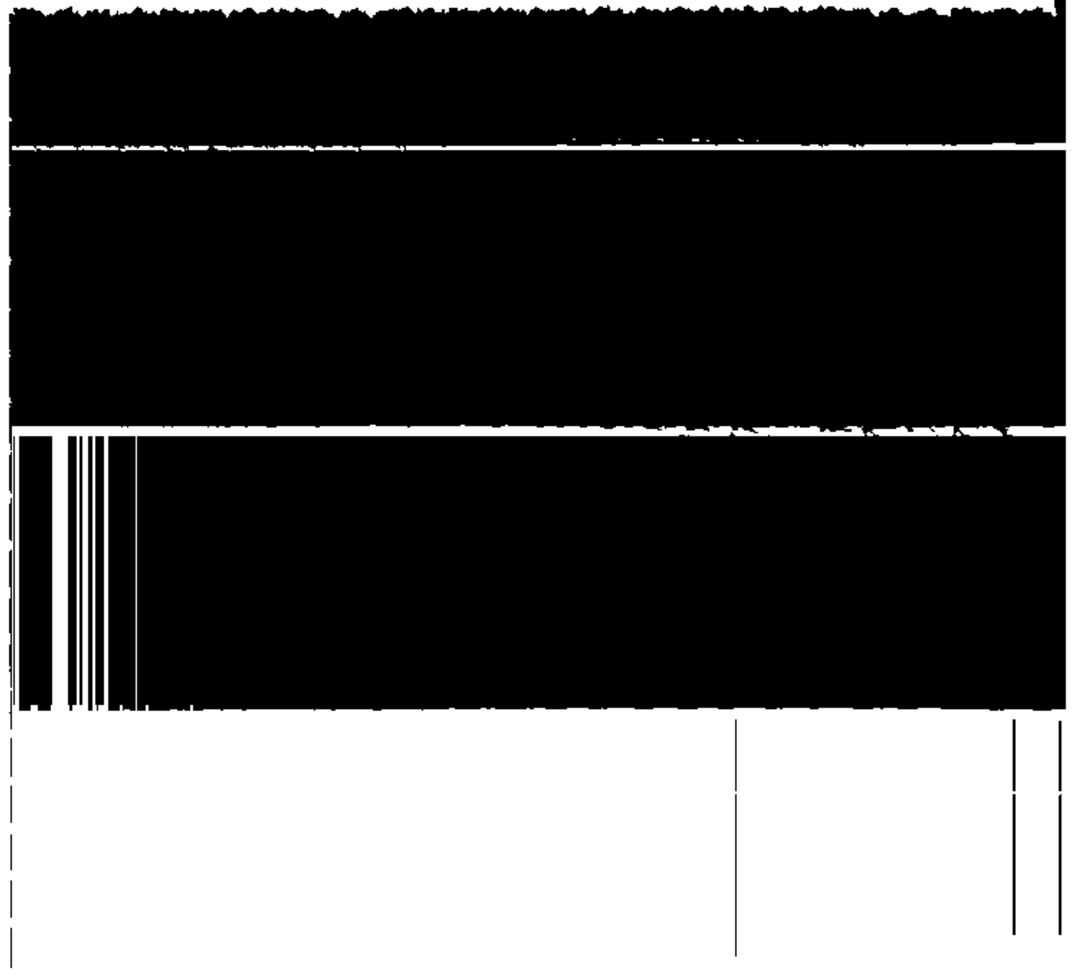
The second, more bizarre idea, is that a council representative of each group should in effect manage each portfolio while a figurehead Minister or State President would rotate on a regular basis (much the same as the Chairmanship of the Security Council of the United Nations rotates among its members).

These plans are of course by no means final because theoretcially the future political system must be the result of negotiation.

They do, however, give an indication of how the Government would be prepared to negotiate only to the point of equal power-sharing and not beyond.

Equal power-sharing would presumably be the minimum that the non-enfanchised communities would want — but is there such a thing?

(3044) SMH 18/3/87.



Communism and the PFP

It was essential that the Progressive Federal Party fully informed South Africans about its attitude to the South African Communist Party, former PFP MP Mr Horace van Rensburg said last night.

The PFP had said it would unban all banned organisations, including the SACP, he said in a statement.

Would it follow then that the PFP would also allow SACP members to join the SAP and SADF, he asked. — Sapa.

(Report by R Norton, 626 Old Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.

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Five Freedoms Forum launched

The "dangerous coalition" referred to by President Botha in Parliament in February has launched itself publicly as the Five Freedoms Forum.

The forum was blocked from explaining itself to the Press last night when it was locked out of the venue it had booked for its public launch.

Reasons for the sudden refusal of the venue were not known.

Comprising organisations which have support in the white community, the forum is founded on a manifesto which declares as its primary aim: "One country, one people."

It continues: "South Africa is at a crossroads that could lead to greater democracy and peace or a tyranny that will plunge the sub-continent into war, famine and disaster. We, the Five Freedoms Forum, believe that there will be peace in our country only when all its people have access to its total resources and have an equal say in how the country is to be run."

The manifesto asserts a belief in five freedoms for the future: freedom from want; freedom from fear; freedom of speech and association; freedom of conscience; and freedom from discrimination.

It appeals to people to stay in South Africa and contribute to the country's future. "We call on all South Africa's people to join together in building one undivided, democratic nation".

Organisations in the forum include the National Union of South African Students, the Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church; the Black Sash, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and detainees' support committees, Young Christian Students, Wits Academic Staff Association, Jews for Social Justice, National Education Union of South Africa, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and Concerned Social Workers.

In a paper prepared for the launch of the forum last night, past president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said the forum was founded on "deep distress" at the present conditions in South Africa and a common "vision of the tremendously exciting future we could share with all if we can only trust enough and work hard enough for justice, democracy and peace".

She elaborated: "We hold in common our repugnance for the way in which the National Party has destroyed one by one all the basic freedoms which are absolutely necessary to the maintenance of just societies."

The forum participants, she said, had started talks last year — well before the forthcoming all-white election was announced.

(30pt) B/Day 19/3/87

Tide against NP govt irresistible, says Eglin

THE tide of disillusionment with government was becoming irresistible, PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

Speaking in Honeydew at his first election campaign meeting in the Transvaal, Eglin said if the PFP, the NRP and the independents did well in the election, the scene would be set for "the biggest shake-up in South African politics in over 50 years".

Recent events, including the resignation of Willem de Klerk as editor of *Rapport* and Dr David de Villiers from the board of Nasionale Pers, showed the tide of disillusionment with government was becoming irresistible.

The alliance between the PFP and the NRP demonstrated both parties were aware of the seriousness of the crisis facing SA.

Referring to a recent statement by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Eglin said: "And now, after millions of rands of lost opportunity, lost trade, lost

markets, lost manpower, and after millions more spent on forced removals ... the Minister of Finance has the effrontery to say that it would be 'unfair' and 'unjust' for voters to vote on the basis of the present economic situation." — Sapa.

Report by [illegible] Whitely, 801 Nedbank Centre, 30 Strand Street, Cape Town.

Malan is able to reconcile views with AB membership



● MALAN

WHILE the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) is determinedly remaining silent during the run-up to the election, independent candidate Wynand Malan yesterday defended his continued membership of the organisation.

Malan, who joined the AB in 1972, said he had "no problem whatsoever" in reconciling his political views with his AB membership.

He said the AB sought the "general interest of South Africans and the place of Afrikaners and their culture" in SA's future.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Malan said his views had to be seen against the background that the AB was not a political party, but an Afrikaner cultural organisation which also considered political issues.

He said: "My approach is political rights for all in one SA, where the structures are not based on race and with the protection of individual rights also in association with each other.

"That would, therefore, obviously include cultural, language and religious rights."

Meanwhile, the AB has come under the spotlight with disclosures of a working document in which it spells out the inevitability of a black President.

AB chairman Professor Pieter de Lange, who said last year he intended to play a more active role in furthering negotiation between groups, has, despite numerous inquiries, decided to remain silent on the AB's stand in the election.

In reply to an apparently inaccurately phrased report in the *Washington Post*, De Lange yesterday issued a statement to SAPA in which he said he opposed talks with the ANC as long as the organisation demanded black rule in SA and used violence to achieve it.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Candidates indicate that . . .

Language barrier in white politics is breaking down

THE number of CP English-speaking candidates in the election and Afrikaans-speaking PFP candidates are an indication of how language barriers in white politics are slowly breaking down.

Ironically, the party lagging behind when it comes to candidates from both language groups is the NP.

The CP is still widely seen as an exclusively Afrikaner party. But it is fielding 11 English-speakers as candidates on May 6 — in Turffontein, Rosettenville, Jeppe, Hillbrow, Krugersdorp, Benoni, Randburg, Florida, Greytown, Port Natal and Mooi River.

The PFP, a party supposed to have an English image, has nominated 15 Afrikaans-speakers as candidates — in Westdene, Helderkruin, Johannesburg-West, North Rand, Maraisburg, Parktown, Pretoria-East, Waterkloof, Sunnyside, Pinelands, Groote Schuur, Green Point, Klip River, Greytown and Bloemfontein-North.

The NP, which will contest more seats than any other party, has only nominated 16 English-speaking candidates —

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

six in Natal, four in the Cape and six in Transvaal.

The NP have only five English-speaking MPs in Parliament this year. They are four ex-NRP members George Bartlett, Kent Durr, Ron Miller, Aubrey Thompson and John Wiley.

CP general council member Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday the number of English-speaking CP candidates was an indication of the move to the right by English-speakers.

He said: "I drew 250 people to a meeting in Underberg and 300 in Amanzimtoti — all English-speakers. Cabinet Ministers don't even draw crowds like that now.

"A large number of English-speakers who supported the NP are now with us. The CP has no language prejudices. We have successfully united like-minded people, regardless of language, and we all feel at home."

Derby-Lewis said the English translation of Afrikaners should be "white Africans".

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Hints of new political party in two years

PRETORIA — The formation of a new political party within two years which would embrace the manifesto of the three independents in the election was hinted at yesterday by Denis Worrall.

Worrall was responding to questions after addressing a Pretoria Press Club luncheon.

Asked why he had not resigned his post as ambassador to Britain earlier to "mobilise" an organisation to present an alternative to voters, Worrall said the decision to resign had been a difficult one.

He had not resigned as a result of "sour grapes" at his slow progress as a politician or to take his revenge on Heunis, as the NP was claiming, but because he felt a new initiative had to emerge to start negotiations and break the mould of white politics in SA.

"But I believe that in two years time (the next scheduled general election) I will be re-elected in Helderberg and it will not be as an independent," he said. — Sapa.

Report by Mark van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.

SATV tribute to PW 'not election ploy'

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

THE SABC is to pay yet another tribute to President P W Botha. A 28-minute documentary on his life will be screened tonight in place of the popular nature programme "50/50".

It is the third TV biography of Mr Botha in recent months — marking his 50 years in politics and 70th birthday.

But the SABC denies the programme is a pre-election publicity ploy.

And it says the other profiles were "just news programmes".

According to Willie Visagie, SABC manager of media relations, tonight's "magazine feature" was commissioned from an outside producer.

News by C Naidoo, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

PFP to keep watch on SABC 'bias'

19/3/87 Cape Times

3044

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party had received an assurance from the SABC that it would be given "fair and reasonable" coverage during the election, the party's leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night.

He told a meeting of about 300 people in Honeydew after talks with SABC Director General Riaan Eksteen, that the PFP would monitor the SABC coverage throughout the run-up to the election. — Sapa

(News by K R Daniels, 626 Mutual Buildings, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

● CAPE TOWN — The kind of power-sharing the Government wanted to introduce would elevate it from ballot-box to leadership level, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, told about 400 people last night.

It also required that the definition of group would bring about an acquisition of rights rather than a denial as in the past. — Sapa

(News by P Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

● JOHANNESBURG — The National Party had played a major role in creating the highest inflation rate, the highest number of unemployed, and the greatest degree of instability in living memor, accordinv to PFP spokesman on Finance, Mr Harry Schwartz.

In a statement he said it would be on these issues that his party would fight this election.

These issues had combined with an "inefficient administration and the application of incorrect policies", to result in a loss of both consumer and investor confidence. — Sapa

(News by Rachel Browne, 626 Old Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)

● JOHANNESBURG — The private sector should put its collective weight behind pressures for the abolition of the Group Areas Act because its removal would be a signal to overseas investors of real reform, the chairman of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, said last night.

Addressing a bankers meeting in Sandton, he said that with pressure this goal was achievable within two or three years. This would encourage overseas investment and stimulate economic growth.

● CAPE TOWN — Racism was determined genetically in some people, the Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, told about 75 people at an election meeting in the Pinelands Civic centre last night.

Mr Bartlett, replying to a question on the Menlo Park controversy, in which a black athlete had been barred from a school sports meeting by the school board, said, racialism was "inbred in some people. It comes from the genes in some cases, perhaps from the environment."

The Government was not forcing people to be racist. — Sapa

(News by D B MacLennan, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

val base. commander of SAS Kimberley, [illegible]

Malan calls for release of Mandela

304A 19/3/87

JOHANNESBURG — The jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, should be freed, Mr Wynand Malan, the independent candidate for Randburg, said to thunderous applause from a 1 000-strong audience last night.

The capacity audience responded approvingly when he said Mandela had to be freed to take part in negotiations for equal rights, security and justice for all South Africans.

Replying to a question at his first public meeting in Randburg, Mr Malan said freeing Mandela under the present Government would force him to side with the armed struggle.

However, Mr Malan said, if he was in power, he would free Mandela because he could become "a very strong politican" if he organised a disciplined party.

Negotiations should be started with the ANC without preconditions about violence. A suspension of violence, as prescribed by the Eminent Persons' Group, would not lead to fair and equal negotiations because the threat of violence would remain a wedge in the door.

Although he did not underwrite the Freedom Charter, Mr Malan said he accepted the expectations expressed in it.

Its socialist economy and strategies for dealing with oppression were frightening, but did not differ much from those used by Afrikaner leaders.

He favoured the continuation of the state of emergency, but rejected the detention without trial of children aged 11 and 12. There were other avenues of dealing with them. Asked what differences there were between him and the PFP, he said the PFP adopted the doctrine of humanism and strove for a Western-style liberal constitution through a national convention, which he considered a naive approach.

However, he agreed with freedom of association and said the concept of the rule of law was only applicable in a democracy.

Asked whether he shared the same policies as Mr Horace van Rensburg, the former PFP MP for Bryanston, he said he thought Mr Van Rensburg was more conservative.

Mr Van Rensburg was an irresponsible politician who had brought *boerehaat* into South African politics when it was least needed.

Mr Malan said he doubted whether the election of the three independent candidates would evoke any response from the traditional NP power base — "if it has the ability to think".

"We do not want to take another political position. We simply want to declare a message." — Sapa

(Report by H Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)

200 suspects caught for suckers

HOUSTON — More than 200 people lured to a Houston insurance office by the promise of an inheritance were clapped into handcuffs instead.

Suspects wanted for crimes ranging from burglary to rape came from as far away as New York and Mexico after police sent them letters saying they had come into money and should claim it at the insurance company office.

Police waiting in the office arrested 218 people.

ELECTION 1987

Big issue is full rights for blacks, says Malan

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The issue facing South Africa was not simply ending race discrimination but giving blacks full economic and political rights, independent candidate in Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, said last night.

Addressing a Randburg meeting attended by about 700 people, Mr Malan called on white voters to support negotiations with all South Africans for a new constitution.

Mr Malan, present MP for Randburg, recently resigned from the National Party and decided to stand as an independent. He said voter support for the independent camp would show the Government that South Africans sought "a new vision".

He said the National Party leadership had no plan for the future but some elements in the party would take note.

Mr Malan said specific differences in the NP revolved around the Government's definition of people in terms of race and its management of security.

He said he was particularly unhappy with Government backtracking on the Group Areas Act.

Mr Malan said the scrapping of the Act was not important to black politics but to black socio-economic development.

He added: "When you talk to blacks you realise apartheid and discrimination are not the issue.

Political solution

"When blacks talk about apartheid, they are referring to being excluded from the political process and that they don't have real access to the economy."

On security management, he said there was "no co-ordination whatsover". Security forces carried out their job of maintaining stability but no thought was given to a political solution to unrest.

Mr Malan also criticised the NP's election manifesto as a mere statement of the status quo.

He said the independents' manifesto stressed the importance of negotiation. However, he ruled out negotiations with the ANC while it subscribed to violence. Bringing the State President and ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo together would be "a disaster".

He said he was in favour of a constitution where Government was decentralised, where regional agreements were acceptable and where there was universal franchise.

He said the real enemy in South Africa was not communism but the commitment of people to rigid, uncompromising views.

On SABC election coverage, Mr Malan said he was not unhappy with the corporation but disappointed by its handling of the statement by Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, which reflected negatively on independent candidates by quoting an ANC official.

Mr Malan added: "The same day Chief Buthelezi said the independents signified hope but this was not carried."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Mandela call gets applause

The jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, should be freed, Mr Wynand Malan said to thunderous applause in the local high school hall last night.

He said Mandela had to be freed to be able to take part in negotiations.

Negotiations should be started with the ANC without preconditions about violence, he said. — Sapa.

(Report by H Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg).



Mr Malan speaking at last night's election meeting in Randburg.

Tide of disillusion irresistible — Eglin

The tide of disillusionment with the Government was becoming irresistible, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night.

Speaking in Honeydew at his first election campaign meeting in the Transvaal, Mr Eglin said that if the PFP, the New Republic Party and the independent candidates did well in the election, the scene would be set for "the biggest shake-up in South African politics in over 50 years".

He predicted that more votes than ever before would be cast for an apartheid-free South Africa.

Recent events, such as the resignations of Dr Wimpie de Klerk as editor of *Rapport* and Dr David de Villiers from the board of Nasionale Pers, showed the tide of disillusionment was irresistible.

"I see the agreement between the PFP and the NRP as the forerunner of a broader alliance of moderate South Africans which — sooner than anyone would have predicted — will replace the National Party as the Government of South Africa."

The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, had admitted the Government's theories were "on the rocks", Mr Eglin said.

"Now, after millions of rands of lost opportunity, lost markets, lost manpower, and after millions more spent on forced removals and homeland consolidation and uneconomic decentralisation schemes and non-viable 'independent states', the Minister of Finance (Mr Barend du Plessis) has the effrontery to say it would be 'unfair' and 'unjust' to vote on the basis of the present economic situation." — Sapa.

(Report by N Whitely, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand St, Cape Town)

Worrall sees a political regrouping

Political Correspondent

Independent candidate in Helderberg Dr Denis Worrall predicts that when he stands for re-election in the 1989 general election he will be a member of some political grouping.

Speaking to the Pretoria Press Club yesterday, Dr Worrall said the mould of existing party political structures had to be broken this election so that something new could emerge

He, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Esther Lategan believed they represented a groundswell of political opinion.

Their election and evidence of support across the country for their point of view would, he believed, influence Parliament and South African politics after May 6.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

IMAR 19/3/87
304A

Moderator's leadership 'lacking in government'

Religion Reporter

The Moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, is "providing leadership and direction that seems, at present, to be lacking in government", according to the writer of an article in the journal *Inside South Africa*.

The article concerns an interview with Professor Heyns, conducted at the watershed synod of the church in October last year, in which the professor said NGK dissident general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, would be welcomed back into his mother church.

Dr Naude, banned for several years, is a member of the black NGK in Afrika and was closely involved with the banned Christian Institute. This effectively cut his ties with the NGK although he has recently been involved in consultations between the SACC and the NGK. There has been no contact between the SACC and the NGK for many years.

Professor Heyns said in the interview that he had asked Dr Naude to remain in the mainstream of the church to promote debate within the church and encourage ecumenical relations.

Professor Heyns said of the Government's "slow-down" on reform: "I cannot really answer for them, except to say that the sooner we change this situation the better. We have a state of emergency, people are dying, people are being detained, there is conflict and deep continuing anger. These things cannot go on.

"There must be change. There must be an accelerated evolution."

Referring to remarks the church leader made overseas in January that there could be a clash between State and Church, he said the Church would "criticize the Government because it is contrary to Scripture — this apartheid is not logical, ethical or justifiable".

"We protested against the policy of migrant labour and it has ended. Such confrontation is the prophetic duty of the Church," he said.

Are Nats overplaying their ANC card?

19/3/87

The Government holds all the advantages in its main election tactic, writes David Braun, The Star's Political Correspondent. But there is doubt over its ability to exploit the opportunity. STAR

The May 6 general election, a leading public servant has been heard to observe privately, is in fact a semi-final. The real contest for who will govern South Africa will begin afterwards.

Perhaps this remark would explain why the National Party has made such a major issue out of the African National Congress in this election. Perhaps the Government, knowing it is going to come back to power with a solid majority (even if it is slightly reduced), is really already fighting the ultimate campaign.

That is one theory for why the ANC is featuring so prominently in ministerial speeches and on SABC's nightly television broadcasts.

'Dangerous game'

Another theory is that the Government is simply abusing the threat that the ANC represents to South African society to intimidate the white voters into voting for the National Party — the one party capable of withstanding the revolutionary onslaught (according to its propaganda).

In so doing, Government opponents say, the NP is playing a dangerous game. For short-term expediency, that is harvesting a big majority in the election, it is in fact building an image of the ANC into a situation in which it is "either us or them".

In the process the many groups in between, black, white and mixed, are losing status and relevance as factors in the determination of the future of the country.

For example, this election is not being fought on the basis of the relevancy of the Progressive Federal Party or Inkatha so much as on the threat of the ANC's revolutionary onslaught and outside interference.

It is a tactic in which the Government holds all the advantages — and not only because it alone can decide who, what, how and when statements of officers of the ANC can be quoted.

There is another significant hidden advantage in that the Government has in its possession detailed surveys of the white electorate which have found majority support (among whites) for the emergency regulations (including those affecting the media) and tough treatment of the ANC.

In other words, the Government's information is that there is not only no meaningful support for the ANC among white voters, but there is majority support for the continued banning of the organisation and its leaders.

There is also a very high level of anxiety about the unrest of the last two years (as also reflected in migration statistics).

This all adds up to fertile ground for vote harvesting if exploited in the right way.

The official Government line is that the white electorate must deliver solid backing for the National Party to demonstrate to the outside world and the revolutionary forces (particularly the ANC) that these are the people who represent the whites and these are the leaders and terms which will have to be reckoned with in any settlement of the country's future.

Opening Parliament at the end of January, when he announced the date of the election, the State President said the time had come when South Africans would have to choose sides.

Since then his Ministers have thumped the ANC-threat drum so loudly that Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville Mr Harry Schwarz, a hawk on security and certainly no fan of the ANC, has warned that the country's interests were being damaged.

Mr Schwarz branded particularly Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha as acting as a publicist for the ANC, saying the organisation could not have picked a better PRO for itself.



Adriaan Vlok . . . selective quotes.

He warned that the ANC was being built up in the minds of black South Africans as the only viable alternative to the South African Government.

In recent days the electorate has been bombarded with further Government propaganda on the ANC, most notably Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's selective quotation of Mr Alfred Nzo to support the claim the ANC wanted to sow division in the white community.

Another barrage has come from Mr Craig Williamson, the National Party candidate in Bryanston, who as a former spy for the Security Police has released details from his contacts to expose "Project Rose", an alleged ANC plot to disrupt the election on May 6.

Not even the right-wing parties were taken in by this effort which was, in the words of HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, nothing but an election stunt to frighten the voters into supporting the National Party.

The National Party may therefore be overplaying its ANC card in this election campaign.

Given that there is general fear of the ANC in the white electorate, there is no reason why voters are not asking themselves why it should be exclusively the National Party which is capable of dealing with the threat.

The right-wing parties say they would be tougher with the ANC and revolutionaries, those to the left of the Government, including the PFP, say it is the National Party's policies which have created the fertile ground for the flourishing of communist revolution and that this situation needs to be corrected by addressing legitimate grievances.

(Report by DM Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Political change is crucial to recovery

Finance Staff

Foreign banks and businesses will not make substantial investments in South Africa until a greater degree of stability returns to the country.

Their attitude is based on commercial realities and is seldom directly politically motivated, says Dr Henri de Villiers, chairman of Standard Bank Investment Corporation in the group's 1986 annual report.

"Nevertheless it indicates strongly that political change is crucial to real economic progress in South Africa and for the social and economic betterment of its people.

"There is an attendant risk of lapsing into an introspective mentality and a siege economy. This latter may lead to some immediate increase in business activity but in the longer term it will be to the profound detriment of economic development, the welfare of the people, and South Africa's relations with the world."

Dr de Villiers says that failing prompt and decisive political action, South Africa faces a future of violent deadlock between different racial and political groupings.

TRADE SURPLUS

Stanbic chief executive, Dr Conrad Strauss, writing in the same report, says that by most coventional economic criteria South Africa should now be capable of mounting a substantial recovery.

"These are not, however, normal times. The sizeable current account surpluses accumulated in 1985 and 1986 at the expense of domestic growth were largely soaked up by capital movements out of the country, mainly as a result of South Africa's external debt obligations."

Dr Strauss adds that monetary variables were under control mainly because of an unwillingness to incur debt for investment and consumption purposes which, in turn, arose from a loss of confidence and from foreign disinvestment in the wake of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed in the US Congress.

In addition, he says that inflation remained out of control, and against this background the Reserve Bank acted to stimulate the activity for most of 1986 by allowing a broadly-based decline in interest rates and free spending by treasury.

Dr Strauss says this produced an acceleration of activity by mid-year, but in the closing months of the year the recovery was shown to be "patchy and fickle" both in the real economy and in the banking industry.

Cape Times

THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1987

Mr Heunis and Cape Times

THE Cape Leader of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis, has dropped his stated plan to disclose details of a conversation with this newspaper's Acting Editor, Mr Gordon Kling.

His remarks (reported in this newspaper yesterday) will be seen as an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Cape Times to modify its critical stance against his candidature in the Helderberg election campaign. The Helderberg campaign is probably the key contest of the entire election and it is inevitable that Mr Heunis, as the National Party contender, and its chief constitutional architect, will be in the full glare of the critical spotlight in his fight against the independent Dr Denis Worrall. Mr Heunis might as well accept that the Cape Times is strongly opposed to his candidature and what it stands for — and that we will continue to say so with all the vigour at our command.

Mr Heunis, Dr Worrall and indeed all candidates are obviously entitled to fair play in news reporting, and to adequate, indeed generous, correction of material errors in reporting or headlining the election news. This newspaper is happy to give Mr Heunis the assurance of fair play in the forthcoming contest and, in the best traditions of the Cape Times, accepts that the Minister has been the victim of journalistic lapses in the past. It is nonsense to speak of a "vendetta" against him, however.

The Cape Times, having nothing to hide, does not perceive Mr Heunis's remarks as a threat. We are proud of our record of independent journalism and the standards we have striven to uphold in a century and more of daily publication.

Heunis was jocular

IN a statement yesterday the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said: "During the public meeting held in De Kuilen constituency last night I referred to the fact that Dr Worrall evidently wants to take revenge on me because he blames me for among other things not being appointed to the cabinet. The Cape Times today also reports that I said further that: 'I do not make appointments. I have to suffer the consequences of appointments.' This was said in a jocular manner and nothing more was intended but to say that I am also appointed and do not make the appointments."

Mr Heunis and the Cape Times

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday that he did not intend to proceed with his stated plan to disclose the substance of a conversation between himself and the acting Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Gordon Kling.

☐ See leader — Page 10.

CAPE TIMES 19/3/87 (304A) Ca

Chapel's 'distaste' at tactics of Heunis

Staff Reporter

THE Cape Times chapel of the Southern African Society of Journalists yesterday noted "with distaste the unacceptable tactics" of the Cape leader of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis, in attempting to intimidate the Cape Times politically.

The statement comes after Mr Heunis on Tuesday night accused the Cape Times of waging "a vendetta" against him and publicly threatened to disclose details of a discussion he had held with the deputy editor, Mr Gordon Kling.

Mr Heunis said the Cape Times had broken "undertakings" made to him and that he had told Mr Kling he would publish comments made by him on the ethical codes of his colleagues.

The SASJ statement challenged Mr Heunis to release "immediately his full transcript of the meeting between him and the deputy editor of the Cape Times, Mr Gordon Kling".

"His actions on Tuesday night smack of political blackmail — an unbecoming tactic for a Minister of the South African Cabinet. If Mr Heunis is not prepared to release his version, we can only assume his statements were malicious."

The statement concluded with a call for Mr Heunis to "unreservedly apologize to the Cape Times".

(Report by A Donaldson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

'CP regards HNP as a bigger enemy than NP'

From DOMINIQUE GILBERT

JOHANNESBURG. — With a traditional stoic resistance to interference in his "purist" beliefs, HNP leader Jaap Marais is prepared to go it alone in the election even if the risk of doing so holds an element of self-destruction for his party.

Marais, who told a press conference last week that co-operation and the possibility of unification with the CP had finally broken down, has accepted developments with a certain amount of relief.

"Perhaps its a good thing because it will lead to the purification of rightist politics," he announced.

On the question of whether the HNP had a long-term future, Marais believes the HNP will "never be destroyed". He believes it may win fewer seats than possible, but will poll a significant number of votes.

He claims whole CP branches in Primrose and Vryheid as well as senior CP officials have resigned to join the HNP because of its purist stand.

The HNP had tried to thrash out age-old policy differences with the CP on numerous occasions after the parties agreed to consider an electoral pact.

Marais, who staunchly believes unification cannot occur unless policy differences are resolved, said the two parties still fundamentally differed on the question of official language, the future of Indians, and the fact that the CP initially supported former Prime Minister B J Vorster's 1977 acceptance of the principle of the tricameral parliament.

Marais does not trust the CP and now believes he has been misled and betrayed by the CP which intended that talk of the proposed pact should allow the CP to get ahead in the election.

Referring to the "idiotic situation" between the CP and the HNP, Marais said: "If we can't work together in an election like now, then I don't think there's any chance we'll be able to work together in the future.

"Clearly it's a setback but the CP regards the HNP as a bigger enemy than the NP.



Mr Jaap Marais

"We now only have to fight to the left. The CP is in the difficult position that it has to fight left and right. The CP is not the only right party nor is it the real right party.

"What is important to us is that with this growing instability in South Africa's politics and the flexibility which has crept in, there is a general sigh of relief for the true durability of the HNP which has stuck with its policies."

There was little or no chance of the CP ever achieving the same durability, Marais maintained.

For that matter, Marais is again breaking the temporary links the HNP forged with the AWB because he believes AWB policies clash fundamentally with those of the HNP.

The alleged squabbling over leadership between Marais and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was overrated, Marais said, adding that at one stage he would have stood back for Treurnicht "if he proved himself on merits".

"I've always said a leader does not come riding in on a horse on a Sunday morning. He shows and declares himself in the struggle," Marais said.

STAR 19/3/82
3048

Dismay at white May 6

Religion Reporter

The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference has expressed its dismay that an election can still be held in which "only whites will vote for what is supposed to be the effective law-making parliament of the nation".

It said participation on May 6 meant choosing the lesser of two evils.

(Report by C le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

TV coverage 'fair' — Eksteen

The SABC's director-general, Mr Riaan Eksteen, told the PFP at a meeting yesterday he believed the SABC is giving "well-balanced" coverage of the election.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, and the party's media spokesman Mr Dave Dalling yesterday met senior SABC staff to discuss the alleged bias of the SABC.

In a statement released last night Mr Eksteen said he had noted the PFP's standpoint on equal time for all political parties contesting the election.

He said the SABC would "continue to inform the public comprehensively on the policies of the different parties".

(Report by S Pleming, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

STAR 19/3/87

Eugene steps in to patch the Right split

By PATRICK LAURENCE

CONSERVATIVE Party leaders were closeted in Pretoria yesterday considering yet another proposal from AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche to unite squabbling ultra-rightists before nomination day next Wednesday.

After the collapse last week of his earlier attempt to persaude CP and the smaller Herstigte Nasionale Party to agree to an election pact, Terre'Blanche offered to mediate between the feuding parties with the aid of three notables in rightist Afrikaner circles. His latest bid has been given additional impetus by growing dissatisfaction among rank-and-file ultra-rightists over the inability of their leaders to agree

There is little doubt that the pressures of the leaders of both parties to end their bickering and to form a united front against the ruling National Party are strong, perhaps even irresistable.

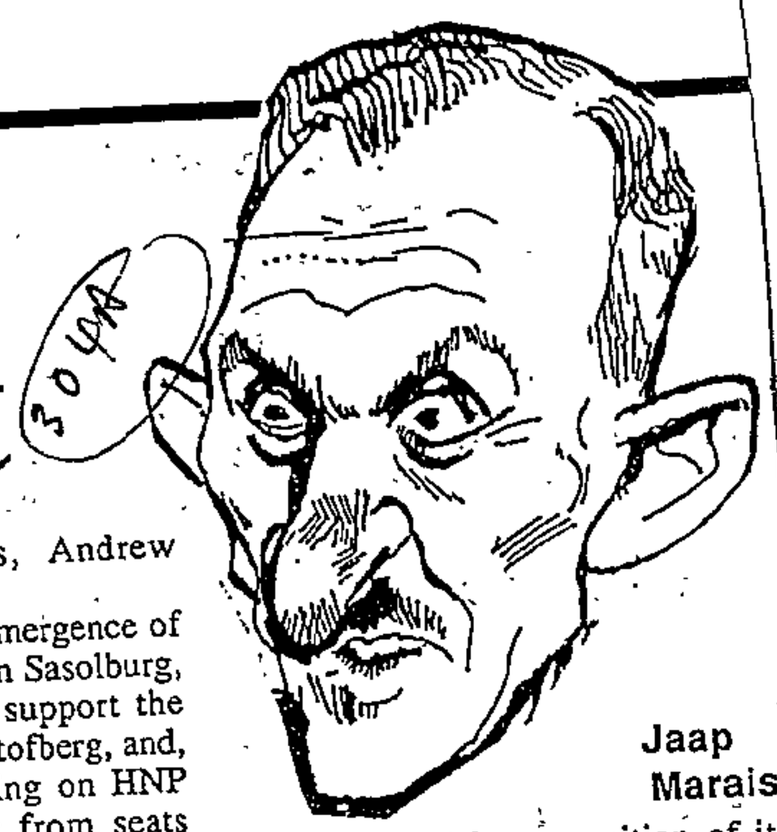
Evidence of the rank-and-file ire in the past week included a threat by former heavyweight wrestler Manie Maritz to break up meetings of both parties unless they agreed to field only one ultra-rightist candidate against the NP in Brits and public acceptance of the AWB unity proposals by CP frontbencher Tom Langley and the CP candidate in Brits, Andrew Gerber.

Another sign was the emergence of a band of CP dissidents in Sasolburg, pledging themselves to support the sitting HNP MP, Louis Stofberg, and, as a quid pro quo, calling on HNP candidates to withdraw from seats held by the CP.

HNP leader Jaap Marais gave momentum to the chances of an eleventh hour pact by agreeing — at a meeting at Pretoria University — to an allocation of seats that would give the lion's share to the CP.

That, he said, would recognise the "quantitative" superiority of the CP. But, he added, the HNP should be given 12 seats in recognition of its "qualitative" contribution to the struggle against the NP.

A unilateral CP response to the AWB's latest proposals is unlikely because one the conditions stipulated by Terre'Blanche when he offered his services as a mediator was that neither party should make statements to the press.



Jaap Marais

Take spin with the NP

30 YA W|Mail

By JEAN LE MAY in Cape Town

IF YOU'RE on the voters' roll, you could soon find in your postbox a seven-single record in a wraparound cover bearing the message: "Listen to the voice of peace."

Don't be put off, when you open the cover, to find yourself looking at a dramatic picture of South Africa's wonder weapon, the 155mm G6 field gun, barrel dramatically lofted towards a caption reading: "Our plan for peace."

What you will have in your hands is a copy of President PW Botha's new seven-single which the NP is distributing to 400 000 "selected" voters.

The record, produced by advertising agent Pierre de Villiers of P de V Promotions, replaces the usual personal message sent by the president to voters in times of stress, such as a whites-only election.

It is costing the NP R1,30 a time, which adds up to R520 000. The package includes colour pictures of Botha and the four provincial leaders of the NP, and the three-minute message in both official languages includes such gems as "we live in a time of great change. Discriminatory practices belong to the past." And "in order to share peace, you must share power. Yes, share power. But without surrender. A big indaba is necessary for this reform process."

Happy listening.

20-26/3/87 ....

(30 QA) W|M|A1|:20 26.3.87

How Margaret Fourie plans to tackle Pik and Rooi Rus in the elections ...



Margaret Fourie ... Methodist preacher and gay-rights evangelist Picture: ERIC MILLER, AFP

The gay-rights candidate

Pik Botha isn't taking his PFP rival seriously. That's because she's doing something unprecedented in election history: standing on a gay-rights ticket. CHARLOTTE BAUER reports

MARGARET FOURIE is either naive or brave. Whichever, she is doing something no political candidate has done before in this country: she is making the gay rights issue an election issue.

And if that alone is not a thorny enough thought, consider what — or rather, who — she is up against in the consituency of Westdene: Pik Botha (NP) and Brigadier TJ "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel (CP).

Margaret Fourie, Methodist preacher, marketing specialist for Nedbank, novice politician and PFP ticket holder, probably knows she is on a sticky wicket without a bat, but she's not going to let that deter her from having a crack at parliament.

Pik Botha has sat so long in the Westdene seat he's practically welded to it. The thought that he could be jemmied off it by a woman who not only wants blacks to get the vote but also wants to de-criminalise homosexuality is an interesting one, albeit not very probable.

Not so, says Fourie with all the stamina of the girl-guide leader she once was.

"I am a novice up against two heavyweights, but they don't overawe me at all. I'm not easily scared."

She volunteers the information that "Pik doesn't take me seriously of course," but suggests that "he should" as the PFP's Scrap the Population and Registration Act ticket is the only "open-ended, common sense" approach in the entire election. "In a post-apartheid society our leaders may not be *the* leaders, but at least the country will be saved."

And then the whiff of individual rights and freedom will not stop at Soweto but will waft right through the "Chelseafied" homes of the Westdene gay community too.

Fourie's constituency is both blue and white collar, probably favouring blue, which stretches out to include Linden, Roosevelt Park, a piece of Northcliff and Albertskroon, among others. The gay population, mostly in Westdene itself, is estimated to be in the region of 2 500.

According to David Moolman, managing editor of the politicised gay newspaper *Exit*, Westdene is not a key gay constituency (unlike Yeoville, Berea or Sea Point), but it's "almost there".

For Moolman, whose paper is lobbying hard for gay rights to be treated seriously in this election, Margaret Fourie's stand is just the start.

Urging readers to go to all political meetings in their constituencies and ask "gay questions", Moolman has also written to every candidate demanding a clear legal and moral position on gay rights.

But what are the chances of the gay question being seriously considered now? It never has been; also in this election, the politics of race have surely knocked all other contenders out of the ring of public interest?

Moolman, however, thinks that it is because of this confusion and uncertainty that candidates will be forced to concern themselves with the strength of other issues.

"Never before has there been so much fluidity in an election and there are prime constituencies we should concentrate on where it may well count. This is too valuable an opportunity not to take full advantage of."

He thinks Margaret Fourie stands "a good chance" of getting into parliament — especially if she exploits the gay vote.

Fourie, who, following her father's footsteps, has been a Methodist preacher for 20 years, ministers to the gay Christian community in Hillbrow every Sunday afternoon.

It is through this work that Fourie, who is not gay herself, became involved with the politics of gay issues, the most burning one being the constitutionalised discrimination that says that sexual intercourse between two men is criminal. The law does not apply to gay women but only because the law doesn't accept the concept of "intercourse" between women and therefore discounts it as a criminal offence.

"The fact that someone is gay should not be either a plus or minus against them," she says.

The gay rights aspect of her campaign is part of her broader platform of individual rights, a point Fourie comes back to again and again — the prototypical liberal argument for the right of free association and "the right to be yourself so long as it doesn't diminish anyone else's right".

Margaret Fourie is very worried that through repression and oppression "there is no-one left on the individual's side anymore — except the angels." She adds with upswept arms and eyes "Thank God for the angels."

THE ROSEMARY SHOP

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CHLOE SHIRT WAISTERS

Playing Rio roulette

The Botha government is under attack from the independents for putting repression ahead of reform. But repression and reform are opposite sides of a single strategy, borrowed from the Brazilian model. MARK SWILLING reports



AS THE white election gets closer and parties, groups and independents assemble their various electoral programmes, attention will focus increasingly on the reform credentials of the Botha government

In particular, a key issue will be the relationship between its reformist and repressive action What logic lies behind the iron insistence that for reform to take place harsh repressive measures must be enforced by Emergency regulations?

The answer to this question lies in the theories of revolution and reform held by key ideologues in the security establishment. During the late Seventies and early Eighties, when officials searched for strategies to resolve the nation's festering crises, America's most formidable conservative political scientist, Samuel Huntingdon's 1981 talk to the Political Science Association of South Africa became a manual for government reformers

Huntingdon argued that if a government in a multi-cultural society wanted to embark on a "unilateral reform" programme, ie "reform by imposition from above", they would need to accomplish five things

●Lower expectations: this involves introducing changes without making grand promises that piecemeal reforms cannot meet;

●Utilisation of a "Fabian strategy": quoting President Geisel of Brazil on how the reform process should be "slow, gradual and sure" this amounts to coupling careful steady reform of one problem at a time and "blitzkrieg tactics" when introducing changes so that the opposition has no time to organise;

●Reform from a position of strength: once again using Brazil as an example, this involves introducing reforms before they are demanded by opposition groups - a tactic which prevents the opposition from claiming credit for "winning" concessions;

Huntingdon argued that the government had failed to follow his game-plan — a view with which Denis Worrall agrees

●Maintenance of law and order: reform is inevitably accompanied by revolutionary, spontaneous and reactionary violence which needs to be kept to a minimum; and

●Expanded support base: for reform to succeed the state needs to weld a range of constituencies into a reform coalition. In the South African case this includes big business, Indian and coloured communities, moderate Africans, verligte Afrikaners and sections of the state apparatus.

This model has been most successfully used in Brazil where the military took control in 1964 and only returned real political power to civilian government in 1986.

In the interim a highly effective reform programme was implemented from above that transformed and modernised the existing economic and political institutions without dismantling the capitalist system.

More significantly, during most of the period of military rule in Brazil, the military was careful not to dismantle the public institutions of civil government. These were kept largely intact in order to maintain the illusion of democratic government.

It is this model that Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and other key South African ideologues refer to as the "Brazilian option". It is appealing because it endows the security establishment with the omniscient capacity to know in advance what is in the best interests of society (capitalism and reform, not revolution and socialism), gives it the power to implement reforms without the constraints of public scrutiny, and leaves all the major institutions of democratic government apparently intact for all the world's foreign investors to see

It was this conception of repressive reform that led to the establishment of the National Security Management System (revealed last year by WM). This amounts to a dual state, one with all the trappings of democratic government (at least for whites, coloureds and Indians) and the other a quasi-military structure capable of co-ordinating and rationalising state action to meet the challenge of governing in revolutionary conditions.

In a recent article in *Die Suid-Afrikaan* Huntingdon argued that the SA government's mistake was that it failed to follow the game-plan he outlined - a view with which Denis Worrall agrees and which led to his decision to oppose the government in the election.

Although "unilateral reform" has not taken place at the national level in accordance with the Huntingdon game-plan, it has nevertheless become increasingly effective at the local level. The complex web of hundreds of local and regional Joint Management Centres (JMC) that comprise the National Security Management System have become increasingly effective counter-revolutionary organs since early 1985

This success at the local level is largely because the security forces - the most active agents in the JMCs - are more adept at managing the ideological manipulation of local communities than they are at controlling more volatile national trends.

The latest direct evidence we have of this is the role played by the local "mini-JMC" in spearheading the battle for the hearts and minds of Alexandra with a R92-million upgrading scheme.

However, this battle is taking place throughout the country and has distinct repressive and reformist components.

The repressive measures include:

●Press restrictions which effectively eliminate the most important link between the township movements and the South African public - a link that was becoming increasingly important in forcing whites to re-think their support for the government and helped publicise the alternative structures of self-government that community organisations established in the townships;

●Mass detentions of, according to DPSC estimates, more than 50 000 people since early 1985 for their political activities (including public violence charges),

●The activation of the National Security Management System and the "mini-JMCs" in particular in response to a perceived intensification of the "revolutionary onslaught";

●The use of various extra-legal means to eliminate opposition. Vigilantes have been active in East London, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cape Town, Tembisa (Kempton Park), Soweto, Alexandra, the Vaal and Natal townships, and various smaller Eastern Transvaal and Eastern Cape townships;

●The forced removal of some of the most militant symbolic strongholds of opposition: Crossroads, Langa (Uitenhage), Duncan Village (East London), and Oukasie (Brits). Evictions of militant rent boycotters in Sharpeville, Soweto and Port Elizabeth also fall into this category, and

●Army occupation of the public spaces previously used by communities to organise (eg stadiums) and the use of barbed wire to carve up townships into discreet units thus disrupting the unity forged by street and area committees.

In short, we have here a highly organised, well co-ordinated repressive onslaught which is making an impact on the extra-state opposition.

As for the reformist concessions, these include:

●Upgrading: key target areas have been marked for special attention because of their symbolic national and international meaning. Some of them are Duncan Village, Alexandra, various townships in Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage, and Cape Town The rationale is that the state has insufficient resources to upgrade all areas immediately, but if islands of neglect can be upgraded, over time these will coalesce into major bulwarks of satisfied urban dwellers.

●Local government reform: in 1982 Piet Koornhof introduced the Black Local Authorities Act by arguing that if black townships want self-government, they must also be self-financing and promptly recommended the withdrawal of certain state subsidies to townships.

So, in order to upgrade township conditions to bolster their meagre support-bases, the councillors were forced to increase rent and service charges to raise revenue - a move which effectively triggered the nation-wide township revolts of 1984 to 1986.

Now, Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis is introducing the Regional Services Council Act by arguing that townships cannot be expected to pay for themselves. The R800-million that will be raised from taxes on business for these new structures must be spent largely on upgrading infrastructure in the townships, his officials claim

One of them admitted in 1985 "If we had given the black local authorities resources of magnitude in the first place, we would not have had so much of the current unrest"

●Legitimisation of state structures: this involves widespread propaganda on radio, TV and in pamphlets convincing people to pay rent and support the security forces; extensive material and media support for "moderates", and the purging of corrupt black officials and their replacement with white ones who have no links with the lines of patronage that inevitably influence political alliances in poor communities.

In effect, upgrading, more financial resources for local government and the removal of corrupt councillors were all demands made during the early 1980s by the emergent community organsations The state, however, wants no credit to go to these organisations which can no longer operate openly to pose alternatives and represent the interests of communities

The reformist concessions are just as important as the repressive meaures although less effective in the short term The time lag between the announcement of concessions and their effect on the communities leads to rising expectations which, for those who subscribe to the conservative explanation of revolution espoused by Huntingdon, can fuel revolutions.

Reformist concessions, therefore, must be coupled to harsh repression in order forcibly to lower expectations that revolutionaries tend to exploit. This delicate balance between what security officials call "good government" and "law and order" is handled by the JMCs at various levels.

Combining single issue concessions with "blitzkrieg" tactics, the balance has been struck with deadly accuracy

Key black areas are marked for upgrading in the belief that these may coalesce into bulwarks of satisfied urban dwellers

in various localities (eg the removal of Langa).

The question all this raises is whether it can work in the long-term. It seems unlikely at this stage for two reasons.

Firstly, the mass-based black political organisations are too deeply rooted in the communities to be eradicated so simply. These organisations have consistently articulated popular demands for better urban services and full political rights.

No matter how the state goes about creating "good government", as long as the majority cannot vote for representatives in central government, this is bound to fail. White states simply cannot create good government amongst oppressed blacks.

Secondly, expensive upgrading projects are all very well, but who is going to pay for them? It is part of the government's orderly urbanisation policy to force the poorer sections of the urban population out into informal settlements and site and service schemes located on the metropolitan peripheries (eg Ekangala near Bronkhorstspruit).

The inner townships near the white areas will be reserved for the better-off skilled workers and aspirant bourgeoisie. Upgrading is one way of achieving this dual task of inclusion and exclusion: the better off will be able to afford high bonds for private housing and expensive rates for proper urban services.

The poor can be forced to move out. However, this process of exclusion is bound to be resisted. If last year's "White City War" and spreading rent boycotts are anything to go by, exclusion could become an extremely bloody process.

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APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

Today is the 282nd day of the current State of Emergency. On February 12 the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, released the names of 3 857 detainees who had been held under the Emergency regulations for 30 days or more. This brings to 13 194 the total number of names released by the government.

The Detainees Parents' Support Committee said in their latest report on the Emergency they are aware of "several detainees who were held for 30 days or more earlier in the Emergency and have been redetained and once again held for 30 days or more". The DPSC said the figure of 13 194 excludes all detainees who have been held for less than 30 days, several mass detentions and those detained since February 12.

The DPSC estimates that at least 25 000 people have been detained under the Emergency regulations so far. This figure does not include those detained under the Internal Security Act or under the security legislation of the "independent homelands" since the start of the Emergency.

UNREST DEATHS

According to figures released in parliament by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, 304 people were killed in unrest-related incidents between July 1986 and January 1987. Of these, 69 were killed by security forces and 22 by municipal officers. Twelve members of the security forces were killed. Vlok said most of the other deaths were caused by "radicals". According to Vlok, there were 21 unrest deaths in October, 25 in November, 41 in December, 34 in January and 16 in February. The South African Institute of Race Relations said that at least 39 people died in political violence in February, but stressed that the real number of deaths could be higher, because of the difficulties in gathering such data.

DEATHS IN POLICE CUSTODY

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said in parliament that 83 people died in police custody last year. He said that "in not one of the 43 instances finalised have the presiding officers in their findings laid blame on the South African Police". Vlok said 27 died of natural causes, 12 committed suicide, three died as a result of shooting wounds when they tried to escape, one was stabbed by fellow prisoners and the inquests into the deaths of the remaining 40 have not yet been finalised.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

According to figures released in parliament, 342 people were granted full religious objector status (category 3) by the Board for Religious Objection. Two hundred twenty-seven were Jehovah's Witnesses and 115 belonged to other denominations. In 1985 the figure was 266 and in 1984 it was 155.

Between the beginning of 1984 and August 1986 a total of 1 059 people had applied to the Board for religious objector status. One hundred twenty-three of these applications were subsequently withdrawn. By September 1986, 16 applications had been refused by the board, either because the applicants' religious views did not conform with the board's criteria or because the applications were believed to be politically motivated. One of the 16 applicants refused, Philip Wilkinson, a practising Catholic who spent five months in detention under the Emergency regulations, is being tried for failing to report for military service. Wilkinson, who has completed his national service and three camps, will appear in court on March 26. He could face more than two years in prison.

Prior to 1983, when the Defence Act was amended to allow for religious objection, 13 people who fell outside of the established "peace churches" had been charged with failing to report.

BORDER TOLL

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in parliament that in 1986, 761 people were killed or injured by the SA Defence Force in the operational area. He said 645 of these people were "terrorists". He did not reveal any details about the other 116.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

SUE LUND, 23, Grahamstown Rural Committee fieldworker, was detained under the Emergency regulations on November 22 last year.

Lund joined the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) at Rhodes University seven years ago, later serving as chairperson of the local committee and a member of the national council. After completing an honours degree in sociology she worked as a tutor for Rhodes University and for the Grahamstown Voice community newspaper. She represented the Grahamstown Democratic Action Committee, which she helped to establish, on the United Democratic Front regional general council and the UDF Grahamstown area committee. She also served as Grahamstown publicity secretary for the End Conscription Campaign in 1985 and was a member of the Black Sash.

She was detained under the previous Emergency regulations and held for two weeks in solitary confinement. Over the past four years she has been the victim of several attacks on her home, person and motor car, allegedly by rightwing assailants. She was detained on November 22 while attending a meeting of residents from Thornhill resettlement camp in the Ciskei and is currently being held in Northend Prison in Port Elizabeth.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for Possession: Blanke Werker — Jou Toekoms Le Uitsluitelik in a Ware Demokrasie — pamphlet (South African Communist Party); Unity Is Our Main Weapon of Struggle (ANC Lusaka, Zambia); Workers' Unity No 62 1986 (Sactu); Change Is Pain — casette (Mzwakhe); Marxism Today — December 1986 (Communist Party, London); Revolutionary Internationalist, Issue No 3 Sept/Oct 1986 (not stated); The Burning Spear Vol 13 No 4, July 1986 (African People's Socialist Party, Oakland); Militant, Issue No 318, 10 October 1986 (Militant Publications, London); Women and Revolution, No 31, Spring 1986 (Spartacist Publishing Co, New York)

Banned for distribution and importation: New Nation Vol 2, No 7, Feb 19-25 1987, and New Nation Vol 2 No 6, February 12-18 1987 (New Nation, Johannesburg); Socialism: One party and multi-party systems (F Petrenko); The World of Young Pioneers (Progress Publishers, Moscow); Zuidelijk Afrika Nieuws No 142 (Anti-Apartheid Beweging, Nederland, Amsterdam); Nicole in Captivity (Morgan St Michel); Christina's Promise (Blakely St James); Once a boy with a big ... met a girl with a little ... In a ... and the ... jumped in and saved them. Moral: Wherever you find a wet ... you will find a tired ... — display card (Erotix, USA).

Unbanned: Lenin: Collected Works, Vol 1-3, 5-24, 27-45 (Progress Publishers — provided they are only distributed by university libraries and institutes, government departments, technikon libraries and [illegible] (Addison).

BUILDING MIDLANDS - Page 22

	MAIN	COLA	COLA	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND
	11/75	5/77	5/78	11/78	5/79	11/79	5/80	11/80	5/81	11/81	10/82	2/83	4/83	10/83
Join Assemblers														
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	83.85	94.17	94.17
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	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND	INCR	AMND
	4/84	10/84	4/85	3/87						
	100.62	105.35	110.08	110.08						
	61.96	60.97	57.33	43.30						
	43	43	43	43						

Carl Times 20/3/87

304A

UDF urges whites to stay

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front denounced the pending whites-only parliamentary elections yesterday and urged whites who intended to emigrate not to leave the country.

"Hope lies in the coming together of all South Africans, black and white, to forge a non-racial and united country," the two-million-member movement said in a statement.

And in a separate criticism, the SA Council of Catholic Laity (SACCL) said in a statement in Pretoria that the election on May 6 would solve none of SA's problems and was "little more than an exercise in futility".

The SACCL, made up of 26 officially affiliated organizations and the mouthpiece of the majority of lay Catholics in South Africa, was endorsing a similar statement earlier this week by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The SACCL said the election would perpetuate apartheid, but recommended an anti-government vote over abstention.

"The present government can only claim to represent roughly 20 percent of the members of our church and a mere minority of the peoples of South Africa as a whole.

"The white minority government is a morally illegitimate government," the organization said.

It urged whites to vote only "on the basis of an informed conscience" and tagged opposition movements outside Parliament as the nation's only non-racial political forums.

Denouncing the election as a "time-wasting blockade of the real challenges", the UDF statement said the "only solution for South Africa lies in one-person, one-vote".

"We believe that whites who are thinking of emigration should stay and contribute to the creation of democratic decision-making processes," the statement said.

Last year nearly 13 000 South Africans, most of them whites, emigrated. Some 40% were professionals.

In a document entitled "The UDF Position on White Only Elections", the UDF said that as long as most South Africans were excluded "there will continue to be conflict".

The Nationalists and other political parties taking part in the elections had no long-term visions for a peaceful and productive South Africa.

"Hope lies in the coming together of all South Africans, black and white, to forge a non-racial and united country," the statement said.

"The majority of South Africans are committed to a non-racial, democratic and unitary country.

"We hope that this election period will be a time when all South Africans consider their options.

"We call on whites to contribute to end racism and minority domination," the UDF statement concluded.

(Report by K Jacobs, UPI, Johannesburg, and M Erwine, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg.)

SABC axes rebel Nat prof

CAPE TIMES 20/3/87 260 30CA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned recently from the National Party in support of Dr Denis Worrall, has been axed as vice-chairman of the SABC board.

He was replaced by a staunch NP loyalist, who Stellenbosch academics last night described as a close friend of Mr Chris Heunis, Dr Worrall's opponent in Helderberg.

In another political bombshell, Professor Willie Esterhuyse, head of Philosophy Department at Stellenbosch, yesterday resigned from the NP in support of local independent Dr Esther Lategan. Prof Esterhuyse said his conscience no longer allowed him to remain a member of the ruling party.

The Minister responsible for the SABC, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, announced yesterday that the dean of the Engineering Faculty at Stellenbosch, Professor Christo Viljoen, had been appointed the new vice-chairman.

Mr Schlebusch said in a statement that government "again looked at the composition of the Board" and "an important norm was adopted that members of the SABC Board should not be visibly active in the political field".

A number of Stellenbosch academics last night described Prof Viljoen as "one of the most hard-line Nats on campus", "a Broederbonder" and a "close friend" of Mr Heunis, Dr Worrall's opponent in the Helderberg constituency.

The Stellenbosch campus newspaper, Die Matie, reported in a front page story yesterday that Prof Viljoen led a meeting for specially invited Nationalists — including President P W Botha — in Stellenbosch last week.

It is not clear at this stage whether Prof Viljoen's active involvement in a party political meeting at the height of an election campaign will automatically disqualify him from his new post given the new SABC "norm" regarding political involvement announced by Mr Schlebusch.

Prof Terreblanche's axing was not altogether unexpected following several acrimonious exchanges between the leading Matie thinker with Mr Heunis and President P W Botha in recent months.

Approached for comment last night on why he felt he had been dropped from the SABC board after 15 years of unbroken service — five as vice-chairman — Prof Terreblanche said: "I suppose it must be because of this 'new norm'".

Asked for his interpretation of what the 'new norm' meant, he responded: "It's a very small fig-leaf."

Asked if he was disappointed by the move, he said: "Not really, but I am disappointed that the minister did not notify me personally that my services were no longer required."

"They could have been more subtle and not mentioned the new norm," said one senior academic. "But to replace Terreblanche with Viljoen makes a mockery of it all. He is as politically active as Terreblanche, if not more so."

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

The SABC board

THE new SABC board is: Dr B G Fourie (chairman); Prof H C Viljoen (vice-chairman) Dean of the engineering faculty at Stellenbosch University; Mrs M S Ackerman (Mimi Coertze); Mr L Gordon Hughes, chairman of the Sugar Cane Grower's Association in Natal; Dr R N Gugushe, of Vista University; Dr R Hemraj, of the department of education at Durban-Westville; Dr V E Hesse, urologist, well known in art circles; Mr C K Hickling, businessman and ex-mayor of Bloemfontein; Mr P W Jacobs, of the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives; Mr N V Nossel, chairman and managing director of Adcock Ingram, also well known in art circles; Prof H van der M Scholtz, linguist from Cape Town; Mr H J (Henkie) Schwartz, managing director of the Bushmanland group of companies and a well known farmer; Mr H A Sloet, managing director of Saambou-Nasionaal and chairman of the FAK; Mr J H Taylor, managing director of the South African Housing Trust; and Maj-Gen J A (Koos) van Zyl, former Chaplain-General of the SADF.

than government interference

YOUR new-found enthusiasm for the Department of Education and Training astounds me!

Okay, so the new cash-in colleges springing up in response to apartheid education aren't all that hot — yet. But given time, the naturally increasing sophistication of the scholars will, by word of mouth, start weeding out the worst ones.

Appropriate standards will then, naturally, emerge.

But having the DET impose standards will be a disaster, however well-intentioned they might be.

Higher standards require better teachers and facilities, and this will push up the colleges' costs. The poorest scholars will no longer be able to afford this education.

The best form of regulation is by the scholars (and parents) themselves, the people who are in a position to go to colleges which provide value for money, and away from those which don't.

This is the only way "people's education" will come about — if people who undergo education are in a position to cast their vote on it, and ultimately sanction colleges with their fees or not.

Left to their own devices, cash-in colleges will then provide the best of both worlds; a more expensive, high-quality education as well as a less expensive, low-quality one. That way the poorest get at least some education, whereas regulation would limit it to the better-off in society.

What would make a positive contribution here is an objective system of grading colleges. Those that applied would be given stars, much like hotels. That way, no student with scant knowledge of the colleges need take a chance with his or her money.

The last thing needed in black education now is more government interference. Say "no" to the DET and "yes" to people's regulation. — **Phillip McGuire, Wits University.**

LAST year I was introduced to the *Weekly Mail* by a friend, and found it a most interesting newspaper. However, after reading some of the articles by "Thomas Equinus", especially the one on Feb 20 — which I can describe only as blasphemous balderdash — I have decided to cease buying your paper. A paper that can countenance such writing is not worth much, in my opinion. — **MB Chapman, Rosebank.**

THE emergence of the "New Nats" is significant in that it reveals an important division within the ranks of this country's rulers. The fact that these people have chosen to fight outside the party rather than from within contributes to the breakdown of National Party hegemony among Afrikaans-speaking whites, broadening the political horizons of "*verligte*" Nats.

However, the euphoria generated by the PFP and the daily press over the "independent" candidates for the May 6 white election is somewhat misplaced. This euphoric view holds that the "New Nats" herald the end of NP rule, bringing hope for the realisation of the PFP's (altogether naive, I believe) proposition that they can create an alternative government within the framework of tri-cameral parliamentary politics.

It is understandable that if one is clutching at straws within the tri-cameral framework, the "New Nats" are perhaps your best hope. By looking a little closer at these "New Nats", however, one will see the limitations of such hope.

The "New Nats", insofar as one may generalise about them, represent a coalition of elements who were alarmed at the conscious decision of the government to suspend its reform programme in June 1986, when the State of Emergency was declared. They have taken a campaign to revive the government's reform programme into the general election.

Indeed, their most articulate representative, Dr Denis Worrall, was one of the chief architects of the tri-cameral parliament. The "New Nats" have made it abundantly clear they do not subscribe to the PFP's plan to replace the government — they simply seek to give it a different mandate, i.e. to proceed with the tri-cameral reform programme.

The independents' manifesto states clearly their support for the basic features of the government's programme at present — viz the State of Emergency and exclusion of the "extreme Left" (read ANC and UDF) from the political equation. The "New Nats'" stated election strategy is simply to show the NP leadership there is still public support for the NP's own (temporarily shelved) reform programme. Here, of course, lies the problem.

The government's reform programme is fatally flawed, not only in content but in form. The continuing township revolt has made it abundantly clear that black South Africans are not calling for a "new deal" from PW Botha — they are fighting for their basic human right to determine, as the majority of its citizens, the future of their country.

Placing one's hope in the resurrection of the government's reform programme is to pretend that the last three years were simply a bad dream. Such dreams will unfortunately cost hundreds of lives, black and white.

If we are to use the election to hasten the end of apartheid, let us boldly put forward the basic demands of the black majority. Let us remind the electorate of the fact that the election occurs amid the systematic denial of human rights through the State of Emergency, and of the shadowy National Security Management system whose sinister operations make the outcome of the election that much more irrelevant. — **Steven Katz, Troben Heights, Camp's Bay, Cape Town.**

THERE is a serious error in Auret van Heerden's recent analysis of what happens when people buy already-existing shares in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

He gives the impression that when cash which could be going into new physical plant (increasing national output and creating new jobs) is instead spent on buying existing shares, this money is somehow "lost", particularly to new investment.

Those who deal in the stock exchange are seen to be indulging in a sort of merry-go-round that swallows money but produces nothing. If only people were prevented from investing in existing shares, he seems to be saying, then new investment would proceed apace — bringing jobs and prosperity.

What he seems to have overlooked, however, is that for everyone who trades cash for shares (buys), there is necessarily someone else who trades these same shares for that same cash (sells).

The amount of money in circulation is thus unchanged by a purchase (and sale) of existing shares. No money is "lost", and specifically the amount of money available for new investment is unchanged.

It then follows that trade with the JSE has no effect whatsoever on new investment in the short-term. In the longer term it actually has a beneficial effect, for if people are able to sell all or part of going concerns, they are far more likely to make investment in new industry in the first place. — **Brian Nicklethwaite, Highlands North, Johannesburg.**

● **Letters should be addressed to WEEKLY MAIL LETTERS, Box 260425, Excom 2023. All letters must be signed and addressed in full, including those written under a pseudonym. Shorter letters will be given preference. We reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.**

W/M91
20-26/3/87

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ARGUS 20/3/87

New Matie protest by students over race legislation

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

IN a new political protest at the University of Stellenbosch, a committee of law students has rejected the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and other "discriminatory" measures.

The decision was taken unanimously by the executive committee of the university's juridical association, which represents about 800 law students.

The committee has also called for the development of "an alternative constitutional dispensation" in which all South Africans could participate on an equal basis, and for the lifting of emergency regulations and the release of political detainees.

In a statement today, the committee said it endorsed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 as a basis for the testing right of the courts.

DISCRIMINATION

The committee rejected the Population Registration Act of 1950 on the grounds that any differentiation between South Africans on the basis of race or colour could play no valid role in a country striving for "equality before the law".

The statement continued:

"We, therefore, find it necessary — purely from a legal point of view — to reject all discriminating provisions based on race or colour as they appear in the following legislation:

- The Group Areas Act of 1966;
- The Separate Amenities Act of 1953;
- All legislation that has anything to do with the creation and promotion of the so-called homelands system of South Africa; and,
- All other legislation with similar provisions."

NORMALISE

To accomplish "equality before the law", an alternative constitutional dispensation would have to be developed in which all South Africans could participate on an equal basis.

The statement concluded: "We honestly hope that such a dispensation would lead to the normalising of the South African community, that all emergency regulations would be lifted and that all political detainees would be freed."

3044 East 20/3/84

Dr Worrall should have been fired - Pik Botha

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told a meeting of about 800 people in Jeppe last night that when he spoke by telephone to Dr Denis Worrall in London, he had agreed to accept his resignation although "I believe he should have been fired".

(News by Ken Daniels 626 Mutual Building Harrison Street, Johannesburg).

● JOHANNESBURG — On the SABC-TV *Network* programme last night, Randburg independent candidate Mr Wynand Malan said he saw his candidacy as a move to focus the "new spirit that is prevalent" in a movement aimed at the election scheduled for 1989.

● The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the NP had made drastic reforms outside as well as inside the constitutional process and wanted a mandate to negotiate "the ultimate reform — power sharing with blacks".

● The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said he saw the three leading independents as catalysts leading people away from the "fossilised, established, orthodox" party politics.

● Mr Koos van der Merwe, of the Conservative Party, said he foresaw a return to "two stream, traditional politics", with the independents forming "a new, leftist political party" on one side and the CP, practising separate development, on the other.

● Mr Horace van Rensburg, Bryanston independent, said the independent movement had great significance in showing up the fluidity of present politics.

(Reports by F Neuhoff, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg).

● VEREENIGING — The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nationale Party were involved in "very fruitful" discussions, and the National Party should expect strong right-wing opposition on May 6, according to leader of the CP, Dr Connie Mulder.

(Report by A McDonald, 28 Height St, Doornfontein, Johannesburg).

● PIETERSBURG — The Minister of Manpower and Economic Affairs, Mr Pietie du Plessis, appealed to Nationalists to conduct themselves in an exemplary manner during the election run-up, and said it was possible to differ without hatred.

(Report by G'A Dekenah, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town).

● RANDFONTEIN — White stability could only be ensured if blacks were given political rights and socio-economic upliftment, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night.

The election was being held to ask for a mandate to accommodate blacks at the highest level of Government but this did not involve a fourth chamber, he said.

(Report by Heloise Henning 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

● CAPE TOWN — The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, would be in power in Angola within the next 10 years, while the ANC would no longer be a factor in South Africa by that time, the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said here last night.

(Report by Greg Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

And now, talk of home rule for 'KwaBorder'

By FRANZ KRÜGER: East London

A NEW plan for "home rule" in the Border is being touted in the region as a possible first step towards a "KwaBorder" indaba involving the Ciskei and Transkei.

The proposal, under the title "A regional management structure for the Border", calls for the appointment of a cabinet minister with specific responsibility for the Border. It is hoped that such a functionary will have the necessary seniority to talk directly with the governments of Ciskei and Transkei, and would be able to draw them into talks modelled on the KwaNatal Indaba.

The release of the plan has brought some unusual political alignments.

Among its main protagonists are two opposing candidates in the May 6 election: Errol Spring, standing for the PFP in East London North, and Peet de Pontes, defending his seat of East London City for the National Party.

Reservations about the plan have been expressed by two NRP election candidates, with whom the PFP has an election pact. Pat Rogers, MP for King William's Town, said the plan had "terrible Nationalist Government overtones", and seemed more designed to get past the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, than tailored to the needs of the region.

And another NRP candidate, Robert Edlmann, who is contesting the Queenstown seat for the alliance, expressed reservations on the grounds that it was not democratic.

Edlmann said the idea of an appointed cabinet minister might work administratively, "but we are getting a situation with our provincial executives who are totally nominated by the government. We are going right away from the democratric principle of elected leaders."

In terms of the plan, the "Minister for the Border" would advise the cabinet on all matters affecting the region. He would also represent all departments in the region itself, and be able to deal directly with the govenments of the Transkei and Ciskei.

There is also provision for an advisory committee appointed from "all interest groups in the area", in practice likely to be chiefly business bodies.

The plan first became public at a press conference called by the Greater East London Co-ordinating Committee (GELCC) last week. The GELCC draws together business leaders as well as the local heads of government departments into a body linked in with the National Security Management System.

Spring is the chairperson of the GELCC, and the press conference was also attended by De Pontes and Alistair Lightbody, a senior executive with sweet manufacturer Wilson Rowntree and who heads the GELCC's constitutional development sub-committee.

The proposal, which is to go to Heunis for consideration, is motivated by the need for direct contact with the Ciskei and Transkei. At present, local problems often have to be dealt with through the Department of Foreign Affairs if they involve the two homelands.

This is often a lengthy and cumbersome process. A motivation presented at the press conference said: "Definite economic interdependence between the Border area and its neighbours make it absolutely essential that a local structure be established to deal on an equal footing and direct basis with the two adjoining states.

"A government structure based within the border area is a prerequisite for this to happen and for the area to movd into a KwaNatal Indaba situation.

"In respect of the latter, this was facilitated by the existence of a Provincial authority and the fact that KwaZulu is self-governing and not independent, placing the two parties on basically equal footing."

A furious row immediately developed over authorship of the plan, with the Border Regional Development Association (BRDA) claiming it had originated the plan.

At a press conference, the president of the BRDA, Cyril Manthe, said the plan had been "hijacked by a bunch of people who were stuffed with their own self-importance".

The plan's submission to Heunis was premature, Manthe said, as input from various municipalities was still being awaited.

The GELCC had nothing to do with the plan, he said, and had no jurisdiction in the area but merely functioned in relation to the joint management system.

20/3/87. M. Mail

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UDF in election call to business, New Nats

By ANTON HARBER and JO-ANN BEKKER

IN its first official response to the white election, the United Democratic Front (UDF) has made it clear it "cannot approve participation" in the voting but has stopped short of calling for a boycott.

In a 10-page statement issued last night under the slogan "Down with apartheid elections; votes for all in a united South Africa", the UDF issued separate, specific calls to supporters of the government, the "New Nats", the PFP, the UDF and businessmen.

The statement issued by UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe is the latest in a series of election-related calls this week from extra-parliamentary and church groups.

Morobe combined a call to voters "to contribute to end racism and minority domination" with a call to the "voteless majority" to mark May Day, just five days before the election, "as a protest against the apartheid elections heard in every corner of the world".

He described the elections as "a sideshow in the face of the real issues of the day", a view endorsed this week by, among others, the newly-formed Five Freedoms Forum, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, the Black Sash and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

"The real engine for change lies outside parliament. It is based on the democratic and mass-based organisations of our people," Morobe said.

"All those genuinely opposed to apartheid, black and white, will be welcomed into these organisations as fellow South Africans committed to the liberation of our people."

The elections were a farce "in every sense", he said.

Morobe called on:

● Traditional National Party supporters to "realise that a break with outdated political loyalties must come.

"The majority of South Africans say to you: pressurise the National Party and its MPs into addressing the real problems of this country; demand that the government abandons its present course; demand that it faces up political reality and addresses the legitimate demands of the majority."

● Businessmen to "do more than advertise social programmes and talk loosely of reform initiatives.

"It is insufficient to talk to the ANC one month and stand silent while the State of Emergency is declared another month," he said.

● PFP supporters to "either throw your lot in with the racists or take sides with the majority of South Africans".

Morobe said PFP supporters should state clearly whether they support majority rule in a unitary state or not.

● "White democrats" and UDF supporters to "expose the white community on a mass scale to the politics of the democratic movement".

He said it was not enough to refuse to vote; UDF supporters should go further.

● "The voteless majority" to oppose the elections.

"Confront your employers, fellow workers and white friends on the real election issues. Tell them of your support for a non-racial and democratic future. Tell them of apartheid repression and the reign of terror in the townships and homelands."

At a press conference this week to launch the new Five Freedoms Forum, described by its organisers as "a coalition of white South African democrats and organisations opposed to apartheid rule", Sheena Duncan said the forum would not prescribe whether supporters should vote or boycott the elections.

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"If you are going to use your right to vote, demand to know if your candidate stands for the five freedoms (freedom from want, from fear and from discrimination, freedom of speech and association and freedom of conscience)," said Duncan.

"We are not prescribing to people. What we are trying to do, by countering National Party propaganda, is to make sure people are making an informed decision."

Addressing the question of whether or not to vote, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference said the Five Freedoms Forum. In fact, "circumstances sometimes arise in which for the sake of what conscience dictates we involve ourselves in something less than good.

"We have to choose between two evils," the SACBC said in a statement released after a three-day consultation, "participating in an unjust election, or abstaining from voting or campaigning when we judge in conscience that voting or campaigning may produce some good. Participating may appear the lesser evil."

● A report in the Weekly Mail last week erroneously inferred that UDF affiliates had opposed participation in they opposed participation in the

● To PAGE 2

JANNIE MOMBERG

Beyond the Rubicon

Jannie Momberg, campaign manager for Denis Worrall in Helderberg, doesn't like being called a New Nat. "I'm an ex-Nat," he says from behind his modest desk in an office above a Somerset West supermarket.

Across the road from Worrall's bustling headquarters (the building is aptly named the Beehive) is what is known as the "Chris Heunis Embassy," an imposing mansion decorated with Heunis posters and South African flags. The building serves as the National Party's (NP) main campaign office. Had circumstances been different, Momberg would have been in the "embassy" campaigning for Heunis against a Prog. He actively supported the NP for 20 years before quitting last month to back Worrall.

Momberg (48) was an NP branch secretary in Helderberg from 1961 to 1974, and chairman from 1974 to 1985. He narrowly lost two party nomination contests to stand for the provincial council in 1974 and 1981.

He is seen as a pillar of the community — a well-known sports administrator who actively backed runner Zola Budd's career; chairman of the Boland Cricket Union; a campaigner in the early days for non-racial sport; and a former top wine farmer (he sold his famous Stellenbosch estate, Neethlingshof, for a reputed R8m in 1984).

So what happened to make a staunch Nat turn his back on all he believed in? "Quitting the NP came over a number of years," he says. "At the last party congress I attended in Port Elizabeth in 1985, I spoke out against the Group Areas Act. I followed the correct course. I raised my objection at a party congress, but my argument was rejected by the State President. Since then I have moved further away from the party. I somehow didn't feel welcome anymore."

It takes time

Then why did it take so long to make the break? "After P W Botha became Prime Minister in 1978 and then State President in 1984, I worked hard for him. I believe he really was sincere, perhaps he still is sincere about reform.

"I saw the referendum in 1983 as the reform train leaving the station on the first leg of the journey. But I have not seen it arrive at the next station. I've come to the conclusion that the NP's ability to reform has come to an end," he says.

Momberg says that in the Cape, more so than in other parts of the country, there is an "intense" feeling about the treatment of coloured people. "That is why I feel so strongly about the Group Areas Act. I want my candidate to make the Group Areas Act a plank in his campaign."



Momberg ... leading across the Rubicon

He believes there are enough people to make the leap out of the NP if it means ending apartheid. The problem with the NP, he says, lies both with policy and leadership. The party is too sensitive about the right-wing, and is not prepared to accept the pace of change demanded by reformists.

"P W Botha sensed he had to change, and for that I have tremendous regard for him. Even after the Rubicon speech I still believed he might change. At the opening of parliament last year, he spoke warmly about Nelson Mandela and I continued to hope. But then on May 15 he addressed the President's Council and on that day I believe he turned his back on reform," he says.

Momberg says he doesn't regard himself as a Prog. "When the election was announced in January, I said I wasn't going to vote. I couldn't support either the NP or the PFP." But Worrall's resignation a month later set in motion a dramatic chain of events. Momberg had known Worrall for a number of years, but they had never really talked politics.

"I was at a cricket match in Port Elizabeth on January 30 when I saw a newspaper poster saying 'Worrall Quits.' I immediately went back to the hotel and asked him to stand in Helderberg." Momberg says Worrall represents "the things I can believe in. I want to see SA become a country free of hate and poverty. I want to see it safe for my kids. I want to see the young people who have left the country come back. Afrikaners are the most adaptable creatures in the world. We can live with change."

Momberg's involvement in "multi-racial sport" has made him more aware of black South Africans. "Being an Afrikaner and white, I would have been far more isolated than I am had it not been for sport," he says.

"I was involved in the first multiracial sports event, an athletics meeting in Cape Town in 1971, and I am chairman of the cricket union in the Boland."

Momberg is adamant that Worrall is not a PFP surrogate candidate: "There is still a big difference between Denis Worrall and the PFP. Many of our workers are former Nats, not Progs.

"Let's face it, Chris Heunis is a formidable man and he has a formidable election machine. But I think we have one thing on our side and that is the tremendous feeling of uncertainty among many people."

Despite the bitter rivalry, Momberg still regards Heunis as a friend. "I am very fond of the man and we had a very good relationship. That is why I hope this fight will be a clean, upper-class fight between two intellectuals. Both are fine people." ■

BOBBY LOCKE

Golf's gentleman

Bobby Locke, who died last week aged 69, occupied a more prominent position in the world of golf than is realised by the crop of young lions who presently dominate the game.

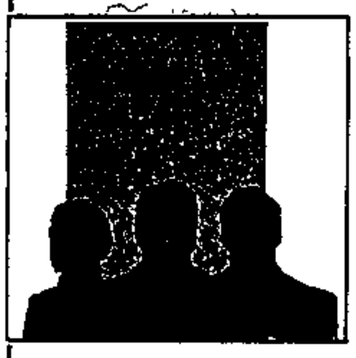
Locke won four British Opens and he was the first great non-American and non-British golfer. As such, he set the standard which motivated those who followed him — from Gary Player to Seve Ballesteros and Greg Norman. It is fitting that, at the time of Locke's death, the Sony world golf standings (a points system which attempts to rank the world's golfers in order of international importance) showed four non-Americans at the head of the list.

Australia's Greg Norman, following his magnificent form in 1986, led from Spain's Seve Ballesteros, Germany's Bernard Langer and Japan's Tommy Nakajima. If Locke was capable of being malicious — doubtful in such an utter gentleman — this state of affairs probably provided him with some satisfaction.

A mean and petty act resulted in Locke being banned from the US Tour for a year (1949) and probably cost him the chance of setting an even more impressive record.

THE WHITE RIGHT

Marching from Pretoria



What do Andries Treurnicht, Jaap Marais and Eugene Terre'Blanche have in common? Everything except a strategy, it seems. Simply put, their ideal is to become a united opposition force which will slam all the brakes on reform.

But ancient pre-election tensions have again acrimoniously surfaced. Even the advent of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche as matchmaker seems to have failed. The Nasionale Herstigte Party (HNP) and the Conservatives (CP) just cannot, it seems, get their act together when it comes to constituency allocation — and without that agreement, the Right as a whole stands to lose.

This bitter wrangling over ideological purity would normally have captured all the headlines in the run-up to May 6. As it happens, the New Nat phenomenon still occupies centre-stage, the latest and possibly most telling defection from National Party (NP) ranks being former Nasionale Pers director David de Villiers.

A longer-term view, however, suggests that the potential of the Right should never be disregarded.

On the face of it, the momentum of the Right appears to have been checked. In no uncertain terms the NP has cracked down on internal opposition and the African National Congress. Again, hostile foreign attitudes and sanctions play directly into government's hands. However, the NP has said it wants an electoral mandate to bring blacks into government — and the Right is united in charging that this will lead directly to black majority rule.

It therefore believes that an ever-greater perception of this "betrayal" of whites will eventually make it the official opposition, in which case a halt would be called to reform. That is the danger the Right presents, even though its numbers in parliament may be relatively small.

Rightwing divisions indicate that the ultra-conservatives will not become the official opposition after the election. In the longer term, however, CP/HNP unity presents real dangers to the ruling NP.

Factionalism aside, the far Right's quest for power is based on Verwoerdian race separation. The emphasis falls heavily on white security, white supremacy and racial partition. This is precisely what brought the NP to power in 1948.

The HNP and CP both claim that mantle and, polls suggest, speak for about a fifth of the white electorate. If united, that percentage could lead to gains at the polls. Hence the intervention of the AWB, and the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV), both ostensibly "cultural" bodies.

The AWB represents a grouping of fanatics who sport neo-Nazi insignia and want to create a *boerestaat*. They are said to provide the "heavies" for the CP. For their part the HNP are ambivalent towards the AWB.

The AV, led by Hendrik Verwoerd's son-in-law and former Broederbond head, Carel Boshoff, represents an inward-looking Afrikanerdom.

However, "There's no *volksbeweeging* on the Right," maintains former *Rapport* editor Wimpie de Klerk.

He reckons the Right will win two or three seats, and lose two or three; so their representation in parliament will be about the same after the election.

De Klerk feels a pact might have benefited the CP-HNP vote in a few constituencies, mainly in the Transvaal. For the rest he is not concerned by the Right as a force.

Historians will no doubt wonder what the course of events in SA might have been had the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner parties reached an election pact in 1987.

Based on earlier election results, the CP and HNP *as one* stood a winning chance in up to 50 of the 166 elected seats in parliament (see box). This would almost certainly have enabled the Right to form the new official opposition, ensuring SA's entrapment in a cycle of violent instability.

Yet the CP is convinced it can carry the rightwing banner all on its own. As for the HNP, most observers reckon it will eventually and inevitably merge with the CP. It seems clear that grassroots members of both parties are irritated at their leaders' inability to reach an agreement. (As the *FM* went to press, however, there were rumours that another AWB-brokered attempt to get them together before the election was in the offing. The CP would say only that it stands by its condition that the HNP accept unification with it by the year's end.)

CP leader Andries Treurnicht appears to be using the election to sort out the HNP leadership once and for all; and as a launching pad for the general election due to take place in 1989 (see *Current affairs*).

The HNP's Jaap Marais tells the *FM* his party will be contesting about 100 seats. After last week's events he says "there's no basis for unification (with the CP) if the two parties fight each other in this election."

Marais, of course, says many on the Right feel unification is being frustrated by the CP leadership. He has not yet taken up Treurnicht's challenge to fight him in Waterberg, and is not prepared to say where he will be standing. There is still time to decide, he said last week.

Rightwing leaders (l to r): Treurnicht, Terre'Blanche, Marais . . . divisions within division







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Marais' main gripe with the CP is not so much about policy differences "as what I'd term the involvement of CP people with the NP (before the 1982 split) during which they committed themselves to aspects of NP policy.

"So it's a question of whether the CP would admit to having been wrong. If they say they were right in following Vorster and P W Botha until they did, it places a question-mark over their political judgment. If they say they were wrong, it places a question-mark over their moral judgment."

The HNP leader says that in addition to Sasolburg, the party stands "an equal chance as the CP and NP of winning in three more seats."

He says the CP is grossly overestimating its support if it thinks it can go it alone. "Treurnicht's claim that we have only 2% of the vote is ridiculous. They're in for a severe shock," he claims.

But the extent to which HNP support is powerful enough to split the rightwing vote remains to be seen. Although the CP expects to lose a few of the seats it now holds, it is banking on the concentration of rightwing support in the Transvaal (30%-40%) going its way.

According to Cape Town-based researcher Helen Zille, who is involved in research into rightwing politics for a large corporation, rightwing spokesmen early last year were generally optimistic that the Right would take power through the ballot box within two general elections.

In leading rightwing circles at that time, she says, it was accepted that the "best case" scenario for the Right was 50 seats and the "worst case" 36 seats.

The "bullish" mood "changed markedly" during a second round of interviews late last year, she comments. The State of Emergency and a tougher security line by government had succeeded in restoring the confidence of many conservative voters. Coupled to this, the failure of the CP and the HNP to reach an election agreement had badly dented the rightwing's electoral image.

By last month, with the possibility of a pact becoming more remote by the day, rightwing strategists were predicting a "best case" scenario of 22 seats and a "worst case" of 15, Zille says.

Rightwing leaders told her that even if a merger or election pact were possible before May 6, the "best case" scenario is now only 35 seats.

According to Zille, however, commentators and election analysts are unable to agree on the number of seats the combined rightwing parties are capable of winning in a general election.

Predictions by rightwing analysts of electoral success were as high as 50 seats with a further 12 "borderline" constituencies when Zille conducted interviews in January last year.

In February this year, the same analysts told Zille that three factors had caused a considerable change in their assessment:

☐ The State of Emergency had restored government's standing in the eyes of many wavering rightwing Nationalists;
☐ The international sanctions campaign had the effect of herding whites into the laager to "stand together against the Americans;" and
☐ The public perception of infighting and divisions between rightwing parties had had the most serious impact of all other variables. The split vote would have a serious impact on the number of seats the rightwing could win.

A combination of these factors led the analysts to revise their assessment and give the rightwing a "worst case" scenario of only 15 seats and a "best case" of 22.

However, the analysts of the Right predicted that the total number of *votes* for the rightwing would exceed the total votes for the PFP — which would remain the official opposition with about 30 seats. According to these predictions, the HNP would be shown to be a spent political force, completely undermining Jaap Marais' position and paving the way for rightwing unity.

The analysts believe that with the HNP out of the way, the rightwing will be able to show its true strength in the general election due in 1989.

Zille says while some rightwing spokesmen interviewed in recent months still believe government's reform initiative can be reversed, "others were becoming increasingly disillusioned with participation in parliamentary politics."

It is fairly well known that AV leader Boshoff has for some time been canvassing rightwing views about pulling out of parliament. He argues that the Right could be more effective in its resistance to government from outside parliament. CP leader Treurnicht opposes such a drastic step at this stage.

Some rightwingers believe the pull-out should have come when blacks were included on regional services councils and appointed to executive positions in provincial governments last year. The next major push for a rightwing withdrawal from parliament is likely to come when government tries to include blacks in central decision-making.

Zille says rightwing spokesmen seem to believe that once blacks are involved in central government, it will be impossible for whites to "reverse the tide" by winning a House of Assembly election because they would soon become a dominated minority.

It is not clear what "resistance" rightwingers will resort to if they withdraw. Boshoff is known to favour a *volksvergadering* to consider options, including the possibility of claiming a geographical territory for a "white homeland."

Zille says rightwing leaders don't take for granted that whites will rise up in revolt.

CP FORECASTS GOOD

Potchefstroom University mathematician, Professor Dirk Laurie, last month published his forecasts of how the rightwing parties could fare, united and on their own, on May 6. His figures are based on results of the 1981 general election and subsequent by-election swings. Most notable was the 1985 Vryburg by-election, which the NP won, but which the CP and HNP both contested. The HNP was able to retain only 23% of the votes it received in Vryburg in 1981, before the advent of the CP.

Laurie says he stands by these results, which were worked out before the failure of the CP and HNP to form an alliance.

☐ **With a rightwing pact:**

Safe CP/HNP (majority over 500), 29 seats: Barberton, Bethal, Brits, Carletonville, Delmas, Ermelo, Hercules, Klerksdorp, Koedoespoort, Lichtenburg, Losberg, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Nelspruit, Nigel, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Pretoria West, Randfontein, Roodeplaat, Rustenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Soutpansberg, Standerton, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp, Waterberg, Witbank, Wonderboom.

Marginal CP/HNP (majority under 500), 21 seats: Alberton, Brakpan, Brentwood, Fauresmith, Germiston, Germiston district, Gezina, Heilbron, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Ladybrand, Maraisburg, Meyerton, Newcastle, Overvaal, Parys, Potchefstroom, Sasolburg, Smithfield, Virginia, Welkom.

According to Laurie, the distribution of votes in the 21 marginal seats is such that the NP could be expected to win 12 and the CP/HNP nine seats.

☐ **Without a pact:**

Safe CP, 18 seats: Barberton, Bethal, Brits, Carletonville, Ermelo, Hercules, Lichtenburg, Losberg, Middelburg, Potgietersrus, Randfontein, Rustenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Standerton, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp, Waterberg, Witbank.

Marginal CP, 20 seats: Delmas, Germiston district, Gezina, Heilbron, Klerksdorp, Koedoespoort, Krugersdorp, Lydenburg, Meyerton, Nelspruit, Newcastle, Nigel, Overvaal, Parys, Pietersburg, Pretoria West, Roodeplaat, Sasolburg, Soutpansberg, Wonderboom.

Of the 20 marginals, Laurie reckons the NP could possibly win 11, and the CP nine. This would give the CP 27 seats.

Without a pact, Laurie suggests, Treurnicht is foregoing the chance to become the official opposition. But, by this reckoning, he wins at least eight seats and enhances his aim of wiping out the HNP and so becoming the only party on the Right.

ANDRIES TREURNICHT

The Right stuff

Andries Treurnicht is leader of the Conservative Party (CP). He discusses the failed electoral pact between the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), and how he differs ideologically from the National Party (NP).

***FM*: How do you feel about the failure to reach an agreement with the HNP?**

Treurnicht: Obviously we are disappointed ... But it seems as though it has become rather impossible to have an agreement, and I think the time has run out. Our organisation is on its way. We have nominated 120 candidates, and at this stage it is impractical to stop the trend.

Even in individual constituencies?

That was a suggestion we made to the HNP last year in Klipriver, but Mr (Jaap) Marais rejected it at the time, and he said we couldn't have a decision on a local level. He decides from above as leader of the party. So at this stage I don't think it's feasible.

Was the CP's aim to wipe out the HNP?

That's a very negative approach. We have a positive approach and that is to become one rightwing political party, and in the process we, the CP, would disappear as the CP and become a merger, a new party — possibly with a new name. But that would be decided in a democratic way — decisions on the policy, name and leadership.

Where do you part company with the HNP?

First, they disagree with us on Mr Vorster. They want us to reject him openly and in every respect. Second, it's not clear what their position is towards the AWB.

When we were around this table with the HNP recently, they demanded that we reject the AWB in every respect. And now Mr Marais invites them to take part in the political fight and he would discuss the allocation of seats through the AWB.

Third is the language question. We cannot agree with them that there should be only one official language, which would be a denial of democracy and of the specific cultural right of a particular cultural group.

Fourth, we cannot agree with their views as to the Indian people. We say the Indians are entitled to political rights and their own political structures even, if they prefer so, to political independence. They say only limited self-government.

Opinion polls have generally suggested only 18% of the white electorate support the rightwing parties, which suggests that you couldn't form a government?

That's an underestimate. According to certain other estimates the support for the CP countrywide may be around 28% to 30% ... Very few people expect a young party like the CP immediately to take over power against a strong party like the NP. But we are aware of a strong flow away from the NP in the direction of the CP.

Even if we don't win the election we will continue because we believe our political formula is the best for SA, not only for the whites but including other racial groups.

Are you not concerned that a rightwing split will be to your disadvantage?

It's a debatable point. One has first to establish what is the real strength of the HNP. If it is between 1% and 2% in Pretoria (a certain estimate is about 7%, and for the CP about 40%); if that is so, the HNP's *real* support is debatable.

Then you have to be aware of the fact that not all members of the HNP are going to vote for a CP candidate, and not all CP members are going to vote for an HNP



candidate on account of its policy. We had that experience in Klipriver. They accused us when about 1 400 people who were identified as rightwing in Glencoe did not vote. But that was because of the policy of the HNP candidate.

A third factor is that there are many members of the NP who are looking for another political home. Many of them see it as the CP but, they say, they are not going to vote for the HNP. A fourth factor is that English-speakers (with some exceptions) are not going to vote for an HNP policy which claims only Afrikaans as the official language.

How do you see SA under your stewardship?

First, you have to take into account the reality in SA of the diversity of its peoples and cultures and races. The reality also demands that for the sake of self-determination, which is a very important principle, the various groups of peoples should have the opportunity to exercise real self-determination.

We don't think that is possible in a unitary system, and that is why we believe in diversity. We believe in the division of land for the various groups of peoples in which system it is possible to achieve the highest form of self-determination and even sovereignty.

Is the NP's notion of "healthy power-sharing," which retains Afrikaner control, much different?

The NP is covering up the real end of the road towards which they are leading the people. We don't think that's being honest with the electorate, because it's obvious that sharing of power cannot mean that you retain power. It means the loss of power — at least, you lose control.

Despite the built-in mechanism of white control in the tricameral parliament?

In such a system you cannot speak in terms of self-determination for the coloureds and the Indians. In such a system they are still minority groups, and who is going to guarantee the minority rights? It must be the majority, the larger party.

The crux of the matter is that if Mr P W Botha fulfils his promise, bringing in the blacks, which will be about 16m-17m, in a democratic way with equal opportunities and equal treatment, it's quite obvious that the majority will be a black majority — black majority rule.

The NP is looking for a mandate in this election to negotiate with blacks. Is negotiation with blacks not needed to deal with black protest and demands for a say in central government? How would you handle it?

The difficulty with the NP's approach is that it renounces its position of power and control, and then wants to negotiate. That is to lose your power base and to pool authority and then try to recover something from that. We think that's politically foolish.

Doesn't your separatism ignore the reality of economic interdependency in SA?

We all accept an interdependence of the various racial groups, but we still think it's possible to maintain separate political structures. There are various examples of economic interdependence between sovereign states without them denying their own sovereign political power.

Should the CP come to power, are you not worried by the prospect of increased foreign sanctions on SA?

It is clear that sanctions do not scare people as much as those who wish to impose them would like. The US admits that SA has a strong economy and could survive even without the US. That's true. So if you have a strong government which guarantees internal stability, then there is also confidence from abroad.

But will blacks be happy under your rule?

It depends on what they demand. The demands of the African National Congress, for instance, mean a takeover of SA, denying the rights of other communities in the country. That is totally unacceptable. If such demands were forced on the country, they would meet with very strong resistance because it would mean surrender. And any free people would simply refuse to succumb to those threats.

WILLIE BREYTENBACH

IN MY OPINION

The Stellenbosch factor . . .



Willie Breytenbach is professor in Africa Studies at Stellenbosch University and a former director of Constitutional Planning in Chris Heunis's Constitutional Affairs department.

It is by now common knowledge that a group of Stellenbosch academics has demonstrated some dissatisfaction with government policies. Here they are affectionately (or contemptuously) called the "Sampies," which is actually not a name (a certain Professor T happens to have the same name) but an acronym that stands for "Stellenbosse Arme Mal Professore in Exile."

Many "Sampies" are in fact "in exile," not from that leafy city of the winelands, but from the National Party (NP) which many of them served and supported in the past.

Stellenbosch, of course, is also the place that was once labelled by an American writer as "very strange." Strange because it produced so many prime ministers, politicians and prominent sports personalities suggesting that it was a very big city. Everyone who is familiar with Stellenbosch knows that it is not. The American then quipped that it was indeed an extraordinary place, the size of which was not only half that of the cemetry of New York City but three times as dead.

Alas, this is no longer true even if one had to concede that Stellenbosch is no longer the club rugby champion of SA. The students, the "Sampies" and people such as Sampie Terreblanche, Denis Worrall, Esther Lategan, Chris Heunis and Piet Marais, have all Rip van Winkeled Stellenbosch from yesteryear into the twenty-first century. This is the Stellenbosch factor . . . it provides a peep into the future.

The array of opinions reflected by the white voters of Stellenbosch provides this crystal ball. At present they are divided into at least six political categories, the first of which is the conservatives (not very many, but they are all here, if not always all there) and the last of which are those to the left of the NP (mostly PFPs, but there is also a group even further to the left). These two groupings are not insignificant but do not occupy the centre stage here in Stellenbosch. Those who do represent all the varieties (in the plural) of the Nats of today.

From Right to Left they are:

☐ The PW Nats known to be strong on security, to emphasise stability, to remain attached to the group areas concept, and who believe that reform is still possible but strictly on Nationalist terms;

☐ The Fast Nats are verligtes of yesteryear. Strong on the removal of socio-economic discrimination, not so strong on group areas, but very strong on "own" education. They believe in "participation without domination" — the vehicle for participation "up to the highest levels" must be "effective," without a mention, however, of "democratic participation." This presumably does not exclude co-option as the vehicle for participation ("there is nothing wrong with a touch of authoritarianism"). And then there's intergroup domination and, for the Fast Nats, this can only be avoided with the retention of statutory race classification. But they do take an interest — a very special one — in Indaba-type regional processes which retain minority protection but move beyond statutory race classification;

☐ The New Nats feel uneasy in the NP. But they strongly believe that the NP is the best vehicle for reform (Nothnagel?), and therefore argue against joining the Independents or the PFP. They talk about a post-apartheid SA and believe it will coincide with the disappearance of present NP leadership. Like the Fast Nats they also talk about "participation without domination," but for them effective participation means *democratic* participation for which "group" politics remains the vehicle, but on the basis of voluntary association. New Nats may become Past Nats; and

☐ The Past Nats who still agonise about the days they toiled for the party but without avail. They are frustrated and even bitter. The government has let them down: they are the verligtes of yesteryear, especially since early 1986.

They emerge strong on democratic rights and on the removal of all vestiges of apartheid and believe that no matter what the future, Afrikaners and other groups who want to retain their identity can and will so more effectively without apartheid.

They feel that the greatest risk is not to take a risk on the future of a peaceful SA. The time is now. They also believe that negotiation is more important than anything else. And this process need not start at central level (where it is difficult) but at regional and local levels (where it is easier). New Nats and Past Nats converge on most of these issues.

Obviously the Independents are Past Nats (for example Wynand Malan) and most are Afrikaners (for example Esther Lategan). Elsewhere non-Afrikaners such as Denis Worrall are doing their own thing, quite often with Afrikaans-speaking campaign managers. Indeed a detribalised alliance that rejects any notion about reforming verligtheid. But then, they are not Progs, notwithstanding the efforts of some media in trying to paint them into that corner. If they were, on the strength of the fact that they are unopposed by the PFP, then Sam de Beer, Leon Wessels and Albert Nothnagel are also Progs. Obviously they are not. And this process started here behind the wine curtain. Such is the Stellenbosch factor . . .

Gerrit hints at post-poll referendum

Political Reporter

DR GERRIT Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development, indicated last night that there would be a 1983-style referendum after the May 6 House of Assembly election.

Speaking in Hillcrest, near Durban, at a meeting for the National Party candidate in Greytown, Mr Rudi Redinger, Dr Viljoen said the Government was asking for a mandate to negotiate with black leaders about the political rights of blacks outside the homelands.

'The endorsement of the electorate for the details will be sought fully as in 1983.'

Dr Viljoen said the NP had the status and authority to negotiate on behalf of whites on new structures.

'We will come back (to the electorate) when details of the new constitution have been worked out.'

He said the NP could not spell out details of power-sharing structures because this would pre-empt negotiations.

Dr Viljoen described the PFP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, as 'a militant Prog MP, well known as being one of the young lions in the PFP'.

He said the PFP/NRP alliance believed in a non-racial South Africa, which was a romantic idea but bore no relation to reality.

'The PFP leaders have proved how soft they are in combatting the ANC, the Communist Party and the UDF.'

Minority rights

Dr Viljoen said the NP wanted to have power sharing but with the protection of minority rights.

'The PFP emphasises only the joint decision-making and the CP emphasises only the separate communities.'

Mr Redinger said moderate voters would reject the PFP/NRP alliance because they would see how radical it was.

'They are afraid to spell out the implications of their policies to the electorate.'

He said the CP had been left behind on the constitutional path and its acceptance of the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging (AWB) promised ill for South Africa.

'The AWB should be banned,' Mr Redinger said.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Govt 'sides with ANC on Indaba'

304A

Political Reporter

THE Government had sided with the African National Congress by rejecting the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals, independent candidate in the forthcoming House of Assembly election, Dr Denis Worrall, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at the end of a two-day visit to Natal, Dr Worrall said that by rejecting the proposals the Government made it impossible for Inkatha to hold formal discussions with them.

'I return to Helderberg more determined than ever that (the Indaba) must be an issue in the election, especially as Mr Chris Heunis (MP for Helderberg and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning) more than anybody else in Government is responsible for the rejection of the Indaba.

'The voters of Helderberg fully understand the importance of the Indaba.

'They also recognise that its rejection was an embarrassment to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is recognised by most of my voters as one of South Africa's most powerful and effective critics of sanctions and disinvestment.'

Dr Worrall said he believed Mr Chris Heunis had 'closed the door' on a referendum on the Indaba but might be persuaded to change his mind by the election result.

He said there was tremendous determination in Natal and KwaZulu for the Indaba proposals to be implemented.

'Its a cop-out and crocodile tears for the Government to say they like the method but not the result.

'The two go together. The Government can't simply like a process because its result accords with its particular constitutional principles.'

He said the Government's rejection of the proposals because there was not enough protection for minority rights was a 'fig leaf' for very narrow and sectarian beliefs.

Dr Worrall said the Indaba was made an election issue with the publication of the proposals.

'They (the Indaba organisers) must have realised it would be a hot potato.'

He said the Indaba went a long way towards creating mutual trust without which talks between blacks and whites would never get started.

'While the proposals may not be applicable nationally, the method could be applied in other parts of the country.

'The proposals represent a very careful marriage of the majority principle with minority protections.'

He said the NP would have to come around completely to the independents' point of view before they returned to the NP.

'We sense there is a leading element which is closed to the kind of ideas which we are talking about.

'There is a feeling in this country, shared by most population groups, that the time has come for moderates, committed to peaceful change, to come together and create a movement which will take us into the 21st century,' Dr Worrall said.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

UDF wants protest day

The United Democratic Front has called for a day of protest on May 1 against the general election, but has warned the Government would use it "as a focal point of disinformation.

In a statement yesterday, the UDF called on "workers, parents, students and white democrats" to protest.

It said, however, that May 1, "celebrated by millions of workers every year, will be a focal point of National Party disinformation and manipulation".

The UDF called the election a farce, but did not call on whites not to vote. It said it refused to be drawn on a single position on voting in the election, saying whites had to consider more important issues.

(Portions of this report have been deleted to comply with the emergency regulations.)

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

STAR 20/3/87.

been submitted to management included: full payment during the stoppage, that all disciplinary matters be made open for assessment by workers and that workers be involved in all decision-making on jobs.

On dealings with SATS management, the Sarhwu spokesman said: "The union's stand is that all the workers at City Deep are our members, and clearly the union should be involved in resolving the dispute.

"This is a simple case which would not have gone out of hand had management talked to us."

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2 die in kwaMashu violence

DURBAN — Police confirmed this week they were investigating the deaths of two youths in kwaMashu, bringing to nine the number killed this week in violent confrontations between UDF and Inkatha supporters in kwaMashu.

Police were on Wednesday night unable to give more details of the deaths.

No arrests have been made, but a spokesman for Durban's Murder and Robbery Unit said a number of people were being questioned.

The discovery of the bodies followed reports from the UDF-affiliated kwaMashu Youth League that several of their members had been abducted after armed youngsters disrupted a funeral in Lindelani on Saturday. — Sapa.

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Marais cautious on Right's unity talks

Political Correspondent

The latest round of unity talks between the right-wing parties had made reasonable progress, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said last night when he addressed about 900 people at a meeting in the Pretoria City Hall.

But he cautioned that the reality was that there could possibly not be a pact between the HNP and the Conservative Party.

The latest attempts at clinching an election pact was centred on the allocation of seats, he said.

It was being conducted under the auspices of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and a group of right-wing lawyers and other people in Pretoria.

Mr Marais said to loud cheers that any agreement would have to be handled with sensitivity, because both parties had now each nominated more than 100 candidates. In the event of a pact, some would have to stand down.

People also had to accept that the lateness of the negotiations would unavoidably have a negative impact on the fortunes of the Right in the election.

Mr Marais added: "A strong right-wing opposition is the key to the future security of the white man in South Africa.

"If we have a strong rightist opposition, then Afrikaner volk and patriotic English-speakers will abandon the National Party by their thousands and tens of thousands," the HNP leader claimed

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Marais: nothing to live or die for

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais at a meeting in Pretoria: "If things go on the way they aré we will have nothing to die for. When you have nothing to die for then you have nothing to live for."

★ ★ ★

Mr Marais (answering a question whether the Right, if they win power, would allow the Left to live in black areas so they could become "bastardised"): "We could consider this, but then once they were inwe would lock them in."

★ ★ ★

Mr Andre Jacobs, leader of the PFP in the Randburg Town Council, addressing a PFP rally in Boksburg: "If you look at South African politics in terms of trains, the PFP can be seen as a train with a set destination, where the passengers know where they are going. The NP train is in total disarray — the train driver is sitting eating custard while the passengers are unhooking the carriages. The CP and HNP gauges have become outdated and the trains can't run any more. And the AWB hasn't even got rails.

★ ★ ★

Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, at a meeting in Pretoria: "The 'Worrall Factor' is responsible for the 25 percent improvement in the financial rand."

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Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk, speaking at Randfontein: "Can you imagine Randfontein without its black workforce or Johannesbnurg without Soweto?"

★ ★ ★

National Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk, speaking in Durbanville: "We will not bow before foreign pressure ... now it's not just a question of Mausers. They won't attack us so easily."

★ ★ ★

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, speaking in Jeppe: "Terrorists coming into South Africa carry more dangerous weapons than bombs — they could be carrying AIDS."

★ ★ ★

Mr Botha (describing the independents): " ... a bit of a joke for a while"

(Compiled by J M Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Cheers for 'North Star'

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, is "nothing more nor less than the North Star", an effusive party official told crowd of 900 at the Pretoria City Hall last night.

"In a time of disintegrating party politics, you are the North Star to whites and Afrikaners. People have long steered their course by this star. By following its guidance, they know when they are on course and when not," party chairman Mr Willie Marais said.

Two hours earlier 20 young men from the HNP Youth had formed a guard of honour as Jaap and Marie Marais entered the hall beneath the Vierkleur and the orange, white and black of the HNP flag.

The SABC, whose election coverage was scathingly dealt with on the front page of the latest edition of the party paper *Die Afrikaner*, sat in a private box upstairs in the ornate City Hall.

(Report by C Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

Dr Worrall should have been fired as Ambassador — Pik

Political Reporter

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall should have been fired for not telling him of his intention to resign as Ambassador to Britain.

Addressing a meeting of about 800 in Jeppe last night, Mr Botha said the first he had heard of Dr Worrall's resignation had been contained in a newspaper report.

"I telephoned him: 'Denis, may I read you this newspaper report. Is it true?' And he said: 'Yes, I am afraid it is'.

"I asked him how I was going to explain this to the Government.

"Dr Worrall asked me to say that he had asked to be relieved of his duties, and I agreed.

Dr Worrall had "descended to personal attacks" on members of the Government, Mr Botha said. He had promised not to fight a petty campaign "but suddenly he has said that Pik Botha and Chris Heunis can't stand each other."

Mr Botha denied Dr Worrall's claim and said it was not relevant.

Mr Botha also criticised Dr Worrall for attacking Dr Piet Koornhof, Ambassador-designate to Washington.

"For two weeks, Dr Worrall stayed on as Ambassador in London and organised his political campaign. That is good judgment. But when Dr Koornhof, who has not yet presented his credential in Washington, wanted to address a closed house meeting, that was considered by Dr Worrall to be bad judgement," Mr Botha said.

He described the independent candidates as "a bit of a joke.".

People had the "audacity" to blame sanctions on the NP. If the PFP came to power, sanctions would be intensifed, he said.

Mr Botha said the PFP and CP were "different sides of the same coin". The PFP would hand over power to revolutionaries, while the CP would create hatred with their policies of partition.

The meeting was interrupted by hecklers. A woman was booed when she asked about restrictions on the Press.

Mr Botha defended the curbs as having resulted in a drop in unrest.

Asked to clarify the Government's position on the Group Areas Act and grey areas, he said the law had been changed many times. The issue should be "delicately handled", with recognition to group rights.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street,



Mr Pik Botha ... interrupted by hecklers.



CP claims Verwoerd link

PIETERSBURG — The Conservative Party has started to circulate an emotional propaganda leaflet in farming communities, linking its policies to the philosophy of Dr H F Verwoerd.

The leaflet carries a picture of Mrs Betsie Verwoerd and contains a letter from her "to the voters of South Africa".

On the back is a picture of Dr Verwoerd and some of his most striking statements are featured.

The letter warns die-hard Nats that they are no longer part of "the old trusted party".

(Report by P Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg).

20/03/87

3049

'Rights for all groups only hope'

The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, said in Randfontein last night that South Africa faces an election which will determine the future of all races.

Mr de Klerk said South Africa's only hope was to ensure rights for every group, and to let each group have a say in the governing of their own residential areas.

He asked for support for the NP's basic plan, which includes its economic policy, the rejection of overseas interference, and the role that South Africa plays in Southern Africa.

(Report by G Elsas, Sanlam Building, Roodepoort.)

Professor resigns from NP

CAPE TOWN — Professor Willie Esterhuyse, head of the department of philosophy at Stellenbosch, has resigned from the National Party and will support independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Viljoen hints at referendum

DURBAN — The Minister of Education and Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen indicated on Wednesday night there would be a 1983-style referendum after the May 6 election.

Speaking at a meeting for the NP candidate in Greytown, Mr Rudi Redinger, Dr Viljoen said the Government was asking for a mandate to negotiate with black leaders about the political rights of blacks outside the homelands. He said the NP could not spell out details of power-sharing structures because this would pre-empt negotiations. — Sapa.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition is by H W Tyson and R A Gibson, headlines by D Rink and posters by R G Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

I'll restore law and order, says AWB chief

Own Correspondent

MIDDELBURG — Afikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche last night promised to lead a resistance movement to restore law and order "when P W Botha sells South Africa out after May 6".

Mr TerreBlanche said at an AWB right-wing unity meeting here, that he had no political aspirations himself but his true role would begin after the election.

On the question of unity, Mr TerreBlanche said a right-wing election pact was only days away. There was only one small obstacle. He did not elaborate.

The meeting had an overwhelming mandate from more than 1 000 supporters to put forward only one right-wing candidate.

Sharing the stage with the AWB leader were CP candidate Mr Pikkie Coetzee and the HNP's Mr Johan Strydom. Both said they would step down for the other if asked to do so.

Mr Strydom said party leader Mr Jaap Marais had permitted him to attend the meeting.

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

'Grabouw Eight' defect from the NP

Cape Times 2/3/87

Political Staff 30CA

DEFECTIONS from the National Party continued yesterday with a mass walkout by eight leading members in Grabouw, who have promised to support actively the moderate alliance.

Their resignations coincided with another shock for the NP in Stellenbosch — the rejection of apartheid's cornerstones by the executive of the university's juridical association, representing 800 law students.

They rejected the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, all other racially discriminatory measures and all homelands legislation.

The "Grabouw Eight" were all members of the local NP committee until six recently resigned because of dissatisfaction with the government's poor reform measures.

Yesterday they resigned from the party altogether, aligning themselves with the independents and promising to support NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton in Caledon against local MP Mr Lampie Fick.

The eight are farmers Mr A J Erwee, Mr H Hall, Mr P Micklan and Mr J Jurgens, medical professionals Dr B Ten Brink and Dr J J Ludwick, lawyer Mr J R Ince and businessman Mr J Loubser.

The eight said they generally agreed with the independents, but added other reasons:

☐ "The government's abuse of the SABC for party political aims.

☐ "Our nationalistic aspirations can best be served through a united South Africa if race does not play a dominant role in our constitution.

☐ "We are concerned because the NP's plans are not purposeful. Their policy, spelled out by different spokesmen, is vague and contradictory."

(News by O Pollok, 6C Mutual Place, Cape Town.)

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) ..	$404,45
BD 100	1822,0
Rand	$0,4795

UDF 'cannot appprove' voting in election

CAPE TIMES 21/3/87

306A

By TONY WEAVER

IN ONE of its most important policy statements in the past year, the national executive (NE) of the United Democratic Front has said it "cannot approve" participation in the coming white election — but has not directly called on its white supporters to boycott voting.

"In every sense the forthcoming election is a farce. It is a farce because the minority of South Africans will elect a parliament that will attempt to determine the future of the majority of South Africans.

"It will be neither free nor democratic. The elections will take place under a state of emergency with police and army control. There is heavy censorship of the press, an almost total information blackout and no freedom of association," the UDF said in its 10-page policy statement.

Addressing itself to "white UDF supporters and democrats", the NE calls them "the new Voortrekkers with integrity and vision to build bridges into the future" and called on "white democrats" to go into their community and "bring meaning to the politics of non-racialism".

They called on "every South African" to use May 1 — May Day, which falls five days before the election — "to show their massive rejection of the apartheid system".

Addressing itself to supporters of the PFP, the NE said "turn away from the racists, look toward the majority.

"PFP supporters will have to recognize that their children's future lies neither in a futile bid for a few extra seats in a moribund parliament, nor in leaving South Africa."

(Report by T Weaver, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

W/G ARGUS

News editor resigns

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE news editor of the *Cape Times*, Mr Wessel de Kock, has resigned over differences with the newspaper's handling of a controversy involving a Cabinet Minister, Mr Chris Heunis.

The incident was sparked earlier this week when Mr Heunis, who is the Nationalist candidate in Helderberg, threatened at an election meeting to disclose details of a conversation with the newspaper's deputy editor, Mr Gordon Kling, who is acting editor in the absence on leave of Mr Tony Heard. After discussions it was subsequently agreed that Mr Heunis would not do so.

It is understood Mr de Kock resigned because of the treatment of a front page report which was mainly about Professor Sampie Terreblanche's axing from the board of the SABC but also made reference to Mr Heunis.

Mr Tony Weaver, acting vice-president of the Western Cape branch of the Southern African Society of Journalists, said the society was concerned and believed the fundamental principle of Press freedom may have been compromised.

When aproached today Mr Gordon Kling said: "This is an internal matter and I'm not prepared to comment."

Whites going to decide future for the blacks

W/End Post

21/3/87

Disturbing picture from the past — or present?

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

THIS observation by the former Rector of the University of the Western Cape pertains to the situation which existed in the years leading up to Union in 1910.

But it is as relevant today.

The central issue in the white general election on May 6 is constitutional reform — and if and how it should be brought about.

At the heart of the problem lies the question of how to find a formula in terms of which the aspirations of the disenfranchised African majority can best be accommodated.

Despite the fine phrases that commit the Government to negotiation, the reality of the situation is that whites are going to decide the constitutional future of blacks and this is borne out by the fact that only whites are voting on May 6 — in the same way that only whites went to the polls in the November 1983 referendum which brought about the tricameral Parliament.

In that sense things have not changed since 1903 when Lord Milner told a delegation of coloured people:

"The white races of South Africa are the guardians of its civilisation. It is for them to decide whom they can admit as partners in that guardianship without danger to the whole political and social structure of the country."

If one has any doubt as to the fact that whites alone intend to determine any future constitution one has only to look at the preconditions as spelled out by the Transvaal Leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, this week.

They are the constitutional manifesto of the National Party based on the Federal Congress resolutions adopted in Durban last August.

Negotiations, he said, can only take place against the background of:

- Racial group identity with its implied segregated residential areas and schoools.
- The acceptance of racially-based self-determination of "own affairs" at all levels of government and a joint council of state where decisions on general affairs can be taken by consensus.

That is it and the disenfranchised majority can either take it or leave it.

In that it is unacceptable to the majority of people in South Africa it must ultimately be a formula for disaster, and perhaps as the National Party plots and plans, manoeuvres and obfuscates in its bid to find a way to retain white control it should look back at its last experiment in first-tier co-option and events since 1984.

August 1984 saw the first elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

They were elections characterised by low percentage polls and marred by violence as pro-participationists and those opposed to co-option within the tricameral system clashed.

A subsequent by-election this year for the House of Representatives saw the percentage poll drop further.

And, throughout the 2½-year period since August 1984 the endemic unrest has festered and the country is currently transfixed in a state of emergency.

The tricameral Parliament was quickly exposed for what it really is — the co-option of other racial groups in such a way as to retain power for the white group.

The number of MPs in each House saw to that — cynically that is one clear reason why there can be no fourth chamber — and the loaded President's Council provided the forum for resolving deadlocks between the three Houses in a way which was satisfactory from the Government's point of view.

Power-sharing in any real sense it was not.

But at least for the time being, thanks to the state of emergency and the ever-expanding gravy-train the system gives a passable imitation of working.

Amid the general aquiescence debates take place in each House, questions are asked, budgets passed, joint standing committees, even a hint of colour in the Cabinet.

Now, with the smaller racial groups in their appointed places the National Party is seeking a mandate from 17% of the population to extend the system to Africans.

Having jettisoned the Verwoerdian homeland ideal, the National Party has come up with the idea of city states — "own affairs" independence for areas such as Soweto and Guguletu and, one presumes, New Brighton and the other major metropoles outside the homelands.

The basis is the white concept of racially-demarcated groups.

It is therefore a "white solution" that is being sought and as such it can only be seen as irrelevant and a ultimate waste of time by the majority of Africans.

Indeed it has been described as such, and even moderates such as Kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi stated this week that negotiations could not begin until the Population Registration Act and Group Areas Act — the white rules of the constitutional game — were repealed.

Perhaps on the eve of a white general election the Government might well ponder a statement made by one of its former members, Mr Dirk Mudge, now leader of the Republican Party in SWA/Namibia and chairman of the DTA.

After the numerous group experiments tried in that territory Mr Mudge states:

"It is absolutely pointless to have a whites-only election. It won't prove anything and it is simply a waste of time. What is needed is a general, fair election

"The policy of my party is inclusive, not exclusive — everybody must participate in that election; exiled movements and their leaders as well."

(News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

"During all the talks, the coloured and black communities must have felt rather out of things, and we have the disturbing picture of population groups being an important issue in discussions, yet not being considered important enough to be themselves drawn into the discussions. This was, and is, typical of South African politics." **Dr Richard van der Ross**



Central issue of May election

The aim is to win hearts and minds

The Government has apparently accepted that it will never win over the hard core of the ANC to its view of negotiations on the basis of an abandonment of violence. Therefore its official policy towards the organisation is: "Command and coerce".

This has emerged from interviews with sources high in the country's security establishment.

According to these sources the ANC and particularly Mr Joe Slovo, commander of the military wing of the organisation, consider themselves to be world leaders in conducting revolutionary warfare against countries such as South Africa.

But they are not the only ones who regard themselves as "special". According to a senior Government man, the SA security forces regard themselves as the world leaders in combating the kind of revolutionary onslaught being pursued by the ANC.

The revolutionary strategy and tactics adopted by the ANC in this regard have been identified by the South African Government as massive and detailed.

DAVID BRAUN

COMMITTED

This, according to the perception of the South African security authorities, is what this strategy involves:

1. The Government's information is that the ANC has committed itself irrevocably to a people's revolution in South Africa that involves the armed seizure of power and the eventual transition of the country into a Marxist state.

2. It believes that the ANC cannot afford to allow itself to be legalised under the present system because that would be a major blow to its credibility and set it back to the relatively weaker position politically that it was in before Sharpeville.

3. The Government dismisses the notion that the ANC comprises Marxist and nationalist elements. A study of the ANC literature, such as Sechaba, it says, produces no evidence of any alternative to the SA Communist Party being actively propagated.

According to Government information, the ANC has identified several areas for action: the mobilisation of the masses, the establishment of underground structures to co-ordinate mobilisation and sabotage, armed struggle, escalation of internal propaganda, and the revamping of its management organisation.

A senior Government source believes that any power wanting to take political control of South Africa would have to have a strong army. That is why the ANC has identified the SA Defence Force as its main target.

According to Government strategists, the ANC has no conventional force nor does it have any plans at this time to acquire one.

The revolutionary people's army is to consist of revolutionary armed people (fighting at night, working as civilians by day), guerilla units in the countryside, elements of the enemy forces (black policemen and soldiers), people's self-defence militia, and combat units for terrorism and sabotage.

The ANC's strategic objective, according to intelligence, is three-fold: destroy the State and the military power, conquer the country, destroy the will of the enemy.

According to a security source the ANC plans the revolution in four phases, but only the first two, or conquering phases, are publicised.

These are the democratic revolution phase and the socialist revolutionary phase (the destruction of the capitalist system).

The hidden phases, known as the consolidation phases are the political revolutionary phase (elimination of all opposition and the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship) and the ideological revolutionary phase (securing the Marxist state).

RURAL AREAS

The security forces have identified four escalating operational phases of the revolutionary onslaught: The creation of underground organisations to mobilise the masses, intimidation of the masses and urban terrorism against government organisations, guerilla war and full-scale mobile war between conventional forces of both sides.

According to security sources the ANC is preparing to launch the guerilla war phase in rural areas.

At the moment, depending on the region, South Africa is in phases one and two of the revolution.

The ANC apparently has not provided for phase four as it believes the Government will capitulate before then.

The Government's counter-revolutionary strategy involves "rolling back" the revolution to each preceding phase.

The security forces have advised the Government that even to negotiate with the revolutionary forces would be regarded as a sign of weakness and of panic.

Surrender or an accommodation with the revolutionary forces is therefore ruled out.

Instead, the strategy must be to protect the Government and the masses, eliminate the grievances of the population which lend themselves to be exploited by the revolutionary forces, and create a vision for the political future of all the people.

The aim is to win over the hearts and minds of the bulk of the people to the side of the authorities by means of this strategy.

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Who is to blame for the state of the economy?

SVEN LUNSCHE

Several leading economists have come out in opposition to the Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, for saying this week "it would be unfair and unjust to vote (in the general election) on the basis of an economy which was not firing on all six plugs".

Most economists spoken to said they would only comment if they names were not used. One explained: " A good link to the government is essential in our profession".

In his speech in Gardens, MrDu Plessis said the real issues affecting the economy were outside the ambit of pure economic decision-making processes and went on to list internal and external factors which had affected the economy in recent years.

These included the oil crisis and changing international economic forces; the foreign bank withdrawal of credit lines; the drought and the decrease in demand for gold, platinum and diamonds.

Most of the economists spoken to pointed out that the ideological burden over the economy had increased recently to the obvious detriment of the free enterprise system.

They gave specific examples of where government had directly blundered, but added that wherever the blame was laid "every country's government is judged by the state of the economy."

PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz commented: "A government should be concerned with the welfare and security of the people. The mismanagement of the economy not only directly affects the welfare of South Africans, but is also one of the major causes os the social unrest of the last few years."

"It is farcical to claim that they (the government) should not be judged on the performance of the economy."

An economist at one of the country's leading banks added: "A government sets the political and economic framework which has to be adopted by the private sector.

"One cannot blame central banks or the private sector for the economic recession as they are only parts of a vehicle which is driven by the government."

However, Trust Bank economist Ulrich Joubert says the private sector must take some of the reponsibility for the economic downturn."

He referred specifically to the fundamental change in US monetary policy in the early 80s, which led to declining inflation in that country. It not only took the South African government by surprise but also had economists tapping in the dark for a long time.

Most economists referred to disinvestment and the trade sanctions campaign as the major factors affecting the economy.

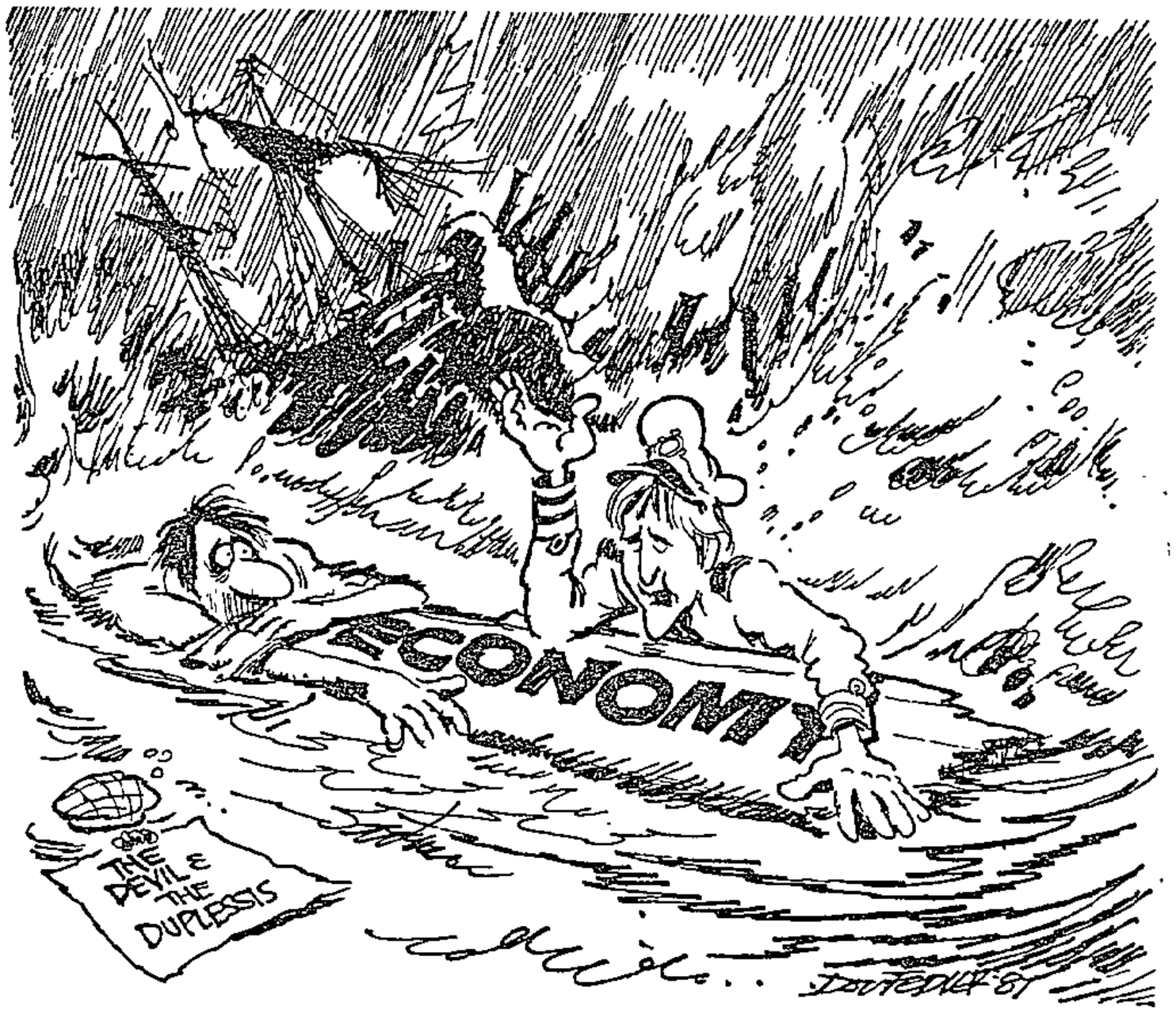
"If we ask ourselves why other countries are imposing sanctions, the answers can be found to a large extent in the government handling of political and economic affairs," said the economist of a large life insurance.

Adds Mr Schwarz: "The government did not only fail to anticipate what affect their political actions would have on overseas businessmen, they worsened these external factors by the mismanagement of the country's economy."

He pointed out that Mr Du Plessis was not entirely correct about the oil price " which has been trading very favourable for over a year now, while the worst effects of the drought are also over.

The high rates of taxation, when consumer demand should have been stimulated; an ever-growing rate of government expenditure and loose control of the money supply situation, were other points made by economists.

Rand Merchant Bank economist Rudi Gouws makes the point that "none of the other parties has sufficiently clearly spelt out economic policy and therefore voters do not have a clear choice between the government and other political parties in this matter."

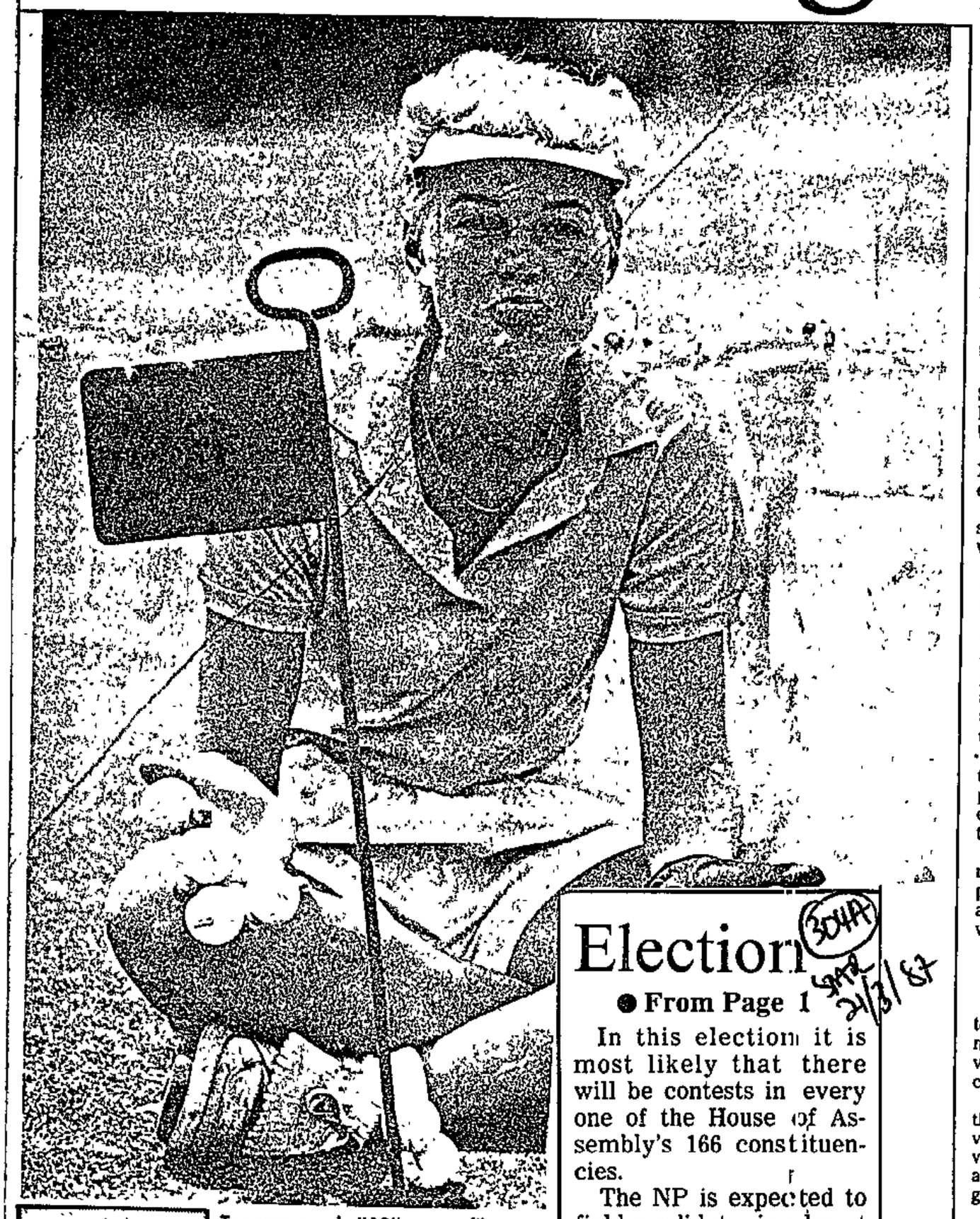


Massive rise in new voters catches parties napping

New factor that could swing election



Professor Kleynhans



DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

A massive and largely unexpected increase in the number of registered white voters — almost a third — could have a dramatic impact on the outcome of the general election on May 6.

According to the latest statistics released by the Department of Home Affairs, 3 031 414 people have been registered as voters for the election.

This is nearly a third more than the 2 292 179 registered for the last white general election in 1981.

"This is one of the most important new factors to emerge in any South African election since 1910," said Professor Willem Kleynhans last night. He is the former head of the politics department at the University of South Africa, and a leading elections analyst.

This enormous rise in the number of registered voters was "Factor X" in the election, he said. It was a vast new uncharted area of the electorate — and nobody could say how it was going to vote.

"I am absolutely amazed that not even experienced politicians seem to have grasped the significance of this," he said in an interview with The Saturday Star.

Professor Kleynhans attributed the dramatic rise in the number of voters to a change in the method of registering voters.

Until the 1981 election, officials of the Department of Home Affairs went from door to door to register voters. In recent years this was changed so that people were automatically registered as voters from data on the population register.

Professor Kleynhans said the addition of close to 750 000 first-time people to the voters roll presented an enormous challenge to political parties.

"Presumably most of these people represent the apathetic types who previously did not bother to register as voters, let alone take an interest in voting.

'Big surprises'

"However, now that they are registered, the party or parties which can motivate them to vote could be in a very strong position on May 6. There could be some big surprises."

Professor Kleynhans added that if the new voters did not exercise their votes, the percentage poll would obviously plunge substantially below the average 65 to 70 percent normally registered in a general election.

In the 1981 election, the percentage poll was 66,03 percent. Elections were held in 151 constituencies, and voters had to choose from 142 National Party candidates, 78 representing the Progressive Federal Party, 38 from the New Republic Party, 87 from the Herstigte Nasionale Party, nine from the Conservative Party, and three independents.

● To Page 2

Election

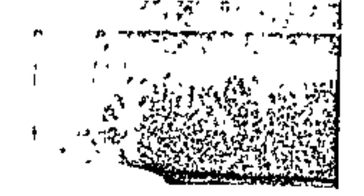
● From Page 1

In this election it is most likely that there will be contests in every one of the House of Assembly's 166 constituencies.

The NP is expected to field candidates in almost every seat, while the PFP/NRP alliance, and both of the major ultra-right-wing parties (CP and HNP — if they do not form an election pact), will each put up more than 100 candidates.

There could be about a dozen independents of various persuasions, making an overall total of at least 450 candidates.

● (Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)



Enough to give a girl a stroke

To some people "10" means film star Derek but, to Springbok golfer Car Louw, the number represents the bigge disappointment of her life. Louw, a f vourite to win the South African wome stroke play championships, which start last Sunday at Royal Johannesburg, w only two shots off the pace after t opening round of 74.

But, on Monday, she had a disastro

SA reform 'a laughing stock'

Reform moves by the South African Government were greeted with derision abroad, says Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP MP Houghton).

Mrs Suzman commented on overseas attitudes to this country after her return this week from a hectic 10-day trip in which she attended two conferences in the United States and England.

She was one of several prominent black and white South Africans invited to the Wilton Park conference in Sussex, England.

The conference was organised by the British Foreign Office, and focused on Southern Africa, confronting apartheid, and options for South Africa, the Frontline states and the West.

Mrs Suzman was also one of 70 outstanding women from 43 countries invited to attend the first Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus of Women Political Leaders, held in San Francisco from March 12 to 14, and organised by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

At the Wilton Park conference, interest in the forthcoming general election was high, Mrs Suzman said, but reform was regarded with derision.

MARIKA SBOROS

"What is wanted is fundamental change, the total abolition of apartheid, negotiation over the widest possible field on the political participation of blacks, and the extension of the franchise," she said.

Opening speaker at the conference was former Australian Prime Minister Sir Malcolm Fraser who discussed the report by the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) which visited South Africa last year.

Mrs Suzman was second speaker and became involved in a heated exchanged with Sir Malcolm when she pointed out that the drafting of the EPG report had completely ignored the existence of moderate white and black South Africans.

Mrs Suzman said no one at the conference spoke in favour of the apartheid regime, but she did her best to query the efficacy of sanctions and disinvestment as a strategy to bring about the abolition of apartheid.

"That will ruin the economy and, I believe, will ultimately retard the removal of apartheid."

Expansion of the economy was needed, with blacks being brought into the economic sector, supported by strong trade union organisation.

Mrs Suzman said she would now concentrate on her election campaign.

"I intend to get a thumping majority," she said.



MRS HELEN SUZMAN . . . back home from a hectic 10-day trip overseas where she attended two conferences.

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Horace issues new election challenge

Mr Horace van Rensburg, independent MP for Bryanston, has repeated an invitation to election opponents to join him in debate on a public platform.

He said yesterday he had had no response to an earlier challenge.

"Public debate is far more interesting than run-of-the-mill public meetings," he said.

CLAIMS

"Participating candidates have to keep to the facts and are forced to moderate their claims and criticisms."

The public, he added, had an opportunity to observe the candidates and their reactions when faced by one another.

The public could also probe with incisive questions.

ATTACKS

Any debate would take place under a neutral chairman, the candidates would have to speak in both official languages and would be accorded equal time.

Pettiness and personal attacks would not be permitted.

"If expense is a problem, I would be happy to pay all the costs of such a debate," Mr van Rensburg added.

(Report by Winnie Graham, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

304A

The smoke-filled room versus the big brass band

BRIAN POTTINGER charts the crucial differences between Chris Heunis and Pik Botha

THEY are as different as chalk and cheese.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, is a backroom person, never happier than when wheeling and dealing in private with political rivals.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha likes the big brass bands: he has an upfront sort of diplomacy which avoids the understatement and makes him more at home with Africans than Europeans.

The differences between the two sprang to the fore this week when Independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall said they hated each other — "take it from me" — and Mr Botha later conceded at a political meeting that there had been differences between the two.

Do they hate each other?

Not really, although they are different personalities and look after different governmental turf with sometimes conflicting interests. Oh yes, they are also rivals for the top job when President Botha takes his hat.



Most of the differences have in fact been merely clashes of ministerial interest.

Heat

As Foreign Minister, Mr Botha is continually aware of the country's waning international image and believes that dramatic reform strides and slick public relations will lower the heat.

Mr Heunis, however, believes in "reform by stealth". It is intended to keep everybody confused while the reform process slowly nudges forward, pulling in more and more actors. Smash-and-grab stuff is therefore not on.

On three major occasions these different interests have clashed — sometimes quite dramatically.

The first big one was over the ill-famed Rubicon speech in August 1985. Mr Botha believed it was essential for the President to make a really dramatic announcement which would halt the slow slide of South African prestige and business credibility.

He wanted a simple and unambiguous statement, preferably with a clash of cymbals.

So strongly did his department feel about it that they let it be known that a major announcement was to be made in the Rubicon speech.

Leak

At the same time word leaked that President Botha was to announce the inclusion of blacks in the cabinet. Mr Heunis immediately thought the leak had come from Mr Botha's department during talks with the Americans just before Rubicon.

Mr Botha heatedly denied it (the Americans privately concurred), but the damage was done.

Mr Heunis, wearing his constitutional development hat, warned President Botha that the Foreign Minister was raising false expectations and urged him to keep his speech "open-ended".

In the end, President Botha made up his own mind and said little in Rubicon — and even that was said badly.

But so successful had Pik Botha's men been that a dozen international TV crews pitched up at the Natal NP Congress for the Rubicon speech, enabling tens of millions throughout the world to watch President Botha at his hectoring, pedestrian worst.

Outraged

The only one who was happy with the Rubicon speech was Mr Heunis. He felt he had been given room to "manoeuvre".

But lo, suddenly on television a few days later appeared Mr Pik Botha to help fill in some of the gaps left by the President.

An outraged Mr Heunis demanded equal time and was instantly given it. He appeared the next night to assure the nation, by implication, that not everything was as simple as Foreign Minister Botha might suggest.

Scathing

It was about this time that Mr Heunis was heard in private to refer scathingly to Mr Pik Botha as "that other Botha".

Second big face-off came over the Eminent Persons Group.

Foreign Minister Botha believed the initiative by the Commonwealth countries to broker peace in South Africa should be seized to relieve pressure on Pretoria and, perhaps, even lead to a breakthrough.

But Heunis was suspicious from the start: it was an unwarranted intrusion on his turf and he was afraid all this talk with the ANC would alienate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the elusive target of Pretoria's reformers.

It was President Botha who again resolved the issue. Under pressure from his security establishment, he ordered military strikes against ANC targets — forgetting to tell his Foreign Minister.

Rival

The third difference of opinion has been over the early general election.

Stories circulated that it was Mr Heunis who wanted an early election before a new constituency delimitation which would favour Mr F W De Klerk, Transvaal Leader of the NP and Mr Heunis's chief rival in the leadership stakes.

Meddling

In fact Mr Heunis was dead against the idea from the beginning. He said he did not want an election fought on extraneous issues such as foreign meddling. But in reality he was afraid that he had nothing to *offer* the electorate in concrete terms.

His last success had been the enticement of the Labour Party into the tricameral Parliament. Even some of his own people are now questioning whether that was much of a gain in any case.



Since then he has been hampered by the Cabinet sub-committee on Constitutional Affairs which has to OK all his proposals.

All told, then, Mr Heunis is not in a strong position to enter an election in which he knows there is a lot of left-wing unhappiness with reform.

Mr Pik Botha, however, was keen as mustard for an election. He believed, wrongly, it could be fought on the gutsy emotionalism he is good at: foreign interference and the Red menace.

It was important for him, the party's main election warhorse, to have this opportunity soon. He was not in high favour with the President or the party and, mindful of how he was rewarded with a vice-chairmanship of the Transvaal NP after the 1983 referendum, he was itching for the hustings.

Problems

The election has not, however, been all bad for this prickly relationship. Mr Heunis's problems down in Helderberg have forced him to call on Mr Pik Botha's services for an election meeting. And Mr Botha is going.

The one hand still washes the other — at least until May 6.

(News by B Pottinger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

Dr No says Yes

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By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night agreed to an election pact with the HNP.

The move came with the March 31 deadline for nomination of candidates for the May 6 election only eight days away.

The dramatic softening of the recalcitrant Conservative Party's hardline position increased prospects of a unified rightwing assault on the Government.

Dr Treurnicht appeared to align himself with Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging proposals for a rightwing pact.

He told a Middelburg audience he was prepared to accept that the CP would contest the 17 parliamentary seats it presently held and the Herstigte Nasionale Party would choose 10 others.

Distrust

The remaining seats to be constested by the rightwing alliance would be decided on local level.

On the face of it these were the proposals made by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche and which the HNP accepted two weeks ago.

However, distrust among the CP and HNP had run so deep that HNP senior sources late last night reacted with caution to Dr Treurnicht's concession.

"Every technical point must be examined. To make nomination decisions within a week will be very difficult," an HNP source said

Without a pact the rightwing could count, observers believe, on between 10 and 25 seats. A unified assault could increase this number to 50 seats, the majority of which are held by the governing National Party

(Report by L Venter, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.)

Wave of staff discontent over 'pro-Nat election coverage'

TURMOIL AT THE SABC

→ cont...



Professor Christo Viljoen ... new board vice-chairman

Killer deaths: Briton held in SA

By ANN PALMER

A MAN wanted for questioning by Scotland Yard about the brutal murder of two prostitutes in London has been arrested by police in Johannesburg

A police spokesman said yesterday that a "British citizen is being held in terms of the immigration laws". He declined to comment further

Security guard Martin Anthony Maher, 32, was arrested in a Hillbrow flat on Friday night by members of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad.

His detention followed a 72-hour hunt across the Witwatersrand

Earlier this week, two Scotland Yard detectives arrived in South Africa after information that the wanted man had been traced to this country

Mr Maher is to be questioned about three assaults on prostitutes, as well as the "Ripper-type" murders of two others

Vice girls Rachel Applethwaite and Marina Monti, who operated in London's Bayswater red-light area, were both strangled, stripped of their knee-high leather boots and brutally mutilated

Mr Maher fled to South Africa shortly after police launched a massive hunt in Britain for the killer

But he contacted Scotland Yard when police quizzed Mexican diplomat Guillermo Suarez about the



By DAVID JACKSON, CHARMAIN NAIDOO and DOUGLAS GORDON

GROWING political discontent among TV and radio staff swung the election spotlight on the SABC this weekend.

It came amid fresh charges that the Government was harnessing the corporation for an all-out propaganda assault on voters.

In an unprecedented wave of internal dissent, senior SABC journalists spoke out strongly against what they see as an unashamedly pro-National Party line in its election coverage

The turmoil — which involves Afrikaans and English-speaking staff — dramatically gained momentum with the controversial "axing" from the SABC board this week of vice-chairman Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

Professor Terreblanche has publicly thrown in his lot with the independent "New Nat" movement.

And yesterday the PFP's spokesman on media affairs, Mr David Dalling, accused Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, Minister in charge of broadcasting, of "hand-picking the new SABC board to include people who appear to know very little about broadcasting and who will not rock the Nationalist boat".

Letters

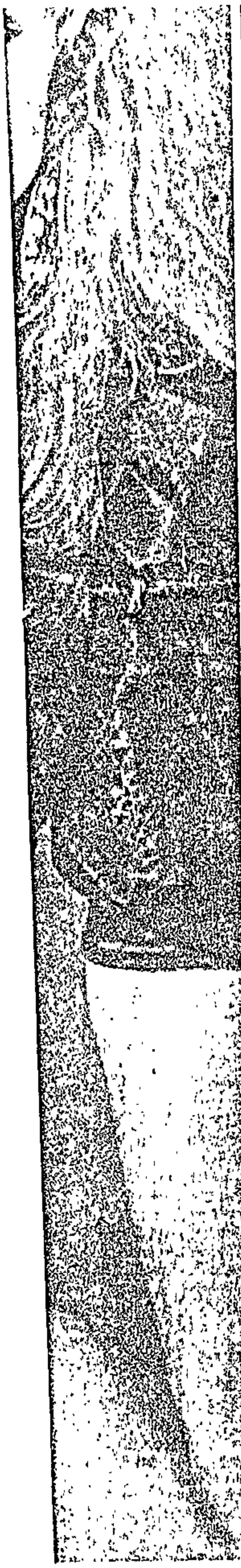
Mr Dalling, who claimed he had himself been approached by several senior SABC personnel, said: "More and more the SABC itself is becoming an election issue.

"There is evidence of very clear dissatisfaction within the SABC with political dictatorship. Never ir

Bungalow Bill and the Joeys beaut

PICTURED HERE WITH JOAN COLLINS . . .





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CO VAN RENSBURG

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out propaganda assault on voters.

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Letters

Mr Dalling, who claimed he had himself been approached by several senior SABC personnel, said: "More and more the SABC itself is becoming an election issue.

"There is evidence of very clear dissatisfaction within the SABC with political dictatorship. Never in the past has there been this level of dissatisfacion with dictatorial attitudes at the top."

Newspapers — including the Sunday Times — have received letters from discontented staff members detailing grievances at the SABC

One letter to the Sunday Times was obviously a plea from the heart.

The writer described himself as a "loyal SABC staffer (loyal to the SABC, not the Nat Party)".

He said there was "dissatisfaction within SABC ranks at the involvement of the NP (and/or government departments) in SABC news coverage".

Commentary

The letter "is written in the sincere hope that it will cast light on a situation in which the national (party) broadcasting body is abused by the party as evidenced through the SABC's bias in the present campaign. . . ."

Some "rebels" — who do not at present have a co-ordinated spokesman — also approached the Sunday Times individually this week.

Here are the main incidents:

● SABC external service staff objected to the broadcasting of a "biased" commentary about Dr Denis Worrall and the Independents. The matter was resolved only after a meeting between protesting journalists and a senior SABC executive.

The SABC yesterday confirmed that the incident took place.

● SABC economics chief Jerry Schuitema was reportedly reprimanded by his seniors after he challenged an SABC policy directive, which in effect called on journalists to "toe the party line" — at a staff meeting. He was applauded by several colleagues.

According to SABC sources, he was told it was wrong for a senior official to embarrass his seniors in front of junior staff.

Mr Schuitema yesterday would not confirm or deny the incident,

□ To Page 2

304 a

SABC turmoil

□ From Page 1

saying he was contractually bound not to talk to the Press.

● "Network" anchorman John Bishop has been removed from the panel doing political interviews, which in terms of the corporation's "tightening-up" of election coverage are to be handled by political staff.

The SABC's Mr Kobus Hamman commented: "We have political specialists — people like Andre le Roux and Freek Robinson — who would naturally cover politics, since it is their area of speciality."

● Reports of tension between Johan Pretorius (editor-in-chief of TV News and Public Affairs) and Mr Sakkie Burger (senior director, News and External Services) over the handling of political interviews.

Mr Pretorius is said to have taken issue with Mr Burger over the latter's briefing of political editor Andre le Roux before his controversial interview with Nat rebel Wynand Malan. Mr Pretorius has denied this.

The hectoring tone of the interview backfired badly for the SABC, winning Mr Malan much public sympathy.

● San Reddy, the SABC's first and only Indian reporter at Auckland Park has resigned to go overseas amid reports that he sees little future for blacks in the corporation.

Mr Reddy has cited "personal reasons" for his move — his white American wife has been refused permanent residence here.

The latest rumblings follow the recent resignation of TV news editor Rusty van Druten — apparently because of the SABC's failure to cover Dr Worrall's opening meeting — and the dismissal of news writer Mauritz Moolman, to stand for the PFP in the general election.

On the protest by external staff, Mr Burger said yesterday: "Some were unhappy with the trend of the talk (the commentary on Dr Worrall).

"I had a meeting with the people involved and with the commentary section responsible for the editorial content of the talk, and we discussed the whole issue, which was then resolved.

"I outlined the policy of the SABC in its external services and it was accepted. I agreed that as far as this specific talk was concerned I had no objections to the content, but that I thought it could have been written in slightly different style."

The gist of the other allegations have been emphatically denied by senior SABC spokesmen.

Meanwhile, Mr Moolman spoke this week of the "seething discontent" at Auckland Park.

He said there was no doubt that staff members were censored and made to follow the National Party line.

On the dropping of Professor Terreblanche from the SABC board, the PFP's Mr Dalling said yesterday: "The reasons given by Mr Schlebusch are puerile."

"The National Party has never hesitated in the past to appoint political activists to the board.

New rule

Professor Terreblanche said the new rule that SABC board members should not be visibly active in the political field was a "fig leaf" designed by the Government to hide its embarrassment at having to axe him.

It was also revealed yesterday that new SABC board member Mr Henkie Swart, who takes up his position on April 1, is now district chairman of the National Party in Malmesbury.

Mr Swart said yesterday he had no intention of resigning his National Party office in Malmesbury.

The new vice-chairman of the board, Stellenbosch academic Professor Christo Viljoen, yesterday angrily denied that he had been appointed as a political counter to Professor Terreblanche and other Nat rebels.

He said he was not a "political animal".

(News by D Jackson, C Naidoo and D Gordon, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

UDF urges whites not to vote in 'farcical' election

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front has urged its supporters and white voters not to participate in the May 6 election and to abandon the "myth" of change through Parliament.

A document by UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, released this week, sets out the organisation's attitude to the white general election.

Until the release of the document, there had been speculation that the UDF might soften its stance on non-participation — and encourage whites to support the formation of a new alliance that could break the logjam of South African politics.

But this is specifically written off in the policy document.

"Current talk of a new reform alliance comprising the PFP, NRP, business groups, New Nats and so-called black moderates represents a dangerous step to resurrect the old reform dreams of a few years ago," says the UDF.

It appeals to PFP supporters: "Turn away from the racists, look toward the majority. Abandon the myth of change through Parliament."

And to Nationalists, the UDF says: "The future of you and your children will not come by trying to turn the clock of history back, but rather by facing the future with courage and vision.

"Pressurise the NP and its MPs into addressing the real problems of this country; demand that the Government abandons its present course; demand that it addresses the legitimate demands of the majority."

The UDF, which plans to highlight the "illegitimacy" of the Government, describes the elections as a farce.

"They will be neither free nor democratic, they will take place under a state of emergency with police and army control, there is heavy censorship of the Press, an almost total information blackout and no freedom of association."

Meanwhile, a new liberal political group, the Five Freedoms Forum, has sounded a more conciliatory note on the election.

It has set itself the task of addressing the white electic ., attempting to highlight issues that should be raised or would be raised in democratic and free elections involving all South Africans.

(News by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

from Alwyn Schlebusch over [illegible]

ety

Treurnicht offers deal on seats

Election pact in sight for right

204A

23/3/87

B1Day

THE Conservative Party and the HNP were expected to agree on an election pact today or tomorrow.

What promised to be the beginning of the end of a long game of brinkmanship came at the weekend when CP leader Andries Treurnicht told a meeting in Middelburg he was willing to accept a division of seats on the basis that the CP stood in the 17 seats it held, and the HNP contested 10 others.

The HNP leadership was discussing Treurnicht's statements yesterday. A spokesman said the only remaining issue to resolve was which 10 seats would be left to the HNP. "If these seats are on our list of, say, the first 25 or 30 winnable ones, the pact is on."

Spokesmen for both parties said an agreement could result in the combined right wing winning more than 20 seats in the House of Assembly — some say up to 40.

If they oppose each other they could win fewer than the 18 seats they hold at present.

The pact will have to be sealed and signed early this week, because the agreement on some 120 candidates must be ready before nomination day next Tuesday.

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

Treurnicht said he had always been in favour of the unification of the right-wing parties. He had now decided that if he was the stumbling block in the way of unity between the parties, he would stand aside.

He said he was willing to sign the agreement on condition the CP and the HNP agreed to unite before the end of the year. It was now up to the leader of the HNP, Jaap Marais, to accept these terms.

He had asked certain candidates if they were willing to stand back for the HNP in certain constituencies, and they had agreed. "I praise them for doing that," Treurnicht said.

In the other constituencies where the right-wing parties would put up candidates, the constituency committees should decide on the candidates themselves.

Where no agreement could be reached, a vote should be taken by members of both parties in the area.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Cape Times 23/3/87 30K/V

Row sinks right wing

Political Staff

A RIGHT-WING election pact, which was on the brink of agreement on Saturday night, crashed yesterday because of a dispute over a seat for Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, last night ruled out further negotiations, saying that time had run out.

The failure to reach an election pact could mean a difference of as many as 30 right-wing seats in Parliament.

It was thought if they did not split the vote they could win up to 45 seats and stood a good chance of returning as the official opposition.

However, the on/off AWB mediations crashed yesterday afternoon with each side blaming the other.

Deliberate misreading

The problem arose over the nomination in Pretoria's Hercules constituency, where Mr Marais wants to stand.

CP MP for Langlaagte Mr S P Barnard also wants to stand there because he will not retain his old seat.

Dr Treurnicht said yesterday that there was no provision in the agreement hammered out by the AWB for Mr Marais getting a specific seat.

However, the HNP accused the CP of deliberately misreading the AWB agreement. In terms of the agreement, the CP was to be allowed to nominate its members in the 17 seats it held when Parliament was dissolved.

The HNP was then to have the choice of 10 other "winnable" seats, "such as Rustenburg".

However, the HNP has accused the CP of nominating its own members in 17 seats, of which not all, like Hercules, were held by the party.

No provision

The party's planning committee said in a statement after a meeting yesterday that the CP had also offered the HNP four seats which did not fall in the "winnable" category.

No provision was made for Mr Marais, who for ethical reasons was not prepared to push a nominated person out of his seat. This was generally known and therefore, in terms of the CP's proposals, Mr Marais would not be a candidate, said the statement.

However, Dr Treurnicht said there was nothing in the agreement which stipulated that Mr Marais should get the seat of his choice.

An HNP spokesman said the party was prepared to continue the negotiations and to go ahead with the pact if the problem over the Hercules seat could be ironed out.

But Dr Treurnicht said: "There is no time for further negotiations. I regard the matter as closed."

(News by O Pollok, 6C Mutual Place, Beach Rd, Sea Point.)

Encourage woman's role in government, says Helen Suzman

Star 23/3/87

3044

By Marika Sboros
Women Today Editor

Greater participation by women in government and politics is essential and must be encouraged, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP MP, Houghton) said after her return last week from a conference in the United States which aimed to do just that.

Mrs Suzman was one of 70 outstanding women from 43 countries who were invited to attend the first Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus of Women Politial Leaders, held in San Francisco earlier this month and sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

HISTORIC

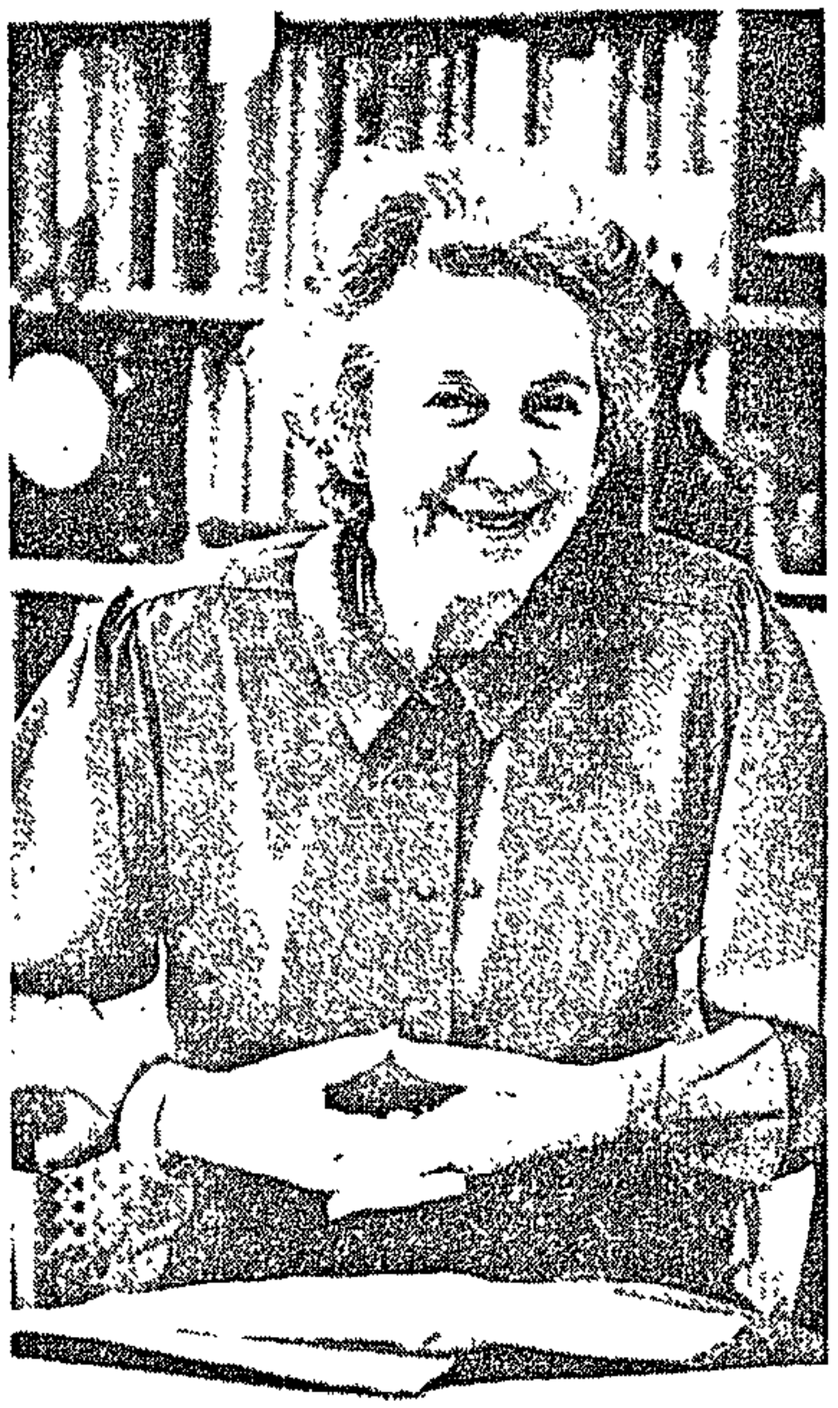
The conference was an historic event as it gathered togethed women of influence and power from around the globe, to examine their role as political leaders in the world's democracies and to gain insight into how they have successfully progressed in public life.

"It was encouraging to see how many women are Ministers in their governments, although the overall percentage worldwide is small," Mrs Suzman said.

Despite South African women having had the vote since 1930, their participation in politics and government has been abysmally small.

"We have never had a woman Minister of government," Mrs Suzman said.

Everwhere women were more than 50 percent of the electorate, but in terms of the power structure worldwide, they make up only 5 percent, she said.



HELEN SUZMAN "Women must use their influence to improve their positions."

The conference took no resolutions, but explored methods of leadership development and encouraging women to participate in decision-making processes at all levels of society, including how to get the media interested in promoting this.

Mrs Suzman chaired a committee which discussed the media as an important influential vehicle for encouraging women to participate in politics, and the problems of State-controlled television.

"Women generally do not use the media," Mrs Suzman said, "but there has to be a free Press to perform this function adequately," she said.

Although Mrs Suzman has not taken up women's issues as the prime motivation for her political career, she said she considered them part of the broader fight against discrimination, including the one against which she is best known as a relentless opponent — racial discrimination.

"There are so many competent women who don't get the opportunities they deserve because of discrimination," Mrs Suzman said.

She was pleased to see the open-hearted support given by women to each other at the conference.

"Women must use their influence to improve their positions," she said.

She was also interested to meet and make contact with women from so many different countries.

"I really can now say that I have contacts all over the world," she said.

GRATIFIED

Mrs Suzman was gratified by the warmth of the reception she had received at the conference.

"I wondered how I would be received, coming from South Africa, but there was nothing but genuine warmth," she said.

She was also amazed at how well-known she appeared to be, although this would not surprise the many women in South Africa for whom she has served as a remarkable role model.

Mrs Suzman said that the PFP had put up 10, strong women candidates, all chosen on merit, for the coming general election, which was an indication of a welcome move towards more female participation.

(Report by M Sboros, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

R6-m gift for Ciskei

EAST LONDON — Ciskei's President Mr Lennox Sebe and South African Ambassador to Ciskei Mr Christaan Vanaardt signed a free gift contract of more than R6 million in Bisho on Saturday.

The money is to be used to assist the resettlement of the land-right owners of Tyutyu, Skobeni and Bhalasi communities in Braunschweig.

The money is to go towards improving the lot of people and the standard of living. People in areas like Bhalasi have always been interested in agriculture, but over the years have been at a disadvantage because of the fluctuation in rain-fall and dry-land farming.

"Irrigated land will help improve their yield resulting in goodwill and self-sufficiency," Mr Sebe said. — Sapa.

304A STAR 23/3/87

Both sexes still see politics as an exclusively male domain

By Marika Sboros

A strong prejudice held by men and women that politics and public affairs are an exclusively male domain, is a factor traditionally inhibiting women's participation in these processes worldwide.

This emerged from a survey conducted among participants to develop an agenda for the first Eleanor Roosevelt Caucus of International Women Political Leaders held in San Francisco earlier this month.

Mrs Helen Suzman, (PFP MP, Houghton) was the only South African invited to attend the historic gathering of 70 women of power and influence from all over the world.

One participant stated the feelings expressed by many of her colleagues:

"Women themselves have to be the architects of their advancement. Until they are found in all decision-making areas, progress will be retarded.

"Women are challenging tradition. Legislation is easy, changing attitudes is difficult.

"Women who have made it in the political arena must help other women in their struggle to be heard."

The survey found the greatest obstacle to the pursuit of political careers has been the stereotyping of politics as a male arena, that precluded women from participating in the process.

Equally difficult to surmount were the obstacles of time and challenge of balancing a career, politics and a family.

"In the process of meeting these challenges, the participants have developed organisational ability, people skills, issue, education and leadership training.

"They also maintain they have developed stamina, commitment to their cause, adaptability, tenacity and persistence," the survey found.

PARTY SUPPORT

The majority of the participants had been in office several times, and said the most important resources in their campaigns were volunteers and party support, the latter being considered the most significant factor in career advancement.

Many participants expressed concern about a general malaise or disinterest in political issues and an unfavourable impression of women in politics.

PRESS COVERAGE

While most of the respondents reported that the amount of Press coverage they received as candidates was equal to male candidates, and that they were treated as seriously on public policy issues, they felt a distinction existed, with more attention being focused on personal characteristics and family status.

Female heads of state including British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Philippines President Corazon Aquino sent messages of support.

The conference was hosted by the mayor of San Francisco, Ms Dianne Feinstein, and chaired in the caucus by former Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Ms Geraldine Ferraro.

Mrs Suzman said the conference organisers hope to make it a regular event.

Supporters of CP 'intimidated'

MIDDELBURG — The Conservative Party would not stand for intimidation of its supporters who were employed in the civil service, the leader of the party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said at the weekend.

Speaking in the town hall he said he had evidence of CP members and their families who had been intimidated by the security police. He knew of people who had been made "insecure" because they or members of their families supported the CP.

BROEDERBOND

It was an "ugly matter" and if not stopped would "cause big trouble".

Referring to the Broederbond, he said the organisation should not be disbanded because it no longer stood for the identity and self-determination of the Afrikaner or for white sovereignty.

It appeared to have decided a black government in South Africa was inevitable and whites should accept it.

Institutions which had previously stood for Afrikaner identity and culture could no longer be trusted — Sapa

(Report by K Daniels, 626 Mutual House, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

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Treurnicht agrees to election pact with HNP

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, agreed at the weekend to an election pact with the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

He told about 550 enthusiastic supporters in Middelburg that he was willing to accept a division of seats on the basis that the CP would stand in the 17 constituencies where they held seats, and the HNP would contest 10 others.

In the other constituencies where the right-wing parties would put up candidates, the constituency committees would decide on the candidates themselves.

A VOTE

Where no agreement could be reached a vote should be taken by members of both parties in the area.

Dr Treurnicht said he was willing to sign the agreement on condition that the CP and the HNP agreed to unite before the end of the year. It was now up to the leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, to accept these terms.

He said it had not been an easy decision to make because his party had, for the past few months, been getting their election machinery into gear.

Many candidates had given up their jobs to represent the party and now it was difficult to ask them to stand back.

He had asked certain candidates if they were willing to make way for the HNP in certain constituencies and they had agreed.

"I praise them for doing that," he said.

He said he had always been in favour of the unification of the rightwing parties and had now come to the decision that if it was he who was standing in the way of unity between the parties, he would stand aside.

He appealed to people to give the parties a chance to bring about right-wing unity and not to cause division by referring to what had happened in the past.

"I have no intention to argue about what happened in 1969, 1977 or 1981.

"I am only interested in the future of my nation."

The constituency of Middelburg was not one of the seats in which the CP would stand aside for the HNP.

WILLING

The local CP candidate, Mr Pikkie Coetzee, said at a meeting on Thursday night that he and the HNP candidate, Mr Johan Strydom, had said each was equally willing to stand back for the other. — Sapa.

(News by K Daniels, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)



Pik tilts at 'walls of racism'

POTGIETERSRUS — If whites did not work harder to achieve a peaceful South Africa, they would be looking at the walls of racism set up around them and be unable to see over them to the great vision for South Africa's future, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said in Potgietersrus at the weekend.

He told a meeting of about 600 people that it would not be sanctions, the United Nations, or even the African National Congress that would bring about the downfall of whites, but their own internal divisions.

Mr Botha devoted most of his address to attacking the latest issue of the Conservative Party's journal, *Die Patriot*, saying most of its content was untruthful propaganda against the National Party — Sapa.

(News by M van der Velden 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

Confiscation threat

White property owners who house members of other races in white group areas could have their properties confiscated in terms of the Group Areas Act, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, has said.

The strategy was reported to be a cessation of prosecutions of people living in areas for which they did not qualify in terms of the Act and, on the other hand, penalties for owners of properties in which contraventions occur.

Mr Badenhorst said Section 41 of the Act enabled confiscation of property being used by "disqualified" people and the Government was prepared to use this section. — Sapa

(Report by F Neuhoff, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg.)

'NP paying for ambivalance'

Mr Alf Widman, PFP MP for Hillbrow, said yesterday he was against the "draconian" approach to the Group Areas Act announced by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

"The Nats are paying for ambivalence in allowing grey areas to develop," said Mr Widman.

(News by M Collier, 626 Old Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg.)

Grabouw 8 who quit NP 'pro-Sutton'

CAPE TOWN — One of eight Grabouw NP members who resigned last week, Mr Andries Erwee, said the group was supporting Mr Bill Sutton not as leader of the NRP but because he backed independents.

Mr Erwee believed the NRP was finished but Mr Sutton had spoken in favour of the manifesto of Dr Denis Worrall and other independents.

He said the eight also quit over Government abuse of the SABC. — Sapa.

(Report by G Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

'Apartheid at root of Israeli move'

JOHANNESBURG — It was unlikely the position of Jews in South Africa would affect the Israeli government's decision to halt all military trade with the country, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), said yesterday.

Addressing a Jewish Women Today meeting, she said the decision to cut military trade under pressure from the United States was directly linked to the existence of apartheid in the county.

Mrs Suzman said her advice to Jews in the country was to tackle apartheid, the root of the problem, politically and socially.

"I am against sanctions and disinvestment and I hope it won't come to that with Israel," she said.

She said some external pressure had been beneficial in breaking down apartheid, but when the economy was disturbed and unemployment caused, these pressures were no good. — Sapa.

(Report by H Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison S, Johannesburg.)

Quotes from the election platform

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, speaking at Potgietersrus: "If whites do not pull themselves together they will be looking at the walls of racism set up around them and be unable to see over them to the great vision for South Africa's future."

★ ★ ★

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, speaking in Middelburg: "I have no intention of arguing about what happened in 1969, 1977 or 1981.

"I am only interested in the future of my nation.

"Institutions which previously stood for Afrikaner identity and culture can no longer be trusted."

★ ★ ★

Mr Frank le Roux, Conservative Party spokesman on manpower: "To connect this day so closely with May 1 — an occasion generally associated with solidarity by leftists, socialists and communists — is once again proof of the National Party's wishy-washy kowtowing to these elements."

★ ★ ★

Mr Alf Widman, PFP candidate in Hillbrow (speaking about Nationalist attitudes to the Group Areas Act): "They find themselves in a dilemma from which they are trying to extricate themselves by what I submit are rash and hasty steps."

★ ★ ★

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP candidate in Houghton: "I am not one of the radicals who hold sanctions are good, nor do I hold that the revolution must roll on — the worse the better."

(Compiled by J M Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition is by H W Tyson and R A Gibson, headlines by D Rink and posters by R G Anderson all of 47 Sauer Street Johannesburg

Group Areas spotlight is to be cast on Hillbrow and Mayfair

Govt says no to grey areas

304A STAR 29/3/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The Government indicated today that it is to crack down on offenders of the Group Areas Act — even in the Johannesburg suburbs of Hillbrow and Mayfair, which are reserved for whites but where thousands of people of other races are living illegally.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Piet Badenhorst today denied speculation in the Nationalist Press at the weekend that the Government plans to relax the Act in certain areas which had become integrated by declaring them "grey" or open areas.

He said the law made no provision for grey or open areas.

Mr Badenhorst's reaffirmation of doctrinaire apartheid in residential areas is being seen as a deliberate attempt by the Government to placate growing right-wing criticism that it has abandoned the Group Areas Act.

While his statements have obviously been aimed at taking the wind out of the sails of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, they could also put further pressure on the left wing of the National Party, for which the abolition of the Act is a priority.

A number of academics and other prominent people have recently broken from the NP because of their opposition to the party's commitment to segregated residential areas.

Referring to Mayfair and Hillbrow, Mr Badenhorst said allegations had been made of large-scale contraventions of the Act, and these were now being investigated with a view to possible action.

Tough action

He said the Government intended taking tougher action against offenders, particularly landlords who allowed their premises to be occupied illegally. This could involve confiscation of the properties.

Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on constitutional development Mr Nic Olivier said today the Government was caught in a cleft stick over its group areas policy because it found it now had to explain it in different ways to its left and right flanks.

The PFP MP for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, said he believed Mr Badenhorst's threats were just "big talk" because the Government was prevented by a court decision from evicting people from their homes in situations where other accommodation could not be found, or evictions caused hardship.

He challenged President Botha to tell the electorate clearly and precisely what the Government's policy was on the Act, on segregated residential areas, and on grey areas.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

NPP split causes Solidarity rethink

STAR 23/3/87

By Bruce Cameron, Political Correspondent

Solidarity is to reconsider its position in the tricameral system on the heels of a weekend decision to break ties with the majority National People's Party.

The unity agreement, which split Solidarity more than a year ago, was torn up at the weekend after the party was forced to decide whether it wanted to remain the official Opposition or form a coalition with the NPP.

The decision had been forced on the party by the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, following an application by the breakaway section of Solidarity, which formed the Progressive Reform Party, to be recognised as the official Opposition.

Dr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, said he would be handing in his resignation as Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates following the decision.

However there was confusion as to whether Mr I Kathrada would follow suit. He could not be contacted for comment.

PRP spokesman, Mr Maoo Rajab, MP, today said the decision would not result in the PRP rejoining Solidarity.

There were conflicting theories for the scrapping of the unity agreement today, ranging from personal advantage to accusations that the NPP was supporting apartheid.

Solidarity chairman Mr Ismael Omar said the decision had been based on two reasons.

Firstly it was felt Solidarity had to look beyond the tricameral system

He accused the NPP of becoming obsessed with "own affairs".

"We gave it five years to try the system, but the rate at which the Nationalists are going we will have to do this by the end of the year.

"It is not only the Nationalists but also the handling of participation politics by Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the Rev Alan Hendrikse.

The apology of Mr Hendrikse to President Botha had virtually killed participation politics.

Mr Rajbansi, who is also NPP leader, said that the agreement was scuttled because of personal ambitions.

(Report by B Cameron, 122 St Goerge's Street Cape Town.)

3044 STAR 23/3/87

Anti-Norweto group to back debate

By Shirley Woodgate

The anti-Norweto Greenbelt Action Group (GAG) is putting maximum pressure on all three candidates in North Rand.

GAG is sponsoring a candidates' debate next month. The Progressive Federal Party and Conservative Party candidates, Mr Pieter Schoeman and Mr Piet de la Rey, have agreed to take part.

Mr A C "Attie" Grobler, the National Party candidate, has yet to decide.

GAG spokesman Mr Eric Fletcher said as far as he knew this would be the first time South Africans would be exposed to this kind of debate.

Candidates would be able to make themselves known to the electorate.

"The format allows a chairman and three speaking positions. Candidates draw at the start of the meeting for positions. GAG will set questions to be handed over on the day before the debate.

"Having drawn for seats the first question goes to number one, seated nearest the chairman. There is a set time limit for answering and the question is then passed on to the other two speakers. The second question is handed to speaker number two first and so on.

"The questions will deal with constituency matters, Norweto and national affairs. They will not be designed as a third degree but will remain in the context of GAG's stated a-political stance," said Mr Fletcher.

The debate takes place at 7.30 pm on April 15 at the Indaba Hotel, Witkoppen.

(Report by S Woodgate, 47 Sauer Street Johannesburg.)

N Tvl gears up for election

(304A SJMC 24/3/87.)

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

Election campaigning is gaining momentum in the Northern Transvaal, where three Cabinet Ministers, as well as top Conservative Party leaders, have addressed 10 meetings in less than a week.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, proved to be the leading crowd puller in Potgietersrus, while Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP), and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, spoke at lively farmers' meetings.

The influence of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) will remain over Pietersburg during the election run-up, observers believe.

The AWB broke up a major National Party meeting here last year, and according to NP supporters this had the definite effect of keeping many Nat supporters away from Thursday's rally addressed by Manpower Minister Mr Piet du Plessis.

RIGHTWING UNITY

"But it is what happens on polling day that matters, and we believe we can win," said a confident Mr Burger Lategan, the NP candidate in Pietersburg, who is involved in a close fight with CP MP Dr Willie Snyman.

A lack of right-wing unity could see the Nats home in three Northern Transvaal constituencies — Potgietersrus, Pietersburg and Soutpansberg.

Some observers even believe the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, could be in serious trouble in his Waterberg constituency.

Dr Treurnicht polled 5 706 votes in a 1983 by-election, but this could be reduced to 5 000 or less by strong HNP support. The NP (3 812 votes in 1983) believes it has gained ground.

Next week Mr Chris Heunis enters the fray at Tzaneen, in support of the Soutpansberg NP candidate, Mr Renier Pieterse, while Dr Treurnicht addresses a regional CP rally at an open-air venue in Pietersburg.

(Report by D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg.)

Gazette gives SATS right to dismiss strikers

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A special Government Gazette has been published giving South African Transport Services' (Sats) general manager the right to summarily dismiss strikers.

According to the South African Railways and Harbours Workers' Union (SARHWU) the strike of rail workers on the Rand which started at the City Deep container depot 11 days ago had spread to the East Rand and at least 8 000 men were involved.

The union is an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Minister of Transport Affairs Mr Eli Louw yesterday gazetted amendments to the Sats personnel regulations giving the general manager discretion to treat striking workers as having terminated their jobs without notice with effect from the date of the strike.

Sats spokesman Mr J C van Rooyen confirmed the regulation had been formulated with the City Deep strike in mind.

He said it was expected that Sats would warn strikers of the new regulation before applying it.

Mr Themba Khuzwayo, the union's assistant general secretary, said men from Jan Smuts Airport and Johannesburg station joined the strike today.

He said about 75 percent of the strikers were union members.

No solution 'without Inkatha'



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
. . . Inkatha opposition helped to shatter PW's dream.

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that neither the armed struggle nor President Botha's reform initiative could succeed without Inkatha.

He told the secretary-general of Portugal's Social Democratic Party, Mr Luis Geraldes, that it was Inkatha's opposition to the homelands policy that had ended Mr Botha's "dream" of a constellation of Southern African states.

Chief Buthelezi, who is the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said there had to be compromises and respect for all points of view in the politics of negotiation which he supported as Inkatha leader and the elected head of the seven million Zulus

Black and white leaders needed to reach consensus about what was non-negotiable.

For him, the criteria were based on whether or not the sacrificing of a principle would be self-defeating in achieving the aims of such negotiation.

He spelt out his non-negotiables as:

- One sovereign Parliament in which all races shared.
- Universal adult franchise.
- The "unshackling" of black democracy — which included the release of political leaders.

Chief Buthelezi said no black leaders could negotiate with white leaders on an equal footing while black democracy remained shackled and white democracy was made relatively unfree by the absence of similar black rights.

It was therefore necessary to urge the Government to release such prisoners as jailed ANC leader Neslon Mandela and the PAC's Zeph Mothopeng. — Sapa.

SA, France gave financial aid to island — report

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Both South Africa and France have given financial aid to President Ahmed Abdallah in his campaign to win the two-round parliamentary elections in the Comores Islamic Republic held on March 22 and March 29, it has been reported.

The Paris-based *Indian Ocean Newsletter* quoting reliable sources said today Pretoria had donated $3,3 million (R7,3 million) to the campaign.

It added: "France is understood to have given 3 million francs (R1 million) to pay for the organisation of the elections. This money is said to have been used to aid the government's candidates.'

The newsletter noted: "The leading figures of the Opposition Union are all former Ministers of Ahmed Abdallah, and include former Defence Minister Mr Abas Jusuf and former Prime Minister Ali Mrudjae."

A newsletter editor said: "The President's victory is a foregone conclusion as ... the elections have been rigged. The Comores Supreme Court, whose judges are appointed by the President, has declared null and void the candidacy of opposition members in two of the Republic's three islands. This means the pro-government candidates get an automatic win and a majority in the National Assembly.'

President Abdallah has maintained close relations with South Africa and France which he has publicly defended at meetings of the Organisation of African Unity.

His palace guard is staffed by French mercenaries and the Comores is thought to be a base to be used by Pretoria to outflank sanctions.

Mayotte, the fourth island in the Indian Ocean group, opted to retain its links with France and at present has a semi-autonomous status, sending a deputy and a senator to the National Assembly.

P W moves to stop critical study

A STUDY of President P W Botha's political thinking by two prominent RAU political scientists has been withdrawn after Botha asked the rector, Piet de Lange, to do so.

A spokesperson for the university's publications department said all available copies of the work had been "withdrawn completely" and would not be made available to anyone.

One of the authors of *Die groepsgebod in P W Botha se politieke oortuigings*, Koos van Wyk, confirmed that RAU vice-rector Professor G Hauptfleisch had said

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

the President had complained to De Lange, who is also chairman of the Broederbond, about the publication.

The co-author is political science professor Deon Geldenhuys.

But Botha's media spokesman, Jack Viviers, said he had "made inquiries" and was "certain that no such a request came from the President's office".

Many senior academics at RAU are incensed by Botha's action.

The 68-page publication, an analysis of more than 300 of Botha's speeches, states among other things that Botha's statements on the concepts of union and federation are "mostly highly confusing, indicating that Botha does not know the meaning of and the difference between the two basic forms of states".

The study was published in December last year, but the CP got hold of copies and started using it in its political campaign.

De Lange and Hauptfleisch were not available for comment last night.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg

in dollar terms, its foreign debt was de-

To Page 2

changed.

Study shows SABC bias towards NP

B/Day

PATRICK BULGER

IN THE run-up to the white election the National Party is receiving far more SABC television coverage than any other opposition party, indicates a study by the Rhodes University journalism department.

Senior students monitoring "Network" between March 16 and March 22 found that black opposition groups like the United Democratic Front received no coverage at all.

The study showed the NP received 1 500 seconds of TV time while government spokesmen were given 1 055 seconds. The PFP and the NRP combined were given 1 141 seconds and the CP and HNP featured for 1 012 seconds.

Independent candidates were on the air for 677 seconds.

Note was made of the "Goldilocks Effect" — a tendency for discussions to be concluded with NP comment, leaving viewers with the impression that the NP view was "just right".

(Report by Patrick Bulger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg).

US group begins low-key pull-out

B/Day

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — In a sure sign that Washington is losing interest in SA, the State Department is quietly shelving its SA Working Group (SAWG), an inter-agency body formed in 1985 as the sanctions debate moved into high gear.

The SAWG is down to 12 members from more than 20 last year, and according to one recently laid-off member, could be gone entirely by November.

Though its mandate was always fuzzy, its main mission was to demonstrate that the Reagan administration placed SA high in its foreign policy priorities.

Its chief, former White House domestic policy adviser Douglas Holladay, had hopes of using it to co-ordinate a series of bold private sector aid initiatives for black South Africans.

Mainly, however, it has been an information clearing-house, advising state and local governments on disinvestment and similar measures, lobbying Congress against sanctions and providing speakers.

Since its inception in July 1985 at least 13 states have passed new anti-apartheid laws and Congress has enacted the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act.

NBS tender offer strikes R3 minimum

LESLEY LAMBERT

A MINIMUM price of 300c has been struck in NBS Holdings' tender offer which was 41,8% oversubscribed.

Analysis of the applications indicates that about 7,9-million shares of the total 11,25-million on offer were subscribed for at prices above the 300c minimum striking price, while the remaining 8-million shares were subscribed for at 300c.

Applications at prices above 300c were allotted in full and applications at the striking price were allocated 41,4% of the number of shares applied for, rounded off to the nearest hundred.

The NBS was satisfied with the result which, it said, indicated that the underwriting price of 300c was "very finely pitched."

The NBS, the second building society to go for a listing, is scheduled to join the UBS on the JSE boards on April 18.

Business cool on ANC 'at moment'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The man who brokered the meeting between the ANC leadership and a group of reformist SA businessman in Lusaka 18 months ago said corporate SA would not talk to the ANC again in the current climate.

Leadership SA editor Mr Hugh Murray said the conduct of the ANC in the last year had ruined the chances of a similar meeting.

He told the German Chamber of Commerce here yesterday: "We had hoped that further talks with the ANC would have been possible, but at the moment we will not go back to Lusaka as a group.

"There are several outstanding people in the leadership of the ANC but as an organization, the ANC couldn't run a bath let alone a country."

The meeting on September 13, 1985, at President Kaunda's Mfuwe game lodge was headed by Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly, who later said he found the ANC's attitude "not nearly so grossly antagonistic as might be thought".

Government dismissed the talks as serving no useful purpose.

Mr Murray made it clear that Anglo did not initiate the meeting.

Representatives of SA and foreign companies and the media made three separate pathfinder visits to meet President Kaunda in Lusaka.

Mr Murray said Dr Kaunda and other heads of the frontline states were still looking forward to meaningful talks on the region.

He said there were people in the Department of Foreign Affairs who were "alive and very aware to the opportunities existing in Southern Africa".

"They don't gloat over SA's power and supremacy. Their opinions are likely to hold sway in the future," he said.

□ At the September 13 Lusaka meeting, Mr Murray said an ANC executive member told Mr Relly the congress "had a finger deep in the SA mining union pie". Mr Relly bluntly replied: "If you have, you'll get your whole hand chopped off."

Big business talks to ANC for a unique first

JOHANNESBURG—Big business will not talk to the ANC again in the current political climate, says the man who brokered the meeting between the ANC leadership and a group of reformist South African businessman in Lusaka two years ago.

Mercury Correspondent

Leadership South Africa editor Hugh Murray says the ANC's conduct in the past two years has ruined chances of a similar meeting.

'There are some outstanding individuals in the ANC but as an organisation the ANC couldn't run a bath let alone a country.'

He told the German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg yesterday: 'We had hoped that further talks with the ANC would have been possible, but it is unlikely we will go back to Lusaka as a group as things stand.'

The meeting, on September 13, 1985, at Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's Mfuwe game lodge, was headed by Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly, who later said he found the ANC's attitude 'not nearly so grossly antagonistic as might be thought'.

Tough talk

The South African Government dismissed the talks as serving no useful purpose.

Some commentators described the meeting with the ANC as a picnic full of friendly exchanges. According to Mr Murray, however, there was some very direct talking.

While Mr Relly had conducted the meeting impeccably, Mr Murray said, he had some tough things to say. For example one ANC executive member had told Mr Relly the ANC 'had a finger deep in the South African mining union pie'. Mr Relly replied bluntly: 'If you have, you'll get your whole hand chopped off.'

Mr Murray made clear that Anglo did not initiate the meeting. He said groups of South African and foreign companies and the media made three separate pathfinder visits to meet President Kaunda in Lusaka.

Mr Murray said Mr Kaunda and the heads of several front-line states would like to get together with Pretoria to start meaningful talks on the region.

Contrary to popular opinion, the Zambezi is not the River Styx.'

He said there were people in the Department of Foreign Affairs who were 'alive and very aware of the opportunities existing in southern Africa'.

'They don't gloat over South Africa's power and supremecy. Their opinions are likely to hold sway in the future.'

24/3/87
NUM
BDHA

We have a carrot, stick policy - Pik

JOHANNESBURG — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told listeners to Radio 702 today the Government was pursuing a policy that combined a tough crackdown on township violence with social reform.

In a sometimes stormy interview session with host John Berks and news editor Chris Gibbons, he said the Government would stand firm on violence from the left and right while taking measures to promote black business and improve conditions in black townships.

He said the Government was determined to deregulate the economy, encourage individual land tenure for blacks and improve basic services for black townships.

Asked if it was the Government's intention to scrap the Group Areas Act, he said: "No law is a holy cow. It is not the law as such. It is the principle involved in it and the reality involved in it."

"Unless you get rid of all prejudice, including that in the minds of black people, you are not going to get rid of racism," he said.

This prompted an irate caller introduced as Elsa to accuse him of "going around and around the mulberry bush". She also asked him to explain why the NP was receiving "free publicity" on SABC-TV.

Mr Botha: "It would be grossly unfair for any party to get free publicity".

He was incensed by a caller indentified as Adrian who accused him of lying when he said at a meeting last year that he was not aware of the problems faced by three million gays.

Mr Botha: "I regret your aggressive and unkind attitude... I am not an expert on homosexuals... (Interjection from Adrian insisting on the term 'gays')... or gays which ever word you choose to use. They are not my enemies — I am just not interested. I have a lot of work to do. I have no time to get involved in a matter of this nature."

Mr Botha ended his exchange with Adrian by saying: "I hope a lot of South Africans have listened to the kind of mentality you have displayed this morning. I am sure you are a PFP supporter."

(Report by Eddie Koch, 626 Old Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Jhb)

et for internecine

[illegible] at polls

Why Nats can never produce real reform

In the days when the United Party was disintegrating in a welter of acrimony between its Old Guard and Young Turks, *Die Burger* gleefully described it as "'n wandelende burgeroorlog" — a wandering civil war.

That would be an apt description of the National Party today as it experiences exactly the same eroding conflict between two incompatible elements within its ranks.

Like the United Party, it is deeply divided on fundamental issues. This has a paralysing effect on the leadership. If it moves left it causes a split on the right; if it moves right it causes a split on the left.

So it prevaricates in the middle, displeasing both.

A recent opinion survey conducted in 16 marginal constituencies, 14 of them held by the National Party and two by the Progressive Federal Party, reveals the division in NP ranks with startling clarity.

On every one of a number of fundamental issues the Nationalists are split right down the middle. For example, on the question of whether there should be negotiations with the ANC, the survey found 45 percent of Nationalists in favour and 52 percent against.

By contrast 87 percent of PFP supporters favoured negotiations with the ANC while 88 percent of CP supporters said no.

The Nationalists were just as deeply split on whether facilities like hospitals should be open to all races: 46 percent said yes and 32 percent said no.

On the PFP side an overwhelming 87 percent favoured all-race hospitals, while 87 percent of CP supporters wanted them segregated.

The Nationalists were split 56 percent for and 38 percent against the scrapping of the Group Areas Act; 29 percent for and 32 percent against the Natal-kwaZulu Indaba.

This explains why you get the Nationalist Press speculating one day that the Government is about to relax the Group Areas Act to legitimise "grey areas", and a Government statement next day saying it is going to crack down on grey area landlords.

It is why President Botha has swung first one way, then the other.

He began with a commitment to reform which produced the Treurnicht split. He then decided to call a general election in which he would run a hardline campaign to halt the growth of the right-wing breakaway.

It has produced a split on the left by the Independents and a number of prominent academics.

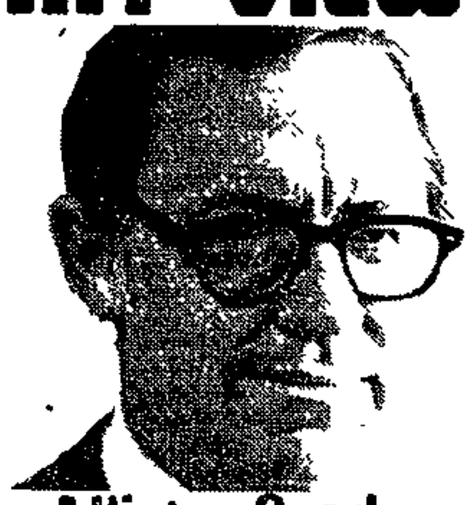
Unable to campaign effectively either way without producing a crisis on the opposite flank, the Government is reduced to drumming up alarms and diversions — the Chris Ball affair, the stepped-up propaganda blast against the ANC, dark hints about "Project Roses" and other such sinister-sounding plots.

Stand by for a lot more of this as May 6 draws closer — particularly some dramatic May Day security "exposure". The election date has been strategically chosen.

What this paralysing division means, of course, is that the National Party can never be the agency for real reform.

Many verligtes have clung to it in the vain belief that this was the only realistic way to achieve political change.

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

They reasoned that since there was no possibility of defeating the NP at the polls, the only way to achieve reform was to work for it from within the governing party.

The trouble is the conservatives were doing exactly the same. It became a tug of war between them to influence the leadership. Hence the "wandelende burgeroorlog".

What both sides failed to see is that neither could win. If one gained the upper hand the other would break away, and the leadership would always try to prevent that.

So the process of making a concession first to one side then the other began, temporary palliatives resulting in political immobility.

It has meant that thousands of reformists who imagined themselves to be political realists became locked into a state of political impotence.

In the process they also created a self-fulfilling prophesy, because as long as they remained in the National Party it could indeed not be defeated at the polls. Once they break free that will cease to be the case.

The truth of this is at last beginning to filter through, but as this column has warned before, don't expect miracles on May 6. The process of erosion is under way, but political developments in South Africa move with excruciating slowness.

Fascinating, isn't it, how the men who once controlled this country's formidable security apparatus have emerged as supporters of the Conservative Party.

General H J van den Bergh, former head of BOSS, is running for the CP in Pretoria East and his chief interrogator, Brigadieer Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, is the CP candidate in Westdene. Mr Jimmy ("It Leaves Me Cold") Kruger, the former Minister of Justice, is also a leading CP member, though not an election candidate.

How many thousands of people were detained, banned and banished in the sixties and seventies on the say-so of this triumvirate of political extremists? General Kobus Visser, who was head of the CID at that time, is the CP candidate in Verwoerdburg.

I asked "Rooi Rus" the other day how many members of the police force he thought were Conservative supporters. He reckoned 70 percent.

I found an intriguing pamphlet in his office, denouncing President Botha for visiting the "Roman Pope" and inviting him to make a reciprocal visit to South Africa. The Pope, the pamphlet explains, is representative of a false church preaching a false gospel. Martin Luther rightly labelled him "the Antichrist" and a visit to South Africa by such a man is "totally unacceptable".

I wonder what all those Portuguese voters the CP is wooing in Bezuidenhout, Jeppe and Rosettenville feel about that?

Talking of old security chiefs running for election, I wonder how the voters of Bryanston feel about the possibility of getting a spy as their public representative?

A spy is a professional deceiver. Mr Craig Williamson has demonstrated his skill at infiltrating organisations by pretending to be what he is not, and his recent disclosures about "Project Roses" show that he has clearly not retired from the trade.

Moreover, as every serious student of John le Carré knows, spies sometimes turn out to be double-agents.

So who knows, we may get our first KGB MP!

100 Years Ago

From The Eastern Star

A company or co-partnery, whose headquarters are in East London, have secured lands on the Kuka for the purpose of cotton growing. It is understood that native labour will be much utilised, although in these times of cheap mealies it is questionable if the natives will be found so ready to co-operate in the scheme as it is anticipated. Farmers find labour of this description difficult to obtain at ten shillings monthly, and mealies.

Rhodes: NP has had more TV time than other parties

By Susan Pleming

The National Party (NP) received more air time on SABC-TV1 news and "Network" last week than any other political party or alliance, says the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.

The department has been commissioned by the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) to conduct a 10-week project to analyse political news in the South African media during the 1987 election.

The first part of the research released yesterday showed that aside from receiving more news coverage, the NP was also granted more actuality time than any other party.

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of journalism, said in a statement yesterday: "The disparity appears greater when it is noted that the election topics for the week March 16 to March 22 included the New Republic Party (NRP), independent candidates and the right-wing parties."

The NP received 22,41 percent of news and "Network" coverage on the election while the PFP and the NRP were given 17,05 percent of the air time. The independent election candidates received 10,12 percent.

The Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and other right-wing groups received one percent air time and the Conservative Party/Herstigte Nasionale Party (CP/HNP) was given 15,12 percent.

The Government received 15,76 percent of the time and the security forces were allocated 8,65 percent.

The only black person to receive favourable coverage was Bishop Isaac Mokoena, who was recently decorated by the State President.

Extra-parliamentary groupings such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation were given no coverage.

According to Professor Stewart the election discussions were not debates between candidates, but were mediated by interviewers.

With one exception, all the "Network" discussions on the election included NP speakers. All the discussions also concluded with a NP speaker, with the exception of a broadcast on March 17 when television was interrupted by a Johannesburg power failure.

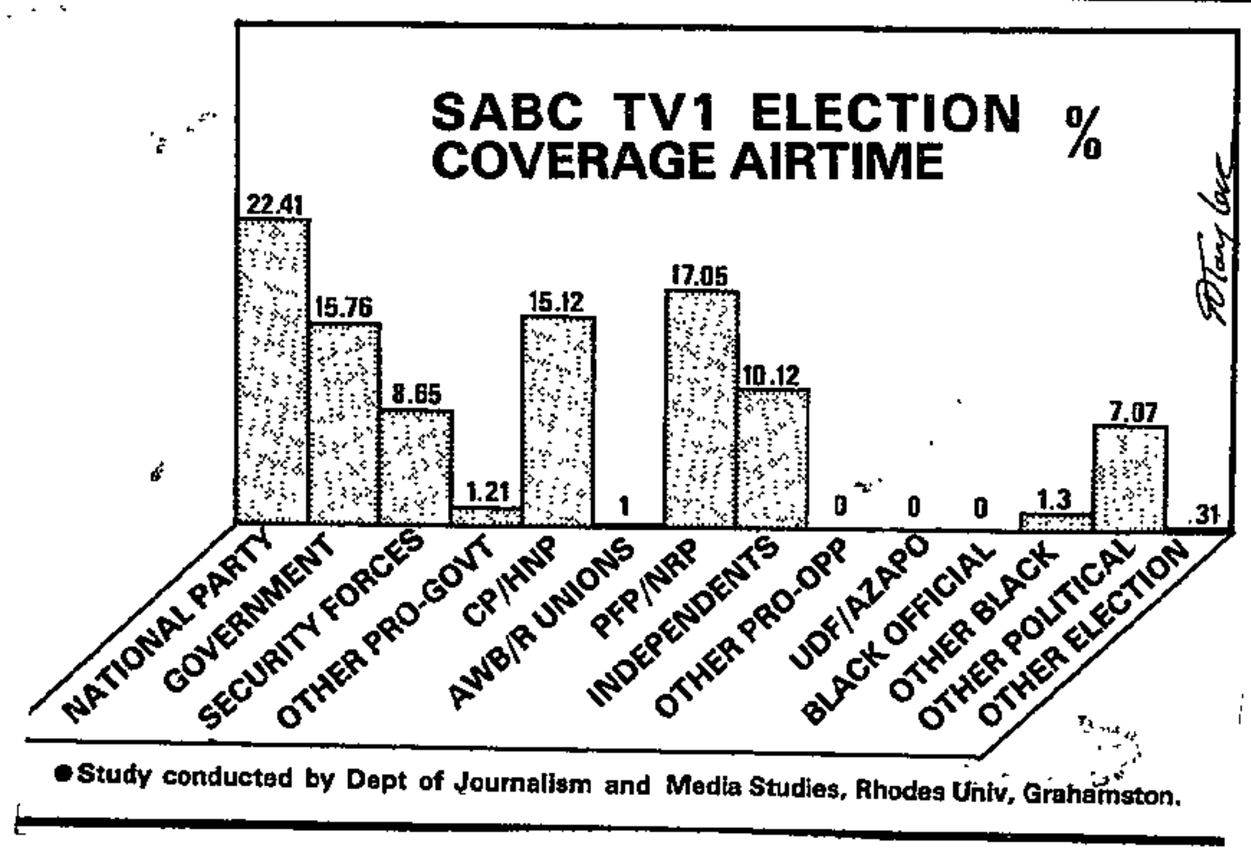
● The SABC has released statistics on the election but these differ considerably from Rhodes University's findings.

According to the SABC the PFP/NRP received 34 percent of the coverage, the National Party — 30 percent; CP/HNP — 20 percent; independents — 16 percent.

Mr Kobus Hamman, the deputy director-general in charge of news said the difference probably arose because the SABC distinguished between Government Ministers appearing in their official capacity and as candidates.

"For example, when a Minister says something which has no bearing on the election this is not counted in the statistics."

(Report by S Pleming, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)



● Study conducted by Dept of Journalism and Media Studies, Rhodes Univ, Grahamston.

304A 25/3/87 STAR

Eugene is 'fighting' for Right poll pact

By Terese Anders

MIDDELBURG — AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche is "still fighting" for a right-wing election pact.

At an AWB meeting in Ermelo last night, he said he was working day and night to unite the disputing far-right parties.

He believed an election agreement was still possible before nomination day.

"But if there is no pact I will prepare my movement for the black revolution," said Mr TerreBlanche after speaking to a smaller than usual AWB audience of about 600.

He hit out at the liberal Press, which appeared to be enjoying the discord on the Right.

He said he was telephoned by reporters at all hours, and offered "chocolates and puddings in order to get a lekker story" on the squabble. He warned these papers to be careful.

COALITION

He predicted that after May 6 "Heunis and Hendrickse will kick out the walls inside Parliament".

The Government would then form a coalition with the UDF and talks with the ANC would begin.

By then the black revolution would have begun.

"But the AWB will use mag and geweld (force and violence) to put down the black revolution and take back South Africa."

He said he did not want to be part of the three-chamber Parliament or sit in Cape Town, but wanted to "sit waiting for Oliver Tambo".

He said: "I want to be here in the Transvaal with Jesus and die volk, and then level the ANC to the ground."

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Jaap lights up new hope for pact by right-wing

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais last night rekindled hopes of a right-wing election pact when he said the only thing in the way of an agreement was the Conservative Party withdrawal from four seats — none of which it holds presently.

Mr Marais said that in return for the four constituencies — Hercules, Overvaal, Fauresmith and Randfontein — the HNP would accept all the other CP conditions.

The HNP leader was speaking in support of the party's candidate, Mr Gideon Fourie, at a public meeting in Boksburg attended by about 300 people.

Mr Marais said the nation was concerned that the right-wing had not formed a consolidated and united front against the National Party government.

Mr Marais himself has been nominated as the HNP candidate in Hercules. Until last night any chance of a right-wing election pact appeared to be nil after the HNP rejected the division of seats between itself and the CP.

Mr Marais sketched the background to his latest offer by saying that the weekend proposals had collapsed because there had been a deviation from the original plan put forward by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), and that this deviation had left him without a constituency.

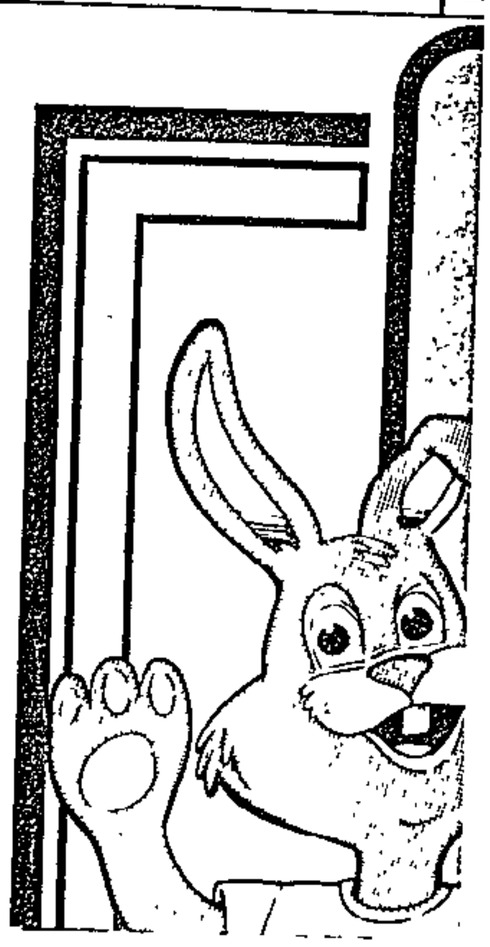
He added that, according to the original AWB plan, the division of seats would be on the basis that the CP put up candidates in the 17 constituencies they already held, and that the HNP would be allocated 10 "good seats".

But when a final draft proposal was presented to the HNP last weekend it differed from the original plan in that four of the CP seats had been altered.

Dropped from the CP list were Jeppe, Langlaagte, Sunnyside and North Rand. They had been substituted by the four that Mr Marais now wants.

But because of the "total frustration" of the nation, which wanted a right-wing agreement, Mr Marais said that he decided yesterday to sign an agreement if the four seats the HNP requested were given.

(Report by J Tennant and G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



President 'should be above politics'

Political Staff

The State President ought to be above party-political controversy but this was not so under the present system, Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate for Helderberg, said yesterday.

He was replying to questions at an election meeting attended by about 300 people in the Somerset West town hall.

The issue of President Botha's involvement in party-political controversy was raised by several members of the audience.

A woman who said she had been a Nationalist all her life asked how President Botha could be President of South Africa as well as leader of one political party and whether he really spoke for all the people.

Dr Worrall told her she was touching one of the great constitutional problems under the present system.

The State President was essentially a controversial political figure under this system, he said.

Dr Worrall said the woman was "absolutely right" in suggesting that the State President should be above party-political controversy.

Earlier another member of the audience asked whether Mr P W Botha represented "only the National Party or all the peoples of South Africa".

Dr Worrall replied that the State President should be "the embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans."

President Botha also felt it necessary to repudiate a member of his Cabinet for going for a swim in Port Elizabeth "in accordance with his conscience".

"The State President ought to express the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans," Dr Worrall said.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town).



Pictures: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

LIVELY MEETING: Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, concentrates on remaining calm at Claremont Civic Centre.

ARGUS 20/8/87 30KA 80

Heunis booed, hissed, cheered and laughed at in Claremont

Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said last night the National Party was asking for a mandate to broaden the basis of participation of all groups at the national level of governmnent.

He was addressing a lively election meeting attended by nearly 400 people in Claremont Civic Centre. Mr Heunis was booed, hissed and cheered by the audience, half of whom appeared to be Progressive Federal Party supporters.

Cheers and laughter greeted some of his statements about PFP policy and hecklers constantly interrupted him.

At the end half the audience left before a vote of confidence in the National Party was passed.

Mr Heunis said his party was asking for a mandate for change and reform, not destruction, and for power-sharing, not surrender.

Group rights and the rights of minorities had to be protected.

"THE REALITIES"

Negotiations for further reform could take place only in an atmosphere of stability and he made no excuse for the use of security forces to ensure this.

Amid cries of "what about the children" and "take them to court", Mr Heunis said nobody was in jail who should not be there.

The Progressive Federal Party, he said, could not be trusted with the security of the country. The party did not address the realities of South Africa. It offered no protection for groups or minorities and this was a recipe for the destruction of minorities.

The National Party had a record of success with negotiations to bring about constitutional change. It was the only party which had brought people of colour into Parliament and into the Cabinet.

In further negotiations the party would not be prescriptive.

There was in fact great interest in the black community in the idea of a consultative national council and since the publication of a draft Bill to provide for this his department had had discussions with 275 leaders of black groups.

AMENDED

At question time Mr Heunis faced a barrage of questions about the Group Areas Act, District Six, the position of coloured people in Lansdowne and his opponent in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall.

Mr Heunis repeated Government statements that the Group Areas Act in its present form need not stay forever and that it had in the past been amended.

The Act had been a positive measure to give people of all groups the right to own and occupy land.

Had it not been for the Act fewer people of colour would own land.

In some areas people of colour had moved into white areas because of an over-supply in white housing and this was illegal in terms of the Act. He said steps could be taken against them.

Steps could be taken such as State expropriation of properties being used by wrong groups.

In Lansdowne, he understood, people of colour were not being put out of the area but were being made offers from time to time to see if they wanted to sell their houses.

The National Party's Southern suburbs candidates, Mr David Graaff (Wynberg), Mr Henry Wilken (Pinelands) and Mr Pieter Pelser (Constantia) appeared with Mr Heunis.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

ARGUS 26/3/87 3000

Pensioners give NRP candidate the needle

Tygerberg Bureau

THE New Republic Party's parliamentary candidate for Tyger Valley, Mr Nick Brits, ran into some determined opposition at an information meeting here today.

Mr Brits, who was addressing a group of old-age pensioners in Thornton's Riverside community hall, had hardly started talking when some of the women in his audience objected to his "talking politics here".

However, he still managed to tell them that Dr Lapa Munnik, the now retired Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, "did not have to survive on R20 a month", a comment that brought vociferous objections from several National Party supporters, who said "the Government looked after its pensioners just fine".

Mr Brits, somewhat taken aback, replied that the Government's promised R20 increase for social pensioners at the end of this year "would hardly buy a loaf of bread each day".

He also attacked the "arbitrary rule" of cutting off from its new pension scheme those SA Transport Services dependents who were widowed before 1981.

"They also have a right to a pension," he said.

But when he launched into reform measures by Minister Chris Heunis the women — knitting furiously — said he should stop talking because they had "had enough of politics".

(News by A Stuijt, 205 Belray Arcade, Durban Road, Bellville).

58% of whites would vote for NP — poll

THE NP would get the support of 58% of those white voters prepared to commit themselves to a political party, a Market Research Africa Omnipoll has found.

The poll put support for the PFP at 17%, NRP 3%, CP 13% and HNP 7%.

Only 1% would vote for the independents. That put the combined support for the groupings to the left of government at 21% and the groupings to the right at 20%.

The poll was conducted between January 26 and February 13, and attitudes could have changed since the election campaign started and the three independents in Randburg, Stellenbosch and Helderberg came to the fore.

A total of 73% of all white urban adults were prepared to give their voting intention; 19% said they could not or would not vote, 6% refused to give an opinion and 3% did not know which party they would vote for.

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

A representative sample of 1 000 white adults, representing 3-million people, was taken.

A comparison of the profile of the NP and the PFP shows that 70% of NP supporters are Afrikaans-speaking and 90% of PFP supporters English-speaking.

The NP draws 55% of its voters from women, whereas only 38% of the PFP's support comes from women, the poll found.

PFP supporters are also wealthier than NP supporters: 24% of its voters are in the group where the average monthly household income exceeds R3 500, while only 10% of the NP's voters arein this category.

More than half of the NP supporters (53%) are in the Transvaal and 28% in the Cape, whereas the PFP gets 41% of its voters from the Transvaal and 36% from the Cape.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg

A1645 26/3/87

President hints at national indaba

304A

Political Staff

THE Government's request for a mandate from white voters to negotiate with black leaders appears to be building up to asking for approval to hold a national or large indaba.

Prospects for an indaba were hinted at in two speeches made by National Party leaders last night.

President P W Botha said it had consistently been the Government's view that consultation and negotiation on mutual interests should take place at all levels among the leaders of the population groups.

Therefore, the Government was not against the dialogue in the Natal/Kwazulu indaba.

However, discussions of that kind had to take place on the basis of "specific points of departure", with a view to viable and responsible objectives.

That was why the Government was making proposalsfor a "large indaba" in a national council that could lead to a council of state.

SPECIAL ELECTIONS

President Botha indicated there would be special elections to identify the representative leaders of black communities, outside the homelands, to take part in the discussions.

The Minister of Agricultural Economics, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said because the Government was opposed to certain aspects of the Kwazulu/Natal indaba did not mean it could not itself hold an indaba.

Government sources warned against reading too much into the speeches as there had been no discussions on venue, composition or timing of an indaba.

Mr Nic Olivier, constitutional development spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party, said he would take his cue from Mr Botha's speech rather than Mr Wentzel's.

"I think the Government is using the word indaba as another term for the national council."

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Breakaway from Labour growing

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE split in the Labour Party following the resignation of a group of dissident MPs is growing, according to a spokesman for the group, Mr Peter Mopp, MP for Border.

He confirmed today that Mr Cecil Herandien, MP for Macassar, had also resigned, bringing the total to eight, and said several other MPs were considering a breakaway but still had to consult party branches in their constituencies.

Mr Herandien could not be reached today for comment.

Other MPs who have announced their resignations from the Labour Party are: Mr Charles Redcliffe (Schauderville), Mr Paul Muller (nominated), Mr Florus Herwels (Outeniqua), Mr Cecil Kippen (Durban Suburbs), Mr Ahomed Lambat (Actonville) and Mr Salamuddi ("Salam") Abram (nominated).

There was also speculation today that Mr Jac Rabie (Reigerpark) and at least two other Transvaal MPs may break away from the party.

And in Cape Town Mr Denis de la Cruz, leader of the Democratic Workers' Party, which has three MPs in the House of Representatives, said he was in favour of joining the Labour Party rebels to form a new "united anti-apartheid front" in the House of Representatives. Mr de la Cruz is leader of the opposition in the House.

Mr Mopp said today he saw no place in South Africa for another "coloured" political party.

"Whatever comes about after our breakaway must be part of a broad South African movement to get rid of apartheid once and for all."

Discussions would be held with the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, about the position of the breakaway MPs.

Mr Mopp said they would be at a disadvantage if they were to sit in Parliament as independents, because their speaking times would be determined by the majority party.

"Whatever happens, I believe the days of white, coloured and Indian politics are over. What we need is a parliamentary movement consisting of a substantial number of people from all groups.

"The tricameral system should be done away with. There should be one Parliament where all South Africans, including blacks, will participate."

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

MP resignations a damp squib, says Hendrickse

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has described the resignation of seven of his party's MPs as a "damp squib".

He was speaking at a rally of 600 in Toekomsrus, near Randfontein, where he was booed.

A speaker from the floor said residents of Toekomsrus were not interested in what happened "where the ministers came from".

He said there were a number of pressing issues which related to life in Toekomsrus — high rents, house sales and the care of pensioners.

Defending his participation in the tricameral Parliament, Mr Hendrickse said he had been mandated by his people to take part because they believed in negotiations.

"How else could we have persuaded the whites to issue a uniform matric certificate which makes no reference to race or ethnicity. We achieved that through negotiation and not mere protest."

South Africa's problems were so general that the labelling of certain issues as "own affairs" was irrelevant and unnecessary.

Mr Jac Rabie, MP for Reigerpark and Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, was booed when he said Labour's role in Parliament was not to advise the white man but to take decisions.

He appealed for co-operation and an end to political in-fighting among the coloured people, which he said pleased the white man and served no purpose for those who were denied political rights.

'The lowest level of a military junta . . .'

ARGUS 26/3/87 · 304R



ISSUES

By Hugh Roberton

WHILE white South Africans focus on the coming general election, the rest of the country has begun to live under an insidious new political system. It should be, but is not, a central issue in the May 6 campaign because it gives us a more lucid glimpse of what lies ahead than any Ministerial utterance.

For all practical purposes South Africans who are not white are being governed by what Cape Town City Councillor Dr John Sonnenberg told the council late last year was "the lowest level in a military junta". It may sound incongruous to whites, but the facts about the Joint Management Centres system are well documented and many details have been confirmed officially.

The PFP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, for instance, revealed in the Divisional Council last year that JMCs were a form of police and SADF "shadow government" at local and regional level, with the power to intervene surreptitiously in local affairs at their own discretion. And the system entails the execution by the uniformed services of an essentially political programme which is often directed against the lawful political opponents of the National Party.

Mr Ross revealed that the scheme was known as a "strategy" to combat "revolutionary" situations and it began in 1983 with the "unrest". It has spread to the furthest corners of the country, usurping the functions and powers of elected public representatives at the discretion of bureaucrats and military and police decision-makers.

White South Africans do not know much of this new development, of course, for the sprawling JMC network directs its energies — behind closed doors — to black, coloured and Indian areas. They liaise with local and regional authorities — characteristically through bureaucrats rather than elected representatives — in every part of the country, though the Cape Town City Council has refused to co-operate.

Links at every level to police and military

In response to the statement made by Mr Ross on JMCs, the State Security Council confirmed that these bodies were linked at every level with the police and military, and at the top with the State Security Council, but claimed it was merely a coincidence that the chairmen of all 12 of the main JMCs (there are scores of "mini-JMCs") happened to be senior police or SADF officers.

They make judgments on township political life, they identify what — in their opinion — constitutes a "revolutionary threat" (and judging from banned public gatherings, the UDF and its affiliated bodies are the chief victims) and they can get the Treasury to release funds for building projects and other major undertakings which, in their judgment, are required — even if the elected local authority thinks otherwise or has different priorities.

What has all this to do with May 6? A great deal, for it sets a precedent; it shows what the NP's response is to its own political failure among people who are not white, and what the police and military response is to that failure. Where the NP has failed, where its local black authorities have lost communal respect and authority, where the central government faces a serious challenge to its power but has no adequate political response, the men in uniform have quickly attempted to fill the vacuum.

But while the NP's political failure has been long apparent to South Africans of colour who daily have to live with the consequences of it, it is not widely recognised by whites. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the NP will win on May 6 comfortably and will thus continue to hold power. What is equally obvious is that in spite of holding power, the NP will remain as incapable as it has been for almost 40 years even to begin credibly to address the country's fundamental problems.

Add to this the fact that these problems have now evolved into a crisis which can no longer be ignored or dealt with by way of palliatives and fanciful constitutional daydreams and one begins to see what the implications are for whites of the precedent being set by the police and military in "black" South Africa.

How will the NP react to the paradox of holding power but at the same time being powerless to resolve the crisis? How will the police and military react? How will the NP react when its failure is finally hammered home on the anvil of unfolding events? And how will the police and military react?

Just as there can be no doubt that the NP will win the coming election so there appears to be no doubt that the NP's response to its political ineptitude will be more and more repression and the diminution of democratic rights.

A pattern that is now irreversible

That pattern has been set since the 1960s and it is now almost certainly irreversible. Repression, by its very nature, goes hand-in-hand with the ascendancy of uniformed power in civilian situations. It is the classic answer to political failure and perhaps before we realise it, the whole of South Africa will be at "the lowest level in a military junta"

Some people appear blithely unconcerned about the prospect: Frequently nowadays one hears the sort of argument that "it would be better to have the army and police taking over and getting things sorted out than having some imperious geriatric clinging to power without having the answers."

But, sadly, the NP's failure is white South Africa's failure. The same issues which have caused the *broedertwis* in Afrikanerdom, divide English-speaking whites, too. And the divisions do not stop at white political parties. They permeate the churches, cultural bodies and the bureaucracy, including the police and military.

In the final analysis, the police and SADF will have to come to terms with the same realities which the NP political bosses now are unable to. Their track record inside the "lowest level of a military junta" does not inspire confidence that they will do so any more readily.

(Comment by H S Roberton, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

PW's disc no hit with Maitland packers

By CHRIS GUTUZA

PRESIDENT P W Botha's election message may be enjoying "hit single" status, but the Maitland workers who packed it see no "gold" in their working conditions.

Several workers are unhappy because, they complain, their working conditions keep them at a disadvantage, especially over pay.

Though the packers did not work overtime on the single, several want to be paid on an hourly basis because they say they are losing money they would have earned for normal working hours and overtime.

"We are being paid by the quantity of material labelled, folded, inserted or sealed," they say.

"When we work overtime our rates do not increase The same happens when we work on certain Saturdays."

Said another worker: "Things would be different if we belonged to a union. I receive my wages in a plastic bag with a little strip that doesn't even stipulate who I work for. A small amount is deducted, I think it's UIF."

"Another sore point is that we have to start working as soon as we arrive at work, even if we are early, although our working hours are from eight to five."

Penalised

Another said they were penalised and had to stay home for up to two weeks if they refused to work overtime or arrived late

"When there's a slack period workers leave at about noon each day and we are not paid for that period. If you work on a job at a rate of R1,60 for 1000 copies, and you do not handle more than that amount for the day, R1,60 is all you earn for that day," she said.

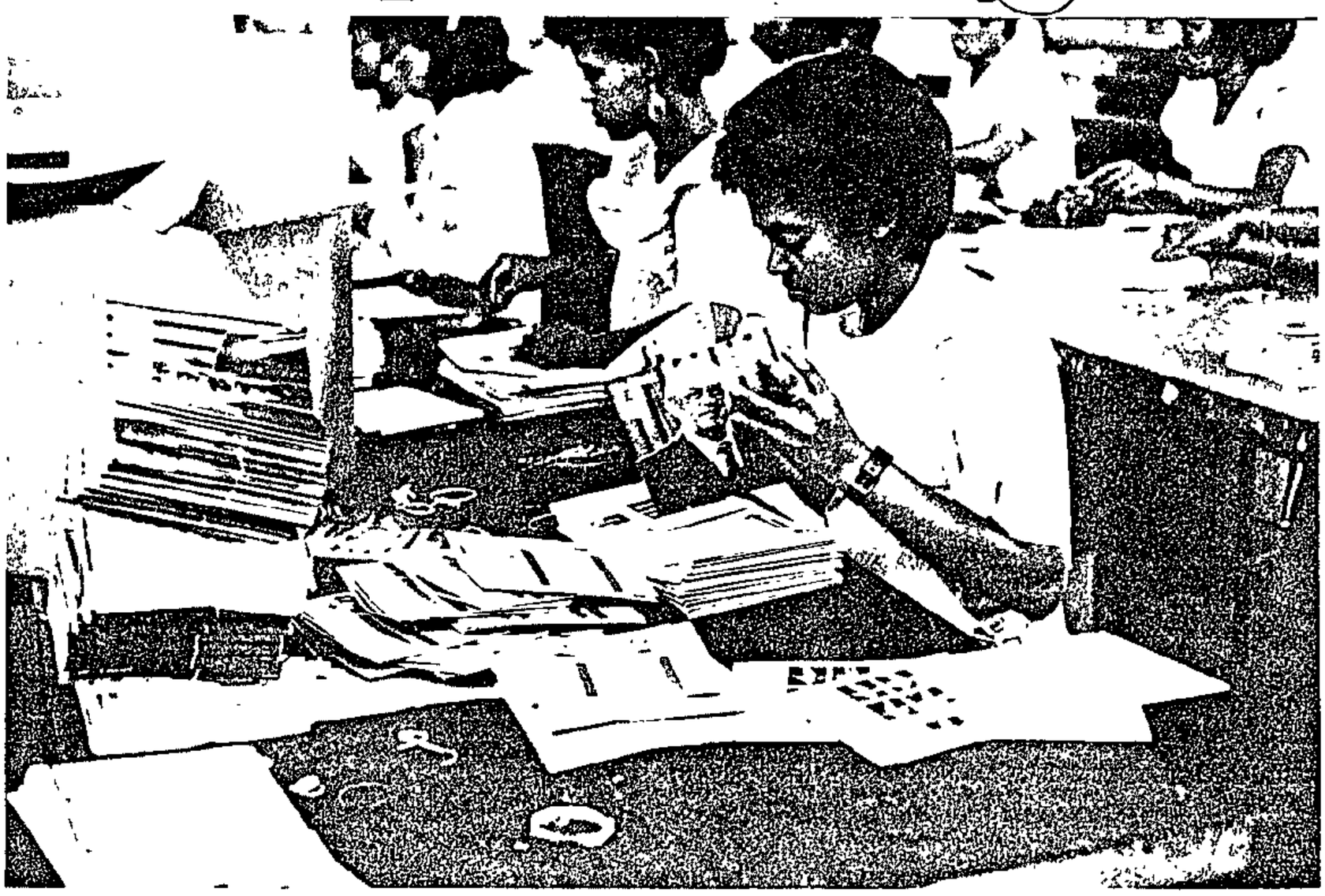
The general manager of the mailing service, who refused to give his name, said he would not comment on anything before he had written proof that his staff would benefit from the article.

He claimed to have made a tape recording of the conversation with the reporter and produced a cassette player as alleged proof. He then gripped the reporter's upper right arm, while telling an onlooker: "This guy is getting me cross now." The SOUTH reporter then left.

It is reported that the election project could cost the National Party more than R520 000 for the 400 000 copies of the single which will be distributed to white voters.

The workers responsible for the wrap-round with the title "Why you should vote NP" will not feature in the elections; nor will they be represented.

(News by Chris Gutuza of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock).



Workers at a Maitland firm packing P W Botha's election single.

Group Areas Act Stands

GOVT HITS A SNAG

30/4
Sunday Times
26/3/87

EVICTING people of colour from white neighbourhoods under the Group Areas Act was "not working any longer", Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, said at a meeting in Monte Vista.

Replying to a question at the National Party meeting Mr Vlok said it was "very difficult" to evict someone under the Act.

The State first had to prove that the accused had lived at the same address longer than 90 days. And even if found guilty, the State then had to prove that alternative housing would be available in the person's own group area before the court would grant an eviction order, he said.

"We have found that it (evictions under the Group Areas Act) are not working any longer.

"There is a housing shortage among black and coloured people of more than 200 000; on the other hand more houses are available in white areas than are being used by whites, so in areas such as Mayfair and Hillbrow, thousands of non-whites (anderskleuriges) have moved into empty flats, with the flat owners grateful to find people to pay the rent."

Mr Vlok said the Government was therefore "taking a closer look" at areas such as Hillbrow and Woodstock.

"We can't leave it like that, but we will look at the particular areas and then declare them this way or that way, to protect the basic principle," Mr Vlok said.

He said there were still whites living in Hillbrow, and the law (Group Areas Act) would therefore be applied with compassion (deernis) as the Government did not want to throw people out on the streets.

(Report by A Stuijt, 205 Belray Arcade, Durban Road, Bellville).

No pact is possible now, says Treurnicht

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Conservative Party will not consider any further attempt to reach an election compromise with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He said in an interview that his party was no longer prepared to consider any further offers.

With Monday as a deadline for any agreement, Dr Treurnicht said: "There is no chance of further negotiations. It is absolutely final. There is no sense in further negotiations."

Dr Treurnicht does not feel that the lack of agreement will have any serious effect on any possible CP sucesses on May 6. "It could possibly reduce our potential."

He said this was difficult to quantify, but pointed out past by-elections had shown that an agreement need not result in HNP supporters voting for the CP. "There is a lack of trust."

He claimed that the swing away from the National Party would more than make up for any losses caused by the lack of agreement with the HNP.

He also felt there would be no fall-out between the CP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), which initiated the latest unsuccessful attempt to get the two right-wing parties to agree.

"We are not angry with them. They are not angry with us," said Dr Treurnicht.

He emphasised that the CP was a party in its own right that stood on its own platform.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Indaba director slams 'blatantly false claims' on TV programme

Political Reporter

THE Kwazulu/Natal Indaba director, Prof Dawid van Wyk, has lashed out at the 'blatant misrepresentations' made about the Indaba on the SABC-TV programme *Network* this week.

In a telex to SABC director general Riaan Eksteen, Prof van Wyk said he was dismayed at the programme, particularly as the Indaba did not want to be 'dragged into the party political arena'.

'While we must concede that political parties have a right to debate this important initiative, I believe the SABC has a duty to be even-handed in programmes which it has itself initiated.

'The Indaba had no chance to state its case and correct blatant misrepresentations.

'I call on the SABC to allow a spokesman for the Indaba to state *his* case to the people of South Africa through the medium of television and to correct the many false claims that were made in the programme,' he said.

Prof van Wyk also said that one of the participants in the programme, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, appeared to misunderstand the Indaba proposals and the negotiations which led to them.

He said Mr Botha had said the proposals meant majority government by blacks because blacks made up 80% of the people in the region and the protection of minorities was ineffectual.

'Mr Botha has had time by now to study the proposals he rejected within 48 hours of their publication and must be aware that they provide very clearly for power-sharing and avoid domination by the 80% majority.'

Prof van Wyk said the proposals provided for 50% of the provincial cabinet to be made up of representatives of minority parties, for minority representatives to head government ministeries, and for minority groups to have absolute right of veto over legislation affecting their interests.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Fl

Durban journalist denied

Huge drop in support for NRP

Port Natal poll shows Nat win

By Colleen Ryan

The leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha will retain his Port Natal seat easily, beating off challenges by the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party, according to an opinion poll conducted by Marketing & Media Research

In the poll, conducted between March 7 and March 16, the National Party's candidate received 48,1 percent of the support, compared with 19,7 percent for the PFP and 10 percent for the CP. There was an undecided vote of 13 percent.

The survey indicates that the constituency is now safe Nat territory with the majority of respondents identifying with the NP. This is a turn-around from 1981 when the New Republic Party came within 685 votes of winning the seat.

The language breakdown in the constituency is about two-thirds English-speaking and one-third Afrikaans-speaking. The majority of respondents have an annual household income below R30 000 a year.

Respondents were asked which party they identified with and 48,8 percent opted for the NP, compared with 14,3 percent for the PFP, 10 percent for the NRP and 8,2 percent for the CP. Eleven percent identified with no party.

Had all the parties and an independent contested Port Natal, 41,4 percent of respondents said they would have voted NP, 14,8 percent for the PFP, 7,4 percent for the CP, 5,1 percent for the NRP, 2,3 percent for an independent and 1 percent for the HNP.

This shows a huge drop in support for the NRP.

he majority (56,3 percent) said they were very sure of the choice they had made while 17,1 percent were fairly certain and 14,8 percent were not certain. Of the NP supporters polled, 7,9 percent were not confident of their choice, while 14,7 percent of the PFP/NRP supporters also fell in this category.

In view of the strong support for opposition parties in the past, a surprisingly high number of respondents said they were not in favour of abolishing the Group Areas Act. The majority, 48,6 percent, said the law should remain — 34,8 percent wanted it scrapped.

Of the PFP/NRP supporters polled, 67,4 percent said it should be scrapped while 23 percent of Nat supporters also wanted it abolished. Nearly 60 percent of Nats and 24,2 percent of NRP/PFP supporters were in support of the law. An overwhelming majority (80 percent) of HNP/CP supporters were in favour of retaining the law.

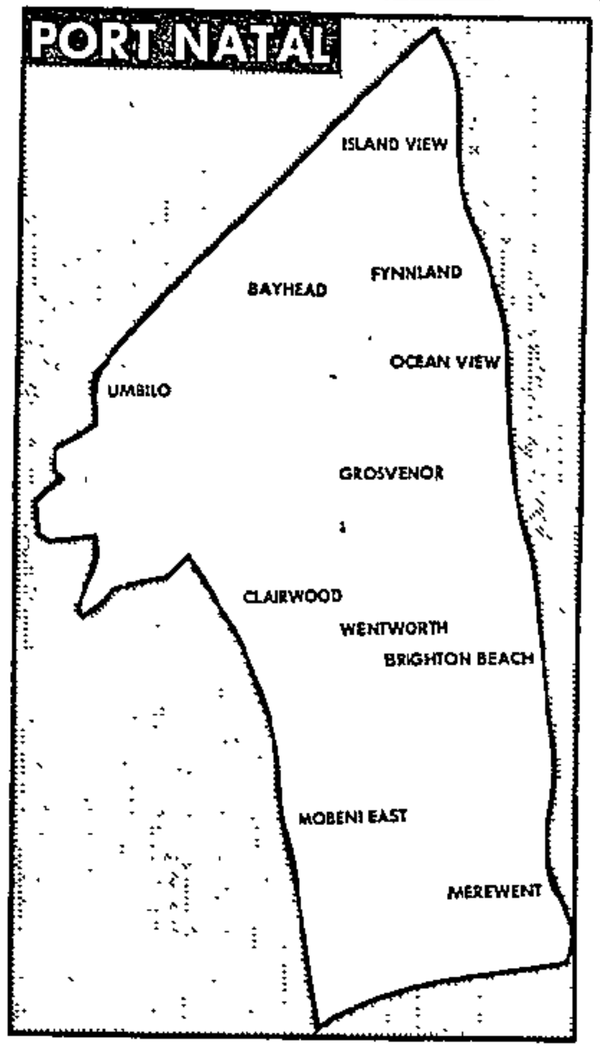
Despite the strong support registered for the NP in Port Natal, respondents were fairly equally divided on whether the party had been in power too long. Asked whether the NP had been in power too long, 39,6 percent said yes while 41,4 percent said no.

Most PFP/NRP supporters (82,1 percent) said the Nats had been in control too long while 10,5 percent of all NP supporters agreed with this view.

Almost half of the respondents (47,8 percent) said they preferred an NP, reformist Government, while 28,6 percent favoured an all-race, all-party coalition of moderates and 15,6 percent opted for a conservative, strict apartheid-style Government.

A constituency of middle and lower income voters, Port Natal was the scene of a breakthrough by the National Party in a tough contest in 1974. The majority of only 20 votes on that occasion grew to more than 3 500 in 1977 but the seat became marginal again in 1981 when the Nationalists won by only 685 votes. At a five-way by-election in 1985, the Nationalists won on a split vote with opposition parties to the left of the Government and an Independent polling only 155 votes fewer than the NP. The NP candidate is Home Affairs Minister and provincial leader Mr Stoffel Botha. The PFP candidate is former NRP provincial leader Mr Warwick Webber, and the CP candidate is Mr P Mohr.

(Reports by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Most voters want ANC ban to stay

Voters in Port Natal have strong views on the African National Congress — with the overwhelming majority (80,3 percent) opposed to it being unbanned.

This emerged from an opinion poll by Marketing & Media Research involving 391 registered voters in the constituency.

Asked if the ANC should be unbanned, only 8,7 percent said "yes", while 11 percent said "maybe".

An overwhelming number of National Party supporters (89,5 percent) said the movement should not be unbanned, and 65,3 percent of Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party supporters agreed with this.

The Government should negotiate with the ANC only if it renounced violence said 42,5 percent, while 35,3 percent said there should be no negotiations, 10,7 percent said the Government should negotiate only if the movement suspended violence, and 5,4 percent were in favour of unconditional negotiations.

Of the NP supporters questioned, 42,9 percent said there should be no talks with the ANC, while 38,2 percent favoured negotiations provided the movement renounced violence.

In spite of general support for Government policy, most of the voters polled did not believe the tricameral Parliament was a success.

Respondents were fairly equally split on whether apartheid was largely to blame for the country's economic problems. At total of 41,7 percent blamed apartheid, while 38,1 percent did not think it was the cause. Another 20,2 percent said they did not know.

About a quarter of Nat supporters polled and three-quarters of PFP/NRP supporters thought apartheid was a big contributing factor to South Africa's economic woes.

On the question of whether the Government's reform promises had been lived up to, respondents were once again fairly evenly split, with 38,6 percent saying the promises had been honoured, and 36,1 percent saying they had not been kept. Another 25,3 percent said they did not know what to answer.

More than half of Nat supporters were satisfied with reform promises but, predictably, most PFP/NRP supporters were dissatisfied.

Port Natal voters appeared to have strongly supported the Government in the 1983 referendum. A total 63,2 percent said they had voted "yes" for the new constitution, and 15,3 percent voted "no".

On the question of the Group Areas Act, nearly half (48,6 percent) said it should not be abolished. When presented with more options, 39,6 percent still took this view, 39,4 percent said people should live according to what they could afford, while 17,6 percent favoured some mixed areas and some segregated areas.

NP supporters were equally divided on the issue — with about half in favour of retaining the Act and the other half saying people should live according to their incomes — or saying that they supported some "grey" areas. Most PFP/NRP supporters (72,6 percent) thought people should live according to what they could afford.

Resondents were asked what was the main factor in the political unrest of the past two years. They were presented with various options. The largest number (35,8 percent) blamed it on revolutionary activity, while 25,6 percent said it was because of the poor economic situation, 18,2 percent said it was the slow pace of reform, 7,7 percent said it was Government repression of blacks, and 5,4 percent said it was too much reform. The rest gave no answer.

Port Natal voters seem optimistic about race relations — 57,5 percent thought the situation had improved in the last year. A further 19,4 percent thought race relations had not changed, while 18,4 percent thought they had got worse.

An overwhelming number of Nat supporters (69,6 percent) said race relations had improved, and nearly half the PFP/NRP supporters (47,4 percent) agreed with this. A total of 37,1 percent of HNP/CP supporters also thought the situation had improved.

Respondents were also fairly positive about security matters. A total of 47,3 percent said the security situation had improved in the last year, 14,6 percent said the situation had not changed, while 29,9 percent thought it had deteriorated.

Waterkloof solidly behind NP — poll

By Colleen Ryan

The National Party will comfortably retain the Waterkloof constituency in the May 6 election, according to an opinion poll conducted by Marketing & Media Research.

It was conducted between March 6 and March 18 when 372 registered voters resident in the constituency were polled.

Respondents gave Dr Org Marais of the National Party 52,4 percent support, Professor Abraham Viljoen of the Progressive Federal Party 19,1 percent, Mr Johan Welmans of the Conservative Party 12,1 percent and Mr Ben Stander of the Herstigte Nasionale Party 2,7 percent. There was an undecided vote of 10,5 percent.

When respondents were asked who they would vote for if all the parties and an independent stood, the majority — 49,2 percent — opted for the National Party.

The PFP received 14,2 percent, the CP 12,9 percent, and an unnamed independent 7,5 percent. The other parties received negligible support.

The majority identified strongly with the Nats. When asked about their party identification, 58,9 percent chose the NP, 14,2 percent backed the PFP and 10,2 percent favoured the CP. Most respondents said they identified very or fairly strongly with their party

Respondents were generally confident of the choice they had made — only 6,2 percent said they were not at all certain about the candidate they had chosen, while 5,9 percent did not know how to answer the question. More than half said they would not vote for another candidate if their first choice did not stand.

Interest in the independent movement could be detected in the results. Of all those who said they would consider making a second choice, the largest number, 22,3 percent said they would vote for an independent

Among all NP supporters polled, 7,8 percent said they would have voted for an independent if he had stood, while 4,5 percent of all PFP supporters also backed a non-party candidate.

The constituency appears to be fairly "verlig" with a majority (51,9 percent) in favour of the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, while 40,6 percent do not want the law to be abolished. Predictably, the vast majority of PFP supporters said the law should go.

NP supporters seemed divided on the issue — 44,3 percent said it should be abolished, while 47,5 percent disagreed.

Respondents were fairly equally divided on whether the Government had lived up to its reform promises. A total of 43,8 percent said reform promises had not been met, while 41,1 percent thought the Government had honoured them.

The majority also said they favoured an NP, reformist Government (47,3 percent), but 31,5 percent said they would prefer an all-race, all-party coalition of moderates. A total of 17,5 percent preferred a conservative Government with strict racial segregation.

The majority of NP supporters said they would prefer a Nat Government, but 16,4 percent of all Nats said they would rather see a coalition Government in power.

The majority of constituents are Afrikaans-speaking — 60,8 percent said this was their home language, while 23,7 percent said they spoke English. It is a "white collar" constituency where about 40 percent said they had completed an undergraduate or postgraduate university course.

Since 1966, Pretoria has been a National Party stronghold. In the 1980s, however, the HNP and PFP began making inroads by winning wards in municipal elections. PFP hopes in the inner city have been concentrated on Waterkloof which is home to many of the city's professionals and has the highest density of English-speakers. In the 1981 election, the NP won the seat with a majority of 1 840 in a three-cornered fight with the PFP and NRP. Even when the CP joined the contest in a parliamentary by-election in 1983, the NP pushed up its majority to 1 951. Dr Org Marais, a deputy Minister in the Department of Finance, is the NP candidate, Professor Abraham Viljoen is the PFP choice, the CP candidate is Mr Johan Welmans, and the HNP candidate is Mr Ben Stander.

(Reports by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Banks accuse Govt of passing the buck

By Pat Devereaux
Star Line

Banking institutions, accused of discriminating against black pensioners, claim that the Government has passed the buck and forced them to become "paymasters" for elderly people.

Last year the Government told pensioners their money could be paid into bank accounts. Banking institutions were not approached about this new plan.

In the past, pay-points were set up in the townships, and pensioners queued for hours before they received their cheques.

An investigation into pensioners' banking facilities was launched after complaints of discrimination were made to social worker Mrs Nonkululeko Madalane, of the Bridgeman Memorial Hall Advice Bureau in Soweto.

Banks do not have the manpower or facilities to cope with the estimated 400 000 pensioners who queue for money each month, bank spokesmen said.

'TRANSACTIONS COST MONEY'

One banking source said: "Each transaction costs money, not to mention the inconvenience of queues. We would simply be paying out on accounts which are not financially worthwhile."

Reacting to accusations that financial institutions are discriminating against black pensioners and discouraging them from opening accounts, the general manager of the United Building Society, Mr Martin Keyser said: "The same rules on minimum balance apply to all account holders."

The Press officer of the SA Permanent Building Society, Mrs Amanda Andreae, quoted a recent Press statement from the company: "Our mission is to provide savings facilities for all".

The Perm's emphasis was on "savings", and many pensioners could not afford savings accounts, she said.

A Standard Bank spokesman admitted that their banking packages were not viable for black pensioners. "We are aware of the problem and are monitoring it closely."

Vilonel death adds confusion to politics

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The death of leading National Party politician Mr Fanie Vilonel has further complicated the already confused world of white politics in Namibia.

Mr Vilonel, who was, at the time of his death, the NP-SWA's Chief Whip in the Legislative Assembly for Whites, will probably have to be replaced in a by-election.

However, the NP itself is currently pushing for the holding of comprehensive elections for the existing second-tier, "ethnic" authorities.

It may try to postpone the by-election for Mr Vilonel's seat.

If the by-election does go ahead, it would probably be a straight fight between the NP-SWA and the Republican Party of Finance Minister Mr Dirk Mudge.



Namibian Finance Minister Mr Dirk Mudge

OPPOSED

Mr Mudge and his party have, however, already said they are opposed to the concept of second-tier elections because these would merely be a perpetuation of apartheid.

The NP-SWA is confident it can defeat the Republicans in any polls and believes the white electorate will back it in its efforts to keep the current, segregated schools system.

Mr Vilonel was labelled a "Nat rebel" shortly before his death because he and other verlig-leaning NP members in the White Assembly had joined forces with Mr Mudge's group to inflict a defeat on the mainstream NP leadership in a motion on the integrated schools issue.

Mr Vilonel (53) was the representative for the Mariental district at the time of his death, and his survived by his wife and three children.

NG VAN

Heunis defends size of SA's prison population

Cape Times 20/3/87

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THERE was nobody in jail in South Africa who should not be there, Mr Chris Heunis said to a chorus of cheers and jeers in the Claremont Civic Centre last night.

The Helderberg candidate and his fellow Nationalist speakers were subjected to a constant battery of heckling, hisses, boos, interjections and derisive laughter by about half of the 350-strong election audience.

During question time the minister faced a barrage of hostile apartheid-related questions dealing with removals, District Six, Landsdowne, the Group Areas Act, open schools, management committees, RSCs and the constitution.

The chairman was forced to repeatedly call more persistent interjectors to order. At one point he threatened to end the meeting prematurely if the audience persisted in interrupting the minister.

For Mr Heunis, who was greeted with both cheers and boos from the moment he rose to speak, the ordeal was complicated by a fading voice.

However, he caught some of the hecklers off balance at the end of the meeting when he bravely declared he had "had a lot of fun".

Mr Heunis defended the size of South Africa's jail population by saying that "you cannot fight revolutionary attitudes by peaceful means alone". (Interjections: "Take them to court.")

He continued: "I make no apology that we are using the security forces to stabilize South Africa. We do not do that because we have opted for violence, but because we want to protect the people who want to negotiate."

Mr Heunis said it would be "committing suicide to trust the PFP with negotiating with anybody".

"You have to trust people with a record of success with negotiation," he said to gales of laughter and jeers.

"Can you trust the PFP?" he asked. (Loud chorus: "Yes!")

"No one can trust the PFP, not even they themselves," he hit back.

To drive home his point, Mr Heunis went on to quote former PFP MP, Mr Horace van Rensburg, at length. His examples were greeted with cries of "boring".

Mr Heunis said the PFP policies offered no protection to self-determination and were therefore "a recipe to destroy democracy".

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Mixed areas have created confusion

Govt could rezone parts of Hillbrow

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Parts of Hillbrow and Mayfair in Johannesburg could be rezoned as group areas for people of colour, judging by hints dropped by Cabinet Ministers in recent days.

Ministers have ruled out the possibility of mixed or grey areas, but they have also undertaken not to act against people who have already moved into white areas illegally on a large scale — such as in Hillbrow, and Woodstock in Cape Town.

Instead, the Government seems to be considering rezoning white areas which have become mixed.

Such a plan would presumably mean whites would have to move out, or apply for permits to live in the area.

Woodstock, for example, could become a coloured group area, while part of Mayfair could become an Indian area.

Adding to the growing confusion about what Government policy is towards these areas is the Progressive Federal Party's interpretation of remarks made this week by National Party leader in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk.

According to the PFP MP for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, by saying that the Group Areas Act could not be applied in places like Hillbrow, Mr de Klerk had in fact "legalised" grey areas.

But the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, this week ruled out the possibility of grey areas. He said they were not provided for in law.

Investigation

He also warned of tougher action against offenders.

Mr Badenhorst said Woodstock would be declared a group area for one or other population group, while the situation in Mayfair and Hillbrow was being investigated with a view to possible similar action.

Mr Widman has appealed to President Botha to clarify the situation.

He said the obvious solution was to abolish the Group Areas Act and let people live wherever they wanted to, or could afford to.

He added that Hillbrow could not afford to be a grey area because it was overcrowded and did not have sufficient facilities for the parking of vehicles.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

● See Page 8M.

CITY

Di Bishop meets the challenge

Argus 27/3/87

By ROBERT HOUWING
Staff Reporter

EVEN detractors would grudgingly concede that Mrs Di Bishop, civil rights campaigner and former MPC for Gardens, is a fighter.

Some might have expected her to step into the shadows after the accident 15 months ago that killed her closest friends and fellow-campaigners, husband Brian and Mrs Molly Blackburn, and confined her to a wheelchair for several months.

But Mrs Bishop has embarked on a fresh challenge at the University of the Western Cape's Institute for Social Development.

She has severed her ties with white party politics — she entered the fray reluctantly in the first place — and takes a dim view of the election. "A whites-only election under the state of emergency is just not where I'm at.

'Very alone'

"I must say, however, that one can't help feeling there is some fluidity that never existed before. I have no respect for Denis Worrall, for instance, but my human reaction to the election is that I'd love to see Chris Heunis beaten in spite of my feeling of ambivalence."

Mrs Bishop's sorrow, of course, remains immense. She says she misses her husband "terribly" and feels very alone, in spite of the support she has received.

"In a way, the trauma of Brian's death has opened up a lot of new experiences for me. I never knew I had so many friends and such support from all quarters — I've had some unique South African experiences in that respect.

"The tragedy opened up an understanding for me of how the African community, particularly, copes with grief and bereavement."

Extensive contacts

It has been six months since Mrs Bishop accepted a post as researcher with the Institute, under the directorship of Professor Pieter le Roux.

Her brief, to investigate social welfare provision in rural communities of the Cape, was based on her qualifications as a trained social worker who built up extensive contacts in those areas during investigations into abuses with her late colleagues.



The Institute's roots go back to 1985, when Professor le Roux accompanied Brian and Di Bishop on a visit to Cradock, where influential members of the community raised the possibility of the university involving itself in some way to support them in their various struggles.



Mrs Di Bishop

"Pieter started to evolve an idea of how UWC could respond to that type of request," Mrs Bishop explains.

"Nyami Goniwe, widow of slain Cradock community leader Matthew Goniwe, is also a qualified social worker and Pieter felt it would make sense to have us involved in communities as social workers, but with the university as our employing body instead of the state.

While Mrs Goniwe operates in Cradock, Mrs Bishop is based at UWC as her "support person" and consultant, although she does a lot of travelling. An additional role is to assess how the various faculties at UWC can respond to the needs Mrs Goniwe articulates.

The two have become firm friends. "I have a unique relationship with Nyami — she is suffering the same kinds of emotional trauma as I am following bereavement and it's a very close friendship," Mrs Bishop says.

Given the difficult nature of the work under the state of emergency, Mrs Bishop says she is grateful for the psychological support and encouragement provided by the UWC rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel, who is chairman of the Institute's Board of Control and part of her advisory committee.

Difficulties

"I am still involved in the Black Sash (Mrs Bishop was re-elected vice-President at the recent annual conference) and when I'm asked to visit communities I'm often not sure in what capacity I've been invited!

She says the difficulties of working under the emergency regulations are "incredible" — the job is "inevitably" entwined with the political climate.

"We are doing social work — what we've been trained to do — but so much is considered illegal. It's quite ridiculous that working with the people is against the government.

"Although it is slow, difficult work, often in situations of devastating poverty, we are absolutely determined to do it democratically.

"Another difficulty is that community-based organisations and the projects they've started, like advice offices, are disfunctional due to the surveillance to which they have been subjected.

"You find really traumatised families — not only because of poverty, but also due to detentions and imprisonment.

Parcels

Mrs Bishop recalls visiting Brandvlei in November last year to see two Graaff-Reinet children.

"I met two women from Beaufort West who had travelled by train to Worcester and discovered that it would cost them an additional R20 by kombi-taxi from the station to the prison.

"It was the first time they had managed to visit their children, and had brought large parcels of toiletries like toothbrushes and facecloths. They were not allowed to hand these in when they saw them and were in a state of very deep distress.

"They were waiting for their return taxi ride to the station, where they faced another long wait until midnight for the train. So transport is a major difficulty.

"Little communities are generally very depressed and apathetic at the moment. People tell you there is 'nothing going on' — I think it is tragic that people who had energy and drive and an interest in improving lives are being driven out."

News by R Houwing, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town

Argus 27/3/87

304A

Scrap Act, say whites in key areas

Political Staff

MOST white voters in six key urban constituencies are in favour of scrapping the Group Areas Act, the Marketing and Media Research opinion polls commissioned by The Argus has disclosed.

The Government has recently expressed firm opposition to scrapping the Act, but in spite of this 51,2 percent of all respondents said it should be abolished, 37 percent said it should be retained, while 11,9 percent were undecided.

Questioned more closely, 51,6 percent said people should live according to what they could afford, 17,5 percent favoured some mixed and some segregated areas, while 28,1 percent said the law should remain in force. Only 2,9 percent did not answer the question.

Respondents were evenly split on whether the National Party had been in power too long, while the largest number (44 percent) said the Government had not lived up to its reform promises.

SIX POLLS

The majority (44,6 percent) said they preferred an NP reformist Government, but a substantial 35,4 percent favoured an all-race, all-party alliance of moderates in power. A total of 14,1 percent preferred a conservative, pro-apartheid Government.

Marketing and Media Research conducted six separate polls to determine voter trends and political views. A total of 2 151 registered voters were surveyed, and in five of the seats most said they would vote for the National Party.

Constituencies polled were Bezuidenhout, Germiston District, Port Natal, Waterkloof, Randburg and Helderberg.

Another finding was the widespread negative view of the tricameral Parliament. Asked whether the tricameral system had been successful, 45,3 percent said "No", 30,7 percent said "Yes", while 23,9 percent did not know.

The survey showed wide support for Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha. Respondents were given a list of candidates, and asked to choose the most likely President in five years' time.

The top contenders were Mr Pik Botha (31,7 percent), Mr P W Botha (22,4 percent), Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (nine percent), Mr F W de Klerk (eight percent) and Dr Andries Treurnicht (four percent).

Top presidential contender Mr Chris Heunis received only 3,1 percent support, while Dr Denis Worrall (whose name was added to the list by some respondents) received 2,5 percent support and Mr Colin Eglin 1,9 percent.

ANC OPPOSED

When asked whether the NP had been in power too long, 43,4 percent said "Yes", 42,9 percent "No" and 13,7 percent said they did not know.

On the question of whether reform promises had been honoured, 35,8 percent said "Yes", 44 percent "No", while 20,1 percent did not know.

Respondents were generally firmly opposed to unbanning the African National Congress. An overwhelming 73,9 percent said the movement should not be unbanned, while 15,9 percent said the ban should be lifted and 10,2 percent were not sure.

More than half of those surveyed said they favoured talks with the movement provided it either suspended or renounced violence.

□ In the surveys respondents were selected on the basis of a random probability sample. All interviewing was after working hours to ensure a truly representative sample. Respondents filled in questionnaires anonymously and interviewers waited to collect the sealed responses.

The researchers point out that although the sample involved more than 2 000 respondents, it involved six specific constituencies and is not necessarily representative of the country as a whole.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Author stands by analysis of speeches

RAU chief says PW didn't apply pressure on study

RAU rector Piet de Lange confirmed yesterday that he ordered an academic study on President P W Botha's political thinking to be withdrawn, after Botha spoke to him about it.

But De Lange denied that Botha ordered him to act on the publication, or put any pressure on him. The report, which was published in December and widely distributed, was withdrawn because the correct procedure was not followed, he said.

One of the two authors of "Die groepsgebod in P W Botha se politieke oortuigings", political scientist Koos van Wyk, told *Business Day* RAU vice-rector Professor G Hauptfleisch told him the President had complained to De Lange, who is also chairman of the Broederbond, about the publication.

The 68-page publication, an analysis of more than 300 of Botha's speeches, stated, among other things, that Botha's statements on the concepts of union and federation were "mostly highly confusing, indicating that Botha does not know the meaning of and the difference between the two basic forms of states".

It also stated it was "remarkable

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

that Botha did not understand the essence of the form of government in SA since 1910".

The publication was funded by the university and the Human Sciences Research Council. The other author was political science professor Deon Geldenhuys, who is at present in Chile.

De Lange told *Business Day* Botha had mentioned the study to him during a conversation in Cape Town. "When I got back to the university, I looked at it. It did not appear to me to have been a very scientific study.

"When I found out that it was not sent first to the proper committee that has to look at all official publications, I referred it to the senate executive committee, who ordered its withdrawal."

Business Day was told many other official RAU publications, if not most, were published without having been seen by this committee.

Van Wyk said: "It was a straightforward work of content analysis. It was a scientific study and I stand by it fully."

No new ideas, but PW does take a CP fort

2713-2147 (304A W1Mail)

There was no sign of any new direction, not even much sign of audience excitement. But PW had managed to hold a large meeting in a CP stronghold without a whimper of dissent. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

WITH a typical display of pugnacity President PW Botha opened his eight-meeting programme of election rallies in enemy territory — in Lichtenburg, the seat held by the deputy leader of the ultra-rightist Conservative Party.

The timing for his meeting on Wednesday night was auspicious for Botha.

CP supporters were still reeling from the demoralising news that unity talks with the Herstige Nasionale Party had finally broken down, virtually destroying the CP's prospects of increasing its present tally of 17 seats.

Many ultra-rightists had looked forward to giving the National Party a bloody nose. But bickering between CP and HNP leaders over the allocation of seats within the grasp of the unified ultra-right challenge proved stronger than even their dislike of Botha's reformist NP.

But Botha's first campaign speech offered little that was new. There was repetition of points made at the NP special federal congress:

● The need to hold "special elections" to enable the government to identify real black leaders in urban and rural areas outside the "homelands". "We cannot negotiate with self-appointed leaders," Botha said.

● The establishment of black "city states" in urban areas which, for geographical reasons, cannot easily be incorporated into the homelands. Botha asked: "Why can they not be helped to help themselves and why can structures not be created for them?"

● The rejection, once again, of the option of grafting a fourth chamber onto the present tricameral parliament and the alternative: a non-racial parliament based on universal adult suffrage.

There was the same criticism of the West for imposing sanctions on South Africa. "The Kremlin is doing its work in Washington," Botha said.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was meanwhile contradicting herself by assuring him in one breath that she did not talk to organisations committed to violence and giving her foreign secretary the go-ahead to talk to Oliver Tambo of the ANC in the next, Botha added.

Botha once again assured the faithful that the government would consult them if far-reaching proposals were made to accommodate blacks outside the "homelands". His assurance followed hints by cabinet ministers that major constitutional changes would not be implemented until they were approved in a referendum or a general election.

Botha was listened to without heckling. The audience was — by standards of NP meetings of yesteryear — restrained. Botha, it seems, does not have the spellbinding oratorical skills of earlier *hoofleiers* of the NP.

No single question has emerged as the dominant issue of the election so far. The Group Areas Act comes closest to arousing a major debate.

Voices on the Left of the NP — including those of the trio of "independent Nationalists" — are clamouring for abolition of the Act. Those on the Right are pressing for its rigid enforcement. The NP is squirming uncomfortably in the middle, offering to reform the Act.

One "reform" option is to cede nominally white areas to the black "infiltrators" (it is estimated that one-third of the tenants in Hillbrow, Berea and Joubert Park are black). Retreat has a corollary, however. It is to defend white areas vigorously where there has been little or no "infiltration". Expropriation of white landlords who let houses to blacks is one weapon which it has threatened to wield.

But whatever the defects of Botha's campaign and policies, opinion polls point to a NP victory. A Market Research poll gives the NP 58 percent of the vote, against a mere 17 percent for the Progressive Federal Party and 13 percent for the CP.

A poll commissioned by *Rapport* pointed in the same general direction, although NP dominance was smaller — 49,4 percent against 58 percent — and the undecided vote larger.

Judging from these polls the NP will resist the onslaught from the Left and the Right. Predictions that the NP will not be able to hold the central position in white party politics are beginning to seem premature.

Botha meanwhile faces another critical decision. The fate of three white men depends on him. All three — Johan Wessels, Schalk Burger and George Scheepers — were sentenced to death for murdering black women. The Appeal Court has confirmed their death sentences.

Only Botha can save them now. Only six white men have been hanged for murdering blacks. None has been executed in recent years.

Botha may not have to make the decision before the May 6 poll. But if he does, it could become an election issue.

Report by Patrick Laurence, 190 Marshall St, Johannesburg

Helder, no. Muddled, more likely

W Mail 27/2 - 5/3/87 (30 cm)

By JEAN LE MAY, Cape Town

HELDER, as in Helderberg, means "clear, distinct, plain, lucid".

Which about sums up Chris Heunis's problem there. If anyone in government is responsible for the phenomenon of Worrall, Malan, and the 22 percent of Nationalists who want more reform more quickly, it is Heunis.

As government's architect of reform he has perplexed, muddled and bewildered the electorate to the extent that he is now in real trouble in Helderberg.

Former ambassador Denis Worrall's chances looked good even before the Conservative Party entered the fray this week with the decision to nominate Somerset West businessnan Len de Wet

Informed sources reckon that Worrall needs to capture 21 percent of the Nat vote to win.

The arithmetic behind this (which allows for 111 spoilt papers) is that in 1981 Heunis gained 65 per cent of votes and the PFP candidate, Pierce Newton-King, 35 percent.

With the CP syphoning off an estimated five percent from Heunis, the pre-Worrall projection would have read: Heunis, 60 out of every hundred votes, PFP 35, CP 5.

Worrall must now get 47,5 percent of the total vote (plus one vote) to win, made up of the 35 percent PFP vote plus 12,5 percent, and that 12,5 percent of the total vote is 21 percent of the Nat vote.

The significant figure here is that even Con Botha, chief information officer of the National Party, has conceded that 22 percent of Nationalist supporters countrywide are New Nationalists.

Even more significant is the fact that Professor Sampie Terreblanche, the Stellenbosch political scientist who made his own waves this week by resigning from the NP, puts the percentage of New Nationalists as high as 30 percent.

This arithmetic makes several assumptions: first, that New Nationalists are fed up enough with the NP to switch their votes from the NP to an independent candidate. Even allowing for Worrall's high profile, this could be a dangerous assumption.

Secondly, it assumes that the PFP has held its support in the constituency. Newton-King, who stood against Heunis in 1977 and 1981 and had "no trouble" being elected to the Stellenbosch Divisional Council, is confident that it has.

It also assumes that the CP vote in Helderberg will be as high as five percent. The party is said to be pinning its hopes on a few hundred "ex-Rhodesians" and "ex-South West Africans" who have moved to the benign valleys of Helderberg.

As for Heunis and the Nats, there is not the slightest doubt that all the stops will be pulled out. Heunis is the sitting member — always an advantage — a high profile cabinet minister and Cape leader of the NP.

He also has the vociferous support of the influential Cape newspaper, *Die Burger*, which has been described as indulging in "awesome partisanship" during elections.

And Heunis is said to be a good constituency MP, always available and always affable to the grassroots if not to political opponents: not a few long-standing Nats have expressed slight shock that he descended to undignified rhetoric in describing Worrall as a "carpet-bagger", a "vulture" and a PFP "phantom".

The words may backfire, as talk of vultures and phantoms has the smell of death about it.

For there are early signals that Worrall has a very good chance.

Helderberg, after all, is 49 percent English-speaking, according to the voters' roll. Most of it was once part of Sir De Villiers Graaff's Hottentot Hollands constituency.

Twenty-three percent of voters are over the age of 60 years, and may cherish memories of Div (but may, of course, fear change).

There are very few blue-collar workers among the voters of Helderberg. It is predominantly a community of young, upwardly mobile families — the classic Yuppy profile which, when it is applied to an electorate, is bad news for procrastinators.

These families are concentrated in Somerset West, which has seen astonishing expansion and where close on 11 000 of the constituency's 21 600 voters now live, in Gordon's Bay (about 2 000) and in the southern suburbs of Stellenbosch, where 3 500 Helderberg voters live.

Among those Stellenbosch voters are many of the academics and business and professional people whose enthusiasm for the old NP has waned visibly.

Only 292 voters are registered from farming families, but since Helderberg lies at the heart of the spectacularly-beautiful Stellenbosch wine route this is farming with a difference.

Argus 27/3/87 (3 of 4) → cont.

Kill apartheid now, urge the independents



Pictures: PETER STANFORD, The Argus

ABOVE: Dr Esther Lategan and the other independent candidates are cheered by supporters as they arrive at the Stellenbosch town hall last night. Behind Dr Lategan are, left, Mr D P "Lang David" de Villiers, former managing director of Nasionale Pers, and Mr Wynand Malan MP.

RIGHT: Part of the enthusiastic 1 000-strong crowd.



By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

CALLS for the final abolition of apartheid, the start of serious negotiations and the early lifting of emergency regulations have been made by the three independent candidates.

A public election meeting at the Stellenbosch Town Hall was held under the chairmanship of Mr D P "Lang David" de Villiers, who resigned recently as a director of Nasionale Pers to support Dr Esther Lategan in her campaign as independent candidate for Stellenbosch.

The other independents who spoke at the meeting were Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg) and Dr Denis Worrall (Helderberg).

Nat pamphlets

Afterwards a group of National Party supporters distributed pamphlets outside the hall entitled "Don't let yourself be bluffed"

Dr Lategan said the road followed by the Government was "leading to disaster" but the independents believed there were possibilities for positive action to ensure peace.

Attention had to be given to the constitutional position and the civil rights of black people.

Dr Lategan challenged her Nationalist opponent, Mr Piet Marais, MP for Stellenbosch "to say publicly what he is saying about the Group Areas Act at closed meetings and in private conversations".

"If he says the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act must be lifted unconditionally, then even I will vote for him," Dr Lategan said.

Mr Wynand Malan called for the strengthening of the "middle group" in South African politics.

He said he supported the state of emergency and did not believe that this was an issue in the election.

However, he objected to certain measures taken under the state of emergency. He did not approve of the restrictions on the flow of information.

Dr Worrall said the election was not about foreign interference, sanctions, a transfer of power, nor about the African National Congress (ANC).

Negotiations

It was about negotiation but there was no room in such negotiations for people who espoused violence, whether they were on the "radical left or the right".

Negotiations could not start before the remaining apartheid laws were scrapped.

'New dimension' to election

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE independent candidates had brought "a totally new dimension" to the election, former Nasionale Pers managing director Mr D P "Lang David" de Villiers said in Stellenbosch.

Speaking as chairman of last night's crowded meeting in the town hall for the three independents, he said they had brought a message of "hope, contentment and justice for all".

Mr de Villiers praised the independents for their abilities and experience, and introduced them to the audience.

Dr Esther Lategan, he said, was a highly successful businesswoman, chosen this week as emerging businesswoman of the year", and yet she found time to fight the election.

Of Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg), Mr de Villiers said, amid laughter from the audience: "He allows nobody to ride roughshod over him, not even a TV questioner.

"Wynand is especially a seeker of truth, peace and justice," Mr de Villiers said.

Of Dr Denis Worrall (Helderberg), Mr de Villiers said: "He was one of the best and most admired ambassadors South Africa has ever had.

"He, too, could not remain silent when our country was crying out for a new vision, new hope and new leadership."

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

21/03/87

3048

Worrall denies allegation on illegal funds

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

DR DENIS WORRALL, independent candidate for Helderberg, today denied allegations against him by Mr Louis Nel, former Deputy Minister of Information.

According to Sapa Mr Nel alleged that Dr Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, the independent candidate for Randburg, were receiving funds illegally and in contravention of the Fund Raising Act. Mr Nel was addressing the Pretoria Press Club.

Reacting today Dr Worrall said: "That is clearly a serious allegation which I deny. But I wonder just how much importance anybody attaches to anything Mr Nel says."

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Dr Lategan was asked at what stage she would be prepared to have the emergency regulations lifted.

The purpose of the measures should be to help in the creation of a "new South Africa", and not to oppress people, Dr Lategan said.

"We would like it lifted as soon as possible," she said.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Appeals dismissed

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein has dismissed the appeals by John Swarts and Moegamat Mansoer Lee against their convictions for murder without extenuation of Mr Joseph Fredericks at Atlantis on April 5, 1985.

The men were convicted by Mr Justice G D van Schalkwyk in the Cape Supreme Court on June 13 last year. As there was no extenuation, they were sentenced to death. — Sapa.

(304R)

APARTHEID BAROMETER

27/3/87
W. Mail.

PUBLIC VIOLENCE ARRESTS

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in parliament that 11 006 people were arrested and 7 710 charged for public violence and other alleged offences relating to township unrest last year.

He said these arrests related to the following alleged offences: public violence (6 046); malicious damage to property (1 188); arson (1 324); assault (1 609) and murder (839). He said of the 7 710 charged, 5 819 were aged 20 or under, of whom 1 144 were 15 or under, 2 076 were 16 to 18 and 2 599 were aged 18 to 20.

PRISON ASSAULTS

The Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said in parliament that a total of 1 592 complaints of assault were made by prisoners against warders last year. In 1 175 of these cases "no substance could be found ... to institute charges against any member of the Prisons Service". Of the remaining 417 complaints, 82 were referred to the police for further investigation while 335 complaints resulted in departmental hearings. As a result of these hearings, 87 members were found guilty on 83 charges, 197 members were found not guilty on 179 charges and 73 charges involving 77 members were still being finalised, he said.

SADF DETENTION BARRACKS

The SADF has five detention barracks capable of accommodating 429 offenders as at February 9 1987, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in parliament. He said it was not possible to give the average number of offenders held in military DB last year.

REMOVALS

A total of 64 180 black people were "resettled" in South Africa or moved to the "homelands" in 1986, Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis said in parliament. He said 61 228 blacks had been resettled in South Africa and 2 952 had been moved from the urban areas to the "homelands". He mentioned seven towns or communities (six in the Transvaal and one in the Cape) with a total population of 21 973 to 22 973, which had been earmarked for "future resettlement". Among the communities to be resettled were those at Oukasie near Brits, Haasbult at Soekmekaar, Thusang at Roodtan, a township at Dulwelskloof, Tshikoto at Louis Trichard, the Wheeler's Farm squatter community at Vanderbijlpark and the McNaughton's section of Kabah township at Uitenhage which currently houses 7 230 people, he said.

In addition to the above removals, Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in parliament, 32 273 people were ordered to be removed from South Africa last year — 32 242 of them Africans, 29 whites and two Indians.

GROUP AREAS

A total of 923 cases were investigated under the Group Areas Act last year, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in parliament.

Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis said in parliament that a total of 455 group areas had been proclaimed for whites (789 886 ha), 361 for coloureds (97 423 ha) and 127 for Indians (50 673 ha) by the end of 1986. This means over 84 percent of the Group Areas land is reserved for whites.

RACE RE-CLASSIFICATIONS

Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in parliament that there were 1 624 applications for "race re-classifications" in 1986, of which 522 were refused.

HANGINGS

A total of 121 people were hanged in South Africa last year, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in parliament. By March 4 this year 14 people had been hanged in 1987, bringing the total number of people hanged in South Africa since 1969 to 1 589, 1 067 of them since 1978. This figure does not include hangings in the "independent homelands". In 1985 137 people were hanged, in 1984 115 and in 1983 90.

WHIPPINGS

A total of 40 655 people received corporal punishment between July 1985 and June 1986, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in parliament. He said 38 298 people (22 398 Africans, 13 875 coloureds, and 1 566 whites) were sentenced to corporal punishment in this period and a further 2 357 were sentenced to corporal punishment as well as prison.

BRAIN DRAIN

According to the Central Statistical Services, South Africa lost 6 717 people to migration last year, the first year in recent memory that South Africa has not gained people through migration.

	Emigration:	Immigration:
1983:	8 247	30 483 (+22 237)
1984:	8 550	28 793 (+20 243)
1985:	11 401	17 284 (+ 5 883)
1986:	13 711	6 994 (- 6 717)

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

POPO MOLEFE, 35, UDF national general secretary, was detained on April 23, 1985, and has been held in detention and police custody as one of the Delmas Treason Trialists ever since.

Molefe was born into a working class family in Sophiatown, and in 1959 his family was forced to move to Soweto. In 1973 he joined the SA Students Movement and in 1974 he joined the Black People's Convention. He was headboy of Naledi High and a member of the Soweto Students' Representative Council when the uprising began on June 16. On August 18, 1976, he was detained and held without trial for seven months. On his release he continued working in the BPC until it was banned on October 19, 1977.

Over the next six years he worked as a machine operater, shop assistant and records clerk and as a worker joined the General and Allied Workers' Union in 1980. Molefe was a founder member of Azapo in 1978 and was elected Soweto chairman in 1979. He resigned in 1981 because of his committment to the Freedom Charter and his belief in non-racialism. In 1982 he served as coordinator of the Anti-Republic Day Committee and was elected to the Soweto Committee of Ten. He helped form the Soweto Civic Association and was elected education and training coordinator.

In 1983 he played a leading role in the formation of UDF and in August that year was elected national general secretary. In October 1984 he was detained and was released without trial in January 1985. On April 23 he was again detained under section 28 of the Internal Security Act and was later one of 22 people charged with treason. He has spent a total of three years of his life behind bars without having been convicted of any offence. He is married and has three children.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Action on Namibia: Winter 1986/7 (Namibia Support Committee, London); South-West Africa National Union *Swanu Ideology and Policy* Working Paper No. One and South-West Africa National Union *Our Struggle for the Unconditional Independence of Namibia* (both produced by Swanu); *APDUSA Special Issue* (Unity Movement of South Africa, London); *City Limits* magazine January 8-15 (City Limits Subs, London); *Christina's Hunger* and *Christina's Sins* (both produced by Blakely St James); *The World's Top Glamour Models* (Vielen Promotions, Turffontein); If You Want An Increase You Have To Lick The Bosses A... And He Is Always Full of S..t — display card (not stated). Three films were banned: *Separate Vacations, Magnificent Lover* and *Bloody Birthday*.

Unbanned: *South Africa Today Church in the World 21* (Australian Catholic Relief, Australia); *FNV* magazine: 2de Jaargang No 13, November 22, 1986 (FNV Pers, Amsterdam); *Sexual Life Between Blacks and Whites* (Beth Day); *Southern Africa Stands Up* (Wilfred Burchett (unbanned for possession but still banned for importation/distribution).



Mr LOUIS NEL

Worrall goes to law over 'funds scandal'

CAPE TOWN — The independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, is taking legal advice following an allegation by former Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel that he and Mr Wynand Malan were receiving election campaign funds illegally.

Dr Worrall has denied that the Reform Trust, which received contributions through coupon advertisements, was in any way illegal. — Sapa

(Report by Nick Whiteley, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

3044 Cape Post 27/3/87



Dr DENIS WORRALL

Hint of help seen as vote-buying

P W promise of farm aid is slammed

B/Day 27/3/87

PRESIDENT P W Botha's promise that additional aid to debt-strapped farmers was on the way has been slammed as a blatant vote-buying ploy.

Botha's announcement at a political meeting that moves were being considered to relieve the agricultural sector's Land Bank debt — currently at R2,5bn — has been slammed by political parties and analysts as electioneering.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the hint of additional aid, made at a political rally in the maize-farming centre of Lichtenburg, amounted to a blatant effort to buy votes with taxpayers' money.

PFP finance spokesman Brian Goodall said the remarks had all the appearances of a vote-buying election ploy.

And a spokesman for the CP, whose deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg is the sitting MP in Lichtenburg, said the party demanded that Botha's latest move did not become "just another election promise".

Business Day Reporters

Botha told a political meeting in Lichtenburg on Wednesday night government was giving attention to an agricultural recovery programme proposed by the Economic Advisory Council.

Among the steps he said could be used to set agriculture on its feet was a state takeover of farmers' Land Bank bonds. Most of the farmers' R2,5bn Land Bank debt is believed to be mortgaged against their properties.

Botha also said, to loud applause from the audience, that government would have to support the maize price this year in the wake of losses caused by drought and locusts.

Asked whether any official moves had been taken to step up aid to farmers, a spokesman for the President said Botha had merely said one way to keep farmers on the land and to assist young farmers would be to use Section 10 of the Agricultural Credit Act, which allowed government to take over debt.

It was not a decision, merely an opin-

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P W accused of vote-buying

● From Page 1

ion he had expressed.

Kleynhans said Botha was speaking to drought-devastated maize farmers who had become vulnerable to the CP.

"It is an unscrupulous move to plug the leak of support to the extreme right-wing party," he said.

Responding to Botha's remarks, CP information officer Andries Weyers said: "If the State President is serious in his undertaking that extraordinary help measures are going to be delivered to farmers, we welcome it.

"But the CP is concerned about the repeated promises to farmers, few of which have materialised."

He said the measures would be fair in the light of the total farmers' debt of R14bn.

Goodall said although farmers merited sympathy it would set a dangerous precedent if government took over the debts of one sector of the economy. "After all it would be taxpayers' money involved and they are being screwed hard enough already."

Tax on individuals had increased five times since 1981 and GST collections more than five times.

Botha's spokesman was asked to comment on whether the move could not set a precedent. The motor industry, for example, could ask for similar assistance. He said: "Don't go off on that tangent. Section 10 has been in existence for a long time and could be used at any time."

Responding to accusations that it sounded like an election ploy, the spokesman said it had been a political speech by the leader of the ruling party. "You cannot expect me as a civil servant to comment on it."

Asked whether the President would be prepared to speak himself, he said: "He will not conduct this election campaign through the pages of newspapers. He will be campaigning by holding public meetings throughout the country."

Botha told Wednesday's meeting SA lost an estimated R25bn over a five-year period as a result of the drought. From 1980 to 1986, government had spent R775,3m on drought aid and R2,423bn on loan assistance.

Agricultural authorities said the President's reference to aid clearly indicated an appreciation of the disastrous situation facing the agricultural industry.

It appeared to indicate government was prepared to mount a huge financial operation to rescue farmers battered to near bankruptcy by drought.

This could include a writing off of part or all of the Land Bank debt, extending the period of repayment and lowering interest rates.

Land Bank rates are marginally below the rates charged by commercial banks.

Agricultural authorities said thousands of farmers, particularly summer grain farmers, were in no position to repay their Land Bank loans and faced the possibility of being sold up.

Earlier this month SA Agricultural Union president Kobus Jooste said 40% to 50% of farmers were financially on the skids. And National Maize Producers' Organisation's Piet Gous said without substantial government aid every second maize farmer would be forced out of business.

(Report by Gerald Reilly, Dominique Gilbert and Alan Fine, all of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

General municipal elections for 1988?

Cape Times 27/3/87

384A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Co-ordinated Council for Local Government Affairs has recommended that the general municipal elections be held on October 19, 1988 and would consequently be held in terms of existing legislation.

This announcement was made by the eight designated chairmen of the Regional Services Councils (RSCs) at a press conference at Boksburg Civic Centre yesterday.

The Co-ordinated Council, consisting of all population groups, serves as the highest forum to advise the government on all aspects regarding local-government affairs.

The Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) will represent all black local authorities.

Other representative bodies are the Constitutional Development Service, the Commission for Administrators, the four Provincial Administrators and the National Ad Hoc Committee.

The Co-ordinated Council said in a statement that if its recommendation for the municipal elections were approved by government, more than 7 100 councillors would be elected country-wide on October 19 next year.

Of these 3 651 would be white, 1 321 coloured, 370 Indian and 1 763 black.

The council said its technical committee was still investigating two facets:

- The devolution of more powers to local authorities to give concrete form to self-determination at local level.
- The diminishing of control over local authorities which will lead to communities having a greater say in local affairs through their elected councils.

The designated RSC chairmen are Mr Neels de Bruyn (West Rand), Mr Leon Ferreira (East Rand), Mr Gerrie Borman (Central Rand), Mr Christo de Jager (Walvis Bay), Mr Piet Loubser (Cape Town), Mr James Kleynhans (Port Elizabeth), Mr Danie van Tonder (Bloemfontein) and Mr Piet Delport (Pretoria).

Whites 'could buy land in KwaZulu'

Political Reporter

THE KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals state that everyone has the right to own and occupy property anywhere in the province, including KwaZulu, Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk said yesterday.

Prof van Wyk was responding to comments by the Conservative Party candidate for Mooi River, Mr Duncan du Bois, during a recent television programme about the Indaba.

Prof van Wyk said Mr du Bois had said that according to the Indaba proposals all land in KwaZulu would be exclusively for blacks while white and Indian-owned land in Natal would be available for all races.

'It is false to make this claim.

'The Indaba constitutional proposals stipulate that everyone has the right to own and occupy property anywhere in the province, and this includes the present KwaZulu.'

He said the registration of deeds would remain a Central Government function in terms of the proposals.

'It follows that the new regional government would have to negotiate the land issue with the central Government before it is able to implement its policy of land ownership for all.'

Prof van Wyk said some Indaba delegates had felt that tribal land should be retained for blacks, but this view had not prevailed.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

NM 27/3/87

SABC won't let Indaba reply on TV

Mercury Reporter

THE SABC will not provide television air time for a KwaZulu/Natal Indaba representative to correct 'blatant misrepresentations' made about the Indaba on the *Network* programme this week.

Indaba director Prof Dawid van Wyk made a call for air time in a telex to SABC director-general Riaan Eksteen, but yesterday Mr Eksteen said: 'The (programme in question) wasn't a programme to discuss the merits or demerits of the Indaba.

'If that had been the aim, naturally we would have given the pros and the antis.'

He referred the Mercury to the SABC's senior news director, Mr Sakkie Burger, who explained the intention of the programme had been to consider the Indaba as a political election issue, not in its own right.

He said: 'To get to the bottom line, we can't accede to Prof van Wyk's request.'

He said the SABC was sympathetic to the Indaba's sentiment that it would be better to keep the Indaba out of the political arena.

But, he said, 'the fact is that it has become a political issue.

'All we did was present a programme in which we addressed the Indaba as a political issue and not in its original context as a forum for negotiation and constitutional proposals.

Documentary

'But we did exactly that on February 5 this year, when we presented a documentary on *Network*, when we dealt in depth with the proposals of the Indaba.

'At the time it wasn't an election issue We were approached after the programme by Indaba representatives for copies on videotape to use for their own purposes.

'Now we are busy with election issues.

'We presented the Indaba proposals in a political context, specifically in the Natal context.'

(Report by D Bayley, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Afrikaner metamorphosis

By Carina le Grange

Today hardly any Afrikaner intellectuals support either apartheid or the National Party, unless with the severest of reservations, Professor David Welsh said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business Association Professor Welsh, lecturer in Southern Africa Studies, argued that some form of political power-sharing was emerging among whites.

"The general election was called fundamentally in response to ultra right-wing taunts that the Government had run out of a mandate. It is now something of an irony that the Nationalists find themselves coping with the haemorrhage of support for the left rather than the right.

"A tyrant like (former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik) Verwoerd reinforced the image of a monolith with his own brand of terror. But neither of his successors (Mr B J Vorster and Mr P W Botha) has been able to maintain the same extent of control because Afrikaner society has transformed itself."

The process involved a major change in psychological approach — young professional Afrikaners were matching themselves to more universal models. It had become an intolerable stigma to be associated with a code of values supporting apartheid.

The ultra-right wing (Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties) could not be dismissed but evidence suggested it drew its support from a demographically shrinking segment.

"The new independent candidates and other dissidents such as the Stellenbosch academics are not simply the swallows which do not make a summer, but rather an irreversible trend."

(Report by C le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

F 1M27/3/87

304A

ELECTION

Civil rights issues

With the white election gaining momentum, more people on the fringe of party politics seem to be showing concern about guiding voters' decisions on polling day.

A new regional body, the Five Freedoms Forum (5FF), was launched in Johannesburg last week, after a short delay caused when the hall it had booked suddenly became "unavailable." Although the forum's original aim was to "more effectively" oppose the State of Emergency, it has decided to focus firstly on "informing" voters about the coming election.

Speaking for the forum, the Black Sash's Sheena Duncan, tongue-in-cheek, described the body as "the dangerous coalition which the State President referred to in the No-Confidence debate in the House of Assembly on February 4."

Freedoms denied

The 5FF is supported by the Black Sash, the National Union of SA Students, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and Jews for Social Justice.

They call for: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and association, freedom of conscience, and freedom from discrimination. According to Duncan, they are freedoms which encompass the whole of apartheid and the State of Emergency and are currently denied by government.

On the election itself, the forum has taken the decision to neither exhort people to vote nor not to vote as there are differences within the movement over its value. But as a minimum starting point, says Duncan, those who intend to vote must demand of their candidates that they declare their commitment to the five freedoms.

Personally, Duncan believes the election is of great importance. "There is anxiety in the white community and a lack of confidence in the State President and government," she notes, adding that real power lies in the House of Assembly and that constitutional mechanisms can be changed only from within.

On this point, at least, Duncan differs with the South African Council of Catholic Laity (SACCL), which has issued a statement expressing concern about the "morality" of the election. Describing the "white minority government" as "morally illegitimate," the SACCL says government can claim to represent only about 20% of members of the Catholic church — in other words, its white component.

Although some people would want to use their "privilege" to vote, the voter should never happily accept the unfair position of having to speak on behalf of others, says the SACCL, which is linked to the SA Catholics Bishops Conference.

Adds the SACCL: "No Catholic should feel satisfied until the organisations which voice these people's aspirations are unbanned and once more allowed to express these views legally." ■

The *FM* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.
It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.



Five Freedoms Forum's Duncan ... dangerous coalition

RIGHTWING PARTIES

Failure to click?

With only seven days left until nominations close, the on-off election pact between the Conservative (CP) and Herstigte Nationale (HNP) parties appeared to be tentatively on again as the *FM* went to press.

HNP leader Jaap Marais had offered to sign an earlier agreement thrashed out with the CP last Saturday — provided the CP agreed to changes in its list of 17 unopposed constituencies.

At the heart of the HNP's initial reservations over the pact was that the CP was given exclusive rights to represent the rightwing in a number of high profile seats — among them Hercules, Overvaal, Randfontein and Fauresmith.

Marais' contention is that these seats have never been held by the CP and were not part of the agreement in principle worked out between the two parties through the intervention of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). He would prefer the CP to nominate exclusive candidates only in the parliamentary seats it already held.

No official reaction to Marais' latest offer could be obtained from the CP campaign offices on Tuesday night, but the most prevalent view was that it was too late for any formal pact and the CP was preparing to contest the election on its own.

Last Saturday's plan apparently fell apart because of Marais' determination to carry the ultra-Right banner on his own in Hercules. The CP had already nominated Salmon Barnard (MP for Langlaagte) to fight the seat against incumbent Nat MP, Lucas van Vuuren — though it was hinted they might be prepared to reconsider.

When a pact that seems to make such compelling electoral sense (from the Right's point of view) founders on a relatively minor point, it tends to confirm the view that personality and historical differences between Marais and CP leader Andries Treurnicht run too deep (*Current affairs* March 20).

Failure to forge a pact will obviously bring relief to the ruling National Party, since the CP and HNP will split the rightwing vote to the Nat's gain. The CP had nominated 120 candidates, and the HNP was expected to put up at least 80 before nomination day closes on March 31 — assuming there was no pact.

Hours before Marais' latest olive branch, CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg told the *FM* there was no time left for last ditch attempts to form an alliance.

He pointed out that the CP had acceded to the AWB plan that had offered the HNP 10 seats in which the CP would stand down. These were: Rustenburg, Sasolburg (held by the HNP's Louis Stofberg), Roodeplaat, Pretoria West, Standerton, Wonderboom, Pretoria Central, Vryheid, Virginia and Smithfield.

According to Potchefstroom University mathematician and poll forecaster Dirk Laurie's calculations (*FM* March 20), only two on that list, Rustenburg and Standerton, rank as "safe" for the CP on its own. So it was a small concession. And it tends to support Marais' contention that nearly all the 10 seats offered to the HNP figure far down on its list of choice rightwing seats.

In the 1981 election in Hercules, the NP's Van Vuuren polled 5 641 votes compared to the HNP candidate's 3 719, a majority of 1 922 in a 61% poll.

But the CP evidently is not losing any sleep over the possibility of Marais and the HNP splitting the far-Right vote in Hercules to their disadvantage. It is convinced it can go it alone. According to psephologist Laurie's projections, Hercules is classed as one of the CP's 18 "safe" possible wins in this election — even without an alliance. ■

Demolition of shacks slated by Lorimer

Mr Rupert Lorimer, head of the Progressive Federal Party's Outreach Programme, has condemned the demolition of shacks at Chicken Farm near Kliptown as "callous heartlessness".

Soweto council policemen destroyed the shacks on Tuesday and left hundreds of people homeless. Town clerk Mr Nico Malan said shacks would be pulled down again if they were re-erected.

Mr Malan added that the council could not allow uncontrolled squatting in Soweto and that particular area was earmarked for residential and commercial development.

Mr Lorimer said the National Party was playing election games by employing a tough line to impress conservative voters in seats that were under threat from the right-wing parties.

"Between 300 and 400 families have received seven-day eviction notices. The callous heartlessness of the authorities is disgraceful. Where are these people to go? No alternative places to live have been arranged and they will join the thousands of other families ...

"Areas must be made available for these squatters and simple basic services must be provided.

"Actions like these further blacken the name of our National Party Government. They talk reform, but their disgusting actions belie their hypocritical words."

(Report by M Tissong, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

SPMC 27/3/87

304A

Voters split on reform, says poll

Helderberg voters are split down the middle on the crucial question of whether the Government has lived up to its reform promises.

This was revealed in an opinion poll conducted by Marketing & Media Research this month involving 400 registered voters resident in the consituency.

When asked whether reform promises had been lived up to, 38,8 percent said yes, and 38,8 percent said no. The other 22,5 percent did not know the answer to the question.

Of all the NP supporters polled, 48,6 percent said promises had been met, while 25,9 percent of Nats were disappointed with reform. Of all Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party supporters surveyed, 74,1 percent did not believe reform promises had been lived up to, while 17,2 percent were satisfied with reform.

Most PFP/NRP supporters (82,8 percent) thought the NP had been in power too long, while most Nat supporters (68,8 percent) disagreed with this.

Respondents in Helderberg were also fairly equally split on whether the tricameral Parliament was a success. The largest number (39,8 percent) did not view it as a success, but 35 percent thought it was successful. The rest, (25,3 percent) were not sure of the answer.

Respondents were asked whether apartheid was a big factor in the country's economic woes, and 43,8 percent agreed with this, while 39 percent did not blame apartheid. A total of 17,3 percent did not know the answer. Most NP supporters (48,6 percent) did not fault apartheid, but a sizeable 32,8 percent did blame apartheid. The overwhelming majority of PFP/NRP supporters (82,8 percent) said apartheid was to blame.

GROUP AREAS

The majority (52,5 percent) said they were in favour of scrapping the Group Areas Act.

On the ANC, most respondents (71,3 percent) thought the movement should not be unbanned. Only 16,3 percent favoured lifting the ban.

Helderberg voters appeared to be confident about security matters. Nearly half (48,3 percent) said security had improved in the last year.

The majority (52,3 percent) also thought race relations had improved during this period, while 24,3 percent said the situation had not changed, and 18,5 percent said it had deteriorated.

Respondents were given several options and asked for the major cause of political unrest over the last two years. The largest number 35,8 percent blamed revolutionary activity, 21,8 percent said it was the poor economic situaton, 21,3 percent said it was the slow pace of reform, 10,5 percent blamed Government repression of blacks, 2,8 percent said it was too much reform.

Respondents were not optimistic about international relations. The majority (68,3 percent) said the situation had deteriorated in the last 12 months.

More than half of those polled said the economy had also deteriorated in the last year.

Respondents were asked to select the most likely president in five years time from a list of candidates. The top five choices were Mr Pik Botha (33,5 percent), Mr P W Botha (23,5 percent), Mr F W de Klerk (10,5 percent) Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (7,8 percent) and Mr Chris Heunis (7 percent). Dr Worrall's name was added to this list by individual respondents, and he received 2,3 percent support.

'No pressure' on withdrawal of PW study

3044 Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The director of RAU, Dr Piet de Lange, confirmed yesterday he had ordered an academic study on State President P W Botha's political thinking to be withdrawn after Mr Botha had talked to him about it.

But Dr De Lange denied allegations that Mr Botha had ordered him to act on the publication or had put any pressure on him. The report had been withdrawn because the correct procedure had not been followed, he said.

One of the two authors of "Die groepsgebod in P W Botha se politieke oortuigings", political scientist Mr Koos van Wyk, said RAU vice-rector Professor G Hauptfleisch had told him the president had complained to Dr De Lange, who is also chairman of the Broederbond, about the publication.

On campus it is generally believed the study was banned after pressure from Mr Botha, and many senior academics at RAU are incensed by it.

"This is the new form of censorship: The call from PW," one said.

The 68-page publication, an analysis of more than 300 of Mr Botha's speeches, stated among other things that Mr Botha's statements on the concepts of union and federation were "mostly highly confusing, indicating that Botha does not know the meaning of and the difference between the two basic forms of states". It also stated it was "remarkable that Botha did not understand the essence of the form of government in SA since 1910".

The publication was funded by the university and the Human Sciences Research Council. The other author was political scientist Professor Deon Geldenhuys, who is in Chile.

(Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Jhb.)

Worrall seeks legal advice on funds issue

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A political row has erupted over allegations by former Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel that the three independent election candidates, Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Wynand Malan, were raising funds illegally for their election campaign.

Dr Worrall today denied the allegations "categorically" and said he was seeking legal advice.

Mr Nel, MP and National Party candidate for Pretoria Central, made the allegations yesterday.

Today he said the independents had invited the public to contribute money to a "Reform Trust".

In terms of the Fundraising Act, permission could not be granted for organisations which did not have a constitution to raise money.

There were certain exceptions such as church organisations and registered political parties.

The independents had however not formed a political party, and no party registered on their behalf.

NO APPLICATION

The office of the Director of Fundraising had told him no "Reform Trust", nor any of the independents, had received permission to raise funds or had applied to do so.

It appeared, therefore, that the independent candidates had contravened the Act. He urged them to clarify the matter.

Dr Worrall commented: "This is a very serious allegation. I deny it categorically. We are seeking legal opinion."

He declined to discuss the question of registration as a party or Mr Nel's other points.

A spokesman for the Director of Fundraising said he was not aware of any applications received from the independent candidates in terms of the Fundraising Act.

The Director-General of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr G B S van Zyl, said today no applications for registration of a political party had been received from the independent candidates concerned since January 1 this year.

Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Wynand Malan could not be reached for comment today.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Law must change, says MP

Sowetan 27/3/87

30+A

BY declaring Hillbrow and Mayfair open areas under the Group Areas Act, the Government would cause the conditions of life in the already over-populated areas to drop radically, Mr Alf Widman, PFP MP of Hillbrow said yesterday.

Reacting to the Government's reported two-prong strategy to declare only these two areas open and to put the threat of expropriation on landlords letting to non-whites in other grey areas to "correct the situation", he said the problems of overcrowding in these areas could only stop if the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

People should be free to decide where they wanted to and could afford to live, Mr Widman said.

Central business districts are declared "open" under Section 19 of the Group Areas Act. Anyone can live in an open area.

However, the Government has pointed out that Section 41 of the Act makes provision for the expropriation of land after a three month notice period to "correct the situation" or put out their non-white lessees. This "draconian threat" was outrageous and impracticable, Mr Widman said. — Sapa.

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Alliance plans 30 Natal meetings

3244

Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party alliance has planned about 30 public election campaign meetings in Natal.

Veteran MP Helen Suzman will address seven meetings during a two-day visit to Pietermaritzburg, Hillcrest, Ladysmith and Umhlanga.

Other major visiting speakers will include Dr Marius Barnard MP and Mr Harry Schwarz MP.

The campaign will round off with a major rally in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall on April 30. President Botha will speak at an unknown alternative venue in the city on the same night.

Dr Zac de Beer, former MP and foundation member of the Progressive Party, will make a return to party politics when he addresses a meeting for PFP Umhlanga candidate Desi Halse at the Eshowe Town Hall on April 14.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

P W asks who funds Independents

Mercury Correspondent

ERMELO—President Botha insinuated last night that the Independent candidates were financed from abroad.

And the National Party MP for Pretoria Central, Mr Louis Nel, insisted that certain funds received on behalf of the Independents had been raised illegally.

Mr Botha asked 1 200 people at an NP meeting in Ermelo: 'Who is financing the Independents? Is it only South African interests that are behind them?'

He said: 'I think they owe it to South Africa to say where they get all the money they are spending on their advertising campaign.'

He said he was only starting his questions on the issue.

Someone interjected: 'Why don't you tell us?'

Mr Botha replied: 'I will do that later. It is a long time before the election.'

He was not amused when someone shouted: 'Chris Ball financed them.'

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that Mr Nel said attorneys for the Reform Trust had, in effect, admitted that amounts received through newspaper advertisements had been raised illegally.

Mr Nel alleged on Thursday that Independent candidates Wynand Malan (Randburg) and Denis Worrall (Helderberg) were receiving campaign funds in contravention of the Fund Raising Act.

'Serious'

The Reform Trust said yesterday that money which had been received in response to newspaper advertisements was being lodged in the trust account of a firm of attorneys pending application to the Director of Fund Raising for authority.

Mr Nel said last night the statement 'amounts to an admission that the funds raised by the Reform Trust for the Independents were raised illegally'.

Dr Worrall said yesterday he regarded Mr Nel's allegation in 'an extremely serious light' and was taking legal advice.

(Report by M du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg, and F Neuhoff, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

THE INDEPENDENT

JOHN PATTEN



PW set to cross last Rubicon?

28/3/87 SME

The white general election is even more a test of President Botha's position in politics than it is of the National Party.

There is the strong premonition among Nationalists that Mr Botha is trying to assess when he can safely retire leaving his party in the driving seat.

At the same time, there is growing disenchantment (almost incipient rebellion) among Nationalist politicians about his present style of leadership and his judgment on key issues of policy.

Whispers are doing the rounds of personality clashes between Mr Botha and certain Ministers, growing anger at his tyrannical outbursts and dissatisfaction in the Cabinet at the calling of the election against the wishes of most Cabinet members.

A way of testing the claim that all is not well with Mr Botha's political judgment on key policy issues is to examine some of the findings of the opinion polls commissioned by The Star in six barometer constituencies in different parts of the country.

Although the Marketing & Media Research opinion poll findings confirm that the National Party appears in no danger of defeat, they show Mr Botha has made some serious political mistakes.

● He was wrong to put a brake on Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, who has been ready for some time to make some decisive moves in the crucial area of black political rights.

● He was wrong to send the recommendations of the President's Council on amendments to the Group Areas Act back to the council for further consideration, because Nationalist voters are, to a remarkable extent, in favour of a major relaxation of the law.

● He is being held to blame even by Nationalist voters for the serious deterioration in the economy following his Rubicon 1 speech in 1985, for the debt freeze, for the rise in unemployment and for the sanctions crisis it precipitated.

CAUSE OF CONTINUING RESISTANCE

● It would have to be conceded that Mr Botha's tough line in trying to suppress unrest, and his refusal to negotiate with the ANC unless it renounces violence, has won strong voter support ahead of the election, but there is also recognition in the opinion poll results that black township attitudes towards the Government are far from satisfactory, let alone conducive to the desired climate of negotiation. The emergency and the wholesale detention of black leaders is a major cause of continuing resistance.

The Mark en Mening opinion poll published recently by the Nationalist Sunday newspaper *Rapport* showed the National Party was likely to lose seats to both the Reform Alliance and the right-wing parties.

The Star's MMR poll, and another conducted independently by Market Research Africa, both suggest possibly fewer losses for the Nationalists either to Left or Right.

Whatever the final tally, Nationalists believe this is Mr Botha's farewell election.

They are claiming Mr Botha is aiming to retire some time next year — a significant year, because the National Party will then be celebrating 40 years in power (a triumphant note on which to leave) and because 1988 is the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek, an event that he would hope will bring some revival of Afrikaner unity.

The Star's MMR opinion poll shows white voters believe Mr Pik Botha is the man who will be the next State President.

It confirms the popularity the Foreign Minister enjoys with white voters, but does not take account of who chooses the State President — under the present system, effectively the Nationalist parliamentary caucus, where Mr Pik Botha is not the front-runner.

If anything, the election result may slightly damage the chances of the present leading presidential contender, the Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, because the Nationalists are likely to lose more seats in Mr de Klerk's provincial power base than in other provinces.

But Mr de Klerk's apparent rival, Cape leader Mr Chris Heunis, is, himself, considerably handicapped.

His efforts at constitutional reform, on which his political reputation depends, have been smothered by President Botha to the point where the Botha-Heunis master-protege relationship is understood to have been seriously damaged.

And Mr Heunis has little support outside the Cape.

President Botha, with or without a good election win this year, may thus have to opt for retirement without actually being able to manipulate who will be his successor.

● Comment by J M Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Indaba plans mixed suburbs, says Nat

Mercury Reporter

INTEGRATION of all residential areas in Natal and KwaZulu would become legal if the Indaba proposals were implemented, Mr Renier Schoeman, director of information for the National Party in Natal, said yesterday.

Mr Schoeman, who is the NP candidate for the Umhlanga constituency in the House of Assembly election, was responding to criticism by Prof Dawid van Wyk, director of the Indaba, of an article on the proposals in the National Party's latest newsletter for Natal.

He said that, in terms of Clause 7 (1) of the Bill of Rights, it would be illegal to refuse anyone the right to buy or occupy property anywhere in Natal.

Mr Schoeman said the National Party viewed the 'inaccurate information' put out by Prof van Wyk about the Indaba as 'disturbing, to say the least'.

He said Prof van Wyk had recently stated in the Press that the Indaba proposals had been endorsed by Inkatha.

'Dubious'

This was simply not true, Mr Schoeman said. He said the central committee of Inkatha had resolved to appoint a sub-committee to prepare an assessment of the proposals which could be laid before the annual conference of the movement later this year.

Prof van Wyk owed the public an explanation about this and other 'dubious claims' he was making almost daily.

Mr Schoeman said there was no guarantee in the Indaba proposals that the people who represented the majority of any group would serve on the Cabinet.

(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Hillbrow rezoning possible

CLAIRE ROBERTSON

The Government has hinted once again at measures to deal with Hillbrow's contravention of the Group Areas Act.

Following intensive speculation that the authorities could rezone the densely-populated, mixed-race area, Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower and Public Works, spoke this week of changing "technicalities" in the Act.

Speaking at the University of Pretoria, he said: "We are looking at possible changes."

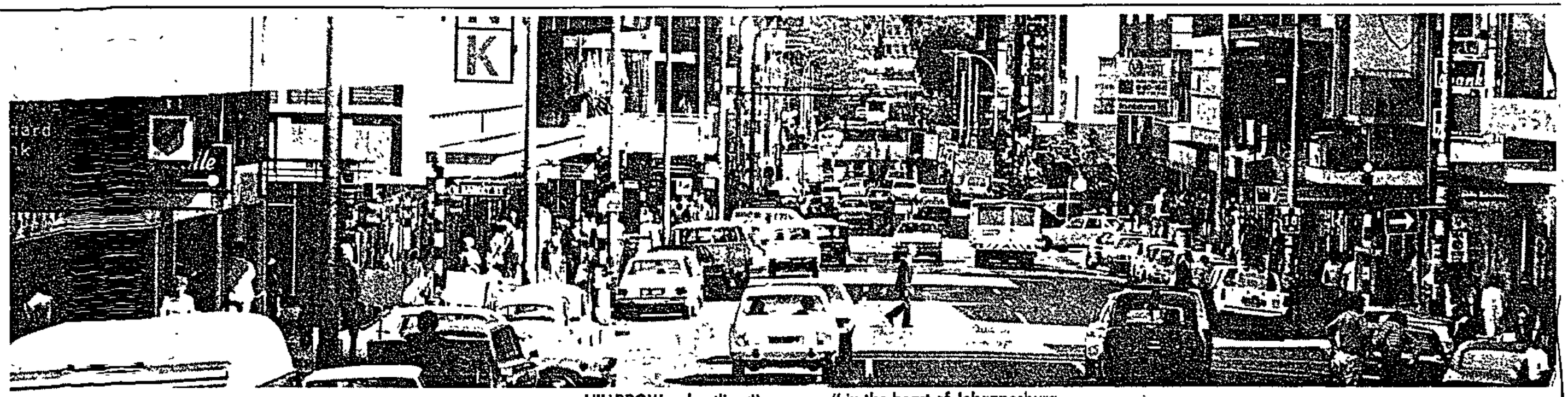
Hillbrow illustrated just the kind of situation that indicated "why we must change it".

The Appeal Court had ruled that before people could be evicted, they must have alternative accommodation.

President Botha and National Party congresses had repeatedly said that white residential areas and schools would stay white. Those issues were fundamental to the Act.

The Government had adapted the Act — including allowing local authorities to determine whether central business districts be "open" areas or not — but held that it was important that existing white areas be kept white.

● Report by C A Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.



HILLBROW: a bustling "grey area" in the heart of Johannesburg.

A case of 'flawed reasoning'

There have been renewed calls for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act after a report in The Star this week that the Government could rezone suburbs such as Hillbrow and Mayfair in Johannesburg — where people of all races are living — to provide separate enclaves for different races.

Members of the black community and the Official Opposition, as well as a number of academics, have said that it is impossible to reform a law such as the Group Areas Act because it is based on flawed reasoning.

However, the Conservative Party has demanded that the Government stops "ducking and diving", and takes action against all who contravene the Act.

Recent indications from various Cabinet Ministers have been that certain "white" suburbs, where large numbers of people of colour are living illegally, could be rezoned as separate group areas for different races.

Indications are that Woodstock in Cape Town could become a coloured group area, while part of Mayfair could be rezoned for Indians.

The possibility of official "grey areas" — where people of all races will be allowed to live — has been ruled out.

However, Ministers have undertaken not to act against people who have already moved into white areas illegally in large numbers.

SUE LEEMAN

The Transvaal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Douglas Gibson, said the only solution was to scrap the Group Areas Act.

"Merely to relax it in a few areas, or to apply piecemeal solutions, creates more problems than it solves."

Mr Gibson said Government policy was "in a mess".

"Instead of looking at the broader interests of all South Africans, the Government is running scared."

Professor Koos van Wyk, of the Department of Political Science at Rand Afrikaans University, said the Group Areas Act could not be improved "by reforming or adjusting it".

"There is nothing right about it. The whole philosophy of telling people where they should live on a racial basis is shortsighted and unpractical.

"This is why the Government's reform initiatives have failed — they think they can improve the apartheid laws"

Mr Frans Kekana, of the Institute for Contextual Theology, said the Government had embarked on an election ploy with the aim of placating its right wing.

"This shouldn't be taken seriously." He said black people remained implacably opposed to group areas, and demanded that the Act be scrapped.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, of the Conservative Party, said the Act must be strictly applied, particularly against landlords.

But he said the Government had failed. If Hillbrow and Mayfair were rezoned, people who had spent a lot on their homes — on the premise that these areas were white — would stand to lose large amounts.

Poor whites must have PW — areas protection

ERMELO — The Government was prepared to amend and improve the Group Areas Act to remove obstacles but the principle of separate established communities in their own residential areas would not be tampered with, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

In his second election address to about 1 100 people in the civic centre here, he dealt at length with what he described as the need to retain the principle of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Botha emphasised that "own" residential areas were of the utmost importance, especially in urban areas, for the protection of "the poor, white worker".

He had seen the deplorable circumstances in which they had lived in black townships like Sophiatown "until we gave them security and a future in their own residential areas . . . this is their protection".

The rich white man could afford to pay for his apartheid in exclusive areas but the poor white man had to live where he could afford to.

"As long as I am head of this Government I am not prepared to allow the established rights of communities — white, black, coloured and Indian — to be undermined. These rights must be protected."

Mr Botha said he was under attack from the right-wing who said he was dismantling the Act, and by the left-wing, who said he was not making any move to dismantle it.

"No law in any country of the world is a sacred cow."

A law was there to achieve a purpose and if it was not doing so then it had to be changed.

The Group Areas Act had been amended 17 times already "because we had to adapt to circumstances and problems that came up".

What was most important was that the principle of own residential areas and own cultural life in these areas was maintained and protected.

"This is what the NP stands for."

Mr Botha said the "rich multi-cultural variety" of the different population groups and communities in South Africa was a reality which nobody could change or deny.

The Group Areas Act's principles offered the opportunity for "own cultural life, education and so on, in own residential areas and also it provides flexibility through permit control for areas which are undeclared".

Mr Botha said people called these latter areas "grey" but the fact was that these had existed all along "and they will probably continue in the future in South Africa".

He denied he had interfered with the Presidents Council's investigation into the Act but had only insisted that every single aspect of this legislation be fully examined.

Since Group Areas was enacted, residential areas for the various race groups had become established and would not be tampered with.

His standpoint was that the devolution and sharing of power and the protection of minority communities in South Africa could not take place without own residential areas being acknowledged and protected.

In his wide-ranging address Mr Botha also raised the issue of independent candidates' campaign funding and said they owed it to South Africa to reveal whether their backing came only from this country or whether foreign interests were also involved.

However, he was not going to take the matter further because there was still plenty of time before the May 6 elections.

(Report by Mark van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

● Editorial comment — Page 10

WEEKEND POST, MARCH 28, 1987

Resign or pursue racial justice? There's no easy answer

Judiciary under spotlight

By SARA MARTIN

The role of the judiciary has come firmly under the spotlight as a result of an interim report by the International Commission of Jurists — but one of South Africa's leading law experts says there is no easy answer.

"Should a judge resign or use his office to pursue racial justice? It's an acute dilemma facing members of the Bench today," said Professor John Dugard, professor of Law and Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University.

Reacting to recent comments by the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), Professor Dugard said the spotlight would once more focus on the South African judiciary on Monday at the resumption of the Delmas "treason trial" when the presiding judge hears an application arising out of his dismissal of one of his assessors, Professor W Joubert.

The application will raise questions abut the handling of political trials and judicial independence at such trials.

The ICJ's interim report questions the country's claim to an independent judiciary as well as the capacity of judges to administer justly.

The commission commented that the country's supreme arbiters of law, by their presence on the Bench, are "lending undeserved credibility to a legal system in which personal and political freedoms are left unprotected."

It adds that judges are open to criticism not only on account of participation in the system — however reluctant they may be — but in adminstering ordinary law that calls for decisions and the imposition of sentences which are, in the team's view, "appallingly harsh".

Professor Dugard admits that the performance of the South African judiciary in the 1960s and '70s "supports this radical position".

"But there is no easy answer to the question of whether judges in South Africa should resign or use their office to pursue racial justice.

"However, in recent years there have been signs of a re-awakening of the judicial conscience as is evident in Natal, and of the determination to oppose the injustices of the apartheid State among some judges. In such an environment advocacy of resignation may be counter-productive."

He points out it may be wiser for critics to stress the positive role that judges can play, by emphasising areas of judicial choice, by condemning judicial cowardice and by praising judicial courage.

"Obviously there comes a time when the moral judge has no option but to resign. Many may argue that this point has already been reached in South Africa — that the passing of discriminatory laws, or the introduction of indefinite detention without trial, should have served as signals for resignation.

"As it is, no judge has resigned in protest against the enactment of such laws and the present judiciary have all accepted appointment after the passing of these laws. Clearly those judges who oppose such laws — and there are a number of them who do — believe that they contribute more to the advancement of racial justice from their position on the Bench than they could by emigration or by indulging in lucrative commercial-law practice."

'Individual liberty': courts criticised

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Mr Geoffrey Bindman, the solicitor who was one of the International Commission of Jurists who visited South Africa, has attacked judges in South Africa for "endorsing the validity of a system which has virtual ly removed their power to safeguard individual liberty".

The attack comes at the end of an article written by Mr Bindman and appearing in *The Guardian* newspaper in London.

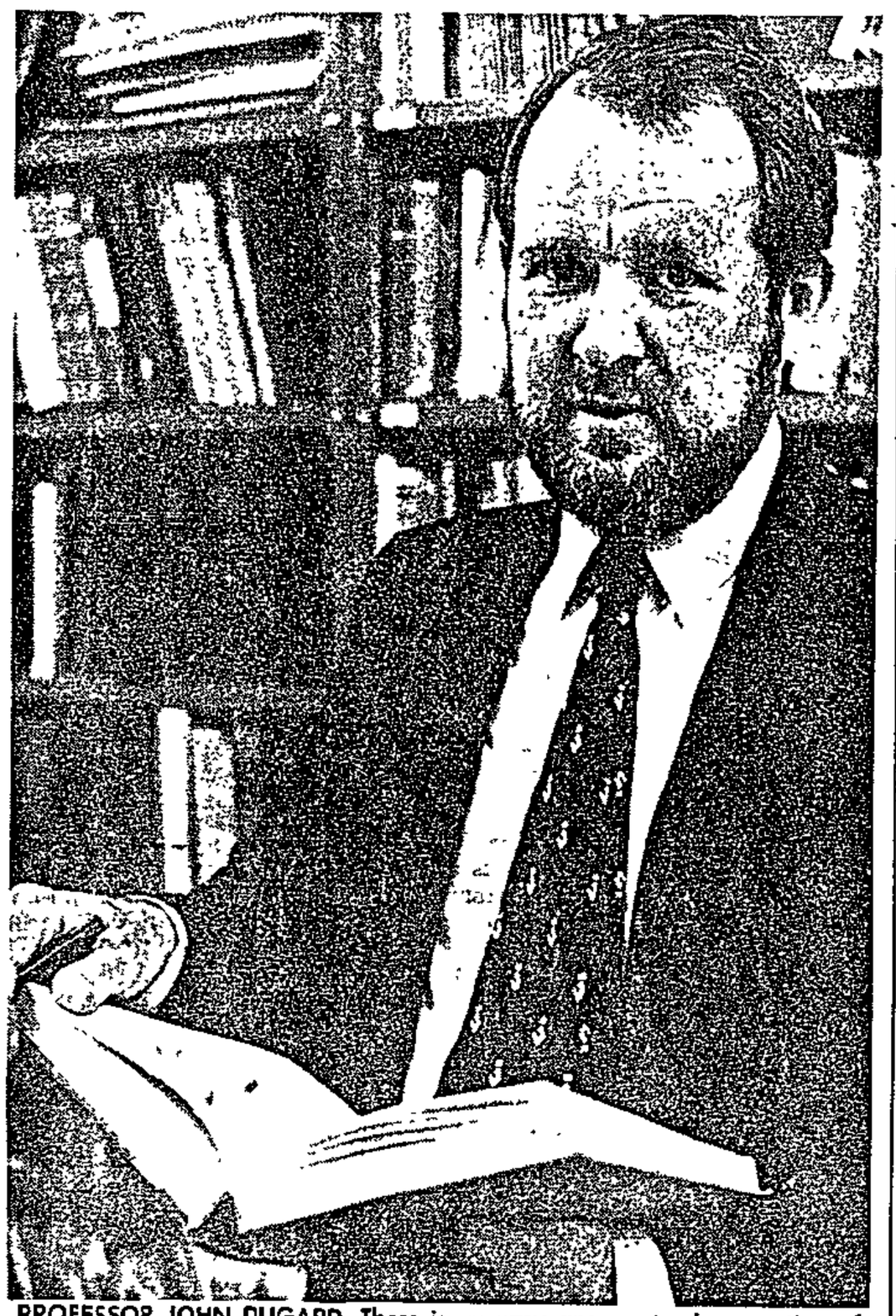
Mr Bindman writes: "As in Britain, the judges are constitutionally bound to apply the law passed by Parliament. Some have invalidated some regulations and ordered the release of a few detainees.

"But they can mitigate only marginally the impact of the security laws. Furthermore, by their presence on the Bench, they endorse the validity of a system which has virtually removed their power to safeguard individual liberty."

Mr Bindman also attacks the Government's "reforms' as largely cosmetic. "The Government presents itself to the outside world ... as if already having abandoned apartheid — it was now eager to bring about democratic change and willing to negotiate with responsible black leaders."

But, he says, "the evidence obtained by the mission shows this picture is false ... the foundations (of apartheid) remain intact".

He points to the Group Areas Act, which "remains in full force".



PROFESSOR JOHN DUGARD: There is no easy answer to the question of whether judges in South Africa should resign or not. ● Photograph: Ruvan Boshoff.

All-out fun for Rand Show

TONI YOUNGHUSBAND

The "grand" Rand Show o 1987 opens its gates o Monday, April 6, with th focus on non-stop enter tainment.

For the first time in 9 years, show organisers an providing 13 hours of non stop entertainment dail at a cost of more tha R500 000.

Music festivals — fro Gospel on Sunday to jaz — are expected to dra big crowds.

The Cape Coons hav been brought up for th show as has an unusua Cape trapeze group mad up of professional busi nessmen and women.

Another major event o the entertainment agend is the Arwa Show Ma jorettes Spectacular — glitzy extravaganza fea turing 400 entertainers.

The Macro Mighty Ma contest features brawn beefcakes pulling truck and rolling cars. There i also a Swiss wrestling cor test and a Steintosse (stone throwing) compet tion.

Major parties are confident

May 6 drive enters final stage

as signs point to 470 nominations

CAPE TOWN — The May 6 general election campaign will enter its final five-week stage on Tuesday, when nomination courts will sit in 166 constituencies throughout the country.

Present indications are that nearly 470 candidates will be nominated and that there will be only a handful of independents, fewer than 10.

The NP will stand in some 164 seats and the PFP in 75. In terms of its moderate alliance plan, the PFP has stood back for the NRP and independents in 18 seats.

The CP is planning to put up 110 candidates in the first general election it has fought and the HNP is ready with 92 candidates.

While HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais maintains his party is agreeable to an election pact with the CP, Conservative leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has finally ruled out this possibility.

Stand back

There is, however, still the possibility that one right-wing candidate will stand back for another in some seats. The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is still putting pressures on the two parties to come together.

The NRP will put up some 15 candidates.

The right-wing squabbbles are good news for the NP, especially in the Transvaal, where it it is involved in tough fights with the CP in a number of platteland seats.

Nationalist politicians are confident that they can hold the CP down to 15 seats instead of the 16 they have in the Assembly at present, most of which were won under the banner of the NP in the 1981 election.

POLITICAL STAFF

If right-wingers do not get to gether, the HNP is likely to lose its only seat, Sasolburg in the Free State, in a three-cornered contest.

NP politicians are confident their party will do well and that the present status quo in the Assembly, where it holds 109 elected seats, will be largely maintained.

The PFP, too, is confident it can improve its position and that a moderate alliance can win more than 40 seats compared to the 27 the PFP and the five the NRP hold at present.

The CP claims it can do well.

HNP leaders, despondent about the lack of an election pact, feel right-wing MPs may be reduced to about nine.

Independent Mr Wynand Malan of Randburg appears to have the best chance of retaining the seat he won as a Nationalist.

Workers of Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg maintain he is doing well and that 20 percent of voters are undecided, but a poll found him trailing behind sitting Nat MP Mr Chris Heunis.

In Stellenbosch the NP is confident it will score a decisive victory against independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan.

● Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

304A
SMR
28/3/87

'Principle is here to stay, to protect the white worker'

The future of Group Areas: by P W Botha



Group Areas

● From Page 1

ernment he would ensure that the established rights of the various communities, as built up by — among other things — the Group Areas Act, would not be undermined.

He said that were it not for the security of their own areas, or had they been living side by side with blacks, coloured people and Indians would have been in trouble during the unrest and chaos.

No Act in any country of the world was a "holy cow", he added. During his time as Deputy Minister of the Interior and later as Minister of Community Development, he had himself amended the Group Areas Act several times.

What was important was not the Group Areas Act itself, but whether the principles of own residential areas and own cultural existence could be protected.

Among the principles built into the Group Areas Act were guaranteed property rights on a fairer basis than existed before the Act.

The principle of own residential areas and own property rights and the protection of these communities as provided for in the Act had enabled a large part of the urban communities of South Africa to live in calm and peace.

The Act gave the opportunity for communities to have their own community life, such as own schools and own cultural activities. Furthermore, the Act provided for flexibility by means of permit control.

● Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

ERMELO — President Botha last night effectively ruled out any possibility of the Government dropping its segregated group areas policy.

Addressing a National Party rally of about 1 200 people in Ermelo, he made it clear that while he was not wedded to the Group Areas Act as an instrument of policy, the principle would not be scrapped while he was in power.

Saying he did not know what the term "grey areas" meant, Mr Botha said the devolution of power, the sharing of power and the protection of minorities — the major pillars of National Party policy — could not take place without the recognition of "own" residential areas for different communities.

He said: "Own residential areas are of the utmost importance, particularly in big cities, for the protection of poor white workers.

"The rich people buy their apartheid with large residences and properties. The poor man must live wherever he can afford to. I'm on the side of the white worker."

His ruling on Group Areas follows weeks of confusion about what the Government's policy is towards specifically so-called grey areas such as Hillbrow and Woodstock, where thousands of people of colour have moved into white areas.

Mr Botha did not deal with the future of these areas, except to say that where contraventions of the Group Areas Act had taken place, it was against a background of the housing shortage.

He said that while he was the head of the Gov-

● To Page 2

Botha hits out at rebels

DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

ERMELO — Mr P W Botha last night lashed the three Independent candidates in the election, Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Wynand Malan, by querying where they had received their financing for their major advertising campaigns

"Is it only South African interests behind them," he asked when addressing a National Party rally. "I think they must tell South Africa who is behind them, and where they have got their money from."

The audience started chanting: "Chris Ball ... Chris Ball."

Mr Botha smiled.

A statement by attorneys for the "Reform Trust" saying that amounts received on behalf of independent candidates in the May 6 election through newspaper advertisements were in a trust account pending application to the Director of Fund-Raising for the necessary authority amounted to an admission that the funds had been raised illegally, Mr Louis Nel, National Party MP for Pretoria central, said last night.

Mr Nel alleged on Thursday night that independent candidates Mr Wynand Malan (Randburg) and Dr Denis Worrall (Hel-

● To Page 2



PW, ou maat, this is the Wits rag procession!



ROYAL GUEST: Prince Charles pictured soon after he arrived in Swaziland yesterday evening.

Charles's 'detour' dismays security

JEAN WAITE

MBABANE — Prince Charles delighted a cheering crowd of Swazis here when he made an impromtu stop on the road from Matsapa Airport after his arrival in Swaziland for a three-day official visit.

As the crowd surged forward he made his way to a small group holding a handwritten welcome banner from the Cheshire Home for the Disabled. As armed security police battled to control the excited throng, the prince shook hands with several of the group, most of them in wheelchairs, and bent down for a special word with a young boy who had had his hand amputated.

The youngster, no more than about five, was so overcome by all the attention that he buried his head in the skirts of the Cheshire Home secretary, Mrs Hazel King.

With the crowd pressing in from all sides, and his

● To Page 2

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EDEN —

included EP Angling Week, the light tackle nationals and a big game fishing tournament.

EP cyclist GARTH B

Another 300 Matie academics protest

CAPE TOWN — The Stellenbosch revolt against the Nationalist leadership took a sensational turn today when 301 academics signed a petition in support of the original 28 who urged speeded-up reform.

The 301 signatures were obtained in only three days.

This means that effectively more than half of the academic staff in the town now support the dissident academics, whose stand has been derided by Nationalist politicians and their newspapers.

This latest development is yet another major knock to the image of the Nationalist leadership, particularly as State President P W Botha is chancellor of the university, and Mr Chris Heunis, the Cape party leader and Nationalist candidate in the neighbouring Helderberg constituency, is a member of the university's council.

Latest

It came as a spontaneous movement from outside the group of 28.

It appears from the petition the academics were stung into action by the way in which the Nationalist Press and certain people in Stellenbosch had been trying to misuse the statement of the original dissident group of 28.

Those who signed said they had taken note of these attempts "with indignation."

"As the Burger and other people try to create the distorted impression that all the other lecturers and researchers of the University of Stellenbosch are opposed to the viewpoints of the 28 in their declaration, we hereby wish to state that we broadly agree with that statement," they said.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Mombera

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(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

WEARGUS 28/3/87 (30KA)

Matie landslide

(Cont. from Page1)

In their statement on March 7 the 28 said that hope for the future could be created only if the Government was willing to issue unambiguous declarations of intent on:

- Its intention to abolish all remnants of apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, statutory race classification and the tricameral system.
- Its unambiguous intention to share power effectively with blacks.

The names

Among those who signed the petition were: Prof J L de Villiers, Dr H J Hendriks, Dr D J Louw, Prof W H Odendaal, Dr C M Pauw, Prof A T Möller, D J Momberg, M Venables, H F Kotzé, Dr H C Pieters, J J Sieberhagen, Dr J Wait, Dr S S Roos, C Nortjé, J J Spangenberg, W H Theron, J H Meyer, Dr B W Green, G W S van Rooyen, Dr A Esterhuyse, Dr G G Watkins, Prof A P J van der Walt, H Jacobs, Dr P Maritz, Dr S F G Wessels, Dr J D Buys, Prof H J J van Vuuren, Dr J H Randall, Dr J H Louw, Dr G Holz, Dr K L Pringle, Prof M A Loos, Prof M J Hattingh, Dr J P Schumann, Dr J H S Hofmeyr, Dr P Swart, Dr J C Morgenthal, Prof W E Kassier.

Prof I M R van Aarde, J J N Lambrechts, B H A Schloms, Prof D K Strydom, R H Gouws, G Kroes, A E Feinauer, L Viljoen, S Roothman, F J van Rooyen, Prof I J van der Merwe, Dr H L Zietsman, P L Stockton, H Schoeman, J H van der Merwe, A C Vlok, J Olivier, P H de Necker, Dr P H van Rooyen, D F Pfaff, H Wissink, W I van Aswegen, P G Joubert, A S Kritzinger, J vd V le Roux, Prof P G J Overduin, M C le Roux, F Howes, M A McCarthy, N T Keet, D P Fourie, Dr J Kinghorn, Dr P vd P du Toit, J L MacKenzie, H D du Toit, C le Roux, S Fourie, L H Winckler, R Mattaysen, J de Jager, S Swart, W E Gerritsen, G L de Kock, Prof S A Cilliers, A le Roux, B Geleijnse, D J Finnemore, J F Thackeray, D J Louw, W L van der Merwe, F Theron, A S Gouws, Dr W Köppe, Dr R Annas, Dr A Blumer, Dr D P Edmunds, Prof J B Thompson, H F Snyders, R Goodman, E Schwella, A van Rooyen, J P de V Graaff, G Carse, A P R Kellerman, J Lever, E van der Spuy, Prof C J Groenewald, Prof H R Kassler, R Bodenstein, Prof D H van der Vyver, J J Botha, W Trengrove, Prof J J Degenaar, J McCallum, J D Stemmet, M C J van Schalkwyk.

J H Malan, E J Herbert, Professor J R Potgieter, Dr B M Wild, Herman Pretorius, Johann van Heerden, B Scholten, E Aucamp, J S Fourie, G Coetsch, N P Roos, N P Roos, T Smuts, E Aucamp, W Ludemann, A Fick, Dr R Temmingh, Professor R Behrens, E B Rycroft, I Smith, P van Heerden, L A Wentzel, J C Thom, F R Pauw, DR J M Claassen, C A Malan, S Thom, S F de Vries, Professor P J Conradie, J Cornelius, Dr P E Claasen, Dr P A Kurger, J C Zietsman, J M Theron, J Matheson, F P Nel, Dr H J Hensbergen, Professor D S M Donald, Professor G van Gadow, Professor R C Bigalke, D E Steinmann, Professor D J Marais, P E de Kock.

Dr S B Geyer, J W Koen, Professor W Rautenbach, K Engelen, Dr J A Sander, Professor M A Rabie, Professor G F Lubbe, M Lubbe, Professor W G Erasmus, J de Vos, C F Hugo, D U Butler, H N Kotze, Professor C G van der Merwe, A P Laubscher, S Coetzer, S J Human, M Gerber, Professor A Archer, Professor D Tromp, Professor W D Hamman, Professor H Oosthuizen, Professor E v d M Smith, Jd P Smith, E Brand, Heald, Herman, Ibbotson W S de Villiers, J B du Toit, C C Theron, M Cilliers, G G Cillie, Dr M Hanekom, A G Smit, M E du Plessis, P J du Toit, J B Blankenberg, A I Olivier, M L Roux, M S Odendaal, E Ridge, A Alberts, E Kinghorn, Professor H Aucamp, C D Cilliers, J C Murray.

D S Gxilishe, N Beyers, L E Combrink, J M Krige, H M Grobbelaar, E Aitchison, S N Conradie, C J van Staden, W Brown, L Loxton, A S Ferreira, F Swanepoel, Q Vorster, M C van Niekerk, J H v H de Wet, A J van Niekerk, Professor S A Cloete, G A P Stoltz, M J Botha, J J Swartz, Dr O D J Stuart, G E Moore, J P Spangenberg, G M Pellissier, M A du Toit, M Leibold, D M Uys, R A J van Rensburg, N Muller, A Hough, J M M v d Berg, S van der Berg, Professor A P Melck, J C Lotter, A F van der Merwe, G A Schoombee, B W Smit, Professor P H Spies, Le R Burrows, A Roukens de Lange, Dr D H Cornell, Dr J P le Roux, H S Pienaar, G J Greeff, Dr J G V Joubert, F G Scholtz, D Dill, J Sloth-Nielsen, E Venter, L P van Kradenburg, M D de Villier.

Dr M Sinclair, Prof M W Coetzer, M A Reuter, M M Blanckenberg, L P du Toit, H J Vermeulen, R Hermon, Prof W J Perold, D F Frost, Prof F S van der Werwe, FHL Badenhorst, K D Palmer, K D Kepple, Prof J H Cloete, K von Liepzig, P H Crous, Dr M Sinclair, G Maritz, J Rossouw, FPJ Müller, Prof G de F Retief, Dr M Gerber, P E Dunaiski, D van V Pienaar, J van der Westhuizen, J J Heese, L Kemp, D Cluver, H E Schoeman, H K van der Merwe, H H Heunis, N C Goosen, Dr E H Gouws, P Teunissen, M Rennhackkamp, R McD Dodds, Prof AES Krzesinski, M C Ackerman, H Lewis, D Botha.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

gus poll

MAIL LEADS AIDS

301 academics pledge support for dissidents

by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Stellenbosch revolt against the Nationalist leadership took a sensational turn today when 301 academics signed a petition in support of the original 28 who urged speeded-up reform.

The 301 signatures were obtained in only three days.

This means that effectively more than half of the academic staff in the town now support the dissident academics, whose stand has been derided by Nationalist politicians and their newspapers.

The petition circulated only in Stellenbosch, and the staffs of the medical, dentistry and military faculties were not approached.

It came as a spontaneous movement from outside the group of 28.

Major knock to PW

This latest development is yet another major knock to the image of the Nationalist leadership, particularly as President P W Botha is chancellor of the university, and Mr Chris Heunis, the Cape party leader and Nationalist candidate in the neighbouring Helderberg constituency, is a member of the university's council.

It appears from the petition the academics were stung into action by the way in which the Nationalist Press and certain people in Stellenbosch had been trying to misuse the statement of the original dissident group of 28 — members of "Discussion Group 85" — for party political aims.

Those who signed said they had taken note of these attempts "with sorrow and indignation".

With the petition they confirmed the right of lecturers and reseachers at the university to organise themselves in discussion groups to discuss, formulate and publish views on matters of current interest.

"As the Burger and other people tow to create the distorted impression that all the other lecturers and researchers of the University of Stellenbosch are opposed to the viewpoints of the 28 in their declaration, we hereby wish to state that we broadly agree with that statement.

Showing solidarity

"With this we do not commit ourselves for or against any political party or candidate but we are only showing our solidarity with the statement of this group of colleagues."

One of the foremost academics at the university, Professor Andries van der Walt of the mathematics faculty, today gave details about the signing of the petition.

He said that about 50 professors and about 80 senior lecturers and researchers were among the 301 who signed the petition.

Apart from the university's business school, the names were only of people on the Stellenbosch campus. There were about 700 lecturers and researchers on the campus.

If taken into account that about one seventh of them were away on long or study leave and that a number were attending scientific conferences elsewhere, it was safe to assume that only 550 to 600 potential signatories were available.

Of those who had been approached only a small proportion indicated that they did not agree with the statement of the 28.

Not strong enough

A large number agreed with the statement, but were, for reasons concerning their departmental positions, not prepared to sign the statement.

A small number decided not to sign because they thought the statement was not worded strongly enough.

Profesor van der Walt said it could be safely assumed that more than 50 percent of the lecturers and researchers present on the campus in the past week had associated themselves in broad terms with the statement.

He wondered whether, in the light of this, any unbiased observer could still doubt the strong and broad support for the conviction among Stellenbosch academics that it was essential for the Government to accept a drastically-different approach and policy.

Among the prominent signatories were: Professors A Archer (of the business school), R H Behrens (music), W Hamman (business school), S P Cilliers (sociology), J de Villiers (applied mathematics), J de Villiers (theology), J Degenaar (political philosophy), D Odendaal (theology), C Koen (physics), A Woller (psychology), R Reinecke (engineering), W

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, leader of the group of 28, said today he was surprised at, but also grateful for, the tremendous support from their colleagues.

"It is now clear that something very important is happening in the political orientation of the academic staff of the University of Stellenbosch," he said

See names — page 3.

Time for business to drop its Pontius Pilate role

LEN ABRAHAMSE, newly elected president of the South Africa Foundation (SAF), feels the country's businessmen can no longer afford to be apolitical and play a hand-washing "Pontius Pilate" role in national affairs.

"Without being confrontational we must become more closely involved," he told Top of the Times this week.

"We will have to be more forthright in putting our views to the government of the day."

Abrahamse, 65-year-old chairman of Syfrets, said he would like to see the SAF playing a more effective role, from a business standpoint, in finding "a resolution to the more difficult and sensitive problem areas in this country".

And he hoped to see more involvement of black leaders in the work of the foundation, in its efforts to communicate and inform, and to bring about a greater understanding of events and problems in this country.

Fortuitously, the SAF finds itself with not only a new president but also a new director-general, Kurt von Schirnding, South Africa's former ambassador to the UN who replaces the retiring Peter Sorour.

Len Abrahamse, who succeeds Dr Fred du Plessis of Sanlam, said these changes at the SAF helm did not necessarily mean a change of direction although there would almost certainly be a change of emphasis, reflecting changes in the country itself.

"I don't see myself as carrying any new banner, but I don't think there can be any doubt that an increasing number of businessmen are beginning to realize we can no longer be apolitical, and that we must become more involved."

There was a growing realization, Abrahamse said, that it was not only the function of the SAF to win friends for this country abroad.

"It is also becoming increasingly important to win friends in our own country."

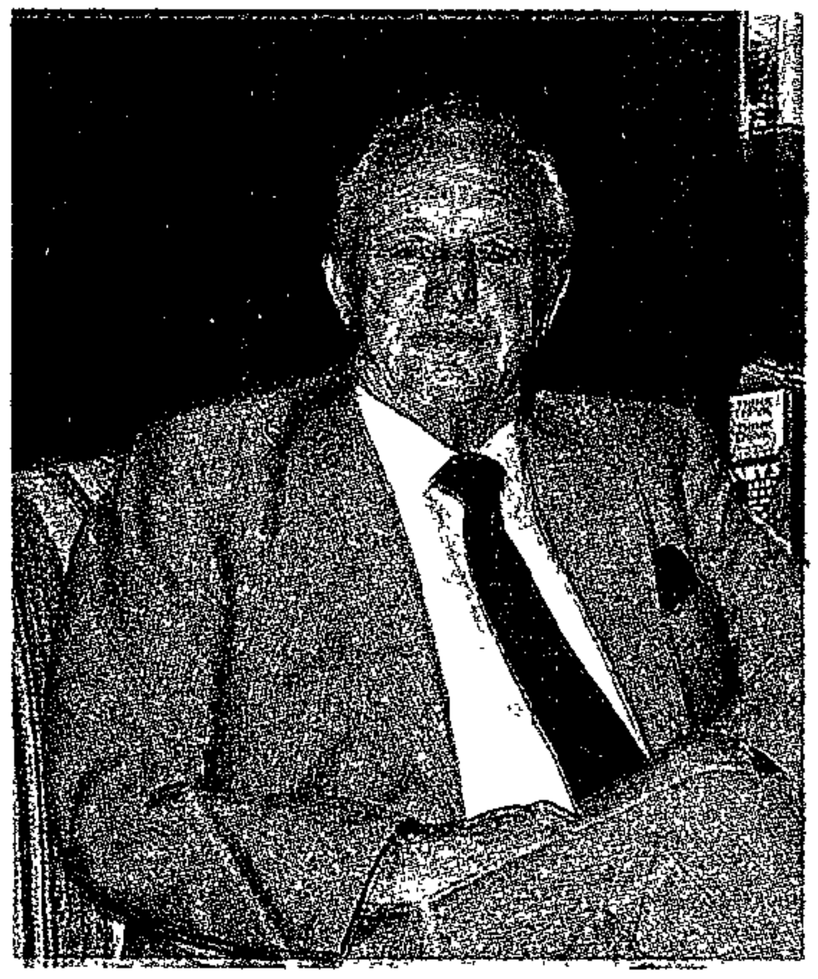
There were three matters to which he and his colleagues on the SAF would be addressing themselves particularly.

● "For some time there has been disappointment that, while the foundation enjoys considerable support among blacks, there has been no formal involvement by leading blacks in the SAF's affairs. They have not felt free to join us, perhaps because they felt we were too much 'part of the system'. We shall try to redress this.

● "Because the SAF is an organization representing business interests, it tends to have the more-senior executives in its ranks. I'd like to see younger people, of all races and from all sections of the business community, joining us.

● "And I hope there'll be a better understanding of the way in which the Foundation has succeeded in getting this country better understood overseas. I believe this is a story all South Africans should know about."

Len Abrahamse, one of the country's foremost business executives and the new president of the SA Foundation, wants to see businessmen becoming more closely involved in national affairs. ROGER WILLIAMS spoke to him.



Len Abrahamse

Abrahamse said he personally ("and this does not necessarily reflect the views of the Foundation") favoured a confederal system for South Africa on the USA and Swiss pattern, with universal franchise and protection for all minorities, and with the rule of law entrenched.

He would like, in the May 6 election, to see an indication that the South African public was beginning to show some flexibility in what had been "a very rigid structure" for nearly 40 years.

Len Abrahamse speaks with a wealth of executive expertise and experience in communication, at the highest level. In 1960, after holding various executive appointments with Shell in different parts of the world, he became the first South African MD of Shell SA and the first SA chairman of SAPREF.

He was later on the boards of the four companies owning or managing all Shell's assets worldwide.

He is currently chairman of the Council of UCT and is on the board of a number of top companies such as Old Mutual, Gold Fields of SA, Nedbank Group, C G Smith, Safren and NEI Africa Ltd.

In World War II he served first with the "Dukes" in East and North Africa and then, after Alamein, with the SAAF as a navigator/bomb-aimer, finishing up in Liberators flown by 34 Squadron, based in Italy.

He met and married his wife Nel, a British WAAF, in Cairo. They have three daughters and 10 grandchildren, and live in Constantia.

Illegal funds claim: Worrall seeks advice

Cape Times 28/3/87 3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DR Denis Worrall is taking legal advice following the allegation by the fomer Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, that two independent candidates are receiving election campaign funds illegally.

In his Newsmaker of the Year address to the Pretoria Press Club, Mr Nel alleged that Dr Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan were receiving funds in contravention of the Fund Raising Act.

A spokesman for Dr Worrall said the matter had been referred to his attorneys. "Dr Worrall has no further comment at the moment."

A spokesman for Mr Malan said he did not know if the Randburg independent planned any action at this stage.

Mr Nel, who is an attorney, was apparently referring to the independents' "Reform Trust", a fund which receives contributions through coupon advertisements in newspapers.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Botha: Who is financing independents?

Cape Times 28/3/87 30 CA

From MAX DU PREEZ

ERMELO. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night insinuated that the independent candidates in Helderberg, Randburg and Stellenbosch were financed from abroad.

He told some 1 200 people at an NP meeting here: "Who is financing the independents? Is it only South African interests that are behind them? I think they owe it to South Africa to say where they get all the money they are spending on their advertising campaign."

He said he was only starting his questions on this issue. When someone interjected: "Why don't you tell us", Mr Botha smiled and replied: "I will do that later. It is a long time before the election."

The president was not amused when someone shouted: "Chris Ball financed them!"

He called the independents "self-appointed saviours of our country" who nominated themselves out of frustration.

(Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

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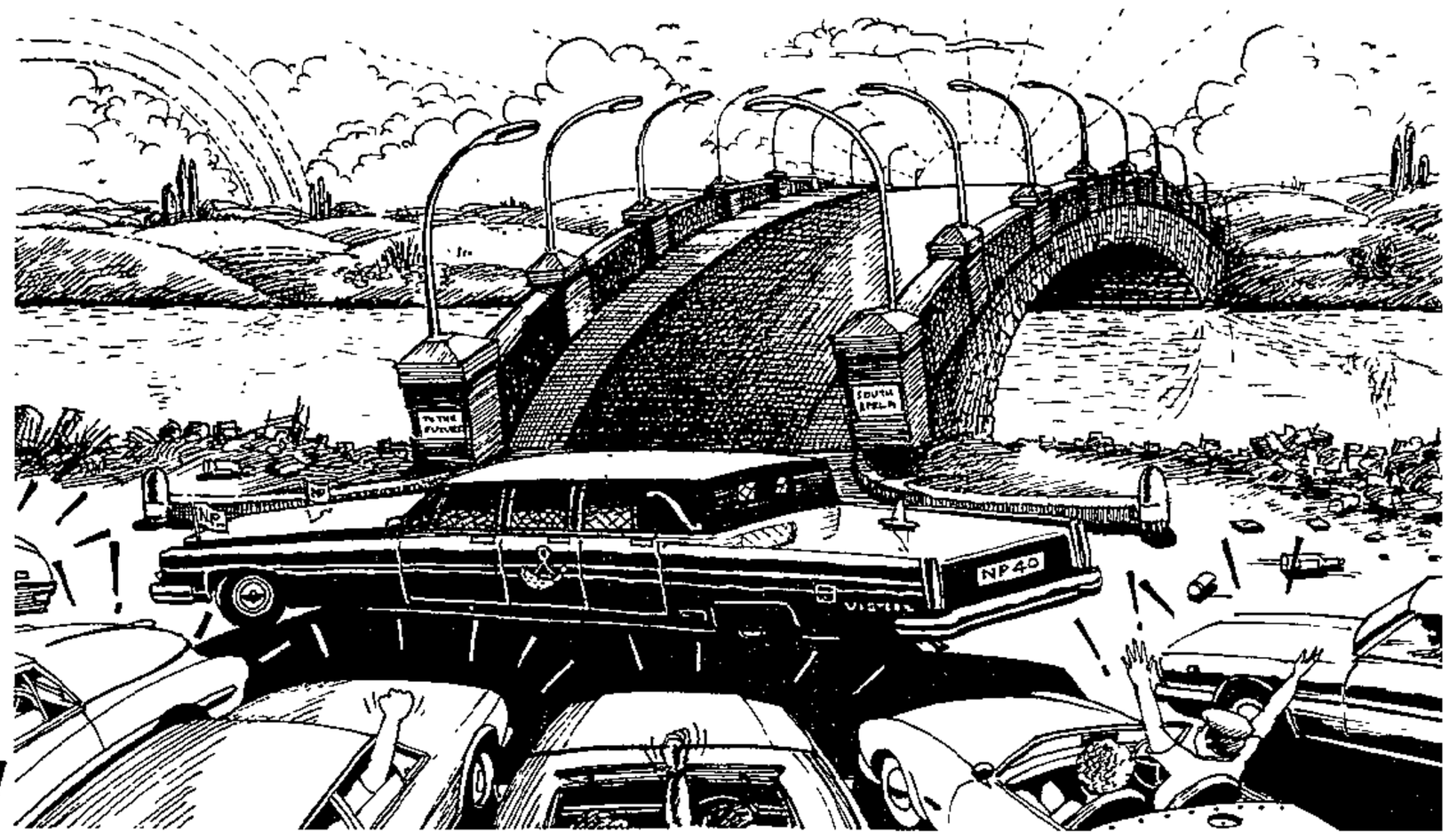
MASSIVE SUPPORT FOR ALLIANCE



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The large scale defection of people from the National Party in recent months has created the possibility of a permanent realignment in South African politics. For the first time in decades, the National Party is facing the prospect of a strong and credible alternative reform-minded government. But what do the public think?

In a recent poll, conducted by Mark en Mening Opname as part of their nationwide Rapport survey, voters were asked which form of government they would prefer – the present government with its reform programme; a new multi-party alliance of reform minded people, or a government which would strictly enforce seperate development. The results are a remarkable indication of how the South African voter is feeling.



Eglin, Architect of alliance politics

Those who know Colin Eglin, Leader of the PFP say he is tough; those who know him well admire his cool head and steady hand on the tiller when the politics of South Africa get rough. And his colleagues in the PFP caucus know him as a leader, a strategist, a realistic politician, and a man with a vision for a new South Africa.

Colin Eglin and his strategists identified the need for an approach to alliance politics in 1986 and since then he has worked single-mindedly to bring this about.

He believes, as most people do that a new and just South Africa is possible. But to bring this about the Nationalist Government, which shows no sign of genuine reform, must go. "A new alliance of strong, determined, reform-minded South Africans in an alternative government, is the way to save South Africa" says Eglin; "The PFP is committed to this. Not for the PFP, not by the PFP, but for all South Africans who share a vision of a peaceful, prosperous South Africa".

→ cont

29/03/87

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HOW MUCH GOVERNMENT CAN WE AFFORD?

Voters swing towards PFP Policies

A new mood of change among voters

While the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis says it is unfair for you to cast your vote on the basis of the economy, most voters agree that inflation, the cost of living and the financial problems of old people are critical election issues – including the majority of National Party supporters.

The apartheid state has spawned a truely enormous governmental structure to support itself, a gravy train of gargantuan proportions. Seemingly, the more 're-form' that occurs, the long-er the gravy train becomes.

When the National Party came to power in 1948, the House of Assembly had 150 elected MP's, 14 Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers did not exist.

Today we have 308 MP's. We have a State President and 18 Cabinet Ministers, 12 Ministers of 'Own Affairs' and 20 Deputy Ministers. And the constitution has been amended to allow the State President to appoint a further 13 'assistants' to Ministers.

And that's not all:

Because of the NP distinction between 'own' and 'general' affairs, we have 4 Ministers of Health, 4 Ministers of Agriculture, 5 Ministers of Education and 6 Ministers dealing with housing.

→ cont.

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And thats not all:

Because of the government's homeland policy. each black national unit has its own parliament and cabinet, duplicating services already existing and making these more expensive. So we have in fact 5 Presidents in South Africa, 5 Ministers of Foreign Affairs, 5 Finance Ministers and 5 Ministers of Defence within the "self-governing" states which have another 401 Members of Parliament.

And that's not all:

Even these figures do not tell the whole story, since they do not include the six non-independent national states with their 46 ministers and the 481 members of their Legislative Assemblies.

Second and third tier constitutional 'reform' has also created immense numbers of political functionaries – from the Provincial Executive Committees, to the thousands of small local authorities that have to be demarcated on a racial basis, to the regional Services Councils, whose chairmen will not be elected by the councils or the voters but appointed by the Nat government, and then paid in excess of R90 000 per annum.

And that's not all:

For every minister there is a department with offices and buildings and more and more government employees. Indeed, since P W Botha became leader of the National Party the public service has grown by nearly 20%.

Truly, South Africa has become the most over-governed society outside the Iron Curtain.

The price we pay for apartheid

The National Party has admitted that inflation is one price we pay for their apartheid policies. Speaking in Parliament this year the MP for Primrose, Dr P J Welgemoed, said : "It costs money to live in a country and the price we pay in South Africa consists partly of inflation."

The government also realised that the cost of apartheid and the large Civil Service made it virtually impossible for them to bring inflation below 10% without causing great unemployment. Reflecting their dilemma Dr Welgemoed commented : "To solve the problem of inflation is very easy. We could do it this evening, however this country would burn tomorrow since people would then be unemployed on a large scale."

The NP has no solution.

SECURITY FOR ALL

In the process of bringing about racial harmony and prosperity the PFP recognises the crucial need for stability.

At its founding congress, the PFP resolved that "No party, organisation or person guilty of seeking to overthrow constitutional government by violence or revolution should be allowed

And equally, the majority agree that the present government approach to racial problems is a lot to blame for South Africa's economic mess.

These, and other findings emerged in a recent survey of opinions among voters in 16 constituencies around the country by Research Surveys, an independent market research company.

Commenting on the results, which measured a wide range of issues, Henry Barenblatt, Director of Research Surveys' said "the study highlights the finding that approximately 40% of the electorate (16% NP and 24% new undecideds)" show a potential to shift to PFP support. An analysis of certain key issues shows how potentially fluid this 40% of the electorate is."

Prosperity and reform:

Voters at large perceive a linkage between prosperity and reform, in line with the PFP's strongly expressed economic policy, that only when the economy is freed of the brakes of apartheid, will the great potential of South Africa be unlocked for the financial benefit of all.

In the survey voters were asked whether they agreed, disagreed or didn't know that the Government's approach to racial problems were a lot to blame for the economic mess.

53% agreed, including 31% strong NP supporters and 57% 'undecideds'.

Why the NP is deadlocked on reform:

The split among NP supporters is also borne out in their attitudes to reform. Asked whether there should be systematic removal of enforced racial separation (e.g. group areas, separate schools and hospitals) even 51% of strong NP supporters agree. This clearly demonstrates why the NP cannot introduce reforms and still hang on to power. PFP supporters are almost unanimous (92%) in their support for the PFP policy on reform : that the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws must go. They know that as long as there is discrimination on the basis of colour, resentment and bitterness put South Africa's future at risk.

Constructive policies for negotiations:

As the KwaNatal Indaba is seen by the majority of voters to be a constructive model for the solutions of South Africa's problems, a question was asked of voters : "Even though it is contrary to government policy, the people of Natal should be allowed to implement the Indaba proposals. Do you agree or disagree?".

Again, even strong NP supporters are divided on this issue. With only 32% disagreeing, contrasting with 42% of 'weak' NP SUPPORTERS AND 86% of PFP supporters agreeing that the Indaba should be implemented.

Very few of the total reject the Indaba yet Stoffel Botha, Natal Leader of the NP slapped them down : "The Indaba proposals fail to provide answers, they

This reaction shows quite clearly why black leaders like Chief Buthelezi will not negotiate with a government that says "Race remains the basis of NP policy and will be kept under lock and key" (Stoffel Botha).

The PFP on the other hand, can negotiate. Its policy on needed constitutional change is based on negotiation as the only way to bring about peace and a spirit of unity. People need to cooperate in bringing about a new constitution and the KwaNatal Indaba shows that people can get together in a spirit of unity to negotiate constructive solutions.

These findings are backed up by a Mark en Menings opname study published earlier this month which showed that 48,4% of the voters in Natal believe that the PFP is a better party than the NP to improve race relations (PFP 48,4%; NP 32,2%).

What kind of government do South Africans want?

In February this year, W.F. de Klerk, Leader of the N.P. in Transvaal admitted that the government's plans were "... on the rocks". Recent opinion polls show that most white South Africans agree. In a landmark finding in November last year, a survey conducted for Rapport by M & M showed that the majority of white South Africans have finally broken with the idea of Race as a cornerstone in constitutional politics. People were asked what kind of constitution they wanted:

Preferred Constitution.	Total
A unitary system with one man one vote	5%
A system which enforces separate development	20% (The CP Option)
A system which distinguishes "own" and "general" affairs	27% (The NP Option)
A non-racial federal system with a Bill of Rights	37% (The PFP Option)
None of those	11%

A federal system with a Bill of Rights provides the best possible framework for power-sharing without domination of one group by another, and which protects individuals. It is a system which takes power away from central government and gives it to local communities. It is a policy based on the belief that people in their own areas often know better how to solve their problems than the government does. It is in stark contrast to the approach of the National Party, as has been shown by their unwillingness to consider implementing the Indaba proposals. In a country as complex as South Africa we cannot afford to have a government which operates "from a distance" as the N.P. government does. People must be allowed to get together to solve their problems at local level – this is what the PFP's constitutional plan is all about.

Comment by J Heming
2 Roeland Street

304A

Inside the Laager

Afrikanerdom is not a monolith

AFTER nearly 40 years in office, the National Party has grown flabby and flaccid, sated with the spoils of office.



By DAVID WELSH

It has gone far towards making South Africa, if not a one-party state, then at least a single-party dominant state.

Over the decades an unhealthy symbiosis of state, government and party has occurred; and we have a peculiar variant of the military-industrial complex.

At the same time, however, powerful processes of change have affected Afrikaners, a majority of whom have obviously constituted the major support base of the NP.

When one looks back to the era of Verwoerd, Afrikaner nationalism seemed like a monolith — it wasn't, and never has been, but in those times the co-ordination of party formations, churches, eductional and cultural institutions, economic enterprises and a range of other bodies represented a pretty formidable unified phalanx.

Tyrant

The dissident who bucked authority suffered instant excommunication and a variety of painful social sanctions.

A tyrant like Verwoerd reinforced the image of the monolith with his own brand of terror.

Neither of his successors has been able to match his extent of control, not so much because of their shortcomings, but more because Afrikaner society has transformed itself and diversified.

Ninety percent are urban — perhaps more than 50 percent are "middle class"— and more than 30 percent proceed from school to university or technikon. In short, the process of embourgeoisement ("bourgeosification") is far advanced.

Inherently such a group is more difficult to control or unify, and incapable of having its activities "co-ordinated" — which was supposed to be the Broederbond's major task.

Today hardly any intellectuals of stature support either apartheid or even the NP, except with the gravest of reservations.

Given the historic significance of intellectuals for the NP on its road to ethnic power, the concerns of the party leadership are understandable.

I do not wish to exaggerate the scale or extent of this process, or the evenness with which it has percolated through the major spheres of Afrikaner society.

Roughly one-third of all Afrikaners or one-fifth of the electorate support the HNP or the CP, both of whom support the restoration of "traditional" apartheid on the Verwoerdian model.

Magic

The evidence, however, suggests that the ultra-right draws its support from a demographically shrinking segment of the population.

Moreover, its share of the vote, as measured in polls over the past five years, does not lend credence to the belief that it is an unstoppable, rampant force.

The forces pushing whites in general, and Afrikaners in particular, in the direction of less rigid, more flexible attitudes are stronger than those that encapsulate people in archaic value systems.

This election cannot, of course, unseat the Government. The magic figure of 84 seats is what an opposition party or alliance r.eds to win before it can oust the ruling party. None is in sight of that target.

What is significant, however, is the wide diversity of opinion within the National Party.

The inference to be drawn from recent survey data is that there is among whites a growing majority who favour power-sharing in a non-discriminatory society.

Evidence

The most striking evidence for this is contained in M & M's national survey of white voters published in November, 1986.

The respondents were asked to express their preferences among four alternatives, each of which corresponded to a particular party's constitutional/political model.

Only 20 percent and 5 percent supported the constitutional plans of the CP and the ANC, respectively — 27 percent supported the NP's policy and 37 percent supported a PFP-type model. In putting the alternatives in summary form no party labels were attached to them.

No less striking is the breakdown of views of those respondents who identified themselves as NP supporters — 15 percent, 2 percent, 43 percent and 31 percent supported, respectively, the CP, the ANC, the NP and the PFP's constitutional models.

For supporters of a single party this is a remarkable spread.

In another recent survey of 16 urban constituencies, 14 held by the NP and two by the PFP, further striking evidence of NP division was revealed.

Broadly, the figures from the surveys cited here, and others as well, tend to support Professor Sampie Terreblanche's estimate that Afrikanerdom is split three ways — 30 percent verligtes, 30 percent verkramptes and 40 percent middle-of-the-roaders.

It seems reasonably clear from the many profiles of white opinion that, at the very least, the reformist tendency predominates over the reactionary one by quite a substantial margin — and that nearly 60 percent are ready for some form of power-sharing.

It is also clear from the data that the NP is a loose bundle of inner contradictions, held together by the rewards of office and the reluctance or inability of a substantical chunk of its supporters to contemplate either leaving it or to point it firmly in one or other direction.

Its paralysis and inertia is caused by its inner divisions as much as anything else. Voting habits die hard, and the emotional ties to the party one has long supported are hard to break.

Equally salient are the lingering effects of ethnic suspicions which inhibit the coming together of similarly predisposed people in a single party.

Trend

The possible catalytic effect of the three significant independent candidates is hard to predict. Are they the tip of the iceberg, or the swallows that don't make the summer?

If my analysis is corrrect, the independents and all the other dissidents are part of a trend which is irreversible — and hopeful.

Two of the three in the forthcoming election have outside chances of victory — and then it could only be thanks to the significant bases of PFP support in Randburg and Helderberg.

● *David Welsh is professor of Southern African studies at UCT. Extract from a speech this week to the Wits Graduate School of Business.*

My three charges against the Nats

(M 29/3/10 304A)

THE Government must finally be exposed for its inability to manage the economy.

And the excuse which it continuously advances that the country's problems are due to extraneous forces over which it has no control must be stripped away.

I accuse the Government of three counts of economic mismanagement.

A temporary small upswing must not be allowed to persuade the country that it has overcome its problems. Far more needs to be done to put the country right economically.

Inflation, the first count under the charge of economic mismanagement, reached its highest point in 66 years, 27,2 percent on an annualised basis, in the first quarter of 1986.

From December 1985 to the following December the rate of increase was 18,1 percent. The slight downturn which has recently taken place in the inflation rate has been due mainly to technical comparisons and a steadying in the exchange rate of the rand.

But there is, and must be, life after election day.

What will the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index be in the latter part of the year and thereafter? The Government has failed to deal with the structural problems which give rise to the high inflation rate.

Yet another committee

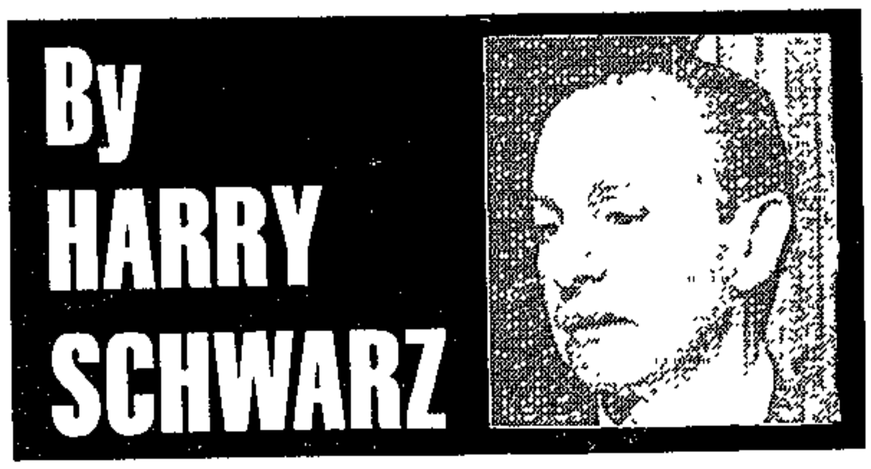
As recently as last month the Governor of the Reserve Bank said: "The authorities must have an anti-inflation policy and must be seen to have one ..."

After 40 years the country must still get an anti-inflation policy!

The Government's reply, meanwhile, is an announcement by the State President that he has asked the Economic Advisory Council to investigate the causes of high inflation in South Africa and to make recommendations to deal with the problem.

Another committee — after all those others!

The acts of the Government which have contributed towards inflation include: creation of political uncertainty, unsound financial policies, an excessive level of government expenditure, the unsound nature of some government expenditure, the rising tax burden, and in particular indirect taxation, inappropriate methods of financing deficits before borrowing and vacillating policies



The second count in this indictment is economic growth.

In 1985 there was a 1,5 percent reduction in the gross domestic product — after allowing for population growth this means minus four percent per capita. In 1986, after forecasting three percent growth, then seeking to pump the economy up to achieve it, it was said there was a one percent growth.

Recipe for disaster

Now it appears it was only 0,5 percent, which means that it is –2 percent per capita. Over the first five years of the decade we had an average of 1,2 percent GDP growth per annum against 2,5 percent growth in population.

A recipe for disaster.

Disposable income has dropped year after year. Real remuneration of workers in the third quarter of 1986 was 7,8 percent lower than in the first quarter of 1984.

The buying power of white South Africans has dropped by 2,4 percent in the past 10 years. Earnings today need to be 3,4 times those of 1974 to keep the same standards.

Even far more tragic

On top of this, the Governor of the Reserve Bank said as recently as February 10: "A further decline in real remuneration in 1987 is called for ..."

The third count of this indictment is perhaps even more tragic — it is unemployment.

The statistics published on unemployment are generally accepted as being unreliable, particularly in regard to blacks, and recently the official estimates were revised upwards.

Conservative estimates put the figure as being at least 2-million at this time, and at least 20 percent of the workforce is unemployed.

In September 1986 there were — outside of domestic and farm labour — 4,87-million people in employment. Two years earlier there had been 4,912-million — fewer people working despite a 2,5 percent annual population increase.

In the light of these statistics, who in South Africa is surprised that the instigation of unrest is an easy task for the agitator or the politician?

Who is surprised at the fact that ordinary crime (not unrest-related) increased last year at a rate of more than twice that of the population increase?

Admissions of failure of the Government have come from very high sources, and it will be recollected the anger of the State President when the errors were demonstrated by the words of the Governor of the Reserve Bank:

"There is no doubt that valid criticism can be raised against many aspects of past and present economic policy." Certainly the understatement of the year!

A mandate to do what?

"The moral of the story is that, if at all possible, monetary authorities should not allow situations like that which prevailed in South Africa in August 1984 to arise.

"As already indicated, this state of affairs could have been prevented by means of more appropriate fiscal and remuneration policies in the public sector in the preceding two years."

The Government now seeks a mandate. The question must be asked — to do what economically? To continue with the existing policies? Let it be remembered that this Government has been in power for 39 years.

The question can fairly be asked: what should we do?

First, we should not only give the fight against inflation higher priority, but inflation should be fought without jeopardising job-creation activity.

Secondly, it is believed — wrongly — that the alternatives are between inflation and growth. In reality, inflation in the medium and long term destroys the ability to grow.

Get off their backs

Thirdly, the State's share in the economy needs to be reduced, State expenditure and bureaucracy cut, not by eliminating essentials — on the contrary, on some vital items we would even spend more — but by removing the multiplicity of laws which burden the citizen and the businessman, and we would save.

The Government must get off the backs of the people, and the red tape restraining entrepreneurial activity must be untied and removed.

Fourthly, there is a need for incentives to productivity and for efficient consumer legislation to prevent exploitation. Privatisation where appropriate is needed — action in this direction, not just talk. We need a tax system which is both equitable and gives incentive to work.

Fifthly and finally, two groups of people should receive special attention: the aged (means tests reviewed, pensions related to inflation, inflation-proof investment bonds for the retired) and the unemployed (programme of work to improve the quality of life).

Politics and economics go hand in hand. Action on both fronts is needed to restore confidence. With confidence in ourselves and in our future, we will have a future.

● *Harry Schwarz is the PFP MP for Yeoville and his party's chief spokesman on finance.*

After 40 years we must still get an anti-inflation policy!



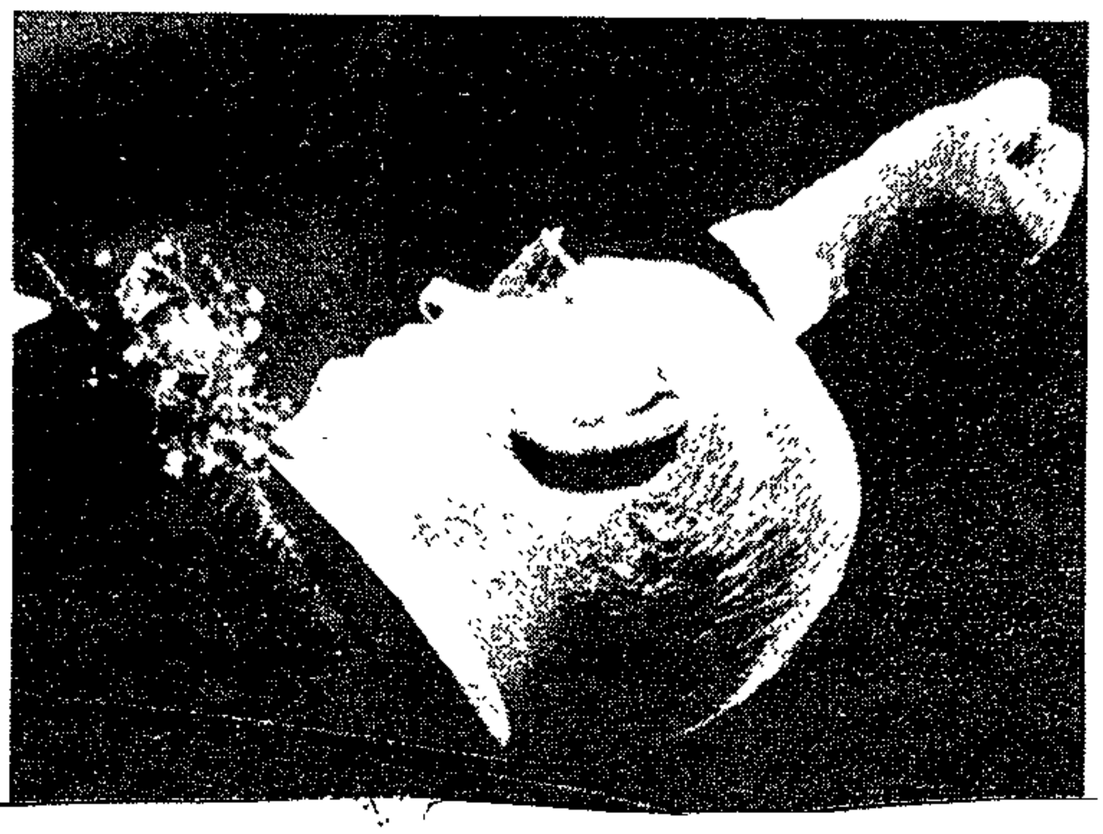
LOUIS NEL ... former chief of the Bureau for Information who now calls himself an

Black Power? No, PW Power

IT MAY look like a Black Power salute, but in the circumstances Mr P W Botha could only be extolling WHITE power.

The President struck these characteristic poses at Ermelo on Friday night when he said that separate residential areas enshrined in the Group Areas Act were here to stay. His speech squashed speculation about the possible imminent creation of "grey areas" in racially mixed urban areas such as Hillbrow and Woodstock.





Worrall throws down funding gauntlet

By DAVID JACKSON

PRESIDENT P W Botha's criticism of the Independents' sources of campaign funding could boomerang

Yesterday two of the Independents offered to reveal their major business donors if the donors consented - but only if all other political parties agreed to do the same

The proposal could severely embarrass big business contributors - not least of all those, including multinationals who contribute to the National Party's coffers.

Most donors prefer to remain anonymous for fear of alienating customers

The response from Dr Denis Worrall, Independent candidate in Helderberg, and Mr Wynand Malan, Independent candidate in Randburg, follows allegations by former Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel that the Independents were receiving funds illegally because they did not have a fund-raising number

Denials

On Friday night, in a speech at Ermelo President Botha also insinuated that the Independents might have received foreign money and implied there was plenty of time between now and May 6 to deal with the issue

Yesterday both Dr Worrall and Mr Malan denied that their campaign had been financed from abroad or that they had used money from the Reform Trust for their constituency campaigns

The fund was set up to advance the ideals of the Independent movement nationally

Dr Worrall said all the money that had been received was being used for the trust's national advertising. None of the money was available to either Esther Lategan, Mr Malan or himself.

Dr Worrall said most of his money had come from individuals within the Helderberg constituency as well as from corporations and small business concerns. Every

[ ] To Page 2

FUNDING ROW

☐ From Page 1

contribution had been received by, and deposited with, a registered firm of chartered accountants.

Mr Malan, meanwhile, said the three Independent candidates were running separate campaigns, with separate funding.

"There is no foreign money in my campaign and I would not have accepted any if it had been offered."

The Reform Trust trustees said on Friday that most of their money was donated to them in circumstances that did not concern the Fund-raising Act.

The money that had been received as a result of newspaper advertisements was being lodged in the trust account of a reputable lawyer pending an application to the Director of Fund-raising for the necessary authority.

(News by D Jackson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

cont

Info Louis' Tokyo connection surprises Govt department

NEL'S R400m LAND DEAL BID



LOUIS NEL ... former chief of the Bureau for Information who now calls himself an "international business consultant"

29/3/87
304A
ST

By LESTER VENTER, Political Correspondent

MR LOUIS NEL, former Deputy Minister for Information, has made a multimillion-rand bid on behalf of Japanese businessmen to buy South African diplomatic land in Tokyo.

The total value of the prime, Government owned property may be as high as R400-million

A well known Japanese merchant bank is understood to be interested in buying the entire property or part of it

It is acting through Mr Nel, who, in correspondence styles himself an "international business consultant"

A standard agent's commission on such a deal could ordinarily run to well over R1-million

However Mr Nel — still a sitting National Party MP, who returned to legal practice after losing his deputy ministership in November — yesterday insisted that he would receive only "the normal professional fee"

Mr Nel is the NP's candidate for Pretoria Central in the election on May 6

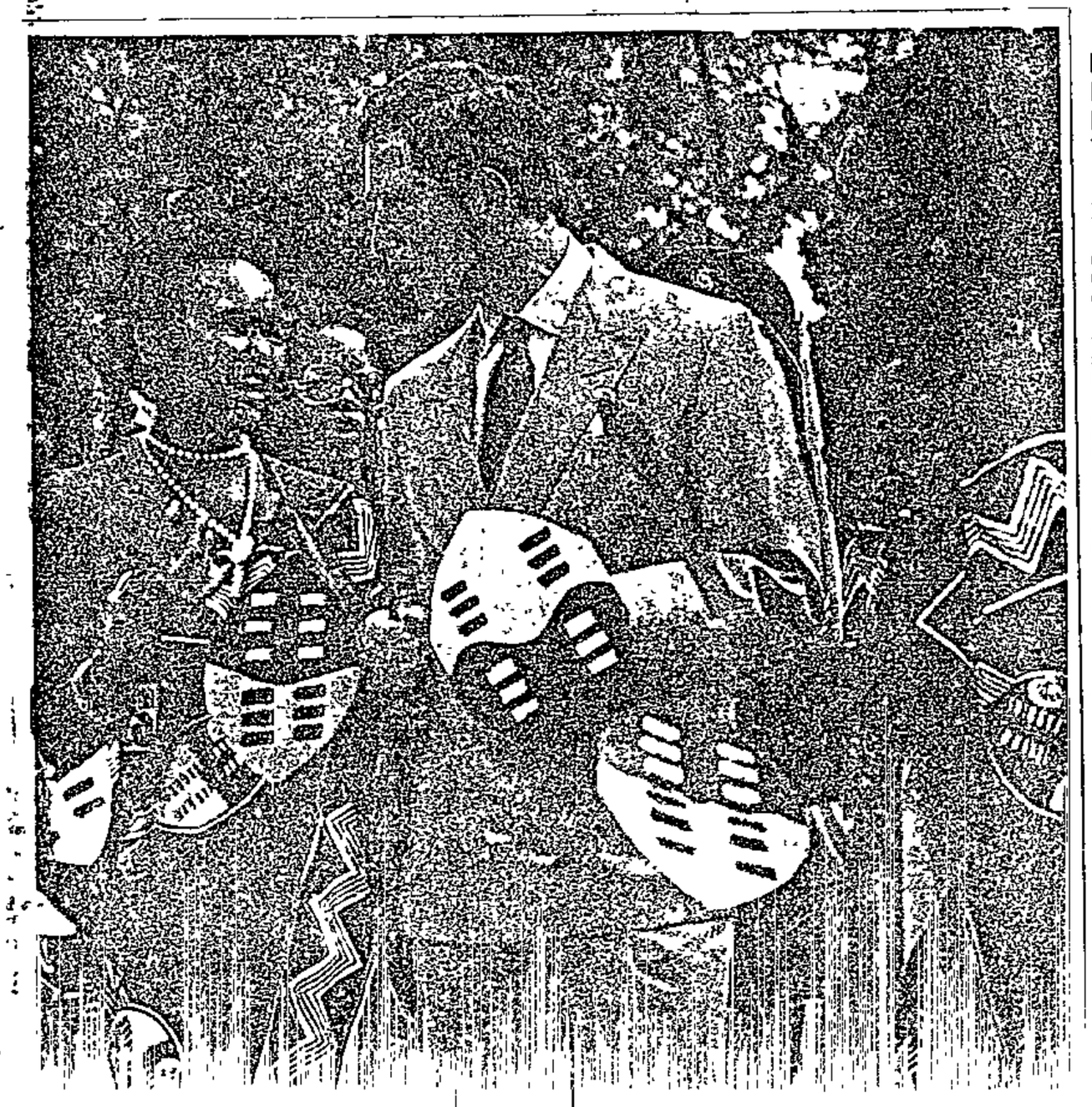
His involvement in the Tokyo property transaction — which is being conducted in the utmost secrecy — came as a surprise to officials in the Department of Foreign Affairs

The officials were still in the early stages of investigating an innovative deal to save taxpayers money

Anxious

The department plans to sell under-utilised but extremely valuable, open ground surrounding South Africa's diplomatic residence in Tokyo and hopes to use the funds to pay for a new headquarters building in Pretoria

... from other sections



Berksie gets a fortune to go on holiday



Worrall throws down funding gauntlet

29/3/87
ST

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□ To Page 2

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At present various sections of the department are located in different buildings in the city The Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and his senior officials are anxious to consolidate the department under one roof on a site near the Union Buildings.

The imaginative sell-in-Tokyo, build-in-Pretoria deal was still under investigation when Mr Nel's surprise offer on behalf of his Japanese principals was submitted

Yesterday Mr Nel said he was acting in his professional capacity as an advocate:

"I received a written brief from an attorney in Tokyo to submit an offer to the South African Government, which I did," he said

Mr Nel said he "wouldn't have taken money out of the transaction" He stood to gain a normal professional fee from the lawyer involved in Tokyo

When the Department of Foreign Affairs was approached for comment this week, a spokesman said Mr Nel's proposal "could not be considered"

Nominated

Mr Nel was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs before being made Deputy Minister in charge of the controversial Bureau for Information

He was dropped from the Cabinet by President P W Botha in November in the wake of intense public criticism over the R4,3-million "Info song"

No reason was given for Mr Nel's axing He is MP for Pretoria Central and was unanimously nominated for re-election by the NP leadership in the constituency

Approached this week, a Foreign Affairs spokesman spelt out the Ministry's original plan through which it

☐ To Page 2



Hanging up his earpho over to Stan Katz

By DOUGLAS GORD

SOUTH AFRICA'S bes is taking a long, long h radio station 702 a who 45-year-old controvers the Bop station's break fast show — said yes terday:

"I'm wiped out. I've ha enough.

LAND DEAL BID

☐ From Page 1

hopes to finance a proposed new headquarters.

The department now works out of four buildings and needs a centralised HQ.

To avoid drawing funds from public coffers, Foreign Affairs decided to investigate the possibility of raising capital from its own assets.

This month the department's chief law adviser, Mr John Viall, travelled to Tokyo to investigate the feasibility of selling some of the land.

He also investigated the legal ramifications, held discussions with Japanese authorities about putting the transaction out to tender and appointed a sworn appraiser to value the land.

Foreign Affairs now plans to recommend to the Department of Finance and the Department of Public Works — under whose jurisdiction all government property falls — that tenders for 300 sq m of the land be sought in Japan.

The department expects to raise about R20-million from the transaction.

304A ST 29/3/87



Black city states are ludicrous idea says think-tank academic

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Government's constitutional dream of independent black city states has been dismissed as "ludicrous" by a former top constitutional adviser and leading academic Professor Willie Breytenbach.

Professor Breytenbach, once part of the think-tank of Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development and Planning and an architect of the tri-cameral constitution, says that even if the idea were workable it could not accommodate even half the urban blacks.

The concept of black city states is an apartheid phoenix that has risen from the ashes of earlier Government dilemmas.

Mr F W de Klerk, chairman of the Ministers' Council, said this week that once the quandary of urban blacks was settled, South Africa's political problems would be solved.

Viable

State President Mr P W Botha asked this week if states such as Luxembourg or Monaco could be independent in Europe, why not Soweto, for example, in South Africa?

The Government has made clear its desire to introduce such city-statal independence for urban blacks in terms of its "own affairs" concept — and to superimpose a Council of State on a national level where "general affairs" could be thrashed out.

Professor Breytenbach says the defining characteristic of the European examples Mr Botha has in mind is that they are "self-generating, viable units" with a productive infrastructure and tax base.

He described South African black urban areas as "slaapstate" — dormitory townships that did little more than house workers for nearby industrial areas.

At most four black urban areas — Soweto, Natalspruit, Sebokeng and the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage/Despatch region — had the administrative infrastructure and other requirements to be converted into independent states, according to Professor Breytenbach.

Headache

This would leave the political future of the majority of urban blacks unsolved.

The concept of independent black city states had "loony" consequences, he said. One had to start thinking in terms of the State President of Soweto and the Republic of Mamelodi.

If Voortrekkerhoogte wanted "a major headache" and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan wanted to lose sleep, they should start contemplating an independent Soweto with its own defence force, Professor Breytenbach said.

Government's fix over black city states stems from its belated concession that not all blacks would — or could — accept homeland independence.

Until only recently the Government still insisted that there was no permanency for blacks in "white South Africa" — hence no political solution beyond local government was needed for them.

Then in the heady days of reform earlier this decade came the recognition of the unavoidable: millions of blacks were here to stay. The landmark decision was made that they could be considered South African citizens.

Rights

But citizens are entitled to political rights.

At this point, however, Government stymied itself with its adamant refusal to consider giving blacks a role in Parliament.

Re-enter the idea of black city states, for which former Cabinet Minister and later Nationalist rebel Mr Theo Gerdner was slated when he first mentioned it 10 years ago.

Government planners are now entranced with the idea, which seems to make sense in their apartheid framework: if blacks cannot or will not take independence in their homelands, give it to them where they are.

President P W Botha has recently also dropped strong hints that black urban elections are in the offing to find leaders with whom he can thrash out their concept of independence.

(News by L Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

H! says the white Mrs Mop

304A ST 29/3/87

It was no fun working for the rightwing Madams!

White domestic worker Martie van Niekerk is hanging up her mop. For ever!

"Enough's enough," she said, after three years of working late hours, scrubbing, cooking and washing for R10 a day.

"I'm fed up with being treated like a servant who should know her place," said the stocky red-head, who has been working in the "white homeland" of Morgenzon in the Eastern Transvaal.

In any case her new husband, steelworker Antonius, does not like it.

He wants her to concentrate on looking after their own modest house in the little dorp — and to start a family.

And that suits Martie just fine.

"It was no fun working for some of the families in the town," she said, "because they wouldn't treat me as part of the household.

"Many of them looked

ENOUG



Martie van Niekerk . . . her future cleaning tasks will be only in her own home

cause of the type of work I was doing — but to me, a job is a job."

It was particularly difficult working for members of the Oranjewerkers organisation who believe they should not use "black" labour.

Experiment

Their ultimate goal is to establish a "white homeland" in the Eastern Transvaal.

"When they employed me three years ago I was told it was an experiment," she continued.

"I don't know if it worked because nobody else volunteered to do domestic work. And since I stopped there's no one doing it.

"But I'm not ashamed of the work I was doing.

"It was an honest job, and it meant I was able to bring home money at the end of the day."

When she was employed as a 'maid' she was living on her parents' farm.

The families for whom she worked fetched her from the farm in the morning and took her back at night.

By ANN PALMER

Picture: JAMES SOULLIER

"I did not do well at school and only passed Standard 5 so this type of work was all that was available to me."

A typical day, she said, started with opening the windows, sweeping the stoep, cleaning the rugs and making the beds.

"I also used to look after the children which I really enjoyed as I have a great love for kids."

There was also washing and ironing before starting the evening meal.

"One family for whom I worked really used to upset me because I was not able to join in the evening meal and sit with the family at the diningroom table.

"They also used to be rather tardy about paying my salary on time."

Fear

However, Mrs Van Niekerk said she had worked for two families who treated her well.

"But that's now all behind me," she added.

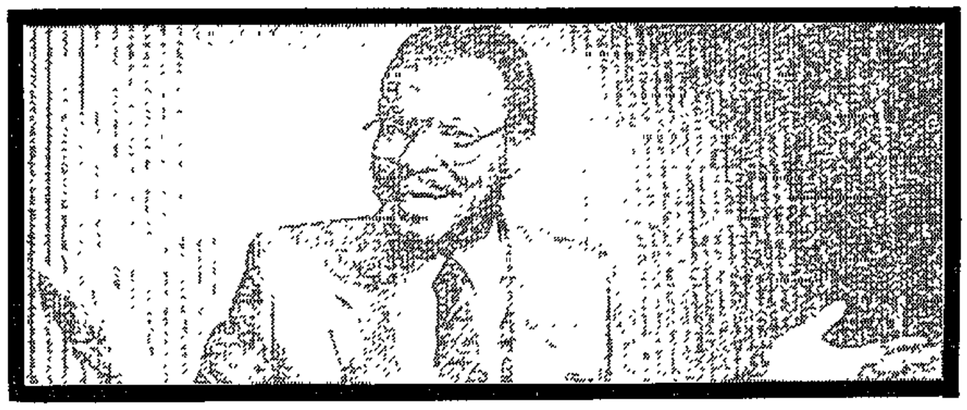
● The white 'homeland' was the brainchild of Professor Hercules Booysen, of Unisa's Constitutional Law Department and leader of the Oranjewerkers. He was supported by Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, son of the former Prime Minister and architect of grand apartheid.

But many residents of the dorp, which is less than three hours drive from Johannesburg, have been fighting the "Whitestan" plan, fearing that Morgenzon will become a ghost town without the buying power of blacks from nearby Sivukile.

And for visitors there has been visual proof of their opposition to the Oranjewerkers's white-only plans in the municipal street-cleaning workforce . . . totally made up of black women.

30A
29/3/87

SHEER CHEEK



That's how we view PW's manifesto, and this is why

By MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI

MAY 6 will be the culmination of a whites-only election campaign about black politics.

This election is about reform and we are now watching white political parties squabbling and vying with each other about how they think black politics should be handled.

The State President is urging whites to give him a mandate to negotiate with black leaders and yet blacks have never been asked whether they want their future in the hands of Mr P W Botha and those blacks with whom he chooses to consult.

I will now attempt to explain to whites how blacks see the sheer political audacity of the State President's election manifesto.

In the opening remarks of my policy speech delivered last week to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, I asked the following: When a great tree grows on the Ulundi plain, it sinks deep tap roots into the bowels of the earth. Is it an Ulundi tree or is it a South African tree?

Black South Africans have dug their roots deep into our earth and when the State President still persists in calling KwaZulu a "national state which has not yet accepted independence" one knows that he still does not conceive of us as being South Africans. And that goes for all black South Africans.

And this is why this country is in such a state of turmoil. This is why whites must think very, very carefully when they go to the polls on May 6.

Mr Botha and others of his political ilk still perceive the political destinies of the various population groups in South Africa as being separate.

I ask: Does the great tree on the plains of Ulundi make its own rain? Does it create its own climate and I ask whether the bits and pieces of land which the South African Government calls KwaZulu is a God-created patchwork of human quilt in which He intended us to seek our destiny?

The fact is that the trees that grow in Ulundi are part of South Africa. The rains that keep them alive are created by a vast set of meteorological forces which sweep the length and breadth of the whole of South Africa. Above all, the huge geological eruptions which created the Ulundi plains and all of KwaZulu were the same eruptions which created the whole of South Africa.

We are talking about one thing — our Motherland was created by the Almighty as one totality.

The National Party attempts to tear South Africa apart to recreate God's world in the image of Dr Verwoerd's dreams. Our land is wounded and thus rent apart and day by day we watch with horror as South African blood seeps into our soil.

When I write about this election and about unity in South Africa I am writing about life and death issues.

I am writing about issues for which people are prepared to die.

I have based my whole political career on my perception of the reality of South Africa being one country, created by one history, with one people who have but one destiny

For a long time now blacks have watched whites play their party political democratic games as a smokescreen to hide their dictatorial social, economic and political oppression of blacks.

However, times are changing and we are now watching the emerging ferment in white politics very carefully because it holds out a promise which is encouraging.

For the first time in the National Party's history as a ruling party, it has been challenged from within by both its left and its right.

The South African Government must simply learn that it is more important to look over its left shoulder than it is to look over its right shoulder.

The lunatic right will never ever harness internal and external forces which will make them powerful. It is only people to the left of the National Party's centre who can do so.

What we are now seeing is the tip of an iceberg which will sink the National Party if it does not take cognisance of the deeply rooted and widespread demand that our country be normalised. And that means power-sharing in a united, nonracial and democratic South Africa.

I make no extravagant claims about the effect the National Party rebellion is going to have on the election, but every white voter who supports the challenge being thrust at Mr Botha by senior members of his party will act to legitimise the South African political system.

The crisis through which the South African Government is now going is tragically more than a party political crisis. It is a crisis for opposition political parties.

The National Party is now thrust into an election because it could not make good the promises it gave South Africa and the world during the referendum campaign.

This very under-achievement has stoked the fires that are now raging in our troubled land. Only sane politics will put out these fires.

In an interview conducted by Mr Andre le Roux on February 18 this year, the State President was asked: "Have we actually started to slow down reform as a result of the security situation?" The State President responded by saying, inter alia: "It depends on what we mean by reform. To some people reform is the granting of political rights."

And there we have it — the nub of the crisis.

This statement was a slap in the face of every black South African. It is unbelievable that in this day and age Mr P W Botha actually still talks like this.

At times I totally despair.

It is crucial that whites understand that blacks are watching them very carefully. Whites must know that the results of this election will have an impact on black political thinking.

White voters must know that the way they mark their ballot papers in this forthcoming election is going to influence black politics.

I believe I sum up black feeling when I say that a white parliamentary session will come which must be the last. This must be the last whites-only election.

If whites don't come to their political senses, black politics will be radicalised and all hell will break loose.

There is hope of very real and fundamental change in this country through non-violent, democratic means. But I also know how deeply we are penetrating into the eleventh hour of this country's crisis. When I write about the hope of democracy, I write urgently.

Quite frankly only time will tell how long I can bottle up the deep disgust which is welling up in me as a consequence of suicidal, white political recalcitrance.

It is the National Party which has bred black political anger.

It is the National Party which has radicalised black politics.

It is the National Party which has made South Africa the pariah of the decent and civilised world.

It is the National Party which has brought about the terrible economic circumstances in which we are struggling.

It is the National Party which is alienating South Africa from every friend she ever had abroad.

Our future remains dangerously insecure as long as the National Party remains in power.

Whites need black allies if we are ever going to have democracy in this country. I hope they do not finally come to this conclusion at a time when they will have no allies left.

There is no better time than now for the white electorate to come to its senses.

Massive support for Matie rebels puts the Nats in a poll quandary

THE political rebellion at Stellenbosch grew massively this week when a further 301 academics expressed solidarity with the 28 leading figures who initiated the breakaway from the National Party establishment.

This means that about half the lecturers and researchers working on the Stellenbosch campus now openly identify themselves with the movement.

Their public protest is a rebuttal of NP claims that the anti-establishment ferment at the most venerated Afrikaans university is confined to a small minority.

By ELSABE WESSELS

The 301 professors, lecturers and researchers this week signed a document expressing their broad agreement with the original statement issued by members of Discussion Group '85 under the chairmanship of Professor Sampie Terreblanche.

The initial statement called for "an unambiguous declaration of intent" by the Government committing itself to the scrapping of all forms of apartheid, including the Group Areas Act, race classification, the three-chamber Parliament and the Separate Amenities Act.

The 28 also called for "effective power-sharing with blacks in the central parliament based on a method to be determined through negotiation".

"We can safely assume that of the academics present at Stellenbosch this week, more than 50 percent loosely aligned themselves with the statement of the 28," Stellenbosch mathematician Professor Andries van der Walt said.

"The 301 include more than 50 professors and 80 senior lecturers and researchers."

Indicative

Professor van der Walt said the list was signed only by those academics working at Stellenbosch and excluded members of the Medical and Dental Faculty and the Military Academy.

He said an estimated 700 lecturers and researchers worked on the campus, but it was safe to assume that only 550 to 600 potential supporters were available this week.

"Of those approached, only a small number refrained from signing because of their academic or personal position.

"A small number did not sign because they thought that the statement was not formulated strongly enough," he said.

"This is indicative of the strong feeling among academics that the Government should adapt a new approach and policy," Prof van der Walt added.

and Prof André Rabie (Law).

The petition signed by the 301 reads:

"We learnt with regret and indignation of the way Die Burger and certain people at Stellenbosch tried to abuse — for party political reasons — the Press statement of the 28 Stellenbosch lecturers and researchers who are all members of the Discussion Group '85.

Distorted

"We confirm that lecturers and researchers reserve the right to organise themselves in big or small discussion groups to discuss matters of importance and formulate and publish their points of view.

"Seeing that Die Burger and other persons are trying to create the distorted impression that all lecturers and researchers at Stellenbosch University are against the points which are taken up in the statement of the 28, we want to state that we broadly agree with the statement of the 28 members of the Discussion Group, 85.

"We are not aligning ourselves with any political party and/or candidate, but we are merely showing solidarity with the statement of our group of colleagues."

(News by E Wessels, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Among those who added their names are Prof Johannes Degenaar (Political Philosophy); Prof A Archer (Management School); Prof Rolf Behrens (Music); Prof S P Cilliers (Sociology); Prof Johan de Villiers (former conductor of the US choir and professor in Applied Maths);

join revolt

More academics

2 SUNDAY TIMES, March 29 1987

301 more join revolt

Matie academics call Nat bluff over dissidents

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

GOVERNMENT suffered another severe blow this weekend when a further 301 University of Stellenbosch academics joined the widespread Maties revolt.

About half of the Universities' research personnel, senior lecturers and "members of the upper hierachy" are now involved in the revolt — and more are expected to follow.

Erwin Schwella, one of the organisers of the latest petition signed by the 301 — it expresses solidarity with 28 academics in the Discussion Group '85 who rejected NP thinking — said yesterday a significant number of academics had refused to sign the petition because it "did not go far enough".

Although the "definite groundswell" in political philosophical thinking at the university involved mainly the academics, Schwella said the attitude is likely to "permeate" students.

He said it was significant that about half the academics in the faculty of engineering, formerly headed by newly-appointed SABC chairman Christo Viljoen, had signed the petition.

The engineering department is understood to be involved with SA's armaments industry.

Many academics are still away, Schwella said.

It was initiated largely as a result of claims in the Afrikaans Press and, in particular, in *Die Burger*, that the 28 academics under the leadership of Prof Sampie Terreblanche, who voiced dissatisfaction over the government, stood in isolation, while there were about 700 academics at the university.

"We took exception to that assumption," Schwella said.

Among those who signed the petition are political philosopher Prof Johan Degenaar, sociologist Prof S P Cilliers and Arminius Archer of the Business School.

Nel acting correctly, says top NP man

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

WHILE senior government officials yesterday remained silent on former Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel's multimillion-rand involvement in buying SA diplomatic land in Japan, his nomination as election candidate in Pretoria Central was confirmed.

Chief information officer for the NP Con Botha said yesterday: "His candidacy has not been affected in the slightest.

"While he (Nel) was Deputy Minister it could be argued he was part and parcel of acceptances and rejections of government contracts or land deals. He is now a practising advocate, acting as a professional man making an offer to government. There is no reason why he should not do so," Botha said.

A report in the *Sunday Times* said Nel, now acting as an "international business consultant", had made a multimillion-rand bid on behalf of Japanese businessmen to buy SA diplomatic land in Tokyo.

Meanwhile, the Department of Foreign Affairs is investigating the possibilities of selling under-utilised ground around SA's diplomatic land in Tokyo in a bid to pay for new headquarters in Pretoria.

When asked for comment yesterday, Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Marie Botha referred *Business Day* to the department's comments in the *Sunday Times* which said Nel's land deal bid had come as a surprise to Foreign Affairs officials and would not be considered by the department.

"I discussed this matter with the Minister yesterday. He decided he has nothing more to say — it's Louis Nel's baby and he must sort it out," she said.

PFP finance spokesman Brian Goodall voiced doubts over the morality of a former government member being in-

● To Page 2

Nel's candidacy 'not affected' by land bid

volved in deals concerning the State and public money, and said the State President should appoint a committee to set standards for public office bearers.

He said questions were raised several years ago when Nel received "consulting fees" while acting as a "coal distributor".

The State President's Office had no comment and the Transvaal NP leader, Minister F W de Klerk, said he was "holding a braaivleis" on his wife's birthday and might provide comment later in the afternoon.

● From Page 1

(Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

Louis Nel quits campaign

Cape Times
30/3/87

30 (A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The former deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, has quit campaigning for the election and announced that he will not be a candidate.

Mr Louis Nel is MP for Pretoria North.

Mr Nel's withdrawal follows disclosures of his involvement in a multi-million-rand deal to buy South African diplomatic land in Japan.

Mr Nel cites his decision to "devote all my time to practise as an international business consultant" and says he can "serve South Africa well in this capacity".

Thanking Mr Nel for his 17 years in Parliament and his "political flair", the leader of the Transvaal National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday said he had accepted Mr Nel's withdrawal from the election and denied any pressure had been put on Mr Nel.

When asked if he had been pressured to withdraw, Mr Nel said: "For certain, no." He had telephoned his decision to Mr De Klerk yesterday afternoon and had not spoken to anyone else but his wife and family about it, he said.

Earlier yesterday, the NP's chief information officer Mr Con Botha said the disclosures had not affected Mr Nel's candidacy "in the slightest" as there was "no reason" why, as an attorney, he should not have been involved in land deals.

A PFP finance spokesman, Mr Brian Goodall, called for guidelines from the State President on MPs, cabinet ministers and former members of the governing party who are involved in deals which involve the State and public money.

He voiced doubts over the morality of a former government member being involved in such deals, and said questions were raised several years ago when Mr Nel received "consulting fees" while acting as a "coal distributor".

Referring to the Tokyo land deal bid, Mr Nel said a "brief" had been telexed to him by a "reputable attorney in Tokyo to submit an offer to the South African government for the purchase of property belonging to the government".

"In presenting the offer to government officially, I made it clear I would be paid a consultancy fee for my services," he said, declining to disclose his fee.

The offer had been in the name of "one of the world's top merchant banks acting on behalf of an undisclosed purchaser whose identity is also not known to me".

Mr Nel said he could not explain the surprise expressed by officials in the Department of Foreign Affairs — which is understood to be at present involved in its own bid to sell a portion of SA's diplomatic ground in Tokyo to fund new headquarters in Pretoria — at his involvement in the property transaction, as he had approached them "two or three weeks ago".

"It's for them to say. I've done my part and I've completed my brief," he said.

No comment was forthcoming from the State President's office yesterday. Foreign Affairs spokesman Ms Marie Botha referred to an article in a Sunday newspaper which said Mr Nel's land bid had come as a surprise to officials and would not be considered by the department.

She added: "I discussed this matter with the minister yesterday. He decided he has nothing more to say — it's Louis Nel's baby and he must sort it out."

(Report by D Gilbert, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.)

ARGUS 30/3/87 30CA

Nel denial on land link

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mr Louis Nel, former MP for Pretoria Central today denied that his retirement from politics had anything to do with the exposure yesterday of a secret land deal in which he was involved.

It was disclosed in a Sunday newspaper that Mr Nel had made a bid on behalf of Japanese merchant bankers interested in buying prime land in Tokyo owned by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The department blocked the deal because it was already negotiating a sale of the land.

Mr Nel resigned from Parliament yesterday and withdrew his nomination for the elections.

Not pressured

He said there was "nothing sinister" about the deal. Officials in the department knew he would be receiving a fee for his services. This would have been an "ordinary consultancy fee based on time spent on the job ... It would definitely not have been a commission".

Reports said commission on the sale of the land, valued around R400-million, could have been R1-million.

"It is unfair to connect my resignation with the story about the land deal," Mr Nel said.

He said he had been considering retiring from politics for several days to devote more time to the "international business consultancy" he started last year.

It was not made clear from Mr Nel's statement that his approach was not to the Department of Foreign Affairs as such but to someone in the department. The department itself only became aware of the offer late last week.

Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party, said no pressure had been put on Mr Nel to resign.

Asked if the resignation had anything to do with the Tokyo land deal, Mr de Klerk said: "As to his real reasons why he left you must speak to Mr Nel himself."

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).



Mr John Wiley with his wife Jeanne at their wedding reception in 1981.



Linda Christian, former movie actress and wife of actor Tyrone Power, painted a portrait of Mr Wiley when she visited South Africa.



Mr Wiley and his wife Jeanne relaxing at the seaside.

Friend of Wiley also took own life

By CHRIS STEYN

THE brother of a close friend of Mr John Wiley yesterday expressed shock that the minister's death had occured only a month after his brother had also killed himself

Mr Dave Allen died of a head wound on a beach in Port Elizabeth on February 25 His brother, Mr Geoffrey Allen, said last night that Dave and Mr Wiley had been "very close" friends for nearly 10 years.

The 37-year-old Mr Allen shot himself on February 25 — just two hours before he was due to appear in court.

And Mr Allen's brother disclosed that Mr Allen — whose company had valuable guano concessions — recently also acquired underwater farming concessions, involving exports to the Far East worth several million rands.

His brother confirmed that Mr Allen and Mr Wiley first met in 1977 through Mr Allen's efforts to promote underwater and environmental conservation

"They used to visit each other whenever Mr Wiley was in Port Elizabeth. And Mr Wiley's office was among the first to phone my parents when David died," Mr Allen said.

"David was often in Parliament, giving slide shows on conservation to Mr Wiley and others," he said



Mr David Allen

"I am extremely upset about it (Mr Wiley's death), especially following so soon on the shock of David's death, and bearing in mind what good working friends they had become," Mr Allen said

His brother said that he had guano concessions worth "a few million rands" on five islands off Namibia and Bird Island off Port Elizabeth, where he had recently been travelling with Mr Wiley

He said Mr Allen had also recently obtained a valuable concession for underwater farming, growing mussels and oysters, in Saldanha and Algoa Bay.

This concession, said Mr Allen, was developing into a multi-million-rand export industry.

Mr Allen was found shot on Schoenmakerskop beach He was dressed in a suit and a 9mm pistol and several letters were found next to his body, which was on the shore in the area of the wreck of the Sacremento, from which Mr Allen had salvaged a cannon and where he first met Mr Wiley.

The last person to see Mr Allen alive was journalist Mr Robert Ball, who spoke to Mr Allen Mr Ball said Mr Allen had told him various things which made Mr Ball worry about his friend's well-being.

"My parting words to him were, 'How do I know that if I turn my back you aren't going to pull a gun out of your pocket and blow your brains out'," Mr Ball said

However, police have declined to comment on any investigations concerning Mr Allen

Mr Allen — who was also a police diver — was understood to have resigned from the police reserve on the day he was arrested in connection with the alleged offences

Controversy over Wiley's Noordhoek buy

Property Editor

MR John Wiley's business career centred most recently on his acquisition and subdivision of the Drummond Chaplin de Goede Hoop estate at Noordhoek.

Controversy arose from the fact that Mr Wiley had opposed the granting of a kaolin-mining permit in the Noordhoek Valley, and kaolin-mining rights existed over a small portion of the estate.

Mr Wiley made a public declaration of his interest in the estate, before assuming his appointment at that time as Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries.

Subsequently, one-third of the estate was divided up into 46 two-hectare sites, for residential development.

The remaining 235ha was not developed and was placed in the hands of the Fynbos Reserve Trust. The Herbert Baker-designed manor house was retained.

Moves are understood to have been made recently to sell the manor house, and the erven are being marketed.

A notice was recently published disclosing a transfer of a parcel of the land to an industrial company

Campaigning to the very end

From page 1

P W Botha

"He was a respected Member of Parliament. In his dealings with his colleagues he was reserved, but honestly outspoken.

"As a deputy minister he quickly showed that he was a person who could get to the crux of a matter quickly

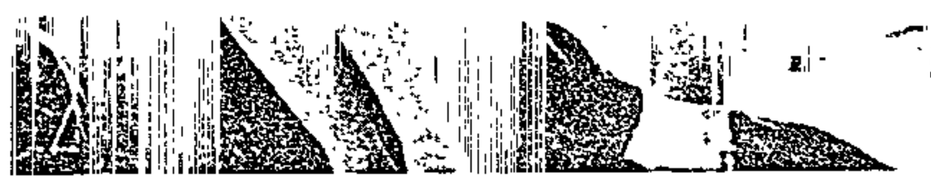
people throughout South Africa and particularly the residents of Simon's Town will heartily associate themselves with these views"

□ The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night that he was shocked at Mr Wiley's death

In a brief statement he said: "I am shocked I have known John Wiley for a number of years as a tough and



Linda Christian, former movie actress and wife of actor Tyrone Power, painted a portrait of Mr Wiley when she visited South Africa.



Mr Wiley and his wife Jeanne relaxing at the seaside.

30/03/87

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From page 1

P W Botha

"He was a respected Member of Parliament. In his dealings with his colleagues he was reserved, but honestly outspoken

"As a deputy minister he quickly showed that he was a person who could get to the crux of a matter quickly."

Mr Botha said Mr Wiley had made an outstanding contribution towards conservation of the environment as well as the preservation of South Africa's fishing resources

"He also did excellent work as Minister of Water Affairs. He was an original thinker and dedicated to his work. He devoted himself, particularly during the last few years, to the creation of a better understanding and greater co-operation between English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

"In this respect, I considered him both a pioneer and an adviser

"He was a friend of myself, my wife and my family and his tragic death is deeply mourned by us I wish to express our deepest sympathies to his mother, his wife and his family

"I am convinced that thousands of people throughout South Africa and particularly the residents of Simon's Town will heartily associate themselves with these views"

□ The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night that he was shocked at Mr Wiley's death

In a brief statement, he said. "I am shocked. I have known John Wiley for a number of years as a tough and redoubtable opponent.

"I extend my sympathies to his wife and children."

Mr John Scott, the PFP's candidate in the Simon's Town constituency, said yesterday that he was "profoundly shocked" by Mr Wiley's death

"Whatever our political differences, John Wiley was a worthy opponent and someone I have known personally for more than 20 years," Mr Scott said. "I was prepared for the toughest of elections, but never this. My deepest sympathy goes to his family

"I pray they may have the strength to bear this very sad loss."

The managing director of Times Media Ltd, Mr Stephen Mulholland, said: "We clearly had many areas of disagreement with Mr Wiley but he had a sense of humour and certainly built a reputation as very able and knowledgeable minister."

From page 1

Wiley shot

only once Two rounds remained

Among the senior police officials who arrived on the scene shortly after 11.30am, were the Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen, and the Divisional CI Chief of the Western Province, Brigadier Nick Acker.

Mr Fred Otto, Director-General of Environment Affairs, was also among the many officials and relatives who visited Mr Wiley's home.

State pathologist Dr Leendert van Ieperen arrived to examine the body soon before 3pm, after which the body was removed by ambulance.

Several shocked neighbours, who heard the brief news of Mr Wiley's death on the SABC news, came out on to sidewalks and looked up at the Wiley residence in disbelief.

Mr E Z Tanewski, of Emerald Avenue, said he was stunned to hear of the shooting. He said two armed police guards stood watch over Mr Wiley's house each night.

He said he had known Mr Wiley personally and had been told he had been somewhat depressed for the past weeks

Mr Delfino de Sousa, owner of the Noordhoek Supermarket where the Wileys have been clients for several years, said Mr Wiley had come to collect his Saturday paper in the afternoon instead of in the morning as usual.

"There was nothing wrong with him when I saw him and he left after buying an avocado pear His death is a great shock for us," he said.

Yesterday morning Mrs Wiley arrived at the shop shortly before 9am and asked the cashier, Mrs Jean Fox, if her husband had fetched the paper yet. When told he had not done so she took it along, Mr De Sousa said

A police liaison officer for the Western Province, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, declined to comment on the death, and referred all inquiries to the State President's Office

Late yesterday, Mr Wiley's immediate family were still in a state of shock and could not be contacted.

Mrs Arlene Wiley, wife of Mr Wiley's son Mark, who lived on his father's Noordhoek estate, said they would only be issuing a formal statement through the police The family were taking no further calls at home, she said.

Mr Wiley's stepdaughter, Mrs Nicki Holderness, Deputy Mayor of Simon's Town, was also not available for comment.

Mr Wiley's mother, Mrs Doris Wiley, still lives in the house at St James in which John Wiley was born.

Wiley's Noordhoek story

Property Editor

MR John Wiley's business career centred most recently on his acquisition and subdivision of the Drummond Chaplin de Goede Hoop estate at Noordhoek.

Controversy arose from the fact that Mr Wiley had opposed the granting of a kaolin-mining permit in the Noordhoek Valley, and kaolin-mining rights existed over a small portion of the estate.

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A notice was recently published disclosing a transfer of a parcel of the land to an industrial company.

Campaigning to the very end

By CLARE HARPER and DI CASSERE

ON the evening before Mr John Wiley' death, the cabinet minister and MP for Simon's Town delivered postal voting papers to the chairman of the Scarborough Ratepayers' Association, Mr Teddy Whitfield.

Last night Mr Whitfield, one of the last people to see Mr Wiley alive, said he was "very shocked" to hear the news of Mr Wiley's death.

Mr Whitfield, who is retired, said Mr Wiley arrived at their home about 6.30pm, to drop off postal voting papers, which they had requested as they thought they would be away for the election He had a drink with the couple before leaving about 20 minutes later.

He said Mr Wiley discussed "general things" about the Hout Bay Harbour development and asked whether there was "anything I can do" about problems in Scarborough.

"I said we were promised postboxes by the post office, but nothing had happened. He said: 'Call me next week and we'll go into it', and then got into his car — he did not seem at all depressed," Mr Whitfield said.

Mr Wiley had turned down a second drink with the Whitfields, saying he had to visit three houses in Da Gama Park.

Mr Wiley had also mentioned visiting the lighthouse keeper at Cape Point earlier in the day

He apparently spent several relaxed hours in the resort visiting constituents.

Mrs Babs Roux said Mr Wiley "popped in to find the way and we spoke for about half-an-hour. That was late afternoon"

"We spoke at length about the fact that I was a widow with an elderly parent to look after and that I had to pay provisional tax as well as income tax.

"We spoke about politics as well — Mr Wiley appeared relaxed and optimistic," Mrs Roux said.

"He even admired the garden and the view He in now way appeared depressed," she said.

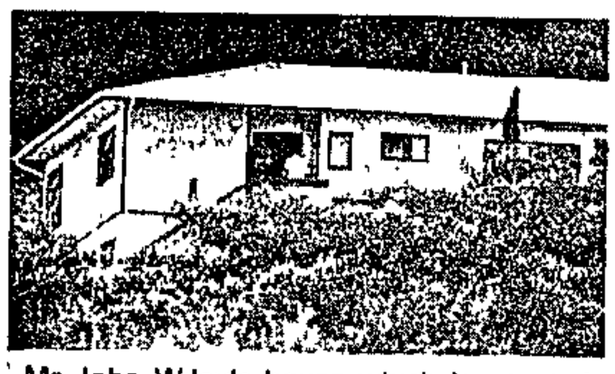
John Wiley found shot dead

Cape Times 30/3/87 30 K/A

By JOHN VAN DER LINDEN, DI CASSERE, ANTHONY JOHNSON and SAPA

MR JOHN WILEY, Minister of Environment and Water Affairs and MP for Simon's Town, was found shot dead in a bedroom of his Noordhoek home at 11.30am yesterday.

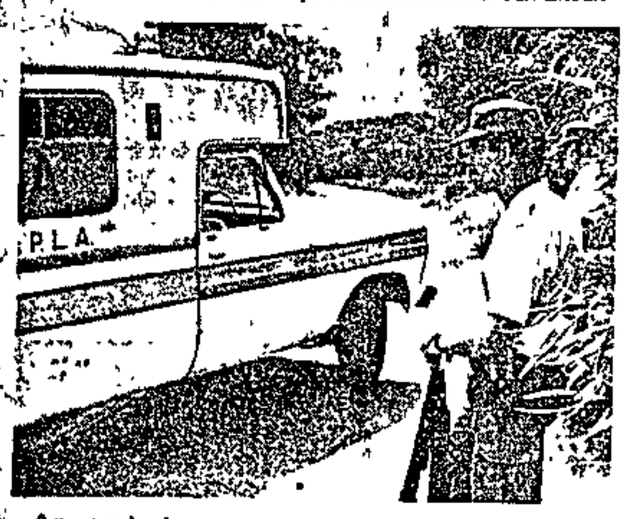
- Leading article — Page 6
- Unpredictable John Wiley — Page 6
- Friend of Wiley also took own life — Page 3
- Controversy over Noordhoek buy — Page 3



Mr John Wiley's house which is situated high on the mountain slopes at Noordhoek.



The State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mrs Elize Botha leave Mr Wiley's house after a 30-minute visit to offer their condolences to the family. Picture: JOHN VAN DER LINDEN



An ambulance passes the armed police guard on the road leading to Mr Wiley's home.

Soon after the discovery of the body, police issued a statement that no crime was suspected.

It is not known whether a note was found

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night expressed "shock and dismay" at Mr Wiley's sudden death.

"My family and I, as well as the National Party and thousands of South Africans, have heard of the circumstances of his death with great dismay," Mr Botha added

During the afternoon Mr Botha and his wife Elize visited the Wiley home to offer their personal sympathies to members of the family

Mr Wiley, who turned 60 last month, apparently spent several relaxed hours in Scarborough, visiting constituents, on Saturday afternoon

One of the last people to see him alive was Mrs Babs Roux, who said she believed the minister had come to the area to visit a family who were trying to place an elderly relative in a home for senior citizens

Campaign

Mr Wiley had been actively involved in a busy and energetic campaign to extend his 21-year tenure as MP for Simon's Town before his death

His PFP opponent in the constituency, Mr John Scott, said he was "profoundly shocked" at Mr Wiley's death and referred to the minister as "a worthy opponent and someone I have known for more than 20 years"

Shortly before noon yesterday, policemen armed with shotguns and assault rifles blocked the access to the gravel road leading to Mr Wiley's hillside home

Only relatives and government officials were allowed to pass to the large house situated in a densely bushy area 500m from the tarred road and nearest homes in the elite Noordhoek area of San Michele.

Mr Wiley was found when his wife Jeanne, after fetching the morning papers at the local cafe, found the house locked at 11.30am

One of Mr Wiley's sons gained access to the bedroom through a window and found his father lying on his back on the bed. He was dressed only in his slacks and had a bullet wound in his right temple. A firearm was found near the body.

Detectives, on the scene soon after the police were informed, took possession of a 32 revolver which is believed to have been fired

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Mr John Wiley, in a picture taken recently, on the rocks in front of his Noordhoek home.

NP will defend Simon's Town seat

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party will definitely field a candidate in the Simon's Town seat in the coming election, the Cape Leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis, confirmed yesterday

The NP's original candidate and MP for the area for the past 21 years, Mr John Wiley, died yesterday

No decision had been reached on a new candidate by last night All candidates' names have to be submitted to nomination courts by 11am tomorrow

Mr Heunis yesterday expressed his "deepest personal sympathy" towards Mrs Wiley and the Wiley family.

Mr Heunis said he had known Mr Wiley for 27 years and had been impressed by his consistent integrity in his political life.

□ Mr Wiley was actively involved in a busy and energetic campaign to extend his 21-year tenure as MP for Simon's Town before his death

Head-to-head

The 60-year-old incumbent was closely involved in a wide range of activities connected with the election battle — door-to-door canvassing, house and public meetings, mail blitzes, press interviews and letters to local newspapers

And on April 29 Mr Wiley was to have participated in the only debate with his PFP opponent, Mr John Scott — the only head-to-head debate between competing candidates in the white election.

In recent conversations, Mr Wiley gave no hint that he did not intend seeing the campaign through to the end.

While conceding that he had a tough fight on his hands, he remained quietly confident about his chances of retaining the seat he has held since 1966.

PFP organizers, on the other hand, have been confident of finally breaking the hold Mr Wiley had retained on Simon's Town.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

'Shock' at Wiley's death

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, last night expressed his shock and dismay at the sudden death of the Minister of Environmental Affairs and of Water Affairs, Mr John Wiley

Mr Wiley was found shot dead in his Noordhoek home near Cape Town yesterday

In a statement released in Cape Town, Mr Botha said: "The devastating news of the sudden death of our colleague has shocked us to the hilt.

"My family and I, as well as the National Party and thousands of South Africans, have heard of the circumstances of his death with great dismay.

"I got to know Mr Wiley in 1966 when he was elected MP for Simon's Town for the United Party.

"Although we represented different political parties, I got to know him through our discussions between myself as Minister of Defence and him as representative of a constituency intimately involved in defence matters and in which the South African Navy was strongly represented

"He showed a great interest in the South African Defence Force in general and the navy in particular

"Even during his years as a member of the opposition, I learnt to respect him and the views he expressed

"When he approached me a number of years ago to inform me that he intended joining the National Party, I welcomed his move.

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look possession of a .32 revolver which is believed to have been fired

To page 3

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"I got to know Mr Wiley in 1966 when he was elected MP for Simon's Town for the United Party.

"When he approached me a number of years ago to inform me that he intended joining the National Party, I welcomed his move.

To page 3

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(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

304A CTimes 30/3/87

Constituents: 'Respect, admiration'

Staff Reporter

SHOCK, bafflement and regret were the feelings expressed by almost everyone interviewed in a random survey yesterday in the constituency of the late Mr John Wiley.

Mr Anthony Butcher of the Fish Hoek Farm Store summed up what proved to be the dominant sentiment. "Whatever people's political viewpoint, they all agreed he was a man who took an intense interest in people around him.

"He always had time to sit down and listen. You could phone him at home any time of the day or night. He was well-respected from that point of view, politics aside.

"My own personal comment is that his death is a loss to the community. I think it's very sad. He'll be a very hard man to replace."

Ex-naval man Mr "Batch" Winterbach, of St James, had "a lot of respect" for Mr Wiley. "Although a lot of people thought he was a political turncoat, changing parties, I think he did so for the good of the community and the country."

Another person with a lot of respect for Mr Wiley was Mrs S Leisegang of Simon's Town. "I feel very sad he's done such a thing," she said. "I had a lot of respect and admiration for him."

Mr Bill Hennessy of Fish Hoek said he had known Mr Wiley for a long time and described him as "a charming and very pleasant man".

A slightly dissenting note came from Mrs Ingrid Aron of Kalk Bay who said "there was seal-culling and things I didn't agree with".

"I haven't got much of a comment because I'm undecided politically. I haven't voted for him before and I wasn't sure who I was going to vote for. My father-in-law is going to be sad. They were pals. They played cricket together," she said.

Simon's Town mayor Mr Harry Dilley said Mr Wiley's death was "a tremendous loss to the constituency and to South Africa", while Mr Howard Wood, mayor of Fish Hoek, said Mr Wiley had set a high standard of service to the communities of the southern Peninsula.

Heidnik, a self-styled charged with murder and some reasons why action

Record rush to fight election

Post 30/3/87

304A

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent

AS many as 460 candidates are expected to be nominated tomorrow for the May 6 general election, the highest tally in the political history of South Africa.



Making the most of the first day of the school holidays todaywere (front to back) ROY THOMAS, LILLIAN DU PLESSIS, CHRIS SCHOULTZ and DENYS STROEBEL, all of Port Elizabeth. They were slipping and sliding at the McArthur Bath.

Picture by EVERT SMITH

In the 16 Eastern Cape seats alone, 48 candidates have been named so far by the five parties contesting the election.

The National Party has nominated a full bag of 16, the Progressive Federal Party 11, the Herstigte Nasionale Party 10, the Conservative Party nine and the New Republic Party two.

The HNP also plans to name candidates for East London City and King William's later today.

In addition there are three Independents in the Eastern Cape, two of them right-wing and one to the left of the Government.

Nationally, the ruling National Party has named candidates in 163 of the 166 seats. The PFP has named some 75 candidates while its alliance partner, the NRP, will put up 14.

The alliance has declined to put up candidates in seats being contested by the Independents in Randburg, Stellenbosch and Somerset West and has also indicated it will not fight seats such as Geduld and Krugersdorp where the verligte National Party candidate is under threat from the right.

With no right-wing pact having been forged both the CP and the HNP plan to field up to 100 candidates, while there are about a dozen Independents

(News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)



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85 LANGLEY TREBO
85 ESCORT Sport
85 SIERRA 2,0 GL
85 PULSAR 1,5 SX
84 GRANADA 3,0 GL
84 SIERRA 2,0 GL
84 SIERRA 2,3 S/W
84 SIERRA 2,3 GLE
84 TOYOTA 1,6 GL
84 OPEL REKORD BE
84 ASCONA 1,8 GLS
83 ESCORT 1,6 GLE
83 ESCORT XR3
83 TOYOTA CRESSID
83 OPEL SENATOR
82 KADETT
82 TOYOTA GLS SPR
82 GRANADA 3,0 GLE
82 CORTINA 3,0 GLS
81 KADETT GL
81 ESCORT 1,6 GLE

COMMERCIALS

86 BANTAM 1,6
86 DATSUN 1,4 LDV
85 BANTAM LEISURE
85 NISSAN Diesel LDV
84 CARGO 1517 8-to
84 FORD 1,6 LDV
83 DATSUN 1,4 LDV
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12 NORTH
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Poll shows big swing from Nats

30/3/87 304A N/M

Mercury Correspondent

THERE has been a significant swing in support amongst white voters away from the Government towards reformist candidates in the past month, according to the results of a scientific poll published at the weekend.

The trend is reflected in the latest Mark en Meningsopnames poll published yesterday dealing with the 'hypothetical' support enjoyed by parties had they contested all seats in the election.

The support each party would attract in March if voters were able to vote for the party of their choice was (last month's figures in parentheses):

National Party	46,3% (49,4)
Progressive Federal Party	19,8% (19,4%)
Conservative Party	14,7% (15,2%)
Herstigte Nasionale Party	3,5% (2,8%)
New Republic Party	2,9% (2,9%)
Indepdents	7,1% (3,7%)
Won't vote	5,7% (6,6%)

This means that in barely a month, the NP's support base has shrunk by more than 6%, while support for the independents has almost doubled.

During this period the PFP and the HNP have made modest gains while the CP has lost some support.

An analysis of the hypothetical voting behaviour of whites shows that of the 1 589 voters that participated in the February and March polls, 187 (11,8%) changed their minds about whom to vote for on May 6.

Of this group, 13,9% shifted from the NP to the Independents, 10,7% from the NP to the PFP, 5,3% from the NP to the CP and also 5,3% from the NP to the NRP. On the other hand, 4,3% of the CP moved back to the NP.

The NP lost a significant amount of support amongst English-speakers during the past month — from 33% in February to 28,6% in March. More than 44% of this group now support the PFP and 9,5% the Independents.

Party-political support among Afrikaans-speakers is divided as follows: 57,1% NP, 21,2% CP, 5,5% Independents, 4,9% PFP, 4,2% HNP, 1,6% NRP, and 5,5% won't vote.

Support for the NP has dropped in all provinces (except Natal) as a result of the Independents.

Most encouraging

In the Cape Province the NP gets 48,8% of the voting support, the PFP 20%, the CP 8,9% and Independents 8,4%.

In the metropolitan areas it is only in Johannesburg where the PFP (39%) leads the NP (33%). In Pretoria the breakdown is NP 43%, PFP 24% and the combined CP-HNP 21%.

In the Durban-Pietermaritzburg areas the NP leads the PFP by 46% to 36%, and in the Cape Peninsula by 40% to 29%.

● The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said the latest poll was 'most encouraging' for the PFP and reform-minded candidates.

'Support for them is now at 31,6% of those who say they are planning to vote.

'This dramatic shift has taken place in the last month and with six weeks still to go there can be little doubt that the PFP/NRP alliance and the Independents are doing very well indeed,' Mr Andrew said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

C'kei rejects call for new regional govt

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Ciskei has rejected a call by Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, for a new regional government for the Eastern Cape, calling Chief Matanzima's suggestions insulting and insincere.

In a statement released yesterday through its directorate of communications, the Ciskei Government said Transkei would first have to sign a peace treaty guaranteeing regional security.

The statement said Ciskei would reject any attempt by Transkei to amalgamate with, or annex, Ciskei and said any plan for regional co-operation should be functional without interfering with the sovereignty of states in the region.

Calling on Chief Matanzima to "reconcile the statement on the regional plan with his refusal to sign a peace treaty involving Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa", Ciskei said it strongly believed that there could be no fruitful regional co-operation without security.

"Prime Minister Matanzima owes Southern Africa an explanation for the aborted raid and attempted murder of Ciskei's President. He must address himself to this issue before venturing into this so-called regional plan," the Ciskei statement said.

On Friday, Chief Matanzima told over 20 000 people at a Tembu commemoration service in the Gqebenya hills that his government was considering a new regional constitutional plan for the area between the Umzimkulu River and the Gamtoos River, including Port Elizabeth.

He said Transkei had no expansionist designs and his government advocated "dialogue between the leaders of this vast region to negotiate a constitutional dispensation that will be acceptable to all our people as a point of departure in the process of restructuring a new Southern Africa"

He appealed "to our brothers in Ciskei to perceive our aims objectively as we have no designs of annexation," adding that should the people of the region so wish, Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe could head the new dispensation.

"We shall pledge our support and loyalty to him, provided President Sebe uses his brains," Chief Matanzima said.

He added that there was more at stake than personal considerations and called on all those of the "greater Xhosaland, irrespective of race or tribal affiliations, to converge on the negotiation table to put our house in order".

In its reaction, Ciskei said that when a new regional plan had been announced in East London a few weeks ago Chief Matanzima had admitted that he did not have details of the plan.

"Surprisingly enough, when ultimately he got a briefing, he comes so excited and nasty to a degree of wantonly puffing insults."

Ciskei said Chief Matanzima had shown he had no previous comprehensive plan for his country's future participation in a broader Southern Africa, while Ciskei had a well-formulated plan which had been presented to the South African Government in February 1980.

"What is therefore being hailed as a breakthrough by late-comers and non-planners is to Ciskei dead wood."

Ciskei said Chief Matanzima would have to be specific about his agenda, "if he has any", otherwise Ciskei would regard his announcement as insincere.

Transkei's "policy of destabilisation" made it an unsuitable partner in such a plan.

"The treaty which has not been signed because of Transkei's attitude is an important preliminary to any regional plan, irrespective of who the initiator is."

Nel's resignation over land deal ironic — Soal

Political Reporter

Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Soal said today it was ironic that National Party MP Mr Louis Nel was resigning over a land deal just a few days after trying to slur the independents on their funding.

Independent Mr Wynand Malan has declined to comment.

Last week Mr Nel accused the independents of contravening the Fund Raising Act in the way they had raised money for their campaign.

Mr Nel has denied that he was forced to resign as an MP or that his decision to withdraw as a candidate in Pretoria Central was linked to a *Sunday Times* report of his involvement in R40 million land deal to buy South African-owned diplomatic land in Japan.

The newspaper said Mr Nel stood to earn commission of more than R1 million in the deal and that his involvement was not known to officials in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Nel said he was retiring from politics to devote himself to his practice as an international business consultant.

His departure leaves his party little time to find a replacement before nomination day tomorrow.

Mr Nel gave a firm indication a few months ago that he would remain in politics after being dropped from his post as Deputy Minister of Information by the State President.

He turned down an ambassadorial post last November to stay on in Parliament as an ordinary NP back-bencher.

His departure had coincided with the row over the Bureau for Information's R4,3 million peace song. It was not the first setback in his political career.

In 1979 he clashed with the then leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Minister was canvassing in Simon's Town day before he was found shot

Wiley's death is a mystery

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Political Staff

Cape Town

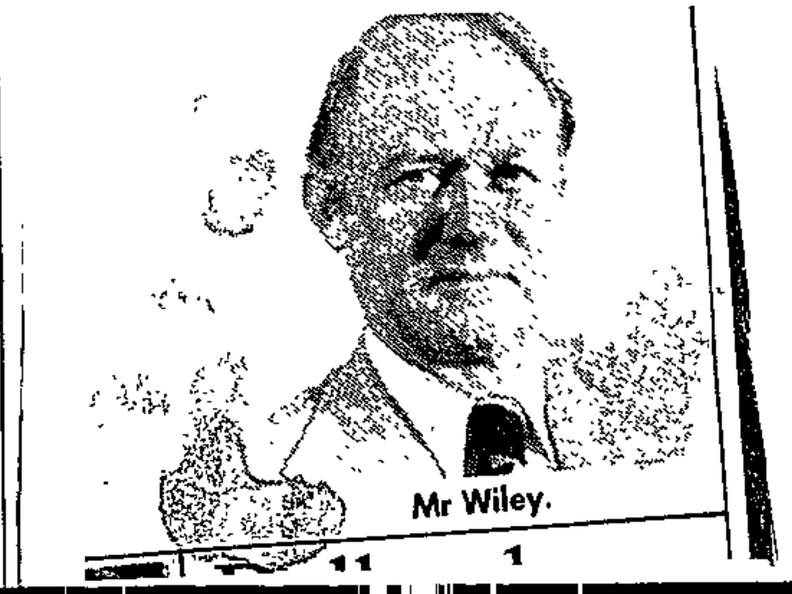
Reasons for the apparent suicide of Mr John Wiley, the Minister of Environment and Water Affairs found shot in his Noordhoek home yesterday, remained a mystery to his political colleagues today.

Speculation about the motives for Mr Wiley's death was seething today — much of it centred on talk of a multimillion-rand property development he had been involved in at Noordhoek having gone sour.

There had been some controversy about Mr Wiley's development of the Drummond Chaplin estate at Noordhoek.

He was heavily involved in this financially through his acquisition of the property and the subsequent residential development of part of it.

He is the first Minister to commit suicide since Union in 1910.



Mr Wiley.

Shocked NP hit by series of election

setbacks

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The National Party has been badly shocked by a spate of setbacks with official nominations for the May 6 general election due tomorrow.

- Minister of Environment Affairs Mr John Wiley has been found shot.
- Former Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel has withdrawn to be an international business consultant.
- An opinion poll has shown a substantial drop in support.
- 301 academics at the University of Stellenbosch have supported the recent declaration of dissatisfaction with the Government by 28 colleagues.

Mr Nel denied he had quit because of a Sunday newspaper report that he stood to make a lot of money from a deal involving South African Government property in Japan.

He said his consultancy left him no time to be an MP and the Nats have until tomorrow to find another candidate for Pretoria Central.

A record 450 candidates are expected to be nominated by the five parties and independents and contests are expected in all 166 constituencies.

The NP is expected to fight every constituency. The PFP/NRP alliance should put up about 100 candidates and the CP and HNP are expected to have between 80 and 100.

A survey by Market and Opinion Surveys shows that in the last month countrywide support for the NP has dropped from 49,4 to 46,3 percent.

Other parties' support (earlier figures in brackets) was given as: PFP 19,8 percent (19,4), CP 14,7 percent (15,2), HNP 3,5 percent (2,8, NRP 2,9 percent (2,8) and the independents 7,1 percent (3,7).

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

The National Party has moved immediately to appoint a new candidate in Simon's Town. Mr Harry Dilley, mayor of the town and a close friend of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, has already been named.

President Botha is not expected to fill Mr Wiley's position in the Cabinet until after the election.

Mr Wiley left no note and had not shown any signs of depression recently. He was actively involved in electioneering in the Simon's Town constituency and was still out canvassing on Saturday.

One official who was associated with him for years said he had not appeared to be depressed and that he had been "fine, just as always".

Mr Kent Durr, Deputy Minister of Finance, who was a close friend of Mr Wiley said the news of his death had come as an "absolute shock".

Flabbergasted

Western Cape Nationalist MPs were flabbergasted by the news of Mr Wiley's death.

President Botha yesterday visited Mr Wiley's Noordhoek home and then paid a warm tribute to him.

He said he had made an outstanding contribution to nature conservation.

Mr John Scott, the Progresive Federal Party candidate in Simon's Town, today expressed his "profound shock".

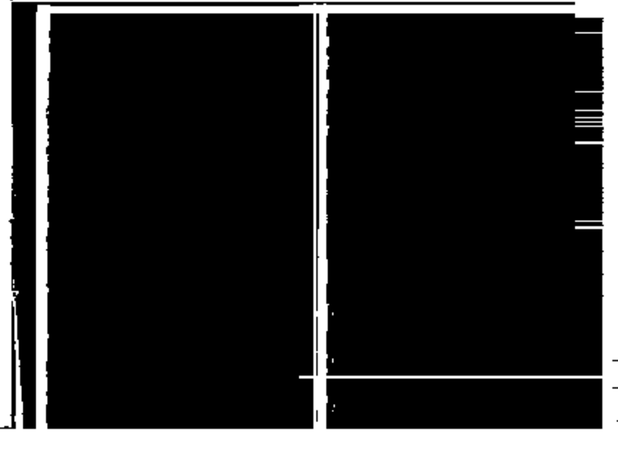
He said that "whatever our political differences John Wiley was a worthy opponent, someone I have personally known for more than 20 years.

"I was prepared for the toughest of elections, but never this.

"My deepest sympathy goes to his family."

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said he was shocked. He had known Mr Wiley for a long time as a tough and redoubtable opponent.

● See Page 9.



Apartheid's opponents should combine efforts

Farcical though it is, the general election may present the last chance to get rid of the Government peacefully, writes Joyce Harris.

South Africa is in a state of confusion. Nothing is simple. There are many grey areas. Political strategies are neither clearcut nor obvious. They are beset with contradictions.

The UDF has obviously given much thought to its election call, but it has not succeeded in eliminating inherent contradictions.

It has stopped short of calling for a boycott, though this would have been the easy position to adopt. There is absolute validity in the assertion that the election is a farce. It is taking place during a state of emergency, with strict Press censorship.

It is for only one of the three Houses of Parliament, let alone the unenfranchised majority, and it is not addressing the real issue of the day Parliament itself is little more than a rubber stamp.

However, while not actually calling for a boycott, the UDF has said that it "cannot approve participation". At the same time it calls on voters "to contribute to end racism and majority domination". This confuses the issue, because there may be voters who believe that they are making the called-for contribution by among other things exercising their vote in an attempt to get the Government out.

Pipedream or not, it might just be possible to persuade enough disenchanted people to vote for a platform to end apartheid and create the preconditions necessary for a peaceful negotiated solution, to either get the Government out or to control its majority in the three Houses.

If all anti-apartheid opposition could be mobilised both inside and outside Parliament in a thrust to get the Government out, there would be room for both the exercise of votes and the extra-parliamentary pressure of the voteless.



Joyce Harris . . . "End confusion."

The UDF's statement seems to recognise this by calling for a contribution from the voters, but it could reinforce such contribution by indicating its support for the suggested platform, thus increasing the willingness of voters to vote the Government out.

The statement calls on PFP supporters "either to throw your lot in with the racists or take sides with the majority of South Africans". I cannot talk for the PFP, but it seems to me that its platform for this election, while not confining itself simply to the creation of the necessary preconditions for constructive change, states loudly and clearly that it is opposed to racism and that it sides with the majority of South Africans.

UDF perceptions may be different, and the PFP has undoubtedly made its mistakes, but by and large it should be possible for the UDF to acknowledge that the PFP has a track record of opposition to the Government, to apartheid and to restrictive discrimination legislation.

Its constitutional plans embrace the concept of majority rule in a unitary state, though it incorporates certain checks and balances which the party would bring to the negotiating table for acceptance, rejection or compromise.

A federal state is a unitary state. Opponents of apartheid who support federalism reject a federation based on the homelands. The PFP also stands for a universal franchise.

The real engine for change may well lie outside Parliament. But unless the change is to be violent and revolutionary the engine will have to drive Parliament into initiating the processes of change, and "fellow South Africans committed to the liberation of our people" may see participation in this admittedly farcical "sideshow" election as possibly their last chance to throw their weight behind peaceful change.

It is easy to climb on a bandwagon and take up an absolute position in terms of what is acceptable and what is not. It is easy to thrust the election aside as a non-issue. The UDF is therefore to be admired for not calling for an absolute boycott.

However, I find it very sad that all those who desire an end to apartheid and the creation of a just and fair society cannot find it possible to work together to pursue their particular strategies while accepting the validity of others and to seek out areas of agreement rather than areas of difference.

The UDF wants non-violent change. So does the PFP. So, it seems, do defaulting members of the National Party. The sort of society they envisage as taking the place of the present one is probably different, but not beyond the parameters of negotiation.

The greatest obstacle to this sort of change is the Government. This ridiculous election may just be a last chance of getting rid of it peacefully. Why not pull together and do so?

Then it should be possible to settle differences amicably and at last to begin to enjoy the potential fruits of our excitingly heterogenous society.

304A

'We broadly agree with their statement'

301 sign in support of Matie dissidents



Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The revolt of Stellenbosch academics against Nationalist leadership was supported at the weekend by 301 academics. They released a petition supporting the 28 who recently asked for more speedy reform measures.

The signatures were obtained in only three days. They mean that effectively more than half of the academic staff in the town now support the dissident academics whose efforts have been derided by Nationalist politicians and their newspapers.

The petition circulated only in Stellenbosch — the staffs of the medical, dentistry and military faculties were not approached.

It originated spontaneously from outside the group of 28.

The move comes as another knock to the image of the National Party leadership as President P W Botha is university chancellor and Mr Chris Heunis, Cape Nationalist leader, is on the university council.

From the petition it can be seen the academics were motivated to act because of the way the Nationalist Press and certain people in Stellenbosch had tried to use the statement of the group of 28, members of "Discussion Group '85", for party political aims.

Those who signed said they had taken note of this "with sorrow and indignation".

They confirmed the right of academics to organise themselves into discussion groups on matters of current interest.

"As *Die Burger* and other people try to create the distorted impression that all the other lecturers and researchers of the University of Stellenbosch are opposed to the viewpoints of the 28 in their declaration, we hereby wish to state that we broadly agree with that statement.

"With this we do not commit ourselves for or against any political party or candidate but are only showing our solidarity with the statement of this group of colleagues."

Professor Andries van der Walt of the mathematics faculty this weekend told of the signing of the petition. He said among the 301 who signed, there were about 50 professors and 80 senior lecturers and researchers.

There were appproximately 700 lecturers and researchers on campus, but with some on leave and at conferences, only 550 to 600 potential signees had been available.

Professor van der Walt said it could be assumed that well over 50 percent of lecturers and researchers present on campus in the past week associated themselves in broad terms with the statement.

He said he wondered if any unbiased observer could still doubt the broad conviction among Stellenbosch academics that it as essential the Government accept a drastically different approach.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

though he did know the ... campaigning against the HNP in his

HNP candidates angered by AWB pressure

By Therese Anders

Two platteland HNP candidates say the AWB tried to force them out of the election.

At an Ermelo AWB rally last Tuesday the movement's leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche asked HNP candidate Mr Hennie Otto to join him on stage.

Mr Otto said: "Mr Terreblanche, at the end of his speech, spoke in one breath about Right unity then asked the audience to vote for CP candidate Mr Moolman Mentz.

"I have never been so deeply hurt and publicly humiliated and to top it all Mr Terreblanche then sat down next to me and made a futile attempt to apologise for what he said."

On Wednesday Ermelo's AWB leader Mr Jan Brand resigned over the matter, wrote an apology to Mr Otto and had copies publicly circulated.

Mr Brand said he had resigned over the way Mr Terreblanche insulted Mr Otto.

Delmas HNP candidate Mr Danie van Zyl has also resigned from the AWB after "demands for my resignation from the election and removal of my office out of town" by the local chairman of the AWB.

Mr van Zyl said he had received two letters with these demands from "Retse eenhied fonds", a new movement whose chairman is also the local AWB leader Mr Bill Ruthven.

Mr van Zyl said he would not stand down for the local CP candidate, although he did know the AWB was now campaigning against the HNP in his constituency.

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Meeting on funds issue

31/3/87

DOMINIQUE GILBERT
and CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THE independent candidates would be in breach of the law if they were accepting donations without a fund-raising number, Fund Raising director Jaap Visser said yesterday.

Visser said he had no proof that they were illegally collecting funds, and should they lodge an application with him it would take "a day or two" for it to be considered.

Randburg independent Wynand Malan's media consultant, Harald Pakendorf, said the independents would discuss the issue with Visser today.

Dr Denis Worrall said last night he could not comment and first wanted to study the director's statements.

Visser said political parties were not subject to the provisions of the Fund

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Poll funds meeting

⇦ ● From Page 1

Raising Act of 1978 but independent candidates must, in terms of the Act, obtain authority from him to collect funds.

Earlier yesterday, it seemed the independents believed a fund raising number was only necessary when funds were "solicited" and not donated.

Worrall described as "utterly demeaning, completely hypocritical and a sad spectacle to behold", President P W Botha's public allegations at the weekend that the independent was getting funds from abroad to finance his election campaign.

Worrall told the Cape Town Press Club there was "absolutely no substance" to the allegations.

He said all his campaign funds had come from supporters within SA and were being properly audited by a Somerset West firm of accountants.

Worrall said that to date the fund had received 89 contributions, of which 13 came from Cape Town, eight from Durban, 12 from the Transvaal, and the balance from the Hottentots Holland area.

The majority came from private individuals, with only a few from public companies and trusts.

Worrall said the performance by Botha on Friday, and Louis Nel's earlier last week, were "sickening and hypocritical of the NP leadership.

"What they are doing is insulting the intelligence of South Africans, insulting members of the NP — and it is typical of a lot of things happening within SA."

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg and Chris Cairncross, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Two ruled out for May 6

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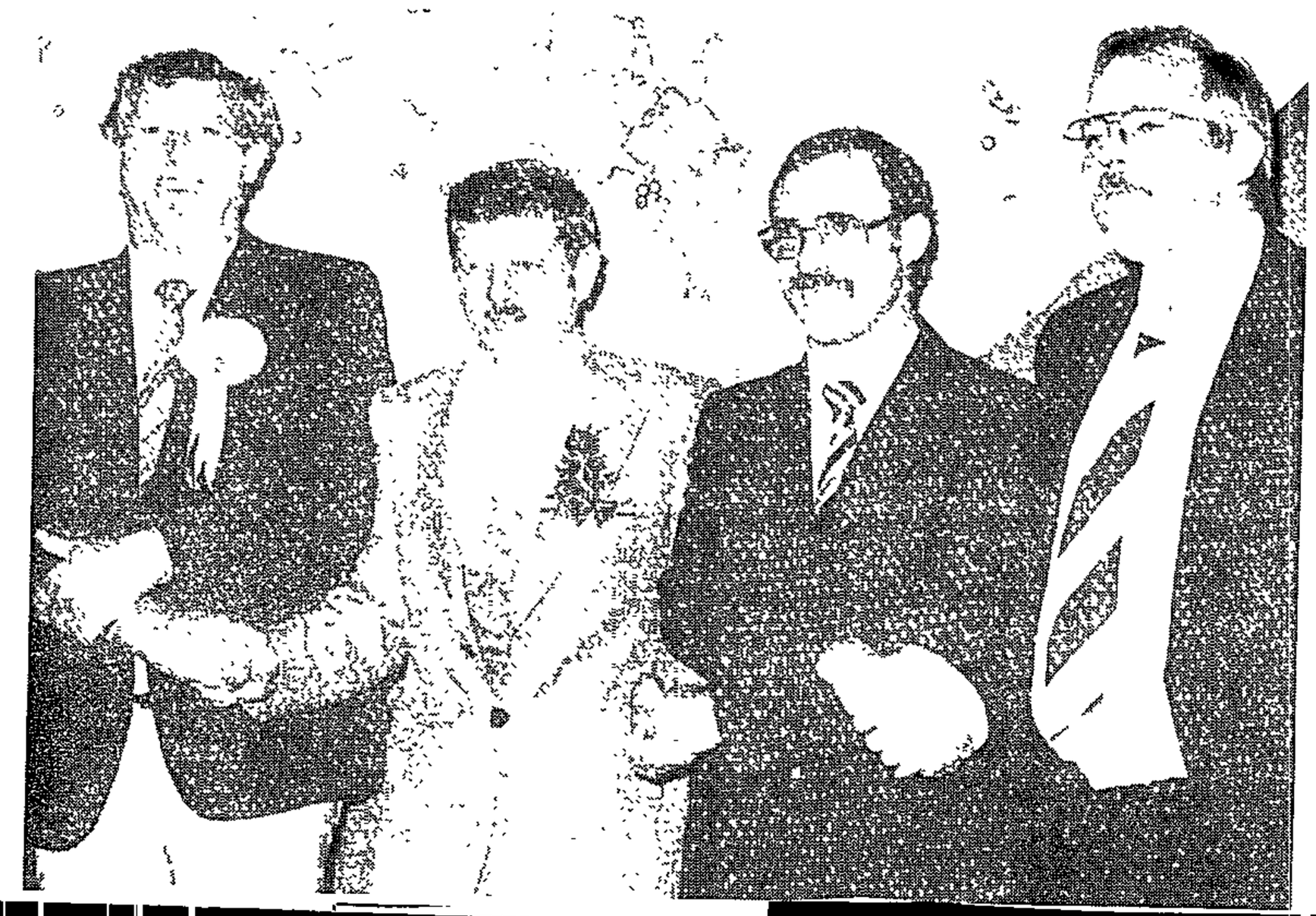

Slabber withdraws in EL

THE right-wing independent candidate in the East London City constituency, Mr Nic Slabber, withdrew his nomination today after an objection from the National Party candidate, Mr Peet de Pontes.

Mr De Pontes, who is the sitting MP, claimed

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

TWO would-be Independent candidates were forced to withdraw from the May 6 general election today on account of irregularities over the 300 signatures which have to be obtained by Independent candidates.

A right-wing Independent, Mr Nic Slabber, withdrew his nomination in East London City, while Mr Terry Theunissen was disqualified in Claremont, leaving the Progressive Federal Party's Ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall (Independent) and Mr Leonard de Wet of the Conservative Party were nominated.

In the neighbouring constituency of Stellen-

● Koeksusters and coffee summed up the atmosphere at the Despatch municipal offices where the nomination court for the Sundays River constituency sat today.

Right-wing candidates, Mr Marius Oosthuyzen of the CP and Mr Pieter Marais of the HNP, were overheard wishing each other the best of ... well, not quite British luck.

● One of the first candidates to arrive at the PE Magistrate's Court was the NP candidate for Walmer, Prof S J Schoeman.

"I didn't realise until now what I was letting myself in for," he said.

(News by Patrick Cull, Debbie Booysen and Kin Bentley, all of 19 Baakens Street, PE)

HNP candidate opposes nomination of CP man

THERE was controversy in the Algoa nomination court today when the Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate, Mr G J Swiegers, objected to the Conservative Party's nominee for the seat, Mr Chris Meyer.

Mr Swiegers claimed Mr Meyer was not registered as a voter in Algoa. He said he had checked two voters' rolls, but had not been able to find Mr Meyer's name.

The returning officer for Algoa, Mr Eugene Kritzinger, said that a parliamentary candidate did not have to be a voter in the constituency for which he was standing.

Mr Swiegers said he would like to ascertain whether. Mr Meyer was registered at all.

After consulting the voters' rolls in the election office, Mr Swiegers said Mr Meyer was registered in Algoa, but only since March 6.

"before this, he was registered in Pretoria, despite the fact that Mr Meyer has been living here for at least 20 years," he said.

Mr Meyer said he had been in Port Elizabeth since 1959 and had been registered in the Algoa constituency since then.

"However, when I checked the voters' roll this year, I discovered that someone had changed my registered address to 34 Bloed Street, Pretoria. "I immediately corrected this obvious error.

"It's a mystery to me how this happened, but I think I now know where to start my investigations."

(Report by Barbara Orpen, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)

Eck, unopposed.

Mr Jan van Gend (Groote Schuur) was another PFP candidate who was unopposed.

The three much-celebrated Independents were all successfully nominated.

The NP "rebel", Mr Wynand Malan, who resigned from the party at the beginning of the year, was duly nominated as in Randburg, where he will be opposed by Mr Olaus van Zyl (NP) and Mr A Acar (CP).

A large crowd of supporters attended the nomination court in the Helderberg constituency, where the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, the former

was the third of the Independents nominated. She will contest the seat against Mr Piet Marais (NP) and Mrs C A M Reyneke (HNP)

The former PFP MP, Mr Horace van Rensburg, also gained nomination as an independent in Bryanston, the seat he won for the opposition for the first time in 1974.

Mr Van Rensburg is opposed by former the Boss agent, Mr Craig Williamson (NP) and Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP).

In other developments today.

● Two HNP candidates withdrew in favour of their CP opponents.

● A record 55 candidates were nominated in the Eastern Cape.

The HNP candidate in the Northern Transvaal seat of Pietersburg, Mr Peet Grobbelaar, stood down in favour of the sitting CP MP, Dr Willie Snyman.

Both said they were doing so in the interests of right-wing unity.

Elsewhere in the country, the internecine right-wing war continued unabated and both the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais (Hercules) and the CP's Dr Andries Treurnicht (Waterberg) were opposed.

United they stand — but from now until May 6, the four candidates in the Algoa constituency will be locked in battle for the seat. At the nomination court today were, (from the left), Mr RICK McKIEVER (PFP), Mr CHRIS MEYER (CP), Mr FRANS SMIT (NP) and Mr G J SWIEGERS (HNP). Earlier there was drama when Mr Swiegers objected to Mr Meyer's nomination. However on examination it was found that his nomination was in order.

The HNP's sole parliamentary representative, Mr Louis Stofberg, also has a CP opponent in Sasolburg.

A total of 55 candidates were nominated in the 17 constituencies in the Eastern Cape.

The NP put up candidates in all 17 seats. The PFP and HNP both put up 12, the CP 10 and the NRP two. Two independents also secured nomination.

(News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)

● See Page 11

No surprises as the party hopefuls put names forward

Candidates nominated in Eastern Cape seats today:

ALBANY: Mr Errol Moorcroft MP (PFP), Mr J H van de Vyver (NP), Mr L Crous (HNP).

ALGOA: Mr Rick McKiever (PFP), Mr Chris Meyer (CP), Mr Frans Smit (NP), Mr G J Swiegers (HNP)

ALIWAL: Dr H T Bekker (CP), Dr C B Hulley (PFP), Mr J F Pretorius (NP), Mr Schalk Vorster (HNP)

CRADOCK: Mr C H "Buster" Brotherton (PFP), Mr S W "Boetie" Malan (CP), Mr A T "Tobie" Meyer (NP), Dr S F P Scheepers (HNP)

EAST LONDON CITY: Mr Peet de Pontes MP (NP), Mr Gwynne Bassingthwaighte (PFP)

EAST LONDON NORTH: Mr Calle Badenhorst (NP), Mr Bazil Niemand (Independent Right-wing), Mr Errol Spring (PFP)

GEORGE: Mr H A Smit MP (NP) Mr A N H Finn (PFP), Mr J J Opperman (CP), Mr A Roelofse (HNP)

GRAAFF-REINET: Mr J L Retief (NP), Mr F A Rubidge (Independent), Mr J C R van Heerden (CP) Mr W A Botha (HNP)

HUMANSDORP: Mr W D Meyer MP (NP), Mr Andrew Savage (PFP), Mr Gerrie Schultz (HNP) Mr M R van Eeden (CP)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN: Mr Pat Rogers MP (NRP), Mr Ray Radue (NP)

NEWTON PARK: Mr I (Sakkie) Louw MP (NP), Dr H "Stompie" Botha (HNP), Mr E W Trent (PFP)

PORT ELIZABETH CENTRAL: Mr D J N Malcomess MP (PFP) Mrs A M C Nash (NP)

PORT ELIZABETH NORTH: Mr D G Dorfling (CP), Mr G B Myburgh (NP), Mr P Wagener (HNP)

QUEENSTOWN: Mr M H Louw MP (NP), Mr F Edelmann (NRP), Mr H P de Wet (HNP) Mr P F du Plessis (CP)

SUNDAY'S RIVER: Dr J T Delport (NP), Mr P J W Marais (HNP), Mr Walter Fowlds (PFP), Mr C M Oosthuysen (CP)

UITENHAGE: Mr Dawie le Roux MP (NP), Mr B M Greeff (HNP), Mr Jannie Swiegers (CP)

WALMER: Mr P W Ball (PFP), Prof S J Schoeman (NP)



Nominated as candidates in the Sundays River constituency for the May 6 election at a nomination court in Despatch today were (from left), Dr TERTIUS DELPORT (National Party), Mr PIETER MARAIS (Herstigte Nasionale Party), Mr MARIUS OOSTHUYSEN (Conservative Party) and Mr WALTER FOWLDS (Progressive Federal Party).

Wiley's death: Plea by family

Staff Reporters

THE family of Mr John Wiley have described the speculation surrounding his death as "futile and distressing".

A senior police spokesman in Pretoria declined to be drawn on whether detectives had found any explanation as to why the former cabinet minister was shot.

"We won't make any further statements. The case will go on. There will be an official inquest. We can't give a step-by-step account of the investigation," said Colonel Steve van Rooyen of the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria.

Mr Wiley's family issued a statement saying they regarded speculation on the circumstances "or combination of circumstances" that led to his death as "futile and distressing".

"We only know that we have lost a much-loved and respected son, brother, husband and father. We know, too, that the members of the community in which he lived, whatever their colour or creed, have lost an untiring and dedicated parliamentary representative, and South Africa a patriot and an honourable man," the statement said.

It ended with an expression of thanks to "the very many people who have sent messages of condolence".

President P W Botha, who visited the Wiley home hours after the discovery of Mr Wiley's body, last night announced that the national flag would be flown at half-mast at all flag stations in the magisterial districts of Pretoria, Cape Town, and Simon's Town tomorrow.

Funeral arrangements for Mr Wiley, who was Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, are expected to be announced today.

Mr Wiley's body was found at 11.30am on Sunday.

Mr Wiley's death came in the midst of an intensive campaign for his return to the Simon's Town parliamentary seat which he had held for 20 years.

His place in the Simon's Town election campaign will be taken up by 44-year-old Mr Harry Dilley, mayor of Simon's Town for the past seven years. Mr Wiley's cabinet portfolio will be taken by Mr G J (Gert) Kotze, at present Deputy Minister for Agriculture.

Mr Kotze, who is also Deputy Minister of Water Supply, in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, will be sworn in as a full member of the cabinet on April 1 in the Tuynhuys, President Botha announced.

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Pik silent on Nel, and Tokyo questions

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday left unanswered several questions on former Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel's involvement in the sale of South African diplomatic land in Tokyo.

Mr Botha yesterday declined to answer telexed questions on how Mr Nel came to be involved in acting as an agent for Japanese buyers interested in the land, and how Mr Nel knew the land was for sale.

Foreign Affairs officials have reportedly been investigating the feasibility of selling some of the Tokyo land.

Mr Botha was also asked by telex whether the land had been advertised for sale; which Japanese businessmen were interested in buying it; when it was decided the land should be sold; what it was worth and what prices were being negotiated for the sale.

He was also asked whether there was any likelihood the bid made to Foreign Affairs on behalf of the unnamed Japanese businessmen would be accepted.

On Sunday, Mr Botha's liaison officer, Ms Marie Botha, indicated Mr Botha had decided not to expand on statements he made to the *Sunday Times*.

"It's Louis Nel's baby — he's got to sort it out," she said.

Meanwhile, the National Party has nominated its Transvaal liaison officer, Mr Gert Oosthuizen, to replace Mr Nel, who withdrew his candidacy on Sunday.

Mr Oosthuizen, a Rapportryer, is Pretoria Central's divisional council chairman.

The Progressive Federal Party's Pretoria Central candidate, Mr Ian Neilson, yesterday said Mr Nel had either been pushed out by the NP or withdrew from the election to save face, reports Sapa.

By Mr Nel withdrawing, he said, the PFP had gained its first victory in the election campaign. He added that Mr Nel had become "an electoral liability" for the NP.

(Report by D Gilbert, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and N Patterton, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

Govt blamed for tension on mines

(304A) (28R) (56) 31/3/87 STAR.

The reluctance of the government to repeal the discriminatory "scheduled person" provision obstructs the advancement of blacks and denies them opportunities for taking increasing responsibilities in the enterprises in which they work, says Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, chairman of Anglo American Gold Investment Company (Amgold), in his annual review.

"Within the strictures of the law, significant training and education programmes to man positions on merit have been implemented with some success and programmes are in hand to eliminate any remaining discriminatory practices on the mines," he says.

A significant responsibility for addressing many underlying causes of tension on the mines also rests with the government. "No industrial relations structure or system can cope with the growing politicisation of unions which is the inevitable result of the lack of participation by blacks in the political process at national level and which results in considerable tension in the workplace."

South Africa's two main problems, the inordinately high inflation rate and the urgent need for political reform, are partly linked, he maintains.

Inflation flowed partly from the lower rand exchange rate flowing from the deterioration in foreign perceptions of the political situation.

Any material improvement in the economy will require an end to unrest and the abolition of apartheid. — Sapa.

Nats swift to replace two election candidates

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Political Correspondent

THE National Party moved swiftly yesterday on the eve of nomination day to name two new election candidates to replace former Cabinet minister Mr John Wiley, in Simonstown, and Mr Louis Nel, who resigned suddenly on Sunday, in Pretoria Central.

The Cape NP has nominated Mr Harry Dilley, the Mayor of Simonstown, while another 'local boy' Mr Gert Oosthuizen, will stand in Pretoria.

The PFP also produced two last-minute candidates yesterday — Miss Julia Smuts, grand-niece of former Prime Minister and war leader, Field-Marshal Jan Smuts, in Paarl, and Mr Martin Back, a 38-year-old engineer, in Parow.

There are now 434 known candidates in the field, with Groote Schuur, a Progressive Federal Party stronghold in which former MPC Mr Jan van Gend has been nominated, the only one of 166 Assembly seats unopposed at this stage.

Nomination courts throughout the country close at 11 a m today and the number of candidates in the field could change by then.

It is possible that some of the lesser-known independent candidates could have problems meeting all the conditions of the Electoral Act, such as finding 300 registered voters in their chosen constituency to support their nomination.

Mr Louis Nel said yesterday that he did not think his sudden withdrawal 'was any particular inconvenience' to the NP.

'The organisation is humming,' he said

He rejected suggestions that he had been pressured to withdraw because of disclosures that he had acted as an intermediary in Japanese attempts to buy South African diplomatic property in Tokyo.

Mr Oosthuizen, his replacement, is a former Air Force captain who later became a NP organiser and liaison official and at present is chairman of the party's Pretoria divisional council.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

The Star

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What makes this election matter

NOMINATION DAY for the May 6 general election sees a record total of candidates, a new diversity of parties and independents and a healthy buzz of political issues. Few elections have taken place against such a backdrop of crisis and looming decisions that cannot much longer be postponed. The election is for whites only, which is enough of an anachronism at this juncture in South Africa's history. The hope, even according to the ruling party, is that it will lead to greater democracy in some form or another.

There is a deceptive air of normality about this election but nobody should be allowed to forget that it takes place under highly abnormal conditions. It occurs under a state of emergency and unprecedented Press censorship which hamstrings and gags the forces opposing the Government outside Parliament. Thousands of the Government's opponents languish in detention cells.

And the election takes place under a constitution which makes these undemocratic things possible — and even effectively overrides the powers of the House of Assembly in favour of a near omnipotent State President.

These are the issues that every candidate and every voter must bear in mind as polling day approaches. Most indications point to a continued National Party majority, albeit one somewhat eroded both from left and right, but that does not mean that voters need simply resign themselves to further years of NP excesses and political timidity.

If they use their privileged vote intelligently, they could significantly add to the pressures on the National Party to come to terms with reality and begin seriously to negotiate peaceful change.

Countdown to May 6 official

3044
SPARK 3/3/87

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The official countdown for the 1987 general election begins today as nomination courts sit in all 166 constituencies of the House of Assembly to register candidates.

A record 460 candidates are expected to be nominated, representing the five white parliamentary parties and five Independents.

The governing National Party, seeking its 10th consecutive term in office, is fielding the most candidates with nominees on standby to be registered in at least 164 and possibly all 166 constituencies.

It was not certain early today whether the NP would field candidates in the PFP strongholds of Constantia and Groote Schuur in Cape Town where the PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, could be elected unopposed in Constantia, while Mr Jan van Gend could get a "free ride" in Groote Schuur.

The NP had to move swiftly in the last 48 hours to find replacement candidates in Simonstown and Pretoria Central following the death of Mr John Wiley and Mr Louis Nel's withdrawal this weekend.

Simon's Town mayor Mr Harry Dilley replaces Mr Wiley, while NP Transvaal liaison officer Mr Gert Oosthuizen is standing in Mr Nel's place.

On the basis of the PFP and the New Republic Party alliance they are expected to put up some 90 candidates.

A last-minute flurry in the alliance has seen Transvaal NRP leader Mr Martin Stephens withdraw from Rosettenville because of ill health. The PFP have nominated Mr Alan Anderson, the managing director of a computer company, to stand in his place.

The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party are expected to be standing against each other in about 80 to 90 seats.

The CP was expected to field about 120 candidates and the HNP in the region of 90.

Nomination courts sat from 10 am to 11 am for each constituency today.

Details of the official candidates and last-minute surprises will be carried in later editions.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

(304A)

Barnard tells of his record

By Sue Leeman

The State President is not the first politician to enter the celluloid world of seven-single recordings in an attempt to sell his policies to the public.

"The Man from the South", a record cut by Mr S P Barnard — currently CP MP for Langlaagte — circulated about 3 000 copies in the Robertsham area just before the 1972 municipal election.

Mr Barnard, then a NP member, was hoping to be elected city councillor and was, he says, "desperate to find votes, just like P W is now".

"A group sang 'I've got a never-ending love for you' while ward chairman Mr Pieter Geldenhuys told of the work I had done for the ward.

"It's the only election I have ever lost," he said.

● Mr Botha's record was released earlier this month.

'NP plans 6 blacks in Parliament'

Nats will sink whites - Dr T

ERMELO — The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, claimed last night that the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, had told a member of the CP executive committee recently that "only six blacks" would be brought into Parliament and that there was "no reason to be worried".

Dr Treurnicht told a meeting of about 700 people in Ermelo that the White electorate "cannot dare" allow the NP government to bring blacks into Parliament.

This act would have dire consequences for White security and freedom, he said.

"There is no doubt from the NP election manifesto that it is asking voters for a green light to bring blacks into Parliament and the Cabinet."

Describing the alleged plan to bring six Blacks into Parliament as "an absolute folly", Dr Treurnicht said it would never work.

GRAVE PRECEDENT

It would also set a grave precedent as blacks would insist on the full 600-member quota to which they would be entitled under the present system of proportional representation.

"For every four white MPs there are two coloureds and one Indian and, although the Government has now denied it, the tricameral Parliament is based on a proportional representation of the white, coloured and Indian population groups."

Furthermore, Dr Treurnicht said, the election of a State President was clearly a general affairs matter and the blacks would then be entitled to insist on their proportional quota of 170 members in the Electoral College which would be an overwhelming majority.

"We dare not allow this to happen.

"If we say yes to Mr P W Botha on May 6, then the whites will sink and it will be goodbye to separate development," Dr Treurnicht said. — Sapa.

(Report by M van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria)

CP: blacks must be resettled

If the Conservative Party was given 15 years in power it would succeed in settling between 60 and 75 percent of the black population in the homelands, the party's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said last night.

He was addressing a public meeting of about 360 people at Verwoerdburg, seat of Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

"We have a strategy and we would use modern techniques. We would not allow a black man to live just anywhere in South Africa," he said.

Dr Hartzenburg also told the meeting that it would take a CP government two months to "clean up the townships" and end the revolution.

He said security forces would not be obliged to restrict themselves to rubber bullets.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Election must address apartheid — Worrall



CAPE TOWN — Helderberg's independent election candidate Dr Denis Worrall told the Cape Town Press Club yesterday the general election would be a waste of time unless it addressed an end to apartheid and political rights for all.

Dr Worrall said the key issues demonstrated the basic differences between himself and his opponent Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning. Dr Worrall wanted the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act abolished.

Mr Heunis wanted to keep them.

Dr Worrall also wanted an end to race concepts based on law and pointed out: "Mr Heunis rejected the kwaNatal Indaba initiatives even though it is one of the most outstanding products of inter-racial negotiation yet produced in South Africa."

Dr Worrall believed Natal and kwaZulu should be allowed a test of opinion denied them by Mr Heunis, who was not the reformist he was made out to be but part of the Government's paralysing inability to break the logjam of South African politics.

PRE-PLANNED

Mr Heunis wanted to force negotiations into the pre-planned structure of the National Statutory Council.

Dr Worrall also wanted Mr Heunis to review the regional services council into which he had steamrollered Gordon's Bay, Somerset West, Stellenbosch and Paarl.

"There is a general feeling within white South Africa — and I detect it every day in my campaign — that this Government has been in office too long," he said.

Answering questions from the floor, Dr Worrall said it was not true that the election and the independent initiative were irrelevant. The independents reflected an accelerating white opinion that change was essential for future peace.

(Report by Dick Usher, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Verwoerd's ideas — 'but with insight'

Vereeniging Bureau

Co-operation between races is as much a part of the National Party's policy now as it was with Dr Hendrik Verwoerd — except that now the party had the insight to realise it could not lead everyone to freedom along the same (homeland) course, Mr F W de Klerk said last night.

Mr de Klerk, Transvaal NP leader, was addressing an election meeting in Vereeniging at which a group of right-wing supporters tried to shout down guest speakers. They left when Mr de Klerk asked them to identify themselves.

Mr de Klerk said the NP wanted to guarantee the freedom of voters but realised they could not be free while surrounded by millions who were not.

The NP wanted to replace domination with a balance of power.

Report by M McDougall, Barbet Street, Three Rivers East, Vereeniging.)

Quotes from the election platform

Mr Frank Martin, former NRP MEC in Natal (referring to Ministers living in luxury): "One senior Minister once told me the only thing he paid for was cigarettes."

★ ★ ★

General J C Visser, Conservative Party candidate in Verwoerdburg: "The police are frustrated at being restricted to rubber bullets and knowing their actions can very well result in a commission of inquiry."

★ ★ ★

Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Conservative Party candidate in Lichtenburg, speaking in Verwoerdburg: "We have a strategy and we would use modern techniques. We would not allow a black man to live just anywhere in South Africa."

★ ★ ★

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, speaking in Ermelo: "The NP maintains it rejects the concept of a fourth chamber for blacks, but who are they trying to fool?"

★ ★ ★

Dr Denis Worrall, Independent candidate in Helderberg, referring to "rumours" that Mr Chris Heunis was responsible for having him sent abroad: "There is no evidence whatsoever to substantiate this, but if he did, he did me and my family an enormous favour as we enjoyed our experiences in Australia and the UK."

(Compiled by J M Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

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Gert Oosthuizen replaces Nel as candidate

Mr Gert Oosthuizen has been chosen as the National Party's new candidate in Pretoria Central

Mr Oosthuizen is the party's Transvaal liaison officer.

He replaces Mr Louis Nel, former Deputy Minister of Information, as the Nationalist candidate in the constituency after Mr Nel announced at the weekend he was no longer available for re-election

Mr Nel said he could not cope with both his busy international business consultancy and the duties of an MP.

Mr Oosthuizen (29) will, if elected, be one of the youngest members of Parliament.

He has been an executive member of the NP's Transvaal Youth Action, secretary of the NP Sunnyside constituency executive and chairman of the NP in Pretoria Central.

● The New Republic Party last night announced the withdrawal of one of its candidates.

Mr Martin Stevens, nominated as candidate for Rosettenville, has withdrawn due to health problems.

● The Progressive Federal Party has nominated candidates in the Roodepoort and Langlaagte constituencies for the general election.

Mr Alan Dawson (33), a former journalist and public relations consultant, has been nominated to stand in Langlaagte.

Mrs Megan Leathwhite, an estate agent and former Randburg councillor, will contest the Roodepoort seat.

● The Herstigte Nasionale Party has announced it will put up Mrs Riena Reyneke as a candidate in the election contest in Stellenbosch.

Mrs Reyneke, a former public servant, will oppose the sitting National Party MP, Mr Piet Marais, and independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan.

Confirming this yesterday, Mrs Reyneke said she was to have stood in Caledon, but withdrew after it was decided by her party to get a local candidate to stand there.

(Reports by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, K Daniels, 262 Old Mutual Bldg, Harrison St, Johannesburg; and C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition is by H W Tyson and R A Gibson, headlines by D Rink and posters by R G Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Mandela 'believes we should stay put'



Mrs Suzman

304A
STAR
31/3/87

By Susan Pleming

The jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, believed the Progressive Federal Party should remain in Parliament, said Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's MP for Houghton, yesterday.

Addressing about 150 students at the Rand Afrikaans University, Mrs Suzman said she had met Mandela on several occasions. He had said he was "glad" the PFP was in Parliament, but he disagreed with the tricameral system.

"He (Mandela) is not a communist. He wants negotiations. He has even told me that he thinks Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be part of a negotiating machine," Mrs Suzman told the students.

Important role

Mrs Suzman urged them to vote wisely on May 6. The PFP had an important role in Parliament. In one month, she said, her party had asked 1 600 questions in Parliament.

"We use the system to protest the system. If we left Parliament, we would be replaced by people who did not give a tuppence about civil rights. Abdicating from Parliament would not help," she stressed.

If the PFP was in power Mrs Suzman said it would call a national convention in which representatives from all race groups could draw up a new political dispensation by consensus.

The PFP would not allow any racial discrimination, full citizenship rights would be granted to everyone, a Bill of Rights would be created and a federal system of government would be introduced as well as an independent judiciary.

Division into states

The country would be divided into states and, as in the United States, those areas would have representatives at a Senate level.

The PFP hoped to increase its 27 seats in Parliament to at least 40 in the election.

"We will then have a solid base to attract a new alignment," she said.

"We hope to have a base in which all those people who want change in the whole political system will join us. We want to switch South Africa from an apartheid society to a non-racial democracy."

South Africa had reached a situation where its race relations were at the lowest ebb and there had been no capital investment in South Arica for two years.

"This is not due to the drought or the locusts, it is because of apartheid. The experiment of apartheid has failed."

(Report by S Pleming, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

304A

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(Report by M van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria)

SMH 31/3/87 (304A)

CP manifesto sees total racial separation

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The essence of the Conservative Party's election manifesto is a return to old-style Verwoerdian apartheid, not only with the partitioning of South Africa into racial compartments, but also a complete separation of the races in almost every walk of life.

The party is fighting the election on the basis that with less than three years of the Government attempting to share power, the effort has collapsed before blacks could be brought into the system.

The CP believes the unrest, the economic collapse of the country, external pressure and sanctions — as well as deteriorating relations among the people of South Africa — are all as a result of the Government's "misguided" attempt to share power.

Its solution to these problems is a return to what it says is a positive and workable alternative which has survived the test of time, was in the process of succeeding in South Africa, and would still succeed provided it was honestly applied.

That alternative can be summed up in one word: partition.

According to the party's election manifesto released in Pretoria yesterday, the CP views South Africa as a subcontinent similar to that of Western Europe and East Africa. The party does not consider South Africa to be an indivisible, unitary state.

Each population group, including the coloureds and Indians, will therefore be given full independence within their own geographic area.

For the economy, the CP's policy is that it would use the country's mineral resources to create a strong base.

The CP believes in a free enterprise system, and will promote a trade and industrial policy with the accent on private initiative and the establishment of small business undertakings.

The party promises to "combat all monopolistic tendencies in commerce and industry".

It will strive for a disciplined and balanced growth rate, and guarantees all pensioners a livable pension "out of gratitude for the contribution they have made to the country's well-being".

The CP believes civil servants must be compensated commensurate with their qualifications and experience on a par with remuneration levels in the private sector.

The party is in favour of reducing personal tax through a new taxation system which would also tax married persons separately.

On law and order the CP takes a very firm line.

According to the manifesto: "The SA Police will be given the necessary authority in order that they may effectively combat the internal unrest situation. Our security forces will then have all the necessary means and the will to effectively combat anti-South African terrorism."

A special section of the manifesto is devoted to agriculture.

The CP promises a vigorous agricultural reconstruction programme, ensuring this sector "once again receives its fair share of the State Budget".

It would restrict increases in production costs, stimulate the promotion of exports and bring interest rates in line with the economic capacities of the sector.

The re-settlement of white rural areas would be promoted.

Under a section headed "Community Life", the manifesto says the Group Areas Act would be strictly applied to ensure separate residential areas for the different population groups in white South Africa.

Each nation would enjoy preference in its own partitioned territory "and swamping will be effectively contained".

"The internationally acknowledged system of visa control and work permits will protect the citizens of all states against swamping in the employment field."

Finally, as a party that recognises that Divine Providence directs the destiny of nations and peoples, the CP promises to "uphold and defend Christian prinicples and will protect freedom of conscience and freedom of worship. We will strive for peace for all our peoples".

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)